Flexible Domesticities

Bachelorhood, Home and Everyday Practices in Finland from the 1880s to the 1930s

Laika Katriina Nevalainen

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

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This version of the thesis has been amended by removing the images.

European University Institute
Department of History and Civilization

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Examining Board

Professor Laura Lee Downs (EUI)
Professor Pirjo Markkola (University of Tampere, Finland)
Professor Alastair Owens (Queen Mary University of London)
Professor Pieter M. Judson (EUI) – Supervisor

Abstract

This thesis is a study of the everyday lives and domesticity of Finnish bachelors from the 1880s to the 1930s. The thesis analyses bachelors' living arrangements, homemaking and domestic practices, domestic possessions, meanings of home and personal sense of belonging. The thesis approaches this topic through four different themes: 1. Bachelors' relationship to family and family homes; 2. Bachelor 'boxes', which were rented rooms or small apartments in which a bachelor lived alone or with other bachelors; 3. Sailors and their mobile lifestyle; and 4. Communal living arrangements: student homes, sailors' homes, a municipal 'bachelor building' built in Helsinki and old men's homes. The thesis combines a quantitative analysis of census records and probates with a qualitative analysis of personal correspondence and diaries, oral history sources, periodicals and the archives of different types of organisations.

Although bachelors have remained mostly invisible in previous research on home and domesticity, this thesis demonstrates that in researching home and everyday life marital status, life stage and age are critical as considerations of class and gender. In order to see beyond normative middle-class definitions and ideals of home, the thesis develops an open approach to analysing the meanings and practices of home by combining tools from several fields: critical geography of home, recent social and cultural history approaches to practices and material culture, microhistory, gender history, and approaches to mobility. The concepts of *flexible/temporal*, *portable*, *communal*, *outsourced* and *postable domesticity* have been formulated to stretch our understanding of domesticity beyond a normative family home. The thesis argues that central to understanding bachelors and domesticity is to analyse how bachelors, on the one hand, adapted to temporary circumstances, varying degrees of mobility and assumptions about bachelorhood, but, on the other hand, by lacking the responsibilities of a marital family had the freedom to follow their personal desires and needs.

Contents

Acknowledgements

There are many ways in which my PhD process has shared characteristics with the lives of "my bachelors," including a lot of freedoms and possibilities, the good and the bad of being in a temporary life phase, moving between places and dwellings as well as having several homes (both personal and academic) at the same time. Being a historian of home has prompted me to reflect on my own feelings and experiences of home throughout these years. During the PhD process, I have lived in three different countries (Italy, Finland and the UK) and, while such a level of mobility has not always been easy, I am very happy to have met all the different people, to have had all the interesting discussions and to have had all the different both academic and personal experiences that I otherwise would not have had. Being faced with different environments and having to adjust to different ways of living an everyday life has made me more aware of the different ways of living a life – and hopefully also made me a better researcher.

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Finally, I want to thank Peter who has always been there for me. It has made me so happy that he gave up his 'bachelor box' in order to make a home with me. My home is where you are.

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Tables

Charts

1. Approaching Bachelorhood, Home and Domesticity

In 1930, Reino, a 26-year-old who worked as an assistant at the Forest Research Institute, lived by himself in a one-room apartment with a kitchen cupboard. Reino was one of five bachelors who lived alone in similar apartments in the same building located on Museokatu in an area of Helsinki called Etu-Töölö. This six-floor apartment building had been designed by architect W. G. Palmqvist and its construction had been completed the previous year, in 1929. Nestor, a 33-year-old driver, had an apartment the same size as Reino's but he lived together with his servant. A 22-year-old tram driver Göran accommodated a female lodger in his one-room apartment. Waldemar, who was a 36-year-old technical director at a printing house, was also the head of his household and lived in a three-room apartment with his two unmarried siblings: 33-year-old brother Bertel, a locomotive fireman, and a 47-year-old sister, who took care of their shared household. A further three unmarried men shared a household with their unmarried sisters while a fourth one formed a household with his widowed mother and unmarried sister. Two bachelors, a student and a warehouse worker, both over 20 years old, were still living in their family homes with their parents and siblings, and a 39-year-old unemployed pharmacist and his brother were staying with their grandmother.

The building had altogether four stairs and over a hundred apartments. The size of the apartments ranged from one to six rooms. Most of the bachelors lived in the smaller apartments. One of the one-room apartments that were equipped with a kitchen cupboard—a feature found in many of the buildings built in the area during the 1920s—was either owned or rented by 21-year-old Martti. He shared the apartment with 41-year old Valdemar who was recorded as his lodger but, since they both worked as tradesmen at *Oy Autovar Ab*, they would have been at least colleagues if not friends. Four bachelors between 29-57 years of age really did live as lodgers: two technicians, a doorman, and a foreman. Two of them lodged with families while the other two lodged with unmarried women. Only one single man lived as a boarder. He was Jarl, a 24-year-old warehouse assistant, living with the family of a mechanic, whose wife prepared his meals for him.

Most of the bachelors living in the building had been born outside Helsinki and moved to the city as adults. Such was the case for Carolus, who had been born in Uskela, in the South-West of Finland, but had moved to Helsinki only the previous year. He was a 25-year-old agricultural

consultant and was living with his brother Olof, who shared the other room of the two-room apartment with a male renter. Off the neighbouring stairwell, three locomotive firemen, Leo (25), Janne (26), and Einar (40), rented a room together from a divorced mother with two children. There were also three other bachelor renters renting their own room: bank officer Edvard, office clerk Erik and student Eero. Altogether 32 bachelors lived in the building. They were between 20 and 57 years old and many of them were students, white-collar workers or had working-class occupations.

This thesis is about the everyday lives and domesticity of bachelors such as the ones who lived at Museokatu 44. The thesis will explore not only with whom bachelors shared their home or living space but also where they ate, what kind of domestic items they possessed, their personal sense of belonging and the homemaking practices and domestic strategies they employed in Finland from the 1880s to the 1930s. As with the inhabitants of Museokatu 44, most bachelors discussed in the thesis lived in cities and especially in Helsinki but the thesis also looks at the living conditions and domestic lives of workers who travelled within and beyond Finland. This thesis seeks to develop an approach which is attuned to the analysis of a wider range of domestic practices and contexts of belonging, rather than a notion which equates home with the dwelling of a nuclear family.

Bachelors and home around 1900

> A bachelor builds his nest on the top floor of human houses and the main decoration and cushion in the nest are cigarette stubs, matches, pipe stems and such waste from nutrients. He does not spend much time in his nest and usually he secretly sneaks out in the evening. There he meets a group of friends and they spend the whole night doing strange and mysterious things. - - Sometimes bachelors drink a liquid, which they really like. When it is enthusiastically consumed, they lose their natural shyness, which is replaced by boldness and extreme volubility. In these cases it happens sometimes that bachelors turn into four-legged creatures; but because these are exceptions we can with certainty decide they belong to the two-legged.[1]

[1] Pyrkijä, 'Armirus sankarius', *Itä-Karjala* 4.7.1902, 3. Original: "Poikamies rakentaa pesänsä ihmisten talojen yläkertaan ja on pesän pääasiallisimpana sisustuksena ja pehmikkeinä paperossin tumpit, tulitikun pätkät, piipunperä y. m. ravintoaineiden jätteet. Hän ei viihdy paljon pesässään ja lähteekin tavallisesti iltasilla salaa hiipien ulos. Siellä kohtaa hän joukon tovereita ja ihmeellisissä ja salaperäisissä toimissa kuluu heiltä yö. - - Joskus juovat poikamiehet eräänlaista nestettä, josta he hyvin paljon pitävät. Kun sitä ahkerasti nautitaan, katoaa heistä luontainen arkuutensa ja sijaan tulee uhkarohkeus ja erinomainen puheliaisuus. Tämmöisissä tapauksissa sattuu joskus, että poikamiehet muuttuvat nelijalkaisiksi; mutta kun nämät ovat poikkeuksia, voimme sentään varmuudella päättää heidän kuuluvan kaksijalkaisiin."

In this passage, which is clearly meant to entertain the reader, an author using the penname 'Pyrkijä' describes bachelors as if they were a species of their own. The title of the text, *Armirus sankarianus*, a fake Latin name for a bachelor, underlines this point. The characteristics and practices of this 'bachelor species' were the same as those generally used in newspapers and magazines to describe a typical bachelor lifestyle. These included going out to bars, restaurants, the theatre and dance halls almost if not every night, going to dinner parties or on little trips, drinking a lot of alcohol, smoking as well as flirting and fooling around with women.[2] A bachelor's lifestyle included many late nights and this irregular lifestyle led him to neglect his work responsibilities.[3] Loitering in public spaces, gambling, fighting, foul language, and generally behaving badly and causing trouble were also presented as being part of typical bachelor behaviour.[4] Bachelors were described as being free or carefree but also as frivolous and irresponsible.[5] They only thought about the current moment and how they could enjoy themselves without a thought for the future.[6] This kind of lifestyle or attitude to life was, nonetheless, tolerated due to bachelorhood being understood as a temporary period in a man's life.

In terms of a bachelor's relationship to his home or dwelling, his 'nest', the above quotation gives an impression of neglect and of a lack of interest and importance —anything meaningful

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[2] For example, 'Otteita olemattoman, nimettömän havaintoseuran pöytäkirjasta', *Itä-Suomen Sanomat* 21.9.1895, 3; K. S., 'Paavo', *Savo-Karjala* 24.4.1891, 2; 'Toveri', *Otava* 15.8.1908, 2. Erre, 'Rex. En sann hundhistoria', *Fyren* 1.12.1904, 19–20. The analysis of the stereotypes and cultural understandings associated with bachelors and oldboys is based on a sample of different types of writings published in mainly Finnish-language newspapers and magazines from the 1880s up until 1910. The writings were collected by searching the National Library's digital newspaper and magazine collections (digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi) with the keywords "poikamies" (bachelor) and "vanhapoika" (oldboy). The collections include all the newspapers and journals published in Finland from 1771 to 1910, which is why the collected sample does not include material from the period after 1910 (on the 1st of February 2017 the National Library added the collections for the period 1911–1920 to the database, but these have not been included in the original search, which was done in the autumn of 2014). The sample includes different types of texts (newspaper articles, stories and fictional writings, columns, opinion pieces, news items, poems, jokes, as well as job, housing and personal advertisements) giving information about how bachelors and oldboys as well as their homes and lifestyles were depicted, what were believed to be the reasons behind their singleness, what was people's general attitude towards them, or what their position in society was.

[3] 'Små kåserier. Vi förtrycka hyresgäster', *Lördagen* 29.10.1904, 355; 'Pietarin suomalaiset', *Sanomia Turusta* 7.2.1889, 1.

[4] n. d. n., 'Puistoja kaupungissamme', *Rauman Lehti* 7.5.1890, 1; 'Kaupungin nuorisolle!', *Rauman Lehti* 13.10.1898, 1; Raanujärveläinen, 'Kirjeitä maaseudulta. Ylitornion Raanujärveltä, loka. 10 p. 1908', *Perä-Pohjolainen* 15.10.1908, 3; 'Kirvun länsikulmalta', *Wiipuri* 15.2.1898, 2; - ap -, 'Herrojen ystävä', *Kaiku* 15.4.1903, 2; –n –k, 'Raahen tietoja. Kovaa rähinää', *Oulun ilmoituslehti* 17.12.1890. 'Lapin uutisia. Taas yöllisiä ilkivaltaisuuksia', *Rauman Lehti* 17.12.1890, 3; 'Kumpi voitti?', *Karjalatar* 2.2.1901, 2–3; Don Hessu, 'Forssan kirje', *Hämeen voima* 17.10.1907, 4.

[5] Jörö, 'Veturilla', *Kansan Lehti* 7.6.1904, 2.

[6] 'Sarvijoen aukaisu', *Vaasa* 12.9.1903, 2; Otto Hamara, 'Viimeinen takki', *Kylväjä* 29.3.1906, 19–20; Salon-Kaiku, 'Pettymys', *Juna* 28.11.1907, 3.

happens somewhere else. Previous research on unmarried people and domesticity has shown that, in comparison to people who were married, singlehood presented people with both freedoms and possibilities as well as limitations and problems with regard to the organization of their homelives.[7] Such limitations ranged from settling for whatever living space was available and a lack of incentive to invest in domesticity to difficulties in organizing everyday meals. A young bachelor would have had less money to spend on housing or domestic comforts, but one of the main factors that limited his domestic life was the presumption that bachelorhood was temporary. Unmarried men's housing was not seen as a priority or even worth considering. Bachelors were expected not to acquire a wide array of domestic items but to adjust to temporary, uncomfortable or unpractical forms of housing and the constant changing of locations.[8] Marriage would mark the beginning of a new, more permanent domestic existence. Based on oral history sources, this way of thinking was also shared by the bachelors themselves: "Not until one got married did the renting of one's own apartment become relevant," stated Aukusti S. when asked about his living arrangements as a young man.[9] From this perspective, bachelorhood represented a liminal period of home *un*making during which a bachelor severed his physical and to some extent his emotional ties to his parental home in order to be ready to start a new phase of homemaking in his new marital home.[10]

Such attitudes were reflected both in private and public housing policies and practices. People who lived alone did exist in turn-of-the-century Finland, but policy makers and philanthropists both within the context of the 'housing question' (*asuntokysymys*) and the 'working class question' (*työväen kysymys*) were primarily concerned with improving the housing conditions

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[7] David E. Hussey and Margaret Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker and Material Culture in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012); Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 61–64; Howard P Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor: Creating an American Subculture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999); Jane Hamlett, *Material Relations: Domestic Interiors and Middle-Class Families in England, 1850-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 163–70; Katherine Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage: Singleness in England, 1914-60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010); Jon Stobart, 'Status, Gender and Life Cycle in the Consumption Practices of the English Elite. The Case of Mary Leigh, 1736–1806', *Social History* 40, no. 1 (2015): 82–103.

[8] One example of how furniture for unmarried people was not considered appropriate for a marital family was presented in J. R. T., 'Ylioppilaiden asuntokysymys. Pari pikku parannusta. II', *Ylioppilaslehti* 14.11.1915, 244–246.

[9] HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:3/Aukusti Sorri, 1, original: "Vasta avioliiton solmiminen teki oman asunnon vuokraamisen ajankohtaiseksi." See also TYKL/kys/17: informant 21; TYKL/kys/17: informant 22; HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:1/Mexmontan, Harald; Helenius, Paavo; Vesanto, Karl; Eb:3/Sulkuranta, Rudolf.

[10] Richard Baxter and Katherine Brickell, 'For Home UnMaking', *Home Cultures* 11, no. 2 (2014): 135.

of families. This tendency continued during the interwar period and beyond.[11] Due to the fast growth of the city's population, people in Helsinki generally lived in crowded conditions and suffered from a lack of sufficient, affordable and class-appropriate housing.[12] The lack of housing that the working-class populations had suffered from already since the end of the 19th century worsened and widened to encompass the middle and upper classes especially after the First World War brought the building of new housing to a standstill and increased building costs exponentially. In addition to 2000–2500 working-class families, 500 bourgeois or civil servant families were without a dwelling in 1923.[13] At the same time, housing requirements were changing during this period: hygiene and the differentiation of spaces for separate functions became central principles that guided the design of new apartments.[14] During the interwar period, attention turned from designing bigger, 'bourgeois'-styled apartments to smaller, functionalist apartments centred around the basic functions of a living room, bedrooms and a kitchen.[15]

The position which was dealt to bachelors within this framework is exemplified by a discussion that took place at the Women's Housing Conference (*Naisten Asuntopäivät*), organized in Helsinki in 1921. The five main presentations at the conference, published beforehand in a

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[11] Kirsi Saarikangas, 'Yhdenmukaistuva asunto: Asuntoreformi Helsingissä 1900-luvulla', in *Koti Helsingissä: Urbaanin asumisen tulevaisuus*, ed. Kaarina Taipale and Harry Schulman (Helsinki: Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskus, 1997), 61–92; Kirsi Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia: puhtauden estetiikka ja sukupuoli modernissa arkkitehtuurissa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2002), 59 & 279.

[12] Anneli Juntto, *Asuntokysymys Suomessa Topeliuksesta tulopolitiikkaan* (Helsinki: Valtion Painatuskeskus, 1990), 158–61. Helsinki's population quadrupled between the 1870s and 1910s and by 1920 had reached almost 200 000, see Sven-Erik Åström, 'Kaupunkiyhteiskunta murrosvaiheessa', in *Helsingin kaupungin historia, IV osa, 2*, ed. Ragnar Rosén and et al. (Helsinki: Helsingin kaupunki, 1956), 9.

[13] Juntto, *Asuntokysymys Suomessa*, 142–43, 158 & 161; Elina Standertskjöld, *Arkkitehtuurimme vuosikymmenet: 1900-1920* (Helsinki: Rakennustieto, 2006), 106; F. Hj Väänänen and et al., eds., *Helsingin rakennusmestariyhdistys 1906-1956: juhlajulkaisu* (Helsinki, 1956), 17 & 19–20; Åström, 'Kaupunkiyhteiskunta murrosvaiheessa', 144–46.

[14] Kirsi Saarikangas, 'Suomalaisen kodin likaiset paikat: hygienia ja modernin asunnon muotoutuminen', *Tiede & edistys* 23, no. 3 (1998): 203 & 205; Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 154.

[15] Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 266, 185–201 & 279. At the turn of the century, an ideal urban bourgeois, upper- or middle-class, apartment in Finland consisted of a hall, a drawing room (*salong/sali*), a study/library/ *herrainhuone* (a gentleman's/master's room), a dining room, a bedroom, a children's room, a kitchen, and a servant's room. The hall, drawing room, study, library and gentleman's room were considered the public as well as the masculine part of the apartment. These rooms constituted the spaces, which, for example, visitors were allowed to enter and where they were entertained. The bedrooms of the adults and the children formed the private and feminine part of the household reserved for members of the family, whereas the kitchen, servant's room and possible serving room (*tarjoiluhuone*) were allocated for domestic work and workers. Finnish art historian Kirsi Saarikangas has named this division of space into public, private and domestic as the tripartite spatial division of the bourgeois and middle-class apartment (*porvarillisen ja keskiluokkaisen asunnon tilallinen kolmijako*). See Saarikangas, 128; Kirsi Saarikangas, *Model Houses for Model Families: Gender, Ideology and the Modern Dwelling the Type-Planned Houses of the 1940s in Finland* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1993), 203; Marja-Liisa Rönkkö, 'Kotia rakennetaan', in *Koti kaupungissa: 100 vuotta asumista Helsingissä*, ed. Marja-Liisa Rönkkö, Marja-Liisa Lehto, and Bo Lönnqvist (Helsinki: Tammi, 1986), 73–74.

booklet, focused mainly on family housing and on the rationalization of household work. In her presentation, Dagmar Neovius did, however, look at the question of single women's housing.[16] The housing situation of single upper- and middle-class women had become a subject of public concern due to several developments. First of all, the number of unmarried women from all classes had increased in cities. Among the upper classes (*säätyläistö*) this was due to the fact that a man could marry below his social group while a woman could not.[17] Moreover, a greater proportion of the increasing numbers of people moving to cities were women which created not only a general surplus of women but also a surplus of unmarried women in comparison to unmarried men.[18] While a high proportion of both urban unmarried men and women characterised the early phases of industrialization and urbanization, ultimately most men did eventually get married.[19] This would seem to hold true for Helsinki since the proportion of unmarried men among the adult male population decreased as population growth slowed down to some extent (although there were still big variations between different years) (see Table 1). Staying unmarried as a life choice became more common specifically among urban women.[20] According to the census of 1950, of those women who had been born in the 1890s and who lived in cities about 25% were unmarried, while the proportion of unmarried women among those born in the 1900s was a slightly over 20%. Among men, the equivalent proportions were under 10%.[21]

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[16] The Women's Housing Conference was organised by fourteen different organisations and associations, mainly connected to women and children, and, besides the five presentations mentioned above, the programme included presentations on, for example, housing policy, the health conditions of apartments, and the standardization of housing types. The booklet published was called *Asuntopoliittisia kysymyksiä: Naisten Asuntopäivät Helsingissä 19–21.5.1921* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1921). See the archive of Suomalainen Naisliitto ry in HKA; the booklet and Laika Nevalainen, 'Rationalisoitua säädynmukaisuutta. Helsinkiläiset ja turkulaiset keskuskeittiötalot 1900–1920-luvuilla' (Master's thesis, University of Helsinki, 2012), 37–38.

[17] Riitta Jallinoja, *Suomalaisen naisasialiikkeen taistelukaudet: naisasialiike naisten elämäntilanteen muutoksen ja yhteiskunnallis-aatteellisen murroksen heijastajana* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1983), 79–80; Kai Häggman, *Perheen vuosisata: perheen ihanne ja sivistyneistön elämäntapa 1800-luvun Suomessa*, 179 (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1994), 98. In terms of 'permanent celibacy', variations between European countries, and within them between genders, could be great at the end of the 19th century. Examples of the proportion of permanently celibate men (and women): Spain 6% (10%), Germany 8%, Italy 10% (10%), France 10% (10%), England 10% (14–17%), Habsburg Empire 10%, Sweden 13% (19–22%), Belgium 15% (14–17%), Scotland 15% (19–22%), Ireland 24% (19–22%), Iceland (29%), Eastern Europe 3–6%, see Josef Ehmer, 'Marriage', in *The History of the European Family, Vol. 2: Family Life in the Long Nineteenth Century 1789–1913*, ed. David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 302.

[18] Åström, 'Kaupunkiyhteiskunta murrosvaiheessa', 26; Seppo Koskinen et al., eds., *Suomen väestö* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2007), 135.

[19] Pertti Haapala, *Tehtaan valossa: teollistuminen ja työväestön muodostuminen Tampereella 1820-1920* (Tampere: Osuuskunta Vastapaino, 1986), 223–25. See also Pirjo Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty: Tamperelaiset työläisperheet ja yhteiskunnallinen kysymys 1870-luvulta 1910-luvulle* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1994), 45–46.

[20] Haapala, *Tehtaan valossa*, 223; Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty*, 45–48.

[21] Koskinen et al., *Suomen väestö*, 136. In comparison, of those who had been born in the 1890s and who lived in rural areas 17 % of the women and 12 % of the men were unmarried.

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Total population	36 346	56 236	79 126	118 736	152 200	205 833
Bachelors 18 & over, %	55.8	54.3	51.4	46.7	41.0	41.3
Unmarried women 18 & over, %	46.7	49.4	48.9	50.6	49.9	47.8

Table 1. The population of Helsinki 1880–1930 and the proportion of unmarried among men and women who were 18 years old or older.[22]

Other factors behind the increased interest in the housing situation of unmarried women included the changes in both the composition of families as well as their homes which meant that unmarried women no longer had a place in the household of relatives. Unmarried women also had more employment opportunities and, all in all, more single women were living by themselves. The salaries of working women were, however, usually at the lower end of the spectrum and they had to settle for less than ideal housing arrangements. The situation worsened during the interwar period and posed a threat both to the health and to the respectability of these women.[23]

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[22] *SVT VI:8. Väenlasku Helsingissä 1 p:nä Lokakuuta 1880* (Helsinki: Tilastollinen toimisto, 1882), Taulu 6; *SVT VI:20;1. Väenlasku Helsingin, Turun, Tampereen, Wiipurin, Oulun ja Porin kaupungeissa 1 p. Joulukuuta 1890* (Helsinki: Tilastollinen päätoimisto, 1893), Tauluja/Taulu II; *SVT VI:35. Väenlasku Helsingissä, Turussa, Tampereella ja Viipurissa joulukuun 5 päivänä 1900* (Helsinki: Tilastollinen päätoimisto, 1904), Taulut/Taulu IV; *SVT VI:44;1. Väenlasku Helsingissä joulukuun 7 p. 1910, Taululiitteet* (Helsinki: Tilastollinen päätoimisto, 1914), Taulu IV; *SVT VI:55;1. Helsingin väestönlaskenta joulukuun 8 p. 1920, Taululiitteitä* (Helsinki: Tilastollinen päätoimisto, 1922), Taulu IV; *SVT VI:71;1. Helsingin väestönlaskenta marraskuun 27 p. 1930, Taululiitteitä* (Helsinki: Tilastollinen päätoimisto, 1932), Taulu II; *Helsingin tilastollinen vuosikirja 2012* (Helsinki: Helsingin kaupunki, tietokeskus, 2012), 27.

[23] Anne Ollila, *Jalo velvollisuus: virkanaisena 1800-luvun lopun Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1998), 43–44, 55 & 58–60; Häggman, *Perheen vuosisata*, 100 & 198; Riitta Jallinoja, 'Miehet ja naiset', in *Suomalaiset: Yhteiskunnan rakenne teollistumisen aikana*, ed. Tapani Valkonen et al. (Helsinki: WSOY, 1980), 245–47; Jallinoja, *Suomalaisen naisasialiikkeen taistelukaudet*, 79–90; Kaarina Vattula, 'Palvelustytöstä konttoristiin: naisten työhönosallistuminen 1880-1940', in *När samhället förändras - Kun yhteiskunta muuttuu*, ed. Yrjö Kaukiainen and et al. (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1981), 78–80 & 84; Marjatta Rahikainen, 'Naiset näkyvät Suomessa tekevän vaikka mitä', in *'Työllä ei oo kukkaan rikastunna': Naisten töitä ja toimeentulokeinoja 1800- ja 1900-luvuilla*, ed. Marjatta Rahikainen and Tarja Räisänen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2001), 23–24; Maritta Pohls, 'Postineitien virat ja verkostot: Naisten tulo keskiluokkaisiin ammatteihin', in *"Työllä ei oo kukkaan rikastunna": Naisten töitä ja toimeentulokeinoja 1800- ja 1900-luvulla.*, ed. Marjatta Rahikainen and Tarja Räisänen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2001), 82. For contemporary writings see Dagmar Neovius, 'IV. Yksinäisten naisten asuntokysymys', in *Asuntopoliittisia kysymyksiä: Naisten Asuntopäivät Helsingissä 19–21.5.1921* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1921), 59–64; M. v. B., 'Clara Raphaels hus', *Astra* 13/1920, 3–4; Martha Lille, '"Eureka" Kvinnornas nya hus i Tölö', *Astra* 16/1922, 3–5. See also Nevalainen, 'Rationalisoitua säädynmukaisuutta', 135–41. About the "spinster problem" in Victorian Britain see, for example, Michael Anderson, 'The Social Position of Spinsters in Mid-Victorian Britain', *Journal of Family History* 9, no. 4 (1984): 377–93.

The position of unmarried men in relation to housing was not problematized in the same way. Their positions had not changed as radically as had those of women but nor was their respectability considered to be in similarly grave danger. On the contrary, bachelors were themselves seen to threaten the respectability and morality (*siveellisyys*) of working-class families in particular. In the discussion that followed Neovius's presentation, for example, the only context within which separate housing for unmarried men was brought up was for the question of lodgers. This was not discussed in terms of improving the living or housing conditions of unmarried men for their own sake but in order to prevent families from being forced to house male lodgers.[24] The new upper and middle-class housing principles that emphasized privacy, hygiene and differentiation deemed the mixing of families with 'strange' elements, be it servants or lodgers, inappropriate.[25]

What further contributed to the limitations on bachelors' living conditions and forms of domesticity, was that they were expected to be more mobile due to their singleness. "With some college friend I always rented an apartment at a suitable price for each term at a time; sometimes we lived with a widow, sometimes with an artisan's family," is how S. A. Harima (1879–1962) described in his memoirs his living arrangements during the time he studied at the Business College (*Kauppaopisto*) in Tampere.[26] Harima's description and F. E. Sillanpää's (1888–1964) comment, "I changed apartments every now and then", attest as to how the fairly frequent changing of apartments was considered a normal and expected part of a student's life in particular, if not that of young bachelors' in general.[27] Julio Reuter (1863–1937) referred to it as "the life of a nomad" (*nomadlif*).[28] In the case of students, it was a matter of seasonal mobility, meaning that most students returned to their childhood homes for the holidays and the summer. As a consequence, they had to change rooms every academic year if not every semester. Unmarried male workers, in turn, were also seen to be more able to change location than men with families in order to find work during times of unemployment.[29] A former railway worker used the term 'poikamiesvaellus' (bachelor trek or peregrination) in his written oral

[24] HKA/Suomalainen naisliitto ry/Hg:1, Naisten asuntopäivät, paper numbered 34.
[25] Saarikangas, 'Suomalaisen kodin likaiset paikat', 203 & 205; Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 154.
[26] S. A. Harima, *Myötä- ja vastatuulta* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1957), 23. Original: "Jonkun opistotoverini kanssa vuokrasin aina hinnaltaan sopivan asunnon lukukaudeksi kerrallaan; milloin asuimme lesken luona, milloin käsityöläisen perheessä."
[27] F. E. Sillanpää, *Poika eli elämäänsä: muistelua* (Helsinki: Otava, 1953), 214. Original: "Asuntoa vaihdoin silloin tällöin."
[28] ÅA/Lofsdal-samlingen/Mapp 20/Brev till Aline Reuter från Julio Reuter Julio Reuter, 3.2.1895.
[29] See for example, 'Kotimaan uutisia. Työnpuute Helsingin', *Lappeenrannan Uutiset* 3.12.1891, 3; 'Puute pääkaupungissa', *Haminan Sanomat* 4.12.1891, 2.

history recollection to describe the constant moving for different job opportunities as a bachelor. The term reflects well the level of mobility that was expected from bachelors but also its typicality as a characteristic of that life stage.[30] Specific occupations, such as sailors, which required constant travelling were even associated with bachelorhood due to the fact that the workers were constantly away from home.

While this expected mobility was not necessarily experienced as a negative quality, being unmarried was a doubled-edged sword. On the one hand, bachelors were more free to travel in search of work opportunities but, on the other hand, they were also expected to do so. Staying in a place that constituted a home was not considered a priority for bachelors. Written oral history sources, however, reveal how much being close to their families and homes *did* matter to bachelors: "I liked that placement very much because home was close by," Paavo wrote of his time working as a telegraphist in Lieto.[31] Men were willing to be flexible in terms of the job they took up if it meant being able to live at home or at least staying close by.[32] If it was not possible to live in the family home, then sharing a room or an apartment with a brother or other relative was considered preferable to living with strangers.[33]

The aim of my research is to go beyond such stereotypes, cultural understandings, discourses and ideologies most of which associated bachelorhood with temporariness and mobility and treated the importance of home to bachelors as marginal. Instead, the focus is on the experiences and domestic practices of bachelors in different contexts ranging from family homes and bachelor apartments to ships and communal homes. Through an examination of their experiences, practices and material culture this thesis analyses both the opportunities and freedoms available to bachelors as well as the limits and problems that were connected to their different domestic arrangements. The aim is to investigate exactly how bachelors took advantage of these domestic opportunities and how they sought to overcome their limitations.

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[30] TYKL/kys/17: informant 4. We do not know from the respondents writing whether the term was in wider use and if the term was in use in the 1930s, which is the time period he is writing about, or whether the term originated from the early 1960s (the time of writing) or some of the decades in between.
[31] TYKL/kys/17: informant 18. The name of the respondent has been changed. Original: "Se oli minulle hyvin mieleinen virkapaikka, koti kun oli lähellä - - ."
[32] TYKL/kys/6: informant 1; TYKL/kys/17: informant 23.
[33] TYKL/kys/17: informant 24; informant 25.

This focus places my research in the context of the recent, post-linguistic turn trends in social and cultural history as many historians move away from a primary focus on discourses, representations or ideals and, instead, explore practices, people's experiences and emotional meanings. Moreover, historians have aimed to understand the connections between the experiential and the discursive: to understand how individuals mediated their experiences, feelings and expectations in relation to social and cultural understandings, but without reducing individual action to a one-way mirroring of social and cultural constructions. In her work on masculinity in 18th-century Britain, Karen Harvey has argued for an approach that explores the dynamism between specific discourses and how a discourse was practiced in people's everyday lives.[34] Similarly in my thesis I seek to understand how people made choices and negotiated the relationship between public norms and their personal circumstances, preferences and priorities.[35]

Bachelors and bachelorhood

By looking at both men and women within the context of English middle-class families, Catherine Hall's and Leonore Davidoff's *Family Fortunes. Men and women of the English middle class, 1780–1850* (1987) "constitutes a watershed in the historiography on masculinity."[36] Another pioneering work in the field of gender history has been John Tosh's *A Man's Place* (1999), which focuses on the relationships between middle-class men and the home in Victorian England. Despite the openings of Hall and Davidoff as well as Tosh, historical research on men and the home has only recently gained in interest. By demonstrating the active roles men played in managing and improving the home and the household, as well as the different ways in which homes have been gendered in different ways, the works of Deborah

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[34] Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 14–15; Karen Harvey, 'Oeconomy and the Eighteenth-Century House', *Home Cultures* 11, no. 3 (2014): 375–89.

[35] Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 3; Michael Roper, 'Slipping Out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History', *History Workshop Journal* 59, no. 1 (10 February 2006): 59 & 62; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 3; Lucy Delap, *Knowing Their Place: Domestic Service in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 7; Harvey, *The Little Republic*, 13–15; Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, c.1660-c.1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 15 & 18–19; John Tosh, 'The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?', in *What Is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 17–34; Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 15; Julie-Marie Strange, *Fatherhood and the British Working Class, 1865-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 5 & 7; Sara Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850* (London; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 10–11. As Tosh has pointed out, there is nothing new in these interests, which were current before the cultural turn; see Tosh, 'The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?'

[36] Karen Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity, circa 1650–1800', *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 304–5.

Cohen, Jane Hamlett, Karen Harvey and Amanda Vickery have further strengthened Tosh's thesis that the domestic sphere is essential to understanding masculinity and men's gender identities.[37] All these pieces of research, however, take the family home as their focus and explore men's relationship to that home mainly through the perspective of their roles as husband and father.[38] Yet, if previous research has demonstrated the importance of home and domesticity in the lives of married men, was this importance specifically tied to a man's status as married, and what was the relationship between home and unmarried men? As John Gilbert McCurdy has pointed out, bachelors need to be placed at the centre of research in order to avoid treating them as abnormal or deviant.[39] Matt Houlbrook and Matt Cook, who have both written about home and domesticity in relation to queer men, criticize the way that historians often reproduce the contemporary equation of a nuclear family structure with home, even though people outside the husband-wife and parent-child relationships made homes for themselves.[40] Pirjo Markkola has, in turn, pointed out how families and unmarried people did not constitute two distinct groups in terms of housing, since they often shared the same living spaces.[41] Precisely because on an ideological level there was no place for bachelors in homes, a switch in perspectives can reveal to us something new about home and forms of domesticity. Furthermore, a focus on bachelors demonstrates that not only homes but families came in different shapes and sizes.

Although research interest in single people has recently increased, there is substantially more research on single women than on single men.[42] This is to a large extent due to the developments

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[37] Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Hamlett, *Material Relations*; Harvey, *The Little Republic*; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*.
[38] Both Vickery and Hamlett each have one chapter in which they also discuss unmarried men; see Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 49–82; Hamlett, *Material Relations*, 144–79.
[39] John Gilbert McCurdy, *Citizen Bachelors: Manhood and the Creation of the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 2009), 4–5. See also Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*, 1.
[40] Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957*, Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 112; Matt Cook, *Queer Domesticities: Homosexuality and Home Life in Twentieth-Century London* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 2–3.
[41] Pirjo Markkola, 'Koti, asunto, kortteeri: Näkökulmia suomalaisten työläiskotien historiaan', in *Koti kaupungin laidalla: Työväestön asumisen pitkä linja*, ed. Elina Katainen et al. (Helsinki: Työväen historian ja perinteen tutkimuksen seura, 1999), 29.
[42] Ariadne Schmidt, Isabelle Devos, and Bruno Blondé, 'Introduction: Single and the City: Men and Women Alone in North-Western European Towns since the Late Middle Ages', in *Single Life and the City 1200-1900*, ed. Julie de Groot, Isabelle Devos, and Ariadne Schmidt (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1. In 1988, R. Burr Litchfield wrote that "[s]ince the publication of the well-known article by J. Hajnal on the traditional European marriage pattern, it has been recognised that single people have had a significant place in European demographic and family history. But the large proportion of spinsters and bachelors who never married, and late marriage for men and women who did marry, is generally considered from the point of view of restraints on marriage that affected the living situation of married couples, rather than from the point of view of spinsters and bachelors." See R. Burr Litchfield, 'Single People in the Nineteenth-

and aims of women's studies and women's history.[43] The fact that there were high numbers of single women in cities has also contributed to this imbalance in academic research.[44] Even though David Hussey and Margaret Ponsonby as well as Katherine Holden examine the lives of both single men and women, there is ultimately far more material on single women in their studies.[45] The sources that deal with single men and the home are also harder to locate, a situation that is even reflected in the title of P. J. P. Goldberg's article 'Desperately Seeking the Single Man in Later Medieval England'.[46] It is often difficult or even impossible to differentiate between single and married men in sources because men do not change their names when they get married or they are identified by their occupation instead of their marital status. In their autobiographies or diaries, men apparently wrote very little, if at all, about their homes and did not necessarily mention marriage or family either, thus leaving their marital status open.[47] In contrast, my research focuses solely on unmarried men, and makes comparisons to women only in a few instances. Even though contemporaries did not problematize the position of bachelors in the same way as that of unmarried women and bachelors had, for example, more independence, the fact that they lived in a society in which living in a family setting was the norm meant that there were limitations to their domesticity. Questions about the organization of bachelors' everyday lives and their emotional links to a home are also worth asking since unmarried and married men were not always seen as "fundamentally different" from each other, in the same way that unmarried and married women were seen.[48] In this thesis, I aim to show how a focus on bachelors and bachelorhood can reveal new insights into the relationship between men, ideals of masculinity and domesticity on a more general level.

Century City: A Comparative Perspective on Occupations and Living Situations', *Continuity and Change* 3, no. 1 (1988): 83.

[43] Jan Kok and Kees Mandemakers, 'Life and Death of Singles in Dutch Cities, 1850-1940', *Journal of Urban History* 42, no. 1 (2016): 101. As P. J. P. Goldberg has remarked, there exists a vast research literature on men, who were single, that is, different types of men who have been considered to have been of importance, but these pieces of research have not been interested in these men specifically as bachelors or as men for that matter, P.J.P. Goldberg, 'Desperately Seeking the Single Man in Later Medieval England', in *Single Life and the City 1200-1900*, ed. Julie de Groot, Isabelle Devos, and Ariadne Schmidt (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 117.

[44] Schmidt, Devos, and Blondé, 'Introduction: Single and the City', 3–4.

[45] Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*; Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*.

[46] Goldberg, 'Desperately Seeking the Single Man'.

[47] Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*, 5; Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 35; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 53 & 55–56; Hamlett, *Material Relations*, 17.

[48] Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*, 9; Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 10. The gender differences between childhood and youth especially are also discussed extensively by Davidoff, see Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Bachelorhood and age

In my research, the focus is specifically on bachelors as opposed to single men—a term, which can also include widowers and divorced or separated men. A bachelor is understood to have been a man, who had never been married. According to Katherine Snyder, this meaning of the word bachelor took hold only during the mid-eighteenth century, having previously been associated with specific vocational positions, such as knight, guildsman or student.[49] Bachelors were generally considered to be young men and in many ways bachelorhood overlapped with the concept of youth.[50] Both youth and bachelorhood were seen as *temporary transitional* and *liminal* phases between childhood and adulthood. Already the Finnish word *poikamies* (boy + man) referred to bachelorhood as being a time which was between *boy*hood and *man*hood. As a temporary transitional phase, bachelorhood (or male youth) had two sides: firstly, a bachelor was expected to prepare for the next phase of his life by acquiring knowledge and skills needed in adulthood and gradually to become independent.[51] Secondly, during this bachelor stage it was also acceptable for a man to behave and enjoy his freedom in ways that would not have been considered acceptable for a family man.[52] The acceptable and normal length and nature of this phase varied according to class, employment and family circumstances.[53]

Since this transition took place gradually, no exact age or event can be pinpointed as the starting point of either youth or bachelorhood.[54] As Kai Häggman has pointed out, youth has not historically been tied to a specific age but rather to a person's standing in a specific social

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[49] Katherine V Snyder, *Bachelors, Masculinity, and the Novel, 1850-1925* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 20.

[50] According to Sinikka Aapola, an increasing importance was put on and attention given to youth as a specific life phase from the end of the 19th century onwards, but the time between childhood and adulthood had been recognised as "a distinctive phase of the life cycle" in Western Europe at least since the Middle Ages. See Sinikka Aapola, *Murrosikä ja sukupuoli: julkiset ja yksityiset ikämäärittelyt* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1999), 38; Deborah Youngs, *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe, c.1300-c.1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 96.

[51] Sinikka Aapola and Mervi Kaarninen, 'Näkökulmia suomalaisen nuoruuden ja nuorison historiaan: Johdanto', in *Nuoruuden vuosisata: Suomalaisen nuorison historia*, ed. Sinikka Aapola and Mervi Kaarninen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2003), 12.

[52] David Tjeder, *The Power of Character: Middle-Class Masculinities, 1800-1900* (Stockolm: Stockolm university, 2003), 97–127. See also Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 77.

[53] Previous research on the history of youth has also underlined the significant differences according to gender but here the focus is on men. See, for example, Youngs, *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe*, chapter 5; Michael Mitterauer, *A History of Youth* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); Aapola and Kaarninen, 'Näkökulmia suomalaisen nuoruuden', 12; Aapola, *Murrosikä ja sukupuoli*; Michelle Perrot, 'Worker Youth: From the Workshop to the Factory', in *A History of Young People in the West: 2, Stormy Evolution to Modern Times*, ed. Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Cambridge, Mass.; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1997), 104–11; Pirjo Markkola, 'Moninainen maalaisnuoriso', in *Nuoruuden vuosisata: Suomalaisen nuorison historiaa*, ed. Sinikka Aapola and Mervi Kaarninen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2003), 128–59.

[54] Mitterauer, *A History of Youth*, 39.

context.[55] For the census records I used as a source for the thesis, I included only unmarried men who were at least 18 years old in my samples, since a man could not be married before 18.[56] Choosing this age limit offers a practical or a technical answer to the more complicated issues of when exactly youth or bachelorhood started.

Finishing school, starting work or leaving home constitute thresholds that could be considered as marking the beginning of bachelorhood or youth.[57] There were, however, big differences among boys as to when these events took place. Most children finished school before they turned 15 and especially in the countryside children participated in farmwork as soon as they could.[58] In contrast, for those who continued their education beyond primary school and even to university, working life would have started much later and university studies especially would have marked a different kind of threshold. Starting work or studying did not automatically mean moving out of one's childhood home either, although some youths had already had to move to different locations during their high school years, in order to start an apprenticeship or for work. Written oral history sources attests to how boys had had to leave their homes and support themselves from around the age of 15, and many sailors, for example, started working on ships several years before they turned 18.

Eighteen was also not necessarily the age when boys started to consider themselves young men or bachelors. For many, confirmation, which usually took place when a boy was 15, had been a significant milestone representing a move to a new phase of life often accompanied by the buying of one's first suit.[59] Other possible milestones or thresholds include starting to smoke

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[55] Kai Häggman, *Johdatus perhehistoriaan*, Helsingin yliopiston historian laitoksen julkaisuja (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 1996), 59. See also Mitterauer, *A History of Youth*, 88.
[56] Avioliittolaki 234/1929, see http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/1929/19290234. If a man was under 21 he had to get the permission of his parents in order to marry. The previous law from 1734 had set the marrying age for men at 21 but this was adjusted to 18 in 1756. See for example, Tiina Miettinen, 'Ihanteista irrallaan. Hämeen maaseudun nainen osana perhettä ja asiakirjoja 1600-luvun alusta 1800-luvun alkuun' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Tampere, 2012), 40.
[57] Mitterauer, *A History of Youth*, chapter 2; Perrot, 'Worker Youth'.
[58] Elina Waris, 'Tytöt, pojat ja yhteisö: Perhe ja nuoriso 1800-luvun talonpoikaisessa Suomessa', in *Nuoruuden vuosisata: Suomalaisen nuorison historiaa*, ed. Sinikka Aapola and Mervi Kaarninen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2003), 110; Marjatta Rahikainen, 'Nuorena työhön: Lasten ja nuorten työnteko 1900-1970', in *Nuoruuden vuosisata: Suomalaisen nuorison historiaa*, ed. Sinikka Aapola and Mervi Kaarninen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2003), 161. Participation in education did not become compulsory until 1921, Rahikainen, 162.
[59] Aapola and Kaarninen, 'Näkökulmia suomalaisen nuoruuden', 19; Waris, 'Tytöt, pojat ja yhteisö', 120; Markkola, 'Moninainen maalaisnuoriso', 147–48. In terms of oral history sources, see for example SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 84:13433. 1993; SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 31:17646. 1993; TYKL/kys/17: informant 30; informant 31.

or drink and sexual activity. Legal age limits also varied: the poor law of 1922 defined a 16-year-old as responsible for his or her livelihood, whereas previously the age limit had been 15.[60] At the beginning of the 20th century, criminal liability was tied to 15 years of age, a young worker was considered to be between 15 and 17 years of age, and a man came of age at 21.[61] It is thus not possible or even sensible to tie being a bachelor to a specific numerical age due to the variations between contexts. Moreover, this thesis will discuss how bachelorhood or characteristics associated with bachelorhood could often be attached to behaviour or groups of men, who actually consisted of both unmarried and married men.

Previous historical research has considered bachelors in terms of identity formation or the development of a specific urban bachelor culture.[62] Howard Chudacoff argued that urban bachelors addressed many of the domestic issues they faced by taking advantage of a variety of commercial services and communal environments in American cities at the turn of the 20th-century. Although he saw this as the development of an urban bachelor culture, my research does not argue for the existence of such a distinctive bachelor identity or bachelor culture in Finland.[63] I do not consider bachelors as a unified or coherent group but, instead, I attempt to pinpoint what were the differences as well as similarities between bachelors from different backgrounds and contexts.[64]

> Societal instincts start to waken and I no longer have a taste for this trek as a young man with all its joys and pleasures. I feel a certain yearning for settling down.[65]

Bachelorhood is also tied to a question of age in another sense: bachelorhood was expected to have an end point and therefore the attitudes that a bachelor faced changed as he got older. The use of phrases such as "a certain age" or "in this age" in bachelors' diary writings reveal how,

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[60] Aapola and Kaarninen, 'Näkökulmia suomalaisen nuoruuden', 14.
[61] Markkola, 'Moninainen maalaisnuoriso', 140; Aapola and Kaarninen, 'Näkökulmia suomalaisen nuoruuden', 24; Rahikainen, 'Nuorena työhön', 162.
[62] Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*; McCurdy, *Citizen Bachelors*.
[63] Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*.
[64] Dag Lindström has also emphasized how urban singles were not a "homogenous social category", see Dag Lindström, 'Maids, Noblewomen, Journeymen, State Officials, and Others: Unmarried Adults in Four Swedish Towns, 1750-1855', in *Single Life and the City 1200-1900*, ed. Julie de Groot, Isabelle Devos, and Ariadne Schmidt (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 89. See also Inneke Baatsen, Julie de Groot, and Isis Sturtewagen, 'Single Life in Fifteenth-Century Bruges: Living Arrangements and Material Culture at the Fringes of Urban Society', in *Single Life and the City 1200–1900*, ed. Julie de Groot, Isabelle Devos, and Ariadne Schmidt (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 197; McCurdy, *Citizen Bachelors*, 121.
[65] KA/V. J. Sukselaisen arkisto/1 Päiväkirjat/Päiväkirja 7, 25.5.1933. Original: "Alkavat herätä yhteiskunnalliset vaistot eikä tämä nuoren miehen vaellus kaikkine iloineen ja viettelyksineen tahdo oikein maistaa. Tuntuu eräänlainen vakiintumisen kaipuu."

by a certain age, a man's wishes and desires were expected to automatically or naturally transform from 'bachelor pleasures' into ones valuing stability, the love of one woman and married life.[66] In personal ads it was common for the bachelor to indicate that he had come to realize the empty nature of the bachelor lifestyle and to state that he had grown bored of the lonely life of a bachelor.[67] The bachelor was ready to take the necessary steps to reach full male adulthood.

> I will not write long speeches about what I should achieve during this new year. I will only write two words, the same, which I have repeated also this year: Wife and dissertation.[68]
>
> I start this page during the first hour of the new year, this year, which might be very significant in my little lifespan. For years now I have had as a symbol and as a goal: Wife and dissertation.[69]

The way in which V. J. Sukselainen explicitly tied together his professional and marital goals exemplifies how marriage together with a permanent position or other work achievements constituted the principal pillars of adulthood and adult masculinity.[70] An adult man was ready and willing to take on not only his responsibilities as a family man but also, through both work and family, to fulfil his duties to society. Instead of daydreaming and wavering, an adult man knew what he wanted and was ready to commit to it.[71]

Even though in public discussions being unmarried was increasingly defined in opposition to being married, it is important to remember that in people's lives singleness and marriage were often periods or steps that followed each other—and mostly in a way that seemed very natural. For many people these stages were part of a continuum rather than being seen as oppositional to each other. While the apparent differences between being single and being married should

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[66] See especially the diaries of V. J. Sukselainen, for example KA/V. J. Sukselaisen arkisto/Päiväkirja 4, 17.9.1927; Päiväkirja 5, 15.12.1929, 1.2.1930 & 30.4.1930; Päiväkirja 6, 13.6.1930; Päiväkirja 7, 10.6.1932 & 27.12.1933.
[67] See for example, 'Ilmoituksia. Neidit hoi!', *Kotkan Sanomat* 16.5.1893, 4; 'Nuoret Neitoset huomatkaa!!!', *Mikkeli* 22.12.1894, 4; 'Arwoisat Neidit huomatkaa!', *Oulun ilmoituslehti* 20.3.1896, 4; 'Neidot nuoret katsokaa tähän!', *Wiipuri* 20.9.1898, 4; 'Arwoisat neidin huomatkaa!', *Salmetar* 16.1.1901, 4; 'Arv. Nuoret neidit ja lesket huomatkaa!', *Työmies* 25.1.1901, 4; 'Tytöt hoi!', *Kansan Lehti* 24.12.1904, 4.
[68] KA/V. J. Sukselaisen arkisto/Päiväkirja 8, 1.1.1936. Original: "En kirjoita pitkiä puheita siitä, mitä kuluvana vuonna pitäisi saada aikaan. Kirjoitan vain kaksi sanaa, samat, joita olen toistanut tänäkin vuonna: Vaimo ja väitöskirja."
[69] KA/V. J. Sukselaisen arkisto/Päiväkirja 9, 1.1.1938. Original: "Aloitan tämän sivun vuoden ensimmäisenä tuntina, tämän vuoden, joka saattaa olla varsin merkittävä minun vähäisessä elämänkaaressani. Jo vuosikausia minulla on ollut tunnuksena ja päämääräänä: Vaimo ja väitöskirja."
[70] According to Mitterauer and Waris, getting married has been considered as the "decisive upper threshold of youth", Mitterauer, *A History of Youth*, 78–79; Waris, 'Tytöt, pojat ja yhteisö', 122.
[71] KA/V. J. Sukselaisen arkisto/Päiväkirja 6, 30.7.1930; 19.4.1931; Päiväkirja 7, 29.10.1933.

not be forgotten, these differences do not have to lead to a juxtaposition but rather to an understanding that this transition was considered a normal, and an expected, part of a man's life.

Yet, if this expected transition from one phase to the next did not take place by 'a certain age', age started to matter in another respect. Sometime after the mid-twenties men themselves and the society surrounding them started to refer to them as a *vanhapoika*, a combination of the words 'old' and 'boy' (referred to from now on as *oldboy*).[72] In Finnish, if a man did not get married, he never fully moved from *boy*hood to *man*hood but remained an old*boy*. How bachelorhood was conceived changed not only in personal terms but also in cultural and social terms as a bachelor got older. Gradually his singleness changed from being normal and expected to being unusual and requiring an explanation. This shows how much singleness gained its meanings in relation to the normality of marriage.[73] Bachelorhood therefore needs to be considered from a wider perspective and not only in terms of being one phase in a man's life cycle. If assumptions about unmarried men were based on the idea that bachelorhood was a temporary phase, what was the position of those men who never "moved on" from this supposedly temporary period of life?

In his study of masculine ideals in 19th-century Sweden, David Tjeder has developed George L. Mosse's idea of countertypes to masculinity to argue that not all countertypes functioned as pure 'Others' but rather pointed to the "threatening possibilities within men."[74] Since any man ran the risk of becoming an oldboy, representations of oldboys can similarly be seen to have functioned as warning examples of what could happen if a man postponed marriage for too long. Here, humour worked as a central tool to teach people how to behave by ridiculing the kinds of behaviour that should be avoided.[75] Oldboys were generally presented as being strange,

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[72] No exact age after which an unmarried man was considered an oldboy can be ascertained but it seems that it happened sometime after mid-twenties, although there is variation between when bachelors start to refer to themselves as oldboys. Arno Cederberg, for example, refers to himself as an oldboy for the first time in his diaries in 1912 (see 13.3.1912) when he was he 26 years old, see KA/A. R. Cederbergin arkisto/PÄIVÄ- JA MUISTIKIRJAT/1 Päivä- ja muistikirjoja, Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 6.3.-31.3.1912. According to McCurdy, the 18th-century New England press called bachelors, who refused to marry despite being financially able to, "old bachelors". See McCurdy, *Citizen Bachelors*, 136. According to Svenska Akademiens Ordbok (SAOB) the words 'gammelpojke' or 'gampojke' (oldboy) existed also in Swedish from the 1910s and 1920s onwards.
[73] Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*, 1–2, 6 & 10; Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*, 45.
[74] Tjeder, *The Power of Character*, 94. See also George Lachmann Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 56 & 73.
[75] Ilse Niekka and Päivi Petrelius, *Suomalainen vanhapiikuus: tutkielma naisen naimattomuuden kulttuurisesta määrittelystä*, Jyväskylän yliopiston yhteiskuntapolitiikan laitoksen työpapereita, nro 77 (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1993), 5–6.

eccentric people with their own quirks. They were men who were so immersed in their work that they knew nothing about the outside world. Whether rich or not, oldboys were often described as being ungenerous or stingy, which sometimes resulted in their trying to live as economically as possible to the point of ridiculousness. Oldboys were also presented as so set in their own ways of doing things that they abhorred change in their lives or were too stubborn to be able to see past them.[76] Portraying oldboys as weak, shy, unable to socialize with women, shabby-looking, ridiculous and strange, these representations built an association between oldboys and qualities which were considered to be the opposite of what a man should have been like. They underlined the unmanliness of oldboys.[77] By describing oldboys as strange and as living in isolation or seclusion from other people, the authors of the different texts placed oldboys both spatially and socially on the margins or even outside of society and normal life.[78]

On the level of representations, the eccentricity of older bachelors was presented as one of the reasons why these men had never married. In this thesis, however, I am more interested in the consequences of being unmarried than in the reasons behind it. One explanation given in previous research for the prolonging of a man's time as a bachelor, was the fact that a man had

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[76] 'Hyvin opittu', *Kotkan Uutiset* 11.7.1901, 4; 'Kaikellaista. Oivallinen juoni', *Parikkalan Sanomat* 11.5.1908/B, 4; Laajasydämminen, 'Mikkelin työväenyhdistyksen taloa laajentamaan!', *Vapaus* 22.6.1909, 3; 'Leskien vainoama', *Vakka-Suomi* 3.2.1910, 2–3; 'Små kåserier. Jungfrurnas "svarta bok"', *Lördagen* 25.2.1905, 59; Nataly v. Eschenbach, 'Sydämmetön', *Uudenkaupungin Sanomat* 13.11.1900, 2–3; 'Liian korkealle', *Nuorsosialisti* 25.4.1908, 4; Vilho Haanpää, 'Ukko Kallungin avioliitto', *Raatajan joulu* 1908, 23–24; Eva Hirn, 'Vanhanpojan kihlaus', in Hj. Nortamo et al., *Joulupuuro: huumorilukemisto kaikelle kansalle* (Hämeenlinna, Karisto 1929), 73–82; Säännöllinen mies, *Koitar* 31.7.1902, 2–3; Vihuri, 'Uudet kalossit', *Tuulispää* 1.2.1907, 3; Jatkokertomus, *Etelä-Suomi* 11.2.1904, 3–4; Mikko Vilkastus, 'Mistä kaikki puhuvat', *Tampereen Sanomat* 28.10.1909, 3; 'Kryger & K:ni', *Kokkola* 24.11.1906, 2–3; Kalle Kaljahousu, 'Tiitus Timoteeus eli epätoivon viimeinen teko', *Tuulispää* 12.4.1906, 10–12; V. S., 'Vanha poika', *Kanerva* 1.11.1901; Sigurd, 'Hyvät ystävykset', *Kyläkirjaston kuvalehti* 1.7.1909, 118–119; Kataja, 'Kaksi Joulua "vanhanpojan" elämässä', *Sarastus* 1/1908, 50–58; Jatkokertomus, *Uusi Suometar* 18.4.1891, 3–4; 'Rämetkylästä', *Oulun Lehti* 15.3.1882, 3; 'Wälipaloja. Osasi ansaita juomarahoja', *Turun Lehti* 17.3.1896, 3; 'Kuinka setäni menetti nais-ihanteensa', *Kotkan Uutiset* 11.6.1899, 2–3; 'Små kåserier. Han som sköter sin hälsa', *Lördagen* 30.6.1906, 238–239; Kauppis-Heikki, 'Omituinen mies', *Iltapuhde* 20.2.1901, 62–63; Aina, 'Metsälintu', *Nuorisonlehti* 1.9.1899, 30–31. For the English context, see Amy Milne-Smith, *London Clubland: A Cultural History of Gender and Class in Late Victorian Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 148 & 151.

[77] Herra X, *Kuinka mies onnistuu naisten kanssa: Nuorten miesten välttämätön ohjaaja, tulla, tavoitelluksia, ihailluksi ja rakastetuksi* (Helsinki, 1927), 4–5 & 12.

[78] Maria, 'Huru Kallen-Heikki blef nykterist', *Balder: opartisk nykterhetstidning för alla* 15.8.1906, 126–127; Herman Heiberg, 'Uudestaan näkeminen', *Koitar* 1.4.1905, 3; 'Tapaturmainen kuolema', *Savo-Karjala* 8.2.1893, 3; Aino Malmberg, 'Hall Cainen luona Greeba Castlessa', *Valvoja* 1.2.1900, 122–133; Tuomi, 'Muistelmia Korventaustan siirtolasta', *Kansanopisto* 1.1.1899. Jatkokertomus, *Keski-Savo* 4.8.1904. U. K. Malo, 'Kahdet rukkaset', *Kaiku* 25.5.1898/B, 1; Harald Kidde, 'Obolen', *Euterpe* 17.12.1904. Väinö Kataja, 'Vanhanpojan joulu', *Kyläkirjaston kuvalehti* 1.12.1903, 138–141; Jatkokertomus, *Etelä-Suomi* 11.2.1904, 3–4. See also ; Judith Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen: Morality and Masculinity in France 1870-1920.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 1, 5, 11 & 243.

to be able to provide for his family.[79] Others died before they could get married even if they had wanted to, as was the case for at least some of the unmarried men included in the probate samples used in the thesis.[80] Some of the bachelors whose personal archives have been used as sources possibly had both sexual and romantic feelings towards other men and this might even have been part of why they never married. But sexual identity was also understood very differently during the period in question compared to our current day culture. Generally attempting to establish why a person had not married is difficult and involves several risks, since, as McCurdy has stated, "the reason a person stays single is rarely self-evident."[81] While possible explanations for singleness can sometimes be observed, most bachelors did not explicitly explain why they had never married.[82] People could have a variety of personal reasons for not getting married, but there was often no specific explanation for a person's singleness.

Previous research has distinguished between those who were unmarried in their youth and those who never married by calling the former life-cycle bachelors and the latter lifelong bachelors.[83] Yet someone can only be described as a lifelong or a never-married bachelor in retrospect.[84] While some men might have actively made the decision to never marry, such a decision did not necessarily determine that they remained single. More crucially, most men would not have made such a decision. The distinction between bachelors and oldboys is more useful if we use it to differentiate between young men, who were bachelors during the period when it was considered normal to be unmarried, and men who were past what was considered the 'normal' marrying age but might have married later in their lives.

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[79] Ollila, *Jalo velvollisuus*, 58–59; Kai Häggman, 'Helsinkiläisen kauppaporvarin perhe-elämää 1800-luvulla', in *Suomalaisen arjen historia: 2. Säätyjen Suomi*, ed. Ilkka Huhta and Kai Häggman (Helsinki: Weilin + Göös, 2007), 115; Kok and Mandemakers, 'Life and Death of Singles', 102.

[80] Kok and Mandemakers found that in the Netherlands, single men died more often from "external causes" such as accidents or suicide than married men. See Kok and Mandemakers, 'Life and Death of Singles', 110.. For a discussion of the factors which previous research has identified as explaining why both women and men might have stayed single during previous centuries, see, for example, Kok and Mandemakers, 102; Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, 'A Singular Past', in *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250-1800*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 21–23; Timothy Guinnane, 'Re-Thinking the Western European Marriage Pattern: The Decision to Marry in Ireland at The Turn of the Twentieth Century', *Journal of Family History* 16, no. 1 (1991): 55–57.

[81] McCurdy, *Citizen Bachelors*, 137.

[82] Richard Faltin constitutes a rare exception. See Richard Faltin, *Mitt liv* (Helsingfors: Söderströms, 1961).

[83] Bennett and Froide, 'A Singular Past', 2.

[84] Schmidt, Devos, and Blondé, 'Introduction: Single and the City', 10.

Home and domesticity – Tools for an open approach

While both contemporaries as well as historians have tended to equate home with family, a focus on bachelors at the turn of the 20th century requires an approach that remains as open and as flexible as possible in terms of what is considered a form of domesticity or homemaking. Such an approach needs to be critical towards middle-class ideas and definitions of home and to define 'home' or 'homemaking' in a way that does not impose preconceived ideas or norms related to home.[85]

In order to achieve this openness, I will not define 'home' as a precise concept but will instead discuss those elements that are relevant and worth paying attention to when researching home. In their *critical geography of home* Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling have defined three components that are key to an understanding of home. First of all, home has both a material aspect to it as well as being socially and culturally constructed. Home is both a place and an idea or a set of feelings, and moreover, the home "is neither the dwelling nor the feeling, but the relation between the two."[86] The fact that home is lived means that the meanings given to home and its material manifestations are "created and recreated through everyday practices" as an on-going process.[87] Consequently, I prefer to talk about both home *and* domesticity, because I am not only interested in home as a place of belonging but also in the sense of the everyday running of bachelors' lives. When talking about domesticity, I am not referring to an ideology but rather use domesticity to refer to a wide variety of practices, activities, routines, and material culture through which people, on the one hand, satisfied their everyday needs and, on the other hand, created and upheld a sense of stability, predictability, security and familiarity.[88] In this research, domesticity is thus not tied to a specific place or space.

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[85] This research shares this aim with both older and more recent research on working-class homes. See for example Ruth Mather, 'The Home-Making of the English Working Class: Radical Politics and Domestic Life in late-Georgian England, c. 1790–1820' (PhD Thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2016); Oliver Betts, 'Working-Class Homes in three Urban Communities 1870–1914' (PhD thesis, University of York, 2013); Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty*; Megan Doolittle, 'Time, Space, and Memories', *Home Cultures* 8, no. 3 (2011): 245–64; Vicky Holmes, *In Bed with the Victorians - The Life-Cycle of Working-Class Marriage* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Julie-Marie Strange, 'Fatherhood, Furniture and the Inter-Personal Dynamics of Working-Class Homes, 1870–1914', *Urban History* 40, no. 2 (May 2013): 271–86.
[86] Alison Blunt and Robyn M. Dowling, *Home* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 22.
[87] Blunt and Dowling, 2 & 22–23.
[88] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 53; John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2007), 4; Hamlett, *Material Relations*, 5 & 7; Mary Douglas, 'The Idea of a Home: A Kind of Space', *Social Research* 58, no. 1 (1991): 289.

The second main element of the *critical geography of home* is recognising that, even though we traditionally think of a home as an apartment or a house, home places can also be constructed in and through other scales of existence. Blunt and Dowling talk about the *multi-scalarity* of home, which means that identities and "senses of belonging or alienation are constructed across diverse scales ranging from the body and the household to the city, nation and globe."[89] A person might thus consider his or her home to be something other than a dwelling but people can also have several homes on different scales at the same time. Furthermore, home-spaces, homemaking practices and ideas about home can be seen to reproduce wider spatial imaginaries, such as, for example, the nation.[90] In this thesis I both widen and narrow the focus from what is most often considered to be a home, a dwelling, to the wider contexts of belonging as well as the smaller scale of everyday domestic routines, practices and meanings. Not only do we need to consider home as multilayered in terms of space but also in regard to temporality and to pay attention to temporal forms of domesticity.[91] The open approach is also needed in order to avoid associating home with the private in opposition to the imagined public sphere. Many of the living spaces of bachelors explored in this thesis were in-between spaces in the sense that they were not fully private from the perspective of the individual nor were they fully public either. We therefore need to look at privacy as well as demarcations between public and private as temporal and flexible distinctions, to see them as relative positions and not as properties.[92]

Since home has often been defined as being tied to a specific place, how can we research the domesticity and home of people who were constantly on the move? Besides considering the multiple scales of belonging, we need to take the mobility of bachelors seriously and not see it as automatically leading to homelessness or to a complete lack of homeliness. In this I have been inspired by Alastair Owens and Nigel Jeffries's work on the mobile urban poor living in East London during the 19th century.[93] What is most relevant in the 'mobility turn' or 'new mobilities paradigm' for analysing the domesticity and housing of bachelors is the

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[89] Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 27.
[90] Blunt and Dowling, 27 & 29.
[91] Hanna Johansson and Kirsi Saarikangas, 'Introduction: Ambivalent Home', in *Homes in Transformation: Dwelling, Moving, Belonging*, ed. Hanna Johansson and Kirsi Saarikangas (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2009), 20.
[92] Susan Gal, 'A Semiotics of the Public/Private Distinction', *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (2002): 79–81; David Vincent, *Privacy: A Short History* (Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2016), 2.
[93] Alastair Owens and Nigel Jeffries, 'People and Things on the Move: Domestic Material Culture, Poverty and Mobility in Victorian London', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20, no. 4 (2016): 804–27.

problematization of 'sedentarist' thinking, which "treats as normal stability, meaning, and place, and treats as abnormal distance, change, and placelessness."[94] It is thus important to go beyond the idea of home as something stable and instead focus on what a transient life could mean in terms of domestic routines, homemaking or the use and ownership of different types of domestic items.[95]

In this research, focusing on the mobility and transient aspects of bachelors' lives is a useful tool when analysing the domestic routines and material culture of travelling workers, but there were also forms of smaller scale mobility relevant in examining all forms of bachelor domesticity. Building on Owens and Jeffries's differentiation of three kinds of mobility (international migration, local residential mobility, and the everyday micro movement of people and things), I have defined four forms or levels of mobility that are relevant for this particular research:[96] 1) global mobility exemplified by sailors; 2) internal mobility within Finland, exemplified by such occupations as logging and rafting workers; 3) intra-city mobility meaning bachelors changing rooms and apartments; and 4) everyday domestic micro-mobility not only between home/lodgings and work but also between diners, cafes and other places, which provided domestic services for unmarried men. The first two apply mostly to mobility or transience that is linked to the occupations of bachelors, whereas the latter two relate to a variety of bachelors discussed in this thesis.

Thirdly, the *critical geography of home* draws our attention to how homes were not only personal or private spaces but also existed in relation to social, economic and cultural factors.[97] Blunt and Dowling argue for a politicized understanding of home and see home's connection to power relations: for example, a dominant ideology of home always excludes and marginalizes some identities and experiences.[98] Home has been a very ideologically loaded idea and we need to be aware of which definition of home we are talking about. Home needs to be understood and looked at as a site of contested meanings, experiences and levels of agency.[99]

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[94] Mimi Sheller and John Urry, 'The New Mobilities Paradigm', *Environment and Planning A* 38, no. 2 (2006): 208.
[95] Owens and Jeffries, 'People and Things on the Move', 807–8.
[95] Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 22–29.
[96] Owens and Jeffries, 'People and Things on the Move', 814.
[97] Johansson and Saarikangas, 'Introduction: Ambivalent Home', 11.
[98] Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 24–27.
[99] See also, for example, Markkola, 'Koti, asunto, kortteeri', 11; Jarmo Peltola, 'Omaan kotiin? Arkkitehdit ja työläiset tamperelaista puutarhaesikaupunki Viinikka-Nekalaa rakentamassa 1910-1939', in *Työväestö ja*

Homes are often discussed or defined in terms of juxtapositions such as public-private, stability-mobility, familiar-strange or home-work, but these have to be seen as tied to specific values and not as objective characteristics. A bachelor's relationship to home was influenced not only by his class, occupation, age, geographical background, personal gender identity and understanding of himself as unmarried but by how the connections between home/domesticity, bachelorhood, gender, age and so on were understood and produced socially and culturally. As the discussion at the beginning of this introduction demonstrated, there existed cultural and social assumptions and expectations about the domestic arrangements and roles of a man that were tied to his life phase. An individual's identity formed and he made decisions within the context of these assumptions and expectations. The interplay between structure and agency is thus crucial. In attempting to balance between granting individuals agency, while taking into account the structural constraints, I have drawn on previous writings on practices as well as tools and approaches from microhistory.[100]

Practices

Theories of practice address the issue of structure versus agency and, moreover, have developed approaches which do not prioritise the one or the other but are interested precisely in the interplay between these two scales of analysis.[101] Theories of practice do not form a coherent and unified movement or approach but consist of a wide range of heterogeneous theoretical writings.[102] These theories have been used and redeveloped by researchers focusing on, for example, consumption or material culture but there are also others who use the term 'practices'

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kansakunta, ed. Raimo Parikka, Väki voimakas 10 (Helsinki: Työväen historian ja perinteen tutkimuksen seura, 1997), 232–81.

[100] Alastair Owens et al., 'Fragments of the Modern City: Material Culture and the Rhythms of Everyday Life in Victorian London', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 15, no. 2 (2010): 222.

[101] For example Elizabeth Shove, Mika Pantzar and Matt Watson identify Anthony Giddens' structuration theory as the basis of how they view the relation between agency, structure and practices: "Giddens' structuration theory revolves around the conclusion that human activity, and the social structures which shape it are recursively related. That is, activities are shaped and enabled by structures of rules and meanings, and these structures are, at the same time, reproduced in the flow of human action." See Elizabeth Shove, Mika Pantzar, and Matt Watson, *The Dynamics of Social Practice: Everyday Life and How It Changes* (Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 2012), 3–4. Other influences behind different theories of practice include Wittgenstein, Charles Taylor, Pierre Bourdieu and Lyotard; see Alan Warde, 'Consumption and Theories of Practice', *Journal of Consumer Culture* 5, no. 2 (2005): 132; Inge Røpke, 'Theories of Practice — New Inspiration for Ecological Economic Studies on Consumption', *Ecological Economics* 68, no. 10 (2009): 2490.

[102] Warde, 'Consumption and Theories of Practice', 132; Tiina Männistö-Funk, *Itse tehty moderni : gramofoni, polkupyörä ja valokuvaus suomalaisten elämässä 1880-luvulta 1940-luvullle* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2014), 86; Røpke, 'Theories of Practice', 2490; Alison Blunt and Eleanor John, 'Domestic Practice in the Past', *Home Cultures* 11, no. 3 (2014): 270.

without explicitly adhering to a specific theory of practice.[103] For example, David H. J. Morgan has written about 'family practices' and Tony Chapman has, in turn, drawn on Morgan's work in his research on 'domestic practices'.[104] Nevertheless, similar to theories of practice, for both Morgan and Chapman practices are a way of moving away from a focus on ideas or structures to examining what and how people did what they did in their everyday lives and, more importantly, examining the interplay between individuals and wider 'cultural, economic and political circumstances'.[105]

According to Andreas Reckwitz, who alongside Theodore Schatzki is one of the main exponents of practice theory, practices are entities consisting of "bodily routines of behaviour, mental routines of understanding and knowing and the use of objects."[106] Furthermore, a practice is "a relatively enduring" entity, which is recognized as well as performed by "larger groups of people."[107] Social practices constitute, and through routinization reproduce, social order and political, economic, social and cultural structures.[108] Alan Warde especially has written about the power that practices can have through routinization: conventions, standards, established understandings, formal and informal codifications are "entrenched and embodied" within practices, which can be performed "without much reflection or conscious awareness."[109] Yet, practices are not deterministic in two senses: firstly, an individual's 'biography' and circumstances influence how a practice is performed and people have the power to adapt, contest and experiment with practices in their everyday lives. Therefore, secondly, practices change over time with new practices emerging and older ones possibly dying out.[110]

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[103] For example, Shove, Pantzar, and Watson, *The Dynamics of Social Practice*; Elizabeth Shove and Mika Pantzar, 'Consumers, Producers and Practices: Understanding the Invention and Reinvention of Nordic Walking', *Journal of Consumer Culture* 5, no. 1 (2005): 43–64; Warde, 'Consumption and Theories of Practice'; Elizabeth Shove et al., *The Design of Everyday Life* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2007).
[104] David H. J. Morgan, *Rethinking Family Practices* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Tony Chapman, *Gender and Domestic Life: Changing Practices in Families and Households* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
[105] Morgan, *Rethinking Family Practices*, 6; Chapman, *Gender and Domestic Life*, 1.
[106] Andreas Reckwitz, 'Toward a Theory of Social Practices: A Development in Culturalist Theorizing', *European Journal of Social Theory* 5, no. 2 (2002): 258, NaN-254. See also Røpke, 'Theories of Practice'; Warde, 'Consumption and Theories of Practice'.
[107] Røpke, 'Theories of Practice', 2491.
[108] Reckwitz, 'Toward a Theory of Social Practices', 255; Røpke, 'Theories of Practice', 2493. See also Morgan, *Rethinking Family Practices*, 26.
[109] See also Männistö-Funk, *Itse tehty moderni*, 90.
[110] Warde, 'Consumption and Theories of Practice', 141; Männistö-Funk, *Itse tehty moderni*, 89; Røpke, 'Theories of Practice', 2493–94; Chapman, *Gender and Domestic Life*, 1. Especially Shove, Pantzar and Watson have developed the theory of social practice to be used as a tool in understanding changes in practices, see Shove, Pantzar, and Watson, *The Dynamics of Social Practice*.

In order to separate between the level of the individual and the level of the shared practice, Schatzki has differentiated between *practices as coordinated entities*, which are historically and collectively formed, and *practices as performance*, that is, the "carrying out of practices" by individuals.[111] This differentiation is useful for explaining how I understand and use practices in my research. In this thesis, I refer to domestic practices more loosely and on a smaller scale of analysis than practices as systems or as entities. I ask what forms different domestic practices, such as sleeping or eating, took in the different circumstances in which bachelors found themselves and whether the applications of practices or the domestic strategies observed in the sources were typical specifically of bachelors. My understanding of domestic practices is thus more in line with Blunt and Dowling's use of the term 'home-making practices'. Home-making practices draw our attention to how people *create* their homes materially, socially and imaginatively. Home is "continually created and recreated through everyday practices" and through personalized home-making people can resist, rework and contest dominant ideals of home and possibly alienating dwellings.[112] This view of practices is similar to Schatzki's practice-as-performance or to Chapman's approach, which enables him to take into account the constant renegotiation and moulding of practices according to personal interests as well as the mismatch between expectations and practice.[113]

'Theories of practice' are useful in pointing out that one element, for example the performance of an activity, does not alone make a practice. Rather, we need to pay attention to all the different elements that produce a practice when analysing everyday life. Different researchers have defined these elements or components of practices in different ways.[114] For Reckwitz, such elements include "forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge."[115] Elizabeth Shove and Mika Pantzar, in turn, distinguish between competence (skills and knowledge including rules, principles, precepts and instructions), meaning (including emotions, beliefs, understandings) and material (objects, equipment, and bodies).[116]

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[111] Warde, 'Consumption and Theories of Practice', 133–43; Røpke, 'Theories of Practice', 2491.
[112] Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 23, 89, 100, 108, 110, 117 & 120.
[113] Chapman, *Gender and Domestic Life*, 20 & 35. See also Frank Trentmann, 'Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics', *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 2 (2009): 300 & 305.
[114] For an overview see Røpke, 'Theories of Practice'.
[115] Reckwitz, 'Toward a Theory of Social Practices', 249.
[116] Shove and Pantzar, 'Consumers, Producers and Practices'. See also Shove, Pantzar, and Watson, *The Dynamics of Social Practice*, 14; Røpke, 'Theories of Practice', 2492.

Microhistory

Differentiating between practices as entities or as performances intersects with a microhistorical understanding of scales. Microhistory has been used "to get as close as possible to lived historical experience and individual agency,"[117] but ultimately its practitioners have aimed to examine the interplay between the different levels, that is, how "social actors appear in different contexts, micro and macro, at the same time."[118] Historians using a microhistorical approach have also treated so-called "ordinary people" as rational actors and considered the variety of frameworks within which they take action and make decisions.[119] Examining the interplay between 'micro' and 'macro' levels of analysis does not mean that the 'micro' forms a logical part of a larger structure or narrative. Instead, the aim of moving between different scales is to reach a more nuanced understanding of both the 'micro' and 'macro'.[120] In addition, Finnish historian Matti Peltonen has pointed out how we should also address the 'temporal aspect' of the micro/macro link, that is, the tension between a specific short-term event and long-term structures.[121] Paying attention to temporal scales can be especially important when looking at phenomena of everyday life, which often combine elements of continuity and change.

Comparing the different scales (shared entities – everyday performances) on which practices operate on or looking at the interplay between them can allow us to observe which shared principles or understandings endure, are flexible or are discarded in different circumstances by

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[117] Thomas Robisheaux, 'Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 47, no. 1 (2017): 2.

[118] 'Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 47, no. 1 (2017): 9,13,17 & 22; Thomas V. Cohen, 'The Macrohistory of Microhistory', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 47, no. 1 (2017): 60 & 64; Matti Peltonen, 'Ginzburgin suodatin ja sorron arkistot', in *Juusto ja madot: 1500-luvun myllärin maailmankuva*, by Carlo Ginzburg (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2007), 10; Carlo Ginzburg, *Johtolankoja: kirjoituksia mikrohistoriasta ja historiallisesta metodista* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 1996), 185; Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni, 'The Name and the Game: Unequal Exchange and the Historiographic Marketplace', in *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*, ed. Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 8; Matti Peltonen, 'Clues, Margins, and Monads: The Micro-Macro Link in Historical Research', *History and Theory* 40, no. 3 (2001): 357; Sigurður G. Magnússon and István Szíjártó, *What Is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 31.

[119] Matti Peltonen, *Mikrohistoriasta*, Hanki ja jää (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 1999), 19, 58–59 & 109; Ginzburg and Poni, 'The Name and the Game', 8; Jacques Revel, 'Microanalysis and the Construction of the Social', in *Histories: French Constructions of the Past*, ed. Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt (New York: New Press, 1995), 496; Magnússon and Szíjártó, *What Is Microhistory?*, 5 & 17.

[120] Giovanni Levi, 'On Microhistory', in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 107.

[121] Peltonen, 'Clues, Margins, and Monads', 349; Matti Peltonen, 'Mikrohistorian lajit', in *Muistitietotutkimus: Metodologisia kysymyksiä*, ed. Outi Fingerroos et al. (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2006), 153–54.

different people. This can also help us to differentiate between the different levels of differences, which can be especially important when discussing class differences in relation to home and domesticity: were (class) differences a result of differences in ideology, values and norms or differences in how certain principles were applied according to circumstances?[122]

Tracing, comparing and bringing together different types of 'clues' found in the different types of sources describes best the research strategy that I have employed in this thesis.[123] In a research process contradictions, variations, inconsistencies and oddities are the most valuable 'clues' for a microhistorian. Instead of simplifications, typicality, or strict categorisations, the aim is to build an understanding that is as multiform as possible.[124] Lack of available information and previous research on the topic has required me to investigate the theme of bachelors from several different perspectives as well as to gain an overall picture of, for example, the typicality of different living arrangements among bachelors. This, in turn, has meant that the kind of intensive close reading of one source that some microhistorians practice, and for which microhistory has become famous, has not been possible for most of the sources in this research.[125] Despite drawing on microhistorical tools, this thesis provides a basis for a future microhistorical study but does not itself constitute a full microhistory.

Gender

The interplay and tension between structures and agency is relevant also when trying to understand the relationship between gender and home. As a part of identity building as well as power structures, homes are an active component of the cultural and social processes which produce gender, while gender is also essential to understanding home and homemaking.[126] The research by Tosh and others mentioned above has established how the public and private spheres were not as separate as the 'separate spheres' thesis claimed. Men's activities or the practice of being a man were not separate but rather an integral part of home and domesticity that had an effect on the meaning of both—and vice versa.[127] This does not, however, mean

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[122] Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty*, 183–92 & 228–29; Markkola, 'Koti, asunto, kortteeri', 11; Peltola, 'Omaan kotiin?'

[123] See also Peltonen, *Mikrohistoriasta*, 136.

[124] Revel, 'Microanalysis and the Construction of the Social', 496–97, 499 & 501; Levi, 'On Microhistory', 97 & 110. Also Frank Trentmann has argued that disruptions can act "as moments that reveal the nature of things", see Trentmann, 'Materiality in the Future of History', 306.

[125] 'Microhistory Today', 27 & 33.

[126] Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 15; Harvey, *The Little Republic*, 12.

[127] Andrew Gorman-Murray, 'Masculinity and the Home: A Critical Review and Conceptual Framework', *Australian Geographer* 39, no. 3 (2008): 368–369 & 376. Gorman-Murray talks about 'domestic masculinities'

that men and women did not have different responsibilities and roles within the household. The gendered character of the domestic affected also the meanings (unmarried) men gave to home and how they defined homeliness. This thesis therefore asks: what were both the practical and emotional consequences of a division of gender roles within homes for bachelors? How did bachelors mediate the fact that they did not necessarily have anyone to take care of domestic work?

Already during the 1990s, Jeff Hearn and David L. Collinson criticised the vague, imprecise and descriptive manner in which scholars used concepts of 'masculinity' or 'masculinities.'[128] According to Hearn, we should pay more attention to what men do and talk about, for example, 'men's practices' instead of 'masculinity'.[129] Such a shift to practices and experiences has gained ground also among historians researching men and masculinities.[130] At the same time, historians need to be more precise about what we mean when we talk about 'masculinity' and make sure we use it in an analytical way and not only to describe something that is connected to men in a general way. Due to the fact that home has been so strongly ideologically gendered, the historian of home has to ask what it means to say when referring to, for example, a particular object as 'masculine' or feminine'. Is the fact that only men used a specific item enough for us to call that item masculine or a marker of masculinity? What part of the different interactions persons had with a particular object was 'feminine' or 'masculine'? In discussing the decorations of English student rooms, Hamlett describes how men decorated with conventionally 'feminine' objects and women with 'masculine' ones, therefore "suggest[ing] that the relationship between decoration and gender may be more fluid than contemporary

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and 'masculine domesticities' as referring to "how men's identities are made through domestic ideals and homemaking practices" and "how men's homemaking practices can simultaneously refashion dominant discourses of home" respectively, see p. 376.

[128] David L. Collinson and Jeff Hearn, 'Men and Masculinities in Work, Organizations, and Management', in *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinties*, ed. R. W Connell, Jeff Hearn, and Michael S. Kimmel (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2005), 298; David Collinson and Jeff Hearn, 'Naming Men as Men: Implications for Work, Organization and Management', *Gender, Work & Organization* 1, no. 1 (1994): 9–10; Jeff Hearn, 'Is Masculinity Dead? A Critique of the Concept of Masculinity/Masculinities', in *Understanding Masculinities: Social Relations and Cultural Arenas*, ed. Máirtín Mac an Ghaill (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1996), 203–4 & 213; Ilana Aalto, *Isyyden aika: historia, sukupuoli ja valta 1990-luvun isyyskeskusteluissa* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 2012), 26; Leena Autonen-Vaaraniemi, *Eronneiden miesten kodit ja kotikäytännöt*, Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 1445 (Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2009), 43–44; Ilana Aalto, 'Miestutkimus sukupuolentutkimuksen muuttuvalla kentällä', *Sukupuolentutkimus - Genusforskning* 29, no. 1 (2016): 5–17.

[129] Hearn, 'Is Masculinity Dead?', 208 & 214.

[130] John H. Arnold and Sean Brady, eds., *What Is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 4–5. See also the articles by Tosh, French and Rothery, Bailey and Makepeace.

advice manuals and some historians have suggested."[131] On the other hand, in his analysis of the house of the unmarried Edward, the fifth Lord Leigh, Jon Stobart described Edward's house as "not an especially masculine space."[132] I argue that we need to be more attuned to the different scales or levels on which domestic items or domestic practices were either gendered or not, also temporally.

In this research, I use the term masculinity to refer to a social and cultural understanding of what a man should ideally be like and how a man should behave. This includes what was socially and culturally expected from a man and which characteristics were considered normal and desirable in a man—and which were not.[133] With such a definition I want to differentiate masculinity from what men actually did or from an individual's gender identity while at the same time underlining the interplay between these aspects. The cultural and social understandings of masculinity did not determine people's behaviour or feelings and, in the words of Angus McLaren, men "selected, used, and appropriated elements of the [gender] ideology; they "took it up" when necessary to rationalize or make sense of their actions."[134] Several understandings of masculinity circulated simultaneously, since masculinity was context specific and tied to, for example, class, age, life phase, religion, occupation or location.[135]

This thesis adds the role played by single status to the ongoing discussion about men and home but it also raises questions about the relationship married men had with home and domesticity. Above I discussed how getting married was a prerequisite for a person to be considered an adult. Since, according to the middle-class ideal, a married man was expected to be the complete

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[131] Hamlett, *Material Relations*, 162–63.
[132] Jon Stobart, 'Rich, Male and Single: The Consumption Practices of Edward Leigh, 1742-86', in *Single Life and the City 1200-1900*, ed. Julie de Groot, Isabelle Devos, and Ariadne Schmidt (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 238.
[133] See also Anders Ahlbäck, *Soldiering and the Making of Finnish Manhood: Conscription and Masculinity in Interwar Finland, 1918-1939* (Åbo: Åbo University, 2010), 28.
[134] French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 15; Angus McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity: Policing Sexual Boundaries, 1870-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 238. See also Harvey, *The Little Republic*, 14–15.
[135] French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, 10–11; Rachel E. Moss, 'An Orchard, a Love Letter and Three Bastards: The Formation of Adult Male Identity in a Fifteenth-Century Family', in *What Is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 226–44; Heather Ellis, '"Boys, Semi-Men and Bearded Scholars": Maturity and Manliness in Early Nineteenth-Century Oxford', in *What Is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 263–82; Clare Makepeace, 'Punters and Their Prostitutes: British Soldiers, Masculinity and Maisons Tolérées in the First World War', in *What Is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 413–30.

opposite of a bachelor, all the attributes and behaviour that a man was supposed to leave behind when he moved from being a bachelor to a husband were projected onto the bachelor. However, at the same time, according to representations, married men continued to 'present themselves as bachelors', to 'use the bachelor name', and to 'live like a bachelor', that is, to engage in 'bachelor' vices.[136] Not only were bachelors presented as being envious of the homes and domestic lives of married men, but married men romanticised their days as bachelors as a carefree time of freedom in opposition to the constraints and responsibilities of married life.[137] A "bachelor's (golden) freedom" seems to have been almost a concept in itself.[138] In many humorous stories, the benefits of both being married and remaining single are brought together in a storyline in which an oldboy complains about his loneliness whereas his married friend grumbles about the negative sides of marriage:

> Jaska. But think about it, brother. A gentle woman is currently sitting in your home, waiting for her man to return.
> Matti. That is exactly what I am afraid of, that she is waiting.
> Jaska. Not a single soul wonders where I am.
> Matti. Lucky you! Nobody asks you what time it is; and how can you behave like that. Nobody gives you a lecture in the morning or bothers your sleep at night.[139]

This contrast between the advantages of being a bachelor and being married points to the complicated and even contradictory relationship between men and marriage and domesticity.[140] Men wanted a wife and the domesticity that came with marriage, but at the same time they wanted to keep their bachelor freedoms and liberties.[141] Typical bachelor behaviour could be defined as both manly and unmanly: the right to do what one wanted was part of being a man but at the same time it could contradict the duties of a husband and a father that were also essential attributes for a man. How to behave towards women in the context of home was thus

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[136] 'Wanhan kansan Oulu-matkat', *Kaiku* 25.6.1909, 2–3; 'Varokaa petkuttajia', *Ilkka* 30.12.1908, 3; Oskar Blumenthal, 'Hatarat muurit', *Helsingin Sanomat* 6.7.1910, 4.
[137] A. S:nen, 'Rakastumisesta', *Savonlinna* 21.8.1894, 2–3; Lauri Soini, 'Kantelettaren köyhälistö', *Uusi Suometar* 25.2.1902, 2–3; 'Pikku uutisia', *Laatokka* 23.11.1904, 3; Wilho P-nen, 'Tahvo Tuohisen tupakkapaasto', *Savonlinna* 20.12.1900, 2–3; Konr. Relander, 'Kelpo työmiehen elämäntarina', *Suomen terveydenhoito-lehti* 1.5.1906, 76–79; Sigurd, 'Mitä rouvat sanovat kello yksi yöllä', *Uuden Suomettaren juttu-tupa* 6/1897 22–24; Jussin Veli, 'Onnellinen', *Lounas* 14.2.1890, 3; Otto Tiuppa, 'Vanhapoika', *Työmies* 22.7.1903, 2.
[138] 'Lahden kirje', *Lahden Lehti* 27.5.1903, 2–3.
[139] Juhani Kattelus, 'Tyytymättömät', *Itä-Suomen Sanomat* 1.2.1898, 3–4. Original: "Jaska. Mutta ajattele, veli. Sinun kodissasi istuu par'aikaa lempeä nainen, odottelee miestänsä palaavaksi. Matti. Sitäpä juuri pelkäänkin, että hän odottelee. Jaska. Minulta ei yksikään sielu kysele vähään, missä minä oleksin. Matti. Onnellinen sinä! Ei kukaan kysy sinulta paljonko kello on; ja kuinka noin käyttäydyt. Ei yksikään pidä aamusin nuhdesaanoja [sic] sinulle eikä häiritse untasi öisin." For another type of comparison see R., 'Kumpi on edullisempi, ollako nuorenamiehenä vai naineena?', *Wiipurin Sanomat* 7.6.1894, 3.
[140] See also Snyder, *Bachelors, Masculinity, and the Novel*, 27.
[141] See also Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 62 & 80.

sometimes in conflict with how a man was expected to behave in a homosocial context. Consequently, a man could still sometimes act like a bachelor and retain his masculine identity but he had to know when he had reached the limit of appropriate behaviour.[142]

In previous research, men's complicated and multiform relationship with domesticity has often been discussed in relation to their 'flight from domesticity.' Martin Francis has pointed out how "[m]en constantly travelled back and forward across the frontier of domesticity, if only in the realm of imagination, attracted by the responsibilities of marriage or fatherhood, but also enchanted by fantasies of the energetic life and homosocial camaraderie of the adventure hero."[143] Furthermore, as Chudacoff has pointed out, on the one hand bachelors were seen as posing a threat to traditional manhood, yet on the other hand bachelors and married men both operated within the male sphere and shared at least some experiences.[144] The differences between unmarried and married men should thus not be exaggerated especially if that takes place at the expense of recognizing existing similarities.

Sources

Being unmarried did not mean that a person lived alone and the desirability of living alone varied according to the social and cultural context as well as the life stage of the person. Historically living alone has not been very common: K. D. M. Snell has stated that the proportion of single-person households rarely rose above 10% in Europe or North America before the 1910s. Snell identifies the growth of such households after 1911 and increasingly from 1931 onwards.[145] In Finnish cities, the proportion of one-person households was already about 25 per cent in 1910 and by 1930 this proportion had increased to a third of all households. In Helsinki, the proportion of one-person households was the highest in the country: in 1910

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[142] Kustaa H. J. Vilkuna, 'Viina miehen mitta: Vapaa-ajalla rakennettu miehekkyys 1550-1850', in *Näkymätön sukupuoli: Mieheyden pitkä historia*, ed. Pirjo Markkola, Ann-Catrin Östman, and Marko Lamberg (Tampere: Vastapaino, 2014), 112–13. See also John Tosh, 'Home and Away: The Flight from Domesticity in Late-Nineteenth-Century England Re-Visited', *Gender & History* 27, no. 3 (1 November 2015): 567, https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0424.12150; Leonore Davidoff, 'The Separation of Home and Work? Landladies and Lodgers in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century England', in *Fit Work for Women*, ed. Sandra Burman (London; Canberra: Croom Helm for Oxford University Women's Studies Committee; Australian National University Press, 1979), 70.

[143] Martin Francis, 'The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity', *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (2002): 643. The idea of 'flight from domesticity' was originally introduced by John Tosh in his book *A Man's Place*.

[144] Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*, 217–18. See also, Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*, 9; Snyder, *Bachelors, Masculinity, and the Novel*, 3.

[145] K. D. M. Snell, 'The Rise of Living Alone and Loneliness in History', *Social History* 42, no. 1 (2017): 8–9.

about 30% and in 1930 38%. However, even a lodger sharing a room with other people would have formed his or her own household if he or she did not share meals and expenses with the people with whom he/she was living. A person forming his or her own household did not necessarily live alone. In Helsinki in 1930, only 9.1% of the city's inhabitants lived in an apartment by themselves, whereas the rest of the people forming a one-person household were either lodgers or people who sublet a room.[146] Nonetheless, if a subletter did not share the room he or she was renting, and especially if he or she did not have any daily interaction with the landlord/landlady, a subletter could also be considered as living alone. Based on a more detailed analysis of census samples from two areas of Helsinki, we can estimate that, in these areas, about 10% of bachelors in 1900 and about 18% in 1930 lived alone in either an apartment or a rented room alone.[147] The majority of bachelors lived with other people in different configurations with or without sharing a household. These housing relationships were an integral part of bachelors' domestic lives and would have affected, for example, how much privacy or control over the use of space they had.

Census records

I have used two census samples covering two areas of Helsinki as the basis for presenting a general overview of bachelors' living arrangements and their typicality. These samples consist of the 'apartment cards' (*huoneistokortti/lokalkort*), which were filled out by the inhabitants of each apartment in the area. The cards give basic information (date of birth, marital status, occupation and so on) about each inhabitant as well as the relationship between the different inhabitants of an apartment or dwelling (for more detailed information about the census samples, see Appendix 2). For 1900, I collected information about all the unmarried men who

[146] *SVT VI:72;13. Helsingin, Turun, Viipurin, Tampereen, Vaasan, Kuopion, Lahden, Oulun, Kotkan, Rauman, Pietarsaaren ja Riihimäen rakennus- ja asuntolaskenta marraskuun 27 p. 1930: Teksti* (Helsinki: Tilastollinen päätoimisto, 1933), 35.

[147] These calculations are based on defining living alone as either heading a household in which a bachelor was the only inhabitant or living as a tenant in a room alone. The problem with the census records is that we cannot always be sure whether a renter shared a room with another renter or not. Nevertheless, we know that in Kruununhaka in 1900 31.3% (45 men) and in Etu-Töölö in 1930 34.8% (139) of heads of households lived alone and in both years 28% of renters were the only renter in an apartment, meaning they would have had a room all to themselves. If the entries made in the census forms can be trusted, it would seem that in 1930 the proportion of renters, who had their own room, was about 45%. Combining these figures, we can thus estimate that in 1900 at least approximately 10% of the bachelors lived alone and in 1930 at least 18%. Additionally, if living with a servant is considered living alone, the proportion of heads of households living alone would have been slightly higher, with a further 13.9% (20) and 7.0% (28) of household heads in 1900 and in 1930 respectively living only with a servant.

were born in 1882 or earlier and who lived in the area of Kruununhaka, and for 1930 I included all unmarried men who were born in 1912 or earlier and who lived in the area of Etu-Töölö.

In 1900, Kruununhaka was one of the most densely built areas of Helsinki. While it was one of the first areas where apartment buildings with several floors had been built from the end of the 19th century onwards, many of the houses used as dwellings in 1900 were still wooden buildings with one or two storeys. Such houses were occupied either by just one family or they had been divided into several smaller apartments. The 966 unmarried men of 18 years or older, whose information has been included in the sample, represent 11% of the overall population of the area and 26% of the male population.[148] Etu-Töölö in 1930 was, in turn, a fairly newly built area: according to Riitta Nikula, together with another area of Helsinki, Vallila, Etu-Töölö was the largest area of apartment buildings built in Finland during the 1920s with over a fifth of the apartments built in Helsinki found in the area.[149] This fast growth is also reflected in the fact that by 1930 Etu-Töölö had become the second largest area of the city with a total population of 24 309. The 2 849 bachelors that form the second census sample of this study constituted 12% of the overall population of the area and 31% of the male population.[150] Etu-Töölö was a predominantly middle-class neighbourhood and the apartments were a mixture of those built according to bourgeois principles from the end of the 19th century and smaller apartments that anticipated the functionalism of the 1930s.[151]

Material culture and probates

Besides the census records, I have formed the starting point for examining the everyday domestic lives of bachelors by collecting and analysing three samples of probates. Probates can be used as sources for analysing material culture, which constitutes one of the elements of practices. A key feature of Elizabeth Shove's, Mika Pantzar's and Matt Watson's approach to social practices is the centrality they give to things and to materiality in general.[152] In his 2009 article 'Materiality in the Future of History', Frank Trentmann references the "practice turn" in

[148] There were altogether 3774 men living in the area. See Table 1 in the Tables section in *SVT VI:35*, 35. Unfortunately no division of population according to marital status was given for each area of the city separately.
[149] Riitta Nikula, *Yhtenäinen kaupunkikuva 1900–1930: Suomalaisen kaupunkirakentamisen ihanteista ja päämääristä, esimerkkeinä Helsingin Etu-Töölö ja Uusi Vallila* (Helsinki: Finska vetenskaps-societeten, 1981), 166 & 195–96.
[150] There were altogether 9050 men living in the area (this includes all ages). See *SVT VI:71;1. Helsingin väestölaskenta marraskuun 27 p. 1930: Taululiitteitä* (Helsinki: Tilastollinen päätoimisto, 1932), 2.
[151] Nikula, *Yhtenäinen kaupunkikuva*, 166 & 195–96; Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 196.
[152] Shove, Pantzar, and Watson, *The Dynamics of Social Practice*, 9.

the social sciences when he encourages historians to explore objects not only as 'communicators' of identities, meanings or values but to explore what people did with objects, what objects enabled people to do and how "these interactions shaped their materially embodied selves, practices, and relationships."[153] Taking material culture seriously means acknowledging that things in themselves can play an active role in history and that they are "integral parts of relationships and subjectivities rather than as instruments of meaning appropriated by a prior subject."[154] Indeed, Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello state that the growing interest in consuming practices, everyday life, experience and emotions among historians has been key to the growth of research on material culture.[155] In historical research on the home, examining material culture has led to analyses of what possessions can tell us about people's feelings and about their relationships to home or what part material culture has played in creating and upholding gender hierarchies within the home.[156] Recent research on single women and men has also examined the home lives as well as domestic consumption of single people from the perspective of material culture.[157] In this thesis, I use material culture as one source in looking at the domestic practices of bachelors, how they decorated their homes or which domestic goods they considered necessary in different circumstances.

In terms of research on home and domestic material culture, the fact that there are probates available for the end of the 19th century and early 20th century makes the group of probates used in this thesis fairly exceptional.[158] The probate samples used in the thesis were collected

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[153] Trentmann, 'Materiality in the Future of History', 286–90 & 297–98.
[154] Trentmann, 290 & 306.
[155] Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, 'Introduction: Writing Material Culture History', in *Writing Material Culture History*, ed. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 4 & 7.
[156] Jane Hamlett, '"The Dining Room Should Be the Man's Paradise, as the Drawing Room Is the Woman's": Gender and Middle-Class Domestic Space in England, 1850–1910', *Gender & History* 21, no. 3 (2009): 576–78; Hamlett, *Material Relations*, 1.
[157] Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*; Baatsen, Groot, and Sturtewagen, 'Single Life in Fifteenth-Century Bruges'; Hamlett, *Material Relations*; Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*.
[158] Most of the European research that uses probates has focused on the Early Modern period due to the availability of sources, which diminishes by early or mid-nineteenth century, see Giorgio Riello, 'Things Seen and Unseen: The Material Culture of Early Modern Inventories and Their Representation of Domestic Interiors', in *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800*, ed. Paula Findlen (London: Routledge, 2013), 125, 127, 129 & 140; Mark Overton et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 13. Lesley Hoskins' PhD (2011), which looks at middle-class homes and domesticity in England in Wales from 1841 to 1881 is an exception as it uses a larger sample of probates from the 19th century discovered recently. In Finland, in turn, the earliest probates are available from the 17th century but more coherent collections exist only from the mid-18th century onwards, with the number of available probates increasing from the end of the 19th century. For an overview of the use of probates as historical sources in the Finnish context see Erkki Markkanen, *Perukirja tutkimuslähteenä*, Studia historica Jyväskyläensia (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1988), 9–11 & 72–81.

from the archive of the Helsinki Lower Court[159] for the three periods of 1881–1890, 1900–1909 and 1925–1934 and consist of the probates of all adult men whose list of beneficiaries did not include a wife, children or a fiancée (a detailed description of the structure of Finnish probates and the practices surrounding the drawing up of the document is presented in Appendix 3). Only in a portion of the probates was it stated whether the deceased had been unmarried, but additional information has been gained from the register of the University of Helsinki, the National Library's digitized newspaper collections as well as the parish statements included with the probates from the third period.[160] The number of probates included in the samples as well as the proportion of probates for which we know for certain that the deceased in question had been unmarried are presented in Table 2. I have accepted the risk that the samples might include some men who had previously been married because I wanted to include as many men as I could from the different levels of society.[161]

	Number of probates	Unmarried acc. probate	Unmarried acc. to other sources	Altogether	% of all probates
1881–1890	181	66	22	92	51%
1900–1909	220	27	66	93	42%
1925–1934	450	349	2	351	78%

Table 2. Number of probates for each period and number of probates where we know for certain that the deceased was unmarried.

A probate was meant to include a list of all the realty, movables, assets and debts of the deceased.[162] Unlike most cases in the United Kingdom, for example, most Finnish probates have not been organised according to the rooms of the deceased's dwelling.[163] We do not know,

[159] The part of the Lower Court's archive, which is housed at the National Archive, includes probates for the period of 1881–1960. The earlier probates from 1679–1880 are housed in the Helsinki City Archive, see HKA/Raastuvanoikeus.

[160] In 1921, the law was changed so that the probate had to from then on include an extract from the church or civil register, which officially stated the beneficiaries of the deceased, Perintö- ja lahjaverolaki 292/1921. This statement from the parish usually confirmed whether a person was unmarried or not and included his date and place of birth. For the register of the University of Helsinki see http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/ and http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/1853-1899/. For the digitised newspaper collections see http://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi.

[161] However, according to Markkanen, the number of probates in archives corresponds to only about a third of the people who died at the turn of the 20th century. See Markkanen, *Perukirja tutkimuslähteenä*, 52.

[162] http://wiki.narc.fi/portti/index.php/Perukirjat, visited 25.1.2016. What differentiates this group of Finnish probates from, for example, most English probates is that they included both the real estate as well as the debts of the deceased thus making an overall estimate of the deceased's wealth possible.

[163] See for example, Lesley Hoskins, 'Reading the Inventory: Household Goods, Domestic Cultures and Difference

for example, where in the dwelling the items listed in the probate were located nor do we know who used them or for what purposes.[164] In order to address these limitations, I have followed in the footsteps of Baatsen, De Groot and Sturtewagen who treat specific objects or groups of objects as indications of "different kinds of "household capacities," which refers to "the capacity or capability of households to effectuate certain daily practices using different kinds of objects."[165] From the probates, we can survey how many of the deceased had possessed the material capacity for basic domestic activities such as sleeping, seating, cooking and eating. The items selected to represent these capacities can be divided into three different types of furniture (beds, tables and seating), cooking utensils, tableware, and bedclothes (see Chart 1).[166]

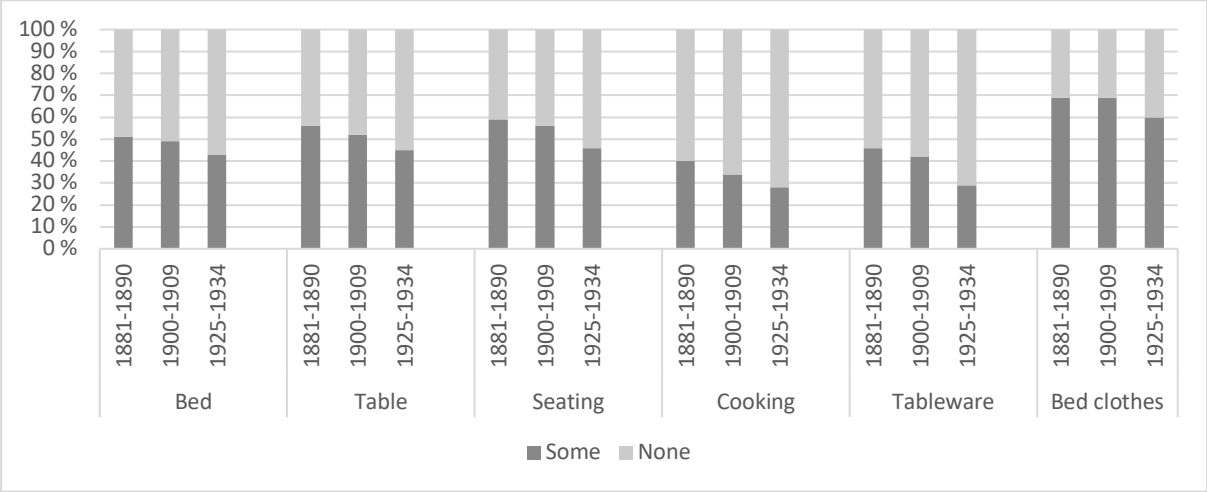

Chart 1. Basic capacities according to types and divided by period.[167]

While roughly two thirds or slightly fewer of the bachelors owned at least one piece of furniture or an item of bedclothes, only one third or slightly more than that owned cooking utensils or tableware. Despite just under a half (42–48%) of the probates listing at least some basic domestic items, between a quarter to a fifth of the men owned all or almost all the items defined here as representing basic capacities (see Chart 10 in Appendix 4). From a fifth to a third did

in England and Wales, 1841–81' (Ph.D. thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2011), 57–66; Riello, 'Things Seen and Unseen', 133. For the period 1881–1890 only two, for 1900–1909 eight, and for 1925–1934 23 probates list some items, mostly only furniture, according to rooms.

[164] Catherine Richardson, 'Written Texts and the Performance of Materiality', in *Writing Material Culture History*, ed. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 44.

[165] Baatsen, Groot, and Sturtewagen, 'Single Life in Fifteenth-Century Bruges', 181. Baatsen, De Groot and Sturtewagen have chosen to focus the capacity for heating, cooking, sleeping, seating, tables, eating and drinking, display, storage, and apparel.

[166] For a description of what has been included in each category, see Appendix 4.

[167] Bed clothes includes also probates that only listed the category of "linen", which could include both underwear as well as bed linen.

not list any basic domestic items. Owning several pieces of furniture seems to have indicated a higher probability of owning other domestic items as well therefore forming a possible dividing line between a more stable or established housing situation and a more temporary home or a transient lifestyle. Generally speaking we can say that, compared to the two previous periods, in 1925–1934 there were fewer men who had furniture, cooking utensils or tableware, and those men that did own some of these basic domestic items had less variety in their selection of such items (see Charts 11–14 in Appendix 4). What we could call the overall 'capacity for basic domesticity' thus stayed fairly similar between 1881–1890 and 1900–1909, but there is a visible decrease when we compare the third period of 1925–1934 to the first two periods.

All in all, these initial findings from the probate samples demonstrate the differences among bachelors in relation to their basic domestic capacities and reflect differences among them in living arrangements and household compositions. Different living situations created differing needs and possibilities for owning basic domestic items, as will be discussed throughout the thesis. Moreover, both the type of living arrangement as well as the capacity for basic domestic items depended on the age, wealth, class or social status and background, occupation, personal preferences, level of mobility, geographical location, family and other social networks of the bachelor in question. If we consider the results from both the census samples as well as the probate samples together, we can make a crude division into three types of domestic circumstances:

1) Bachelors, who had no or only a few domestic items and who lived as lodgers, boarders, or renters in furnished rooms/apartments, with family members or relatives, or in their place of employment or who lived a mobile life.

2) Bachelors, who had furniture for approximately 1-2 rooms, and lived alone or with other people in a room or an apartment referred to as a 'bachelor box' or formed a part of a larger household together with, for example, siblings.

3) Bachelors, who lived in larger 'bourgeois' apartments as heads of households with possible family members or renters and who had a full selection of basic domestic capacities and beyond.

Bachelors in both groups one and two could have had access to, been able to use and enjoyed the comforts of a larger selection of items than their probates suggest. I do not analyse the third group in any specific section of the thesis, but it demonstrates the potential differences in wealth and social status of bachelors. The group also shows that, even though bachelorhood did have an impact on the domestic circumstances and possibilities of a bachelor, some unmarried men lived in very much the same way as their married peers.

Both census records and probates, however, give quite a static picture of people's lives. The census tells us only about a bachelor's living arrangement at a particular moment, whereas a probate only tells us what a bachelor possessed when he died.[168] Beyond the descriptive terms (parent, child, lodger, servant and so on) the census records give us only limited information about the nature of these relationships or, for example, how much contact the different inhabitants had with each other. The possible relationships that existed among inhabitants are also sometimes left invisible due to the inflexibility of the terms used in the census forms. This resulted from the perspective from which the authorities viewed housing and which variables they considered to be relevant. Thus there is no way of knowing, for example, if two people living together, a single man and a woman or two single men, were actually cohabiting together.[169] The probates, in turn, do not reveal what a specific item meant for its owner or the possible reason behind acquiring or owning an item.[170] All in all, neither source tells us much about the dynamism of people's lives or bachelors' motives, experiences, emotions or the meanings attached to people, places, and possessions.

Nevertheless, we can attempt to gain information about these aspects of people's lives as well as to understand the results of the samples better by comparing and contrasting these results with other types of sources. Besides census and probate records, I have consulted personal correspondence and diaries from the archives of men, who remained bachelors all their lives, as well as from some who did get married. Descriptions of bachelorhood and bachelor experiences have also been collected from men's published memoirs. Different types of oral

[168] For example, sometimes probates mentioned that some items had been sold or auctioned before the drawing up of the probate. Items might have been omitted due to their low value or other unclear reasons. For a further discussion of (mostly Early Modern) probates in general, see for example Riello, 'Things Seen and Unseen', 136–37; Overton et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households*, 13–18.
[169] See for example Vicky Holmes, 'Accommodating the Lodger: The Domestic Arrangements of Lodgers in Working-Class Dwellings in a Victorian Provincial Town', *Journal of Victorian Culture (Routledge)* 19, no. 3 (2014): 328; Litchfield, 'Single People in the Nineteenth-Century City', 95.
[170] Richardson, 'Written Texts and the Performance of Materiality', 44.

history sources (*muistitieto*) provided me with invaluable information about the experiences of working-class bachelors.[171] In addition, the primary sources include newspaper and magazine material for different topics, archives of different organisations and associations, as well as official documents such as Parliamentary records. The wide variety of sources has been necessary since my aim has been to explore elements of people's lives which did not necessarily leave many sources behind or about which men often wrote very little if anything.[172] The cross-referencing of clues from this variety of sources made it possible to pursue the ultimate aim of the thesis, that is, to analyse the diverse ways in which a home could be organised and maintained as well as the spectrum of practices and strategies adopted and adapted according to individual circumstances and the realities of life.[173]

[171] In Finland, the sources of oral history research (*muistitietotutkimus*, 'research on remembered information') include not only interviews but oral history produced in written format as a result of collections and questionnaires conducted by archives and museums, for more information see Appendix 9. As in oral history sources past events and meanings are always told and recounted from the perspective of the moment when the data is collected, these recollections are therefore interpretations of the past and filtered through later experiences, motivations and thoughts; see Jyrki Pöysä, *Jätkän synty: tutkimus sosiaalisen kategorian muotoutumisesta suomalaisessa kulttuurissa ja itäsuomalaisessa metsätyöperinteessä* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997), 46; Anna Hynninen, 'Elämää kerroksittain: Arkistokirjoittamisen kontekstualisointi', in *Tekstien rajoilla: Monitieteisiä näkökulmia kirjoitettuihin aineistoihin*, ed. Sami Lakomäki, Pauliina Latvala, and Kirsi Laurén (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011), 279. Consequently, the used oral history data stretches the timeframe of the thesis into later decades, the 1960 and the 1990s depending on the oral history collection.
[172] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 3 & 53.
[173] Hoskins, 'Reading the Inventory', 51; Margaret Ponsonby, *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 6.

2. “One’s own people under one’s own roof” – Bachelors and Families

> They all knew how joyless the days of a bachelor often were: there are not, after he gets back from work, the arms of his loved one waiting, his troubles or worries are not soothed by the tenderness of a caring woman, and his side remains cold in his bed.[174]

> When a young man comes home that is to his apartment he notices that it is cold, bleak, and lonely, even if it is a warm, nice and clean apartment. He paces around restless, going to every corner, as if he was trying to catch or find something, but he does not find anything, all the corners are empty to him. – What he is looking for, and what he is without, that we do not need to name –.[175]

> But at every warm, sweet home the doctor had noticed the wishes of joy and happiness, they shone at him from bright candles and happy faces; then he thought about his own lonely apartment where there was no kind of Christmas Eve joyfulness, nobody there had prepared him the slightest moment of joy, nobody showed their happy face that would have made also his own face light up - -.[176]

In many stories published in newspapers and magazines at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, bachelors, and especially older ones, were presented as envious of married men and their comfortable family homes. Without a wife and family, bachelors and oldboys were essentially seen to be homeless. The authors of different texts used contrasting adjectives, such as cold-warm, bare-homey, dark-light, loneliness/alone-loved/safe, rocky-smooth, sadness-joy, to underline how a married man’s home and life with his wife was everything that a bachelor’s apartment was not.[177] Most often when the words ‘bachelor apartment’ were used they were preceded by the word ‘lonely’ with other adjectives ranging from bleak, sad, small,

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[174] Santeri Ingman, ‘Vielä siihen mitä rakkautta…’, *Uusimaa* 28.6.1895/49B, 2. Original: “Tunsivathan he kaikki, kuinka ilottomat usein poikamiehen päivät ovat: ei häntä, töistään päästyänsä, armaan syli odottele, ei lievitä hänen ikäviään eikä huoliaan oman, hellän naisen hempeys, ja kylmäksi jääpi vuoteellakin kylkensä.”
[175] R., ‘Kumpi on edullisempi, ollako nuorenamiehenä vai naineena?’, *Wiipurin Sanomat* 7.6.1894, 3. Original: ”Kun nuorimies tulee jostakin kotiinsa eli asuntoonsa huomaa hän sen kylmäksi, kolkoksi ja autioksi, vaikka se olkoonkin lämmin, hupainen ja siisti asunto. Hän astelee pitkin huoneensa laattiata [sic] rauhattoma, käyden joka nurkassa, ikään kuin hän mitä tavoittaisi ja etsisi, mutta mitään hän ei löydä, kaikki nurkat ovat hänestä tyhjät. – Mitä hän etsii, ja mitä häneltä puuttuu, sitä en tarvinne mainita –.
[176] ‘Erään wanhan-pojan joulu-aatto,’ *Pääskynen* 14.12.1878, 198–200. Original: “Mutta jokaisen lämpöisessä, sievässä kodissa oli tohtori havainnut ilon ja riemun toiveita, ne säteilivät häntä vastaan loistavista kynttilöistä ja tyytyväisistä kasvoista; silloin johtui hänen oma yksinäinen asuntonsa, jossa ei ollut minkäänlaista joulu-aaton hauskuutta, hänen mieleensä, ei kukaan ollut siellä valmistanut hänelle pienintäkään iloa, ei kukaan näyttänyt iloisia kasvojaan, jotka olisivat saattaneet hänen omatkin kasvonsa kirkastumaan, - -.”
[177] See for example Karl Rönne, ’En påskåpuss’, *Lördagen* 9.4.1904, 117; K. T. M., ‘Ikävä. Vanhanpojan mietteitä’, *Tampereen Sanomat* 20.12.1895, 2; ‘Erään vanhan-pojan joulu-aatto’, *Pääskynen* 14.12.1878, 198–200.

dark and cold to empty.[178] As in the third passage above, many of the stories were set around Christmas time since it was the ultimate family holiday and could not have underlined more the loneliness of the bachelor in contrast to the "warm and sweet" family home, where the joy of Christmas was shared. Sharing is the key word here since, without being able to share one's life as well as one's home with someone, a person was considered to have no home at all.

During this period, not only within popular representations but also in public discussions as well as practices in relation to housing, homes were equated with families. In contrast, bachelors were placed outside families and increasingly defined as the opposite of families or even as a threat to them. In this chapter I will contrast such definitions with the lived experiences of bachelors in order to argue that even in adulthood families (parents and siblings) as well as other relatives (grandparents, aunts and uncles, brothers- and sisters-in-law, nieces and nephews, cousins) supported bachelors. Moreover, bachelors also cared for their relations both practically and emotionally. This chapter therefore explores how bachelors took on responsibilities associated with adult masculinity and how the households headed by bachelors were gendered in different ways. By taking a wider view of families, this chapter builds on previous work by Leonore Davidoff, who has argued that we need to look at families as consisting not only of the relationships between husband and wife or parent and child.[179] Despite the importance of placing bachelors at the centre of research, sources from census records to oral history sources and personal archives all establish that family relationships and households constituted one of the main relevant contexts to understanding the forms of domesticity that were available to bachelors as well as to the meanings they gave home.[180]

Home = Family

Several developments connected and concurrent to industrialization and urbanization changed the shape of families, homes and households especially in cities from the latter part of the 19th century onwards: households and houses changed from wooden country-style houses with their own farm animals and pieces of land to apartment buildings with fewer possibilities for self-

[178] See for example, Bor, 'Meidän lähimmäisiämme', *Oulun ilmoituslehti* 8.2.1903, 2–3; Olli, 'Kirje Kuopiosta', *Uusi Savo* 11.2.1899, 2–3; Adolf Paul, 'Sydämen halvaus', *Uusimaa* 30.1.1899, 3–4; Don Ranunculo, 'Samhällsfördärf och visitkort', *Fyren* 21.3.1903, 3; A. P., 'Kupiosta', *Päivälehti* 6.1.1904, 2–3; Heinrich Wels, 'Löytöpaikka', *Tampereen Lehti* 10.1.1899, 3; J., 'Anna', *Päijänne* 2.6.1880, 2–3; Jatkokertomus, *Aura* 20.6.1889, 3–4; Vanhapoika, 'Pien vihjaus Lahden likoill'', *Lahden Lehti* 12.8.1907, 2; Vanhapoika, 'Siihen se suli se minun rakkauteni', *Itä-Suomen Sanomat* 11.1.1898, 3.
[179] Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*. See a
[180] See also Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*.

sufficiency. Work and production moved outside of homes. On an ideological level, work and the public sphere became more strictly associated with men and the home with women. As the old hierarchy of the estates was breaking down, a new middle class was born, whose ideology and lifestyle was based on the centrality of the nuclear family and home culture.[181] As a result of these developments, both home and family became more narrowly defined with a home referring primarily to the private space of a nuclear family, whose main purpose was reproduction and the raising of future citizens.[182] Yet, at the same time, both family and the household were transformed from being private to being issues of great public interest. The well-being of homes and nuclear families was connected to the future and success of the society and nation. This ideological change made a good family home the cornerstone of a prosperous and peaceful society, its moral bedrock and a key building block of the developing nation-state. Finland became an independent state in 1917, but already during the preceding century housing, homes and families had become central in the improvement of *Finnish* society.[183] During the interwar period this especially middle-class ideology that promoted the importance of home and the nuclear family gained even more ground and was decisive, for example, in the development of social legislation and population policy. As a result, other ideas about ways of doing things were excluded or marginalized.[184] By placing this kind of family at the centre of a normal and happy life and by presenting the lives of oldboys as dismal in representations and stereotypes, the normativity of this ideal was constantly being reinforced.

Besides published articles and stories, the writings of bachelors themselves also demonstrate that in their minds a home referred to either their parental home or to their future marital

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[181] Häggman, *Perheen vuosisata*, 218–19; Vuokko Lepistö, *Joko teillä on primuskeitin? Kotitalousteknologian saatavuus ja tarjonta Helsingissä 1800-luvun puolivälistä 1910-luvun lopulle* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1994), 108, 210 & 218; Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 127; Irma Sulkunen, *Naisen kutsumus: Miina Sillanpää ja sukupuolten maailmojen erkaantuminen* (Helsinki: Hanki ja jää, 1989), 28 & 81–81; Juntto, *Asuntokysymys Suomessa*, 82–83; Saarikangas, *Model Houses for Model Families*, 202; Pekka Laurila, *Kerrostaloasunnon kehitys Helsingissä 1860–1900* (Tampere: Pekka Laurila, 1997), 2; Rönkkö, 'Kotia rakennetaan', 36 & 53–54.

[182] Kai Häggman, 'Suurperhe, ydinperhe, pyhä perhe? Nykyisten perhekäsitysten alkulähteillä', in *Suomen kulttuurihistoria, Osa 3. Oma maa ja maailma*, ed. Laura Kolbe and Anja Kervanto Nevanlinna (Helsinki: Tammi, 2002), 219; Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 256. Häggman has described how the Finnish and Swedish terms for family, "perhe" and "familj", only started to be widely used during the 19th century when they also became established as terms that primarily referred to the unit formed of parents and children. See Häggman, *Perheen vuosisata*, 134–35.

[183] Häggman, *Perheen vuosisata*, 163, 177, 182, 216 & 222; Häggman, 'Suurperhe, ydinperhe, pyhä perhe?', 219–20 & 223–24; Lepistö, *Joko teillä on primuskeitin?*, 210; Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty*, 136–40 & 169–92; Peltola, 'Omaan kotiin?', 243; Saarikangas, *Model Houses for Model Families*, 65–75; Saarikangas, 'Suomalaisen kodin likaiset paikat', 200, 202 & 206; Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 65–66 & 282.

[184] Juntto, *Asuntokysymys Suomessa*, 170; Häggman, *Johdatus perhehistoriaan*, 62.

home.[185] At least some bachelors were clearly hesitant to call their bachelor apartments a home: "That we, Esso and I, arrived here in good health to our respective apartments – I do not want to say homes – you have already heard via Esso's card and today's telephone call."[186] Home and a feeling of home was first and foremost created by the fact that one shared the space with family members, with loved ones.[187] Bachelors' correspondence and diaries reveal how, within the context of youth and studying that were often characterized by the constant moving and changing of apartments, a childhood home represented stability, consistency and unchangingness.[188] Bachelors juxtaposed their homes with the rest of the world as a safe place, a hidden nook or nest, and a place, where one belonged, where one was accepted and where one could always return.[189] Arno Cederberg (1885–1948) only truly felt like a homeless oldboy after his mother died (his father having already died earlier). At that point he believed he no longer had a home, where, for example, he could spend Christmas: "First Christmas as a wandering oldboy, without a home and a primary goal. Friendliness abundant even [he spent Christmas with his aunt], but still not the one offered by home. I wish this to be the last Christmas without a home."[190]

Men generally considered bachelorhood to be a transitory phase during which their old family ties were gradually transformed, new relationships, traditions and emotional attachments were formed and new discoveries made. After their childhood homes, bachelors imagined their next 'true' homes to be the homes they would set up with their wives.[191] This comes across most

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[185] Bachelors' writings here refer to the diaries of historian and professor Arno Rafael Cederberg (1885–1948), politician Vieno Johannes Sukselainen (1906–1995), dean and scout leader Verneri Louhivuori (1886–1980), headmaster Magnus Hagelstam (1879–1958), jurist Eero Kivikataja (1882–1966), librarian and writer Paul B. Nyberg (1889–1968), poet Larin-Kyösti (1873–1948) and composer and choirmaster Väinö Pesola (1886–1966). All except Larin-Kyösti eventually married, but I have only looked at the diary writings from the times that these men were unmarried.

[186] ÅA/Lofsdal-samlingen/Mapp 20/Brev till Aline Reuter från Julio Reuter Julio Reuter, 22.1.1896. Original: "Att vi, Esso och jag, kommit sunda(?) och välbibehållna fram hit till våra reps. bostäder - hem vill jag inte säga - det ha ni ju redan fått höra genom Essos brefkort samt genom telefonsamtal härom dagen."

[187] ÅA/Lofsdal-samlingen/Mapp 19/Brev till Aline Reuter från Julio Reuter, 16.4.1881.

[188] ÅA/Lofsdal-samlingen/Mapp 20/Brev till Aline Reuter från Julio Reuter, 3.2.1895.

[189] KK/Coll.26.14/Alexander Boldt to his mother Nanny Boldt, 6.8.1891; ÅA/Lofsdal-samlingen/kansio 20/Julio Reuter to his mother Aline Reuter, sommaren 1894; 18.4.1895; 22.1.1896; KA/Verner Louhivuori, päiväkirja, 28.10.1908; KK/Eero Kivikataja/Päiväkirja V, 18.7.1903; SLSA/665/Paul B. Nybergs arkiv/Mapp 30/Dagbok 5, 19.12.1909 & 26.12.1909; KA/Arno Cederberg/Muistojen pirstaleita syksyllä 1903, 11.12.1903; Muistojen pirstaleita syksyllä 1904 II, 21.12.1904; Muistojen pirstaleita keväältä 1907. I, 30.1.1907.

[190] KA/Arno Cederberg/Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 25.8.-31.12.1918, 31.12.1918. Original: "Ensimmäinen joulu harhailevana vanhanapoikana, ilman kotia ja päämaalia [äiti kuollut nyt myös]. Ystävällisyyttä runsaastikin, mutta ei kodin tarjoamaa silti. Olisipa tämä viimeinen joulu ilman kotia!"

[191] Regarding Victorian England, Tosh has stated that a part of becoming an independent, adult man was severing one's ties to home, that is demonstrating "that he could live without the comforts of home and the ministrations of its female inmates"; see Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 122. Based on the sources of this thesis, this

strongly in Arno Cederberg's diary writings in which he not only longs for a wife but equally for his "own home", without "which a person could not survive." Together with a wife, Cederberg considered his own home to form the cornerstone of his (future) happiness.[192] Similarly, in popular representations, story tellers not only equated marriage with home but implied that together they were what constituted a happy life. The newly-wed narrator of a story published in 1893 described how happy he was to finally be at home in contrast to a "bachelor's lonely chamber" and how, as a married man, he felt "like a shipmaster, who was resting safely in a harbour, having left the stormy, dreary sea behind." There was "nothing lacking from his earthly happiness!"[193] Marriage meant having someone to love, someone to care for you and someone to bring happiness to your life.[194] In their diary writings bachelors considered marriage to have transformative powers. They saw their future wife as a saviour, someone who would rescue them from loneliness, meaninglessness, and from the temporariness and unstable and irregular nature of bachelorhood, not to mention from the insecurities they felt about their own achievements and futures.[195] Bachelors expected marriage to give them a home, not only physically but emotionally: a place where they felt accepted and could be themselves.[196] By almost always and automatically describing bachelors and oldboys as lonely, public

severing of ties seems to have been more gradual and less final. French and Rothery have, in turn, emphasized the 'on-going dialogue' between sons and their parents that continued even after sons had left their homes. See French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, especially chapter 2.

[192] KA/Arno Cederbergin arkisto/1 Päivä- ja muistikirjoja/Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 25.12.1914–18.4.1915, 25.12.1914; Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 24.3.–1917, 1.5.1917; Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 9.5.–18.8.1918, 13.6.1918; 18.8.1918 & 25.8.1918; Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 25.8.–31.12.1918, 31.12.1918; Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 16.6.–3.8.1920, 1.8.1920. Original, 25.12.1914: "saada itselleni oman kodin ja sitä lämpöä, jota ilman ihminen ei kuitenkaan voi toimeen tulla."

[193] 'Meidän "Toverimme"', *Satakunta* 12.10.1893, 2–3. Original: " "- - jäimme vielä vaimoni kanssa istumaan käsi kädessä pöydän ääreen. - - Kotona! Kuinka ihanaa, kuinka ihanaa! Minä ajattelin ehtoita tupakan savulla täytetyssä ravintolassa, ehtoita poikamiehen yksinäisessä kamarissa ja kiitollisena suutelin minä vaimoni kättä. Mieleni oli niinkuin laivurin, joka lepää turvallisessa satamassa, kolkko, myrskyinen meri takanaan. Ei puuttunut maallisesta onnestani mitään!"

[194] Walee, 'Pienoinen romaani', *Suomalainen* 15.1.1892, 3; J. K., 'Puhemies', *Aamulehti* 19.5.1893, 3; 'Aamorin ihmeelliset tiet', *Aura* 20.10.1893, 2–3; 'Jouluna tapaamme toisemme', *Laatokka* 2.2.1901; 'Pääsiäissuudelma', *Uusimaa* 18.4.1902, 2; K-joen Timo, 'Vanhan pojan kokemuksia karkausvuotena', *Etelä-Pohjanmaa* 30.3.1908, 3; T. D., 'Sanomalehti-ilmoitus. Kertomus', *Suomalainen Kansa* 15.11.1909, 6; 'Fin skilnad', *Lördagen* 17.3.1900, 82–83; Karl Rönne, 'En påskåpuss', *Lördagen* 9.4.1904, 117; Efraim Wästberg, 'Efter många år', *Lördagen* 26.9.1908, 321–322; 'Ensimmäinen kosintani', *Kaiku* 16.6.1902, 2–3; Salmela, 'Iltapuhteella', *Savo* 10.11.1888, 2–3; Ragnar Rybergh, 'Erään työmiehen elämän vaiheet', *Tapio* 22.3.1879, 2–3; Jussi kaima, 'Onneton', *Lounas* 28.2.1890, 3–4.

[195] SLSA/703/Hagelstamska släktarkivet/Mapp 11, Magnus Hagelstams dagböcker/ Dagbok II, 5.1.1917; SLSA/665/Mapp 30/Dagbok No 4, 10.10.1907 & 26.1.1908; Dagbok No 5, 12.10.1909; SKS/KIA/Kyösti Larsonin (Larin-Kyösti) arkisto/A1654/Päiväkirja ja tunteitteni kirja, 3.10.1899 & 2.3.[1900?]; A1647/Kalentereita/1917, 24.[7?].1917; KK/ Väinö Pesolan arkisto/ Coll.433.2, Päiväkirjat/Päiväkirja I, 27.11.1916; Päiväkirja VIII, 20.3.1919; KA/Arno Cederberg/Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 25.12.1914–18.4.1915, 25.12.1914; Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 21.6.–25.8.1919, 29.6.1919; KA/V. J. Sukselainen/Päiväkirja 5, 15.12.1929; Päiväkirja 6, 2.12.1931; Päiväkirja 7, 2.9.1932 & 17.10.1932.

[196] SLSA/665/Mapp 30/Dagbok No 7, 16.12.1912; KA/V. J. Sukselainen/Päiväkirja 9, 23.7.1937.

representations of unmarried men portrayed their loneliness as inevitable. Furthermore, equating singleness with loneliness strengthened the normativity of the idea of marriage as a person's primary emotional relationship. As stated in the magazine *Pyrkijä* in 1893, without a wife an oldboy was "an incomplete creature, the first part of a two-part volume."[197]

The multiple references made in diaries as well as written oral history sources to a line from the Bible, "it is not good for the man to be alone,"[198] demonstrate how bachelors understood the significance of marriage as the primary personal relationship. It also shows how at least some of the bachelors had internalized a Christian understanding of marriage as the very basis of society as decreed by God.[199] According to Christian teaching and family guidebooks of the time, marriage had two main purposes: firstly, to prevent immorality since sex was only allowed within marriage, and, secondly, for the purpose of procreation. The second aim was widely shared even by those who did not advocate an absolute view on sexual morality or who underlined the nature of marriage as a voluntary agreement between two people. The purpose of marriage was to give birth to new members of society; the purpose of family was to provide the best possible environment to raise and educate the next generation to be responsible and obedient citizens.[200] Responsibility to one's roots or continuing one's bloodline had been replaced by responsibilities towards society and securing its continuation by raising new citizens. Because oldboys had not moved on to the expected next phase in their lives, their status as unmarried was seen not only as a personal problem but also as a social one.

The Tax of 1935

In 1935 the government introduced an extra tax on bachelors, thus openly problematizing the bachelor's position in relation to families and the future of society. This tax, which targeted the

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[197] 'Ajatuksen siemeniä', *Pyrkijä* 15.8.1893, 61–62. Original: "Vanhapoika on vaillinainen olento, ensi nidos kaksiosaisesta romaanista."

[198] See Genesis 2:18, the Lord God said, "It is not good for the man to be alone. I will make a helper suitable for him." In Finnish: Herra Jumala sanoi: "Ei ole hyvä ihmisen olla yksinään. Minä teen hänelle kumppanin, joka sopii hänen avukseen." KA/Verneri Louhivuoren arkisto/Käsikirjoitukset/1 Päiväkirjat/Päiväkirja 25.6.1908–13.4.1918, 9.11.1913; KA/Arno Cederberg/Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 24.3.– 1917, 8.4.1917 & 1.5.1917. In the oral history sources see SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 192:2581. 1993; SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 16:7034. 1993; TYKL/kys/6: informant 4, 29; TYKL/kys/10: informant 9, 32. In the oral history sources the respondents are describing their decision to marry after decades have already passed and therefore we cannot assume that they would have used the same phrase at the time of their decision. The fact that we can find the same reference in diaries of the early 20th century indicates, in my opinion, that the phrase was used already earlier than the time of the oral history writings, that is, the 1950s and the 1990s.

[199] Arja-Liisa Räisänen, *Onnellisen avioliiton ehdot: sukupuolijärjestelmän muodostumisprosessi suomalaisissa avioliitto- ja seksuaalivalistusoppaissa 1865-1920* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1995), 68–69.

[200] Räisänen, 69–72.

unmarried and the childless, was the "first concrete family policy measure" in Finland, as Kyösti Urponen has described it. It explicitly differentiated between unmarried people and those with families.[201] According to newspaper sources, the introduction of a bachelor tax had been raised in discussions in the Diet of Finland from as early as the 1890s.[202] For the first time the matter was officially proposed in the Parliament of independent Finland in 1924 when the Parliament asked the Cabinet to investigate the possibility of an extra tax for people who did not have any dependents.[203] Yet, it took two failed attempts, in 1925 and in 1928, before a Cabinet bill that included such a tax was passed by Parliament in 1935. The new law stated that taxpayers, who were 24 years or older and who did not support full-time dependents other than a spouse, or had not done so previously for at least 16 years, had to pay an extra tax of twenty percent of their income and property tax.[204] Despite some opposition that mainly focused on the phrasing of the bill, the law passed with a clear majority of 138 to 33.[205]

The fact that the tax was aimed not only at unmarried people but also at childless couples emphasized the perceived need to ensure the growth of the population by boosting the birth rate and ensuring the future prosperity of the nation.[206] During the interwar period in many European countries worries about a 'population crisis' emerged as a result of declining birth rates. In some countries, most notably in France, this perceived 'crisis' led to the introduction of pro-natalist policies and welfare measures.[207] In Finland, Senior Actuary Gunnar Modeen predicted in 1933 and 1934 that the population of Finland would never reach four million (in 1930 the population was approximately 3.4 million) if the current birth rate was maintained. Modeen's

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[201] Kyösti Urponen, 'Huoltoyhteiskunnasta hyvinvointivaltioon', in *Armeliaisuus, yhteisöapu, sosiaaliturva: Suomalaisen sosiaalisen turvan historia*, ed. Jouko Jaakkola et al. (Helsinki: Sosiaaliturvan Keskusliitto, 1994), 203.
[202] 'Valtiopäivät. Leimasuostuntavero', *Päivälehti* 21.5.1897, 3; 'Kirje waltiopäiviltä', *Wuoksi* 29.5.1897, 2.
[203] *Valtiopäivät 1924: Asiakirjat I*, Valtiovarainvaliokunnan mietintö N:o 26 (Hallituksen ehdotus N:o 66); *Valtiopäivät 1924: Pöytäkirjat I*, 10.10.1924, 530–551; 5.11.1924, 758-825; 14.11.1924, 908. The suggestion was raised while the Parliament was examining a bill on income and property tax.
[204] *Valtiopäivät 1935: Asiakirjat III*, Hallituksen esitys N:o 48 Eduskunnalle tulo- ja omaisuusverolain muuttamisesta; Eduskunnan vastaus Hallituksen esitykseen N:o 48 tulo- ja omaisuusverolain muuttamisesta.
[205] *Valtiopäivät 1935: Pöytäkirjat III*, 5.12.1935, 2474–2482. The Roman emperor Augustus Caesar "limited the inheritances of people who neither married nor fathered children", and in England in 1660, after the Restoration, an extra tax was placed on single people. Several 'bachelor laws', including extra taxes on bachelors, were introduced in the American colonies during the 17th and 18th centuries. During the early 20th century, Italy enacted a bachelor tax in 1926 and one was passed in Germany in 1930. See McCurdy, *Citizen Bachelors*, 51, 58–59 & 179; Victoria De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 69–70; Cornelie Usborne, *The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women's Reproductive Rights and Duties* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), 44.
[206] McCurdy, *Citizen Bachelors*, 76; Pekka Kuusi, *60-luvun sosiaalipolitiikka*, Sosiaalipoliittisen yhdistyksen julkaisuja (Porvoo: WSOY, 1961), 177.
[207] Susan Pedersen, *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State : Britain and France, 1914-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), especially chapter 7, pp. 357–411.

population prognoses set off a widespread discussion, the founding of a population committee and the introduction of population policy laws.[208] The average number of children in families had fallen from 4.8 at the beginning of the 20th century to 2.4 in the 1930s.[209] Children were seen as the foundation of society's well-being, independence and development, and the strength and success of the nation was directly linked to its size as well as its population's vitality.[210] Marriage and sterilization laws were also part of a wider concern about the 'quality' of the population, but politicians needed to find ways to increase the birth rate through policies and measures that encouraged the creation of new families while also supporting existing ones.[211] Introducing a tax for people with no families was one way to do this as it balanced the costs of having a family by making it possible for the Finnish state to increase the tax deductions families had been able to have since 1922.[212]

The main legislative argument for introducing this extra tax from 1924 onwards was one of fairness. Because a taxpayer's ability to pay his or her taxes, or how big of a burden taxes placed on the taxpayer, depended on whether he or she had to support and care for a family, it was considered only fair and just that people without responsibilities towards any dependents should pay more taxes:

> If two people have the same income, but one has to support a family that consists of several people when the other one only has to support themselves, the capacity to pay taxes is evidently a lot lower in the case of the former than of the latter.[213]

By balancing the burden caused by taxation, the true aim was to balance the burden of the cost of having children as children were seen to benefit *all* members of society, not only their

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[208] Urponen, 'Huoltoyhteiskunnasta hyvinvointivaltioon', 200–203; Kuusi, *60-luvun sosiaalipolitiikka*, 178; Markku Mattila, *Kansamme parhaaksi: rotuhygienia Suomessa vuoden 1935 sterilointilakiin asti* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1999), 56.
[209] Sulkunen, *Naisen kutsumus*, 120–21. Reasons behind the decrease in the birth rate included a change in lifestyle and thus a changed relationship to children where they had become a financial burden, older age at marriage, and a general increase in the standard of living; see for example Urponen, 'Huoltoyhteiskunnasta hyvinvointivaltioon', 202.
[210] Olli Kangas, 'Lapsilisät: tuotantopalkkio vai kustannusten tasaus?', in *Suomen eduskunta 100 vuotta, 8. Eduskunta hyvinvointivaltion rakentajana*, ed. Olli Kangas and Tapani Paavonen (Helsinki: Edita, 2006), 290.
[211] Mattila, *Kansamme parhaaksi*, 260–261, 265–267, 383 & 388.
[212] *Valtiopäivät 1935: Pöytäkirjat I*, 6.9.1935, 1124–1130; Sulkunen, *Naisen kutsumus*, 120–21; Juntto, *Asuntokysymys Suomessa*, 166; Anneli Anttonen and Jorma Sipilä, *Suomalaista sosiaalipolitiikkaa* (Tampere: Vastapaino, 2009), 58 & 61; Kangas, 'Lapsilisät', 291; Kuusi, *60-luvun sosiaalipolitiikka*, 178.
[213] *Valtiopäivät 1928: Asiakirjat I-II*, Hallituksen esitys N:o 26 Eduskunnalle tulo- ja omaisuus- sekä kunnallisverotusta koskevasta lainsäädännöstä. In Finnish: "Jos kahdella henkilöllä on yhtä suuret tulot, mutta toisen täytyy elättää useampia henkilöitä käsittävä perhe, kun taas toisen ei tarvitse elättää muita kuin itseänsä, on edellisen veronmaksukyky ilmeisesti paljoa pienempi kuin jälkimmäisen.", see p. 5.

parents.[214] Paying the tax was a way for these (usually single) taxpayers to fulfil their duty and responsibility towards society and redeem, at least partly, their place as contributing citizens.[215] The reasoning behind the tax reveals how the rights and responsibilities of citizens intertwined with marital status and reproduction. Considering that the main argument behind the tax was the ability to pay taxes, it was also logical and just that supporting not only one's children but also other relatives and loved ones, such as parents or siblings, exempted one from paying the tax.

While the tax was clearly not only a 'bachelor tax' or an 'oldboy tax', these terms often remained in use when talking about the tax, in newspapers for example. I argue that this was because people saw the behaviour of older unmarried men as the most problematic since men were considered to be the primary breadwinners as well as the active party in offers of marriage. Earlier suggestions, whether they had been raised in official contexts or in newspaper articles and opinion pieces, had usually concerned only unmarried men and especially men who were past what was considered the normal marrying age.[216] Even in the first proposal put forward by the Cabinet in 1925, only men would have had to pay the tax: 10% if they did not have any children but were married, or 20% if they were unmarried, separated, or widowed.[217] However, as by the 1920s the issue of gender equality had been on the agenda for quite some time already (for example, Finnish women had been given the right to vote at the same time as most men in 1906) and as many women also worked, politicians and some commentators did not consider it justified to exempt women from paying the tax.[218] Still, for example, Kaino Oksanen, a representative of the National Coalition Party (*Kokoomus*), criticized the law for unreasonably punishing all those unmarried women who were not to blame for their status because, due to the surplus of women, there were not enough husbands for everyone.[219]

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[214] Kangas, 'Lapsilisät', 291.
[215] 'Sananen asteettain nousevasta tuloverosta', *Uusi Aura* 14.9.1909/A, 2; *Valtiopäivät 1935: Asiakirjat III*, Hallituksen esitys N:o 48 Eduskunnalle tulo- ja omaisuusverolain muuttamisesta; *Valtiopäivät 1935: Pöytäkirjat I*, 6.9.1935, 1125–1130; *Valtiopäivät 1935: Pöytäkirjat II*, 26.11.1935, 2251–2258; 29.11.1935, 2331–2338; Eero Kivikari, *Perheettömien lisävero* (Helsinki: Otava, 1936), 5 & 18.
[216] 'Kirje waltiopäiviltä', *Wuoksi* 29.5.1897, 2; 'Eri aloilta', *Päivän uutiset* 13.8.1889, 2; 'Sama työ ja sama palkka', *Kansakoulun lehti* 15.9.1899, 399–404.
[217] *Valtiopäivät 1925: Asiakirjat II-III*, Hallituksen esitys N:o 57 Eduskunnalle lisäyksen tekemisestä tulo- ja omaisuusverolakiin.
[218] *Valtiopäivät 1925: Asiakirjat II-III*, Eduskunnan vastaus Hallituksen esitykseen N:o 57 lisäyksen tekemisestä tulo- ja omaisuusverolakiin; Jekku, 'Pakinaa. Ukko Ruunun rahahuolet', *Länsi-Savo* 4.9.1925, 3.
[219] *Valtiopäivät 1935: Pöytäkirjat III*, 5.12.1935, 2475.

Oksanen's objection echoed older arguments about who or what was in fact to blame for the perceived increase in the number of unmarried people. One reason why oldboys were criticized for not getting married was because it was claimed that this forced a higher number of women to remain unmarried.[220] As it was the man's prerogative, and duty, to be the one to propose marriage, the fact that women were unmarried was seen as men's fault. Furthermore, as men were generally considered to be the primary breadwinners, women needed a husband to support them and in order for them to live their lives appropriately. While Finnish folklore presented old maids as longing for a man or even aching from the need for a man, similar to the representations in newspapers and magazines, men were presented more as avoiding and detesting women and marriage.[221] This difference in stereotypes underlines how men were considered as having more agency in relationship matters and also how men could more afford to take a negative attitude towards marriage due to their more independent position in society. In turn, unmarried women were portrayed as victims of men's unwillingness to give up their bachelor freedoms and pleasures. Such views, which saw the singleness of oldboys as an active choice they made, are also apparent in the jokes made about oldboys in relation to the enacted tax or the ones proposed previously. These jokes combined the stereotypes of determined and resolute bachelors with the belief that oldboys were so stingy that only an economic incentive such as a bachelor tax could make them decide to get married. The jokes underlined how singleness was regarded as a personal choice, not a consequence of, for example, economic structures.[222]

> - - they [people without families] have to start taking part in supporting the society more strongly and not just live for themselves, as they have been allowed to do thus far, when people with families have to raise their children for the benefit of the society under circumstances which have often become unbearable.[223]

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[220] H. H., 'Naisten opiskelusta taas kerran', *Ylioppilaslehti* 21.3.1936, 66–67.
[221] Niekka and Petrelius, *Suomalainen vanhapiikuus*, 17–18 & 21–22.
[222] According to De Grazia, the Italian bachelor tax had a "punitive and homophobic dimension." See De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women*, 70. In Finland, homosexuality was not explicitly brought up in the discussions relating to the extra tax, although, at the same time, the number of men convicted of same-sex fornication had reached an all-time high since the introduction of the law in 1894 and the public, at least in Helsinki, had become more aware of homosexuality; see Sandra Hagman, *Seitsemän kummaa veljestä: kertomuksia suomalaisen homoseksuaalisuuden historiasta* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2016), 90–131 & 295.
[223] *Valtiopäivät 1935: Pöytäkirjat I*, 6.9.1935, 1130. Original: "- - yhteiskunnan pystyssäpitämiseen on aika heidänkin ruveta voimakkaammin osaa ottamaan eikä elää vain itseänsä varten, kuten tähän asti ovat saaneet tehdä, silloin kun perheelliset saavat kasvattaa lapsia monasti ylivoimaisiksi muodostuneissa vaikeissa olosuhteissa yhteiskunnan hyväksi."

Even though the tax was not meant to be, at least not officially, a punishment for unmarried or childless people, some justified the tax because they saw people without families as selfish.[224] Such an opinion was more widely expressed in newspapers even though there were the few examples from Parliamentary sessions, such as the quotation cited above from MP Yrjö Kesti (Small Farmers' Party of Finland/Suomen pienviljelijöiden puolue).[225] A juxtaposition was built between families, whose lives were troubled by hardships and difficulties, and people without families, who were seen as living an easy and free life without having to worry about making ends meet. The economic depression of the early 1930s heightened such comparisons and differences in the sustainability of livelihoods. It was not considered right that only some people took responsibility for the future of society by raising and caring for future citizens even with very little income, while others "revelled in an abundance of money" and "fooled around with women like goats in a field of cabbages."[226] One article called the tax a "pleasure tax" (*huvivero*) that would limit the fun oldboys could have in life, and others called it a fine or a way to hurry men into marriage.[227] The advocates of the tax used similar language and imagery as the more general discussion about bachelors and oldboys in which certain reasons for remaining unmarried were considered to be more acceptable than others.[228] Being against marriage out of principle (confirmed, cynical, inveterate, hardened, resolute, stern or incurable bachelors[229]) or not being able to settle down because a bachelor enjoyed the chase so much or could not find anyone to match his high expectations constituted the least acceptable reasons for remaining single.[230] The oldboys' lonely lives were pitied, but they were simultaneously

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[224] For example Pelle, 'Små kåserier. Vore jag lantdagsman', *Lördagen* 24.10.1908, 359. According to Vickery, similar views were also expressed in England during the 18th century; see Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 77.
[225] The situation had been similar in colonial America, where legislators concentrated on more practical matters, whereas within the "larger cultural conversation" there was much more hostility towards bachelors, who, for some people, by refusing to marry "threatened the country because they chose selfish luxuries over the good of the nation." See McCurdy, *Citizen Bachelors*, 76, 92 & 116–17.
[226] Jekku, 'Pakinaa. Ukko Ruunun rahahuolet', *Länsi-Savo* 4.9.1925, 3. Original: "rellehtivät rahanrunsaudessa". Tuomas: Viikon varrelta. Jouluk. 4. pnä, *Länsi-Savo* 5.12.1935, 2–3. Original: "pelehtineet naisväen kanssa kuin pukit kaalimaassa".
[227] Osmo Lauri: Nuortamiestä verotetaan!, *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat* 6.2.1936, 4. See also Veräjän pielestä. Vanhainpoikain vero**,** *Jämsän Sanomat* 6.12.1924, 3.
[228] Even though being an oldboy required an explanation, the newspaper sources do not indicate that singleness was linked to questions about a man's sexuality. See also Jan Löfström, *Sukupuoliero agraarikulttuurissa: 'se nyt vaan on semmonen'* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1999), 94. Sandra Hagman found in her PhD study on homosexuality in Finland that, at least before 1911, same-sex intimacy was discussed in Finnish newspapers hardly at all; see Hagman, *Seitsemän kummaa veljestä*, 64–65.
[229] In Finnish piintynyt/kyyninen/paatunut/parantumaton/vakaa/kivikova. See for example, 'Morsen uutinen', *Karjalatar* 1.7.1902, 4; U. Berndtson, 'Rikoksen tiellä', *Karjalatar* 19.1.1904, 3; 'Kirjallisuutta ja taidetta. Gogolin naimapuuhissa', *Suomen Kansa* 9.12.1901, 3; J. J. Bell, 'Persialainen kissa', *Lukutupa* 14.11.1903, 180 & 182; Tor Hedberg, 'Rakkausjuttu', *Uusi Kuvalehti* 15.10.1898, 258–260.
[230] 'Lyhyt ja tavallinen elämän kasku', *Wuoksi* 4.12.1895, 3; M.S., 'Niitä näitä. Minkätähden löytyy niin paljon poikamiehiä?', *Mikkelin Sanomat* 9.4.1890, 3; Paul von Schönthan, 'Rakkauden vuodenajat', *Uuden Suomettaren juttu-tupa* 31/1901, 122–123; 'Kuinka setäni menetti nais-ihanteensa', *Kotkan Uutiset* 11.6.1899,

regarded as being selfish, self-centred and lazy because they had allegedly chosen their personal comfort and pleasures over the responsibilities of starting a family.[231]

Defining family

The "oldboy's tax" was a part of a wider system and agenda to put the proclaimed needs of families first. These measures also included the implementation of family wages, rent benefits or housing specifically for families as well as funds to support widows and orphans. In addition, unmarried workers were made redundant before married men, and they were expected to be able to move more easily to another region or even immigrate to America in search for work.[232] Historian Sonya Michel has pointed out how laws and family policies "construct families in certain ways or include certain types of families while excluding others" and how such definitions do not necessarily "match subjectively determined families."[233] One of the main issues as to why people objected to the differential treatment of unmarried and married people in relation to wage or other employee benefits was the fact that unmarried persons were often responsible for supporting other family members, from parents to siblings to orphaned relatives.[234] These commentators were outraged by the idea that now "nothing else is family but one's own children."[235] 'Vera' pointed out that, compared to familymen, a family could be a bigger burden for unmarried people since they had less say in when or who they had to

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2–3; 'Hajanaisia ajatuksia', *Kotkan Uutiset* 17.7.1904, 4; Carl Evald, 'Tyttö, joka saattoi tyystin vaieta', *Suomalainen Kansa* 26.9.1910, 5; Mooses, '"Poikamiehen" elämäkerta', *Työkansa* 13.4.1908, 3; 'Kevään vaaroja', *Uusi Aura* 10.4.1910, 3–4; 'Kuollut jättiläinen', *Wiipuri* 13.2.1901, 2; 'Kaikellaista. Rukkasetko vai selkäsauna?', *Koi* 5.1.1880, 4; J., 'Anna', *Päijänne* 2.6.1880, 2–3; 'Kumpi väistää?', *Tampereen* Sanomat 7.2.1885, 2; 'Kaikellaista. Oikea vanhapoika', *Karjalatar* 7.10.1892, 4; 'Kaikellaista. Iloinen juhla', *Itä-Karjala* 11.1.1898, 4; 'Aftonbön', *Lördagen* 21.10.1899, 336; 'En gammal ungkarl', *Lördagen* 7.4.1906, 129; Sometimes their hate extended to children as well, see for example, 'Meidän lapsemme ja muiden kakarat', *Kansalainen* 3.6.1903, 3; 'Vanhapoika', *Itä-Suomen Sanomat* 18.5.1895, 2; J. H., 'Vuoden vaiheista', *Wiipuri* 1.1.1898, 2–3.

[231] 'Aviokauhu ja naimahalu', *Uusi Suometar* 24.2.1888, 2; M. H–g., 'Mitä tehdään?', *Työmies* 25.11.1902, 1; 'Mukavuuksia', *Kansalainen* 10.2.1904, 3. See also Milne-Smith, *London Clubland*, 152; Snyder, *Bachelors, Masculinity, and the Novel*, 24.

[232] 'Puute pääkaupungissa', Haminan sanomat 4.12.1891; TYKL/kys/17: informant 1; informant 11. One respondent also recalls how he was not given a farm allotment by the State Forest Enterprise (Metsähallitus) because he was unmarried, see SKS KRA. Hirvasaho, Eemil Jätkät 3:33–34. 1969.

[233] Sonya Michel, 'Moving Targets: Towards a Framework for Studying Family Policies and Welfare States', in *Beyond Welfare State Models: Transnational Historical Perspectives on Social Policy*, ed. Pauli Kettunen and Klaus Petersen (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2011), 119.

[234] Teemunpoika, 'Se ehdotus uudeksi vuokratariffiksi', *Juna* 23.1.1908, 4; Naisen ääni, 'Siitä me naiset pidämme kiinni!', *Naisten ääni* 21/1908, 293–294. Vera, 'Sananen opettajain palkkauspolemiikkiin.', *Työmies* 29.5.1907, 6. On family wages, see Teemunpoika, 'Se ehdotus uudeksi vuokratariffiksi', *Juna* 23.1.1908, 4; Vera, 'Sananen opettajain palkkauspolemiikkiin.', *Työmies* 29.5.1907, 6; TMT:216:732:TA, 2; Maria Lähteenmäki, *Mahdollisuuksien aika: työläisnaiset ja yhteiskunnan muutos 1910-30-luvun Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1995), 263–65; Tapio Bergholm, 'Työmarkkinajärjestöt ja Suomen lapsilisäjärjestelmän synty', *Yhteiskuntapolitiikka* 68, no. 1 (2003): 64; Kangas, 'Lapsilisät', 292.

[235] Naisen ääni, 'Siitä me naiset pidämme kiinni!', *Naisten ääni* 21/1908, 293–294.

support.[236] Furthermore, during economic downturns and hard times it made sense to support families but at the same time these measures excluded bachelors, and unmarried people in general, by making it more difficult for them to set up a family of their own and to become full members of society. Similarly, equating bachelorhood with mobility created a vicious circle in which bachelors were not considered deserving precisely because of their bachelorhood, but at the same time their status made it harder for them to find a permanent job, stay in one place, stabilize their economic situation and save enough funds to get married and start that family.

The case of the 1935 tax as well as other family-supporting measures expose the sometimes difficult position unmarried men, and women, had in a society, where the centrality of families increased while the definition of family became narrower. The early 20th century was a time when the state and municipalities invested very little public money in social security and support measures.[237] People were meant to resort to the public authorities for help only when they had no other choice. Family was regarded as the primary producer of care and support and not aiming the tax only at supporters of children actually enforced this principle. Yet, at the same time, through their family measures, both public and private actors gradually defined a family as a narrow unit formed simply by parents and their children. The state was first and foremost interested in promoting the growth of the birth rate as well as the well-being of children. As a result, the unmarried providers and carers for family members fell between the cracks and were denied the family they *did* have. Even though the law of 1935 did exempt a wider range of providers than merely parents from paying the tax,[238] tax deductions were only aimed at people with children. Unmarried people with families to care for were not treated equally to people with children as regards to other family policy measures.[239]

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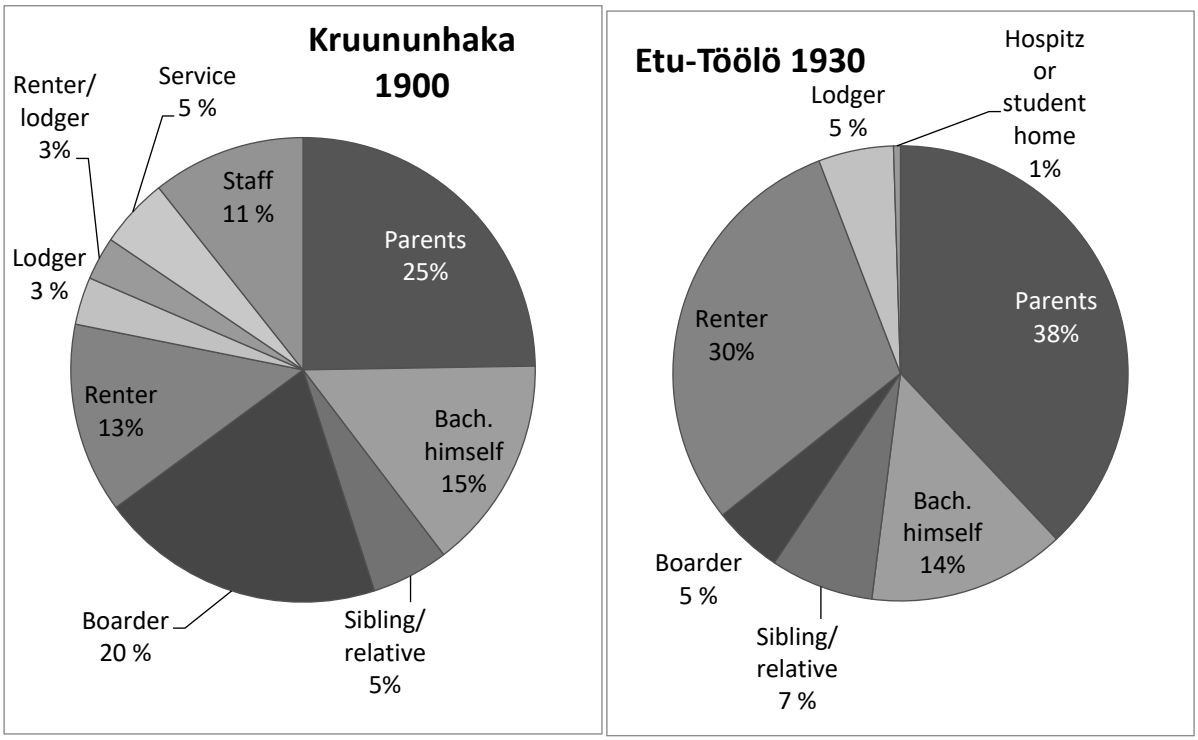
[236] Vera, 'Sananen opettajain palkkauspolemiikkiin.', *Työmies* 29.5.1907, 6.
[237] Bergholm, 'Työmarkkinajärjestöt ja Suomen lapsilisäjärjestelmän synty', 64; Urponen, 'Huoltoyhteiskunnasta hyvinvointivaltioon', 174.
[238] The law used the word 'intimate', *läheinen*. According to Senior Officer Eero Kivikari, who was responsible for matters related to taxes at the Treasury at the time, 'support' (*elättäminen*) referred to "voluntary, continuous support, which is given without compensation to a destitute person, who cannot support themselves by working" and that the "dependent is primarily dependent on this support", see Kivikari, *Perheettömien lisävero*, 27–28. The issue seems to have caused so much confusion that a booklet, written by Kivikari, was published in 1936 describing the reasons for the extra tax as well as how the law should be interpreted.
[239] Holden has discussed how single people in Britain were not treated equally in relation to salaries or the payment of welfare and unemployment benefits; see Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*, 57–62.

Familymen: Bachelors as sons, brothers, uncles

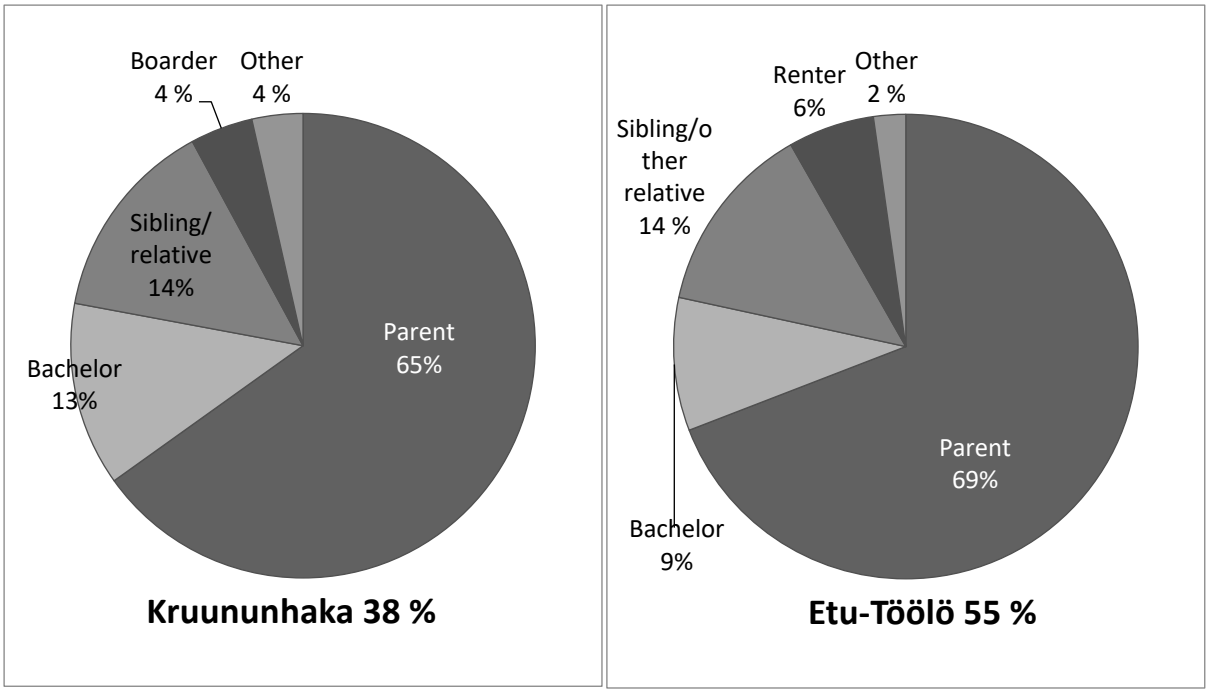
Arthur, a 35-year-old office worker, lived together with his parents (his father was a former professor), a sister and two servants in an eight-room apartment in Kirkkokatu, in Kruununhaka in 1900. The same year, on Rauhankatu, three brothers, 36-year-old Frans, 31-year-old Otto, both of whom worked as scribes for the Senate, and 29-year-old Karl, who worked as a bank official, shared a nine-room apartment with their widowed mother, two sisters and two servants. Thirty years later, in 1930 in Etu-Töölö, a 35-year-old printer Lauri and his 33-year-old brother Gustav, an electricity technician, were living in a five-room apartment on Runeberginkatu together with their widowed mother, two adult sisters, who were both office workers, and their mother's widowed sister. 33-year-old Robert, on the other hand, inhabited a four-room apartment on Dagmarinkatu with his parents, three younger brothers, 27-year-old Jacke, 23-year-old Josef, and 19-year-old Herman, three sisters and a servant. Their father was a tradesman and all except one of the seven children was entered as either a shop or a storage assistant indicating that most of the children worked in their father's business. These ten bachelors, most of whom were in their late 20s or even their 30s, exemplify the variety of family households of which bachelors were a part. Their experience also demonstrates that, unlike the stereotype of the bachelor living alone, these bachelors shared their everyday lives and living spaces with a range of family members.



Charts 2 and 3. Unmarried men living in Kruununhaka in 1900 (n=966) according to type of or relationship to head of household, and unmarried men living in Etu-Töölö in 1930 (n=2849) according to type of or relationship to head of household.

As we can see from Charts 2 and 3, Arthur, Lauri, Robert and the others were not alone. Living with either one or both parents represented the most common form of living arrangement for bachelors both in Kruununhaka in 1900 and in Etu-Töölö in 1930, with a 25% and 38% share of the bachelor population respectively. If we include all the possible forms of family households, we see that in 1900 38 % and in 1930 55% of bachelors shared a living space with one or several family members or relatives in one form or another (Charts 4 and 5). The majority of such bachelors, 65–69%, lived in a household headed by one or both parents, either with or without siblings. The second largest proportion, 14%, lived in households headed either by their unmarried sister or brother, married brother or sister's husband. Nearly as often, in 9–13% of the cases, the bachelor himself headed the household. Besides the results of the census samples, written oral history sources equally reveal that men preferred to live with family members, if this was at all possible. Family was often considered an important part of these people's lives as well as of their definitions of home.[240] "[I]t was a completely different thing living with family members than in the 'corners' of strangers," as stated by Pekka. When he was studying in Helsinki in the late 1930s, Pekka first lived in his brother's "bachelor apartment" and then after his brother's marriage he joined the newly-weds in their new apartment.[241]

[240] TYKL/kys/17: informant 25.
[241] SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 289: 13522. 1993.



Charts 4 and 5. Bachelors living with family members or relatives in Kruununhaka in 1900 according to relationship to head of household (n=367), and bachelors living with family members or relatives in Etu-Töölö in 1930 according to relationship to head of household (n=1565).

As Charts 4 and 5 show, the proportions of the different types of arrangements did not significantly change between the two censuses. The biggest and key change was the overall increase in the proportion of bachelors living with family members, which was mainly a result of the increase in the number of bachelors living with their parents, as seen in Charts 2 and 3. This increase does not seem to have been a consequence of a significant increase in the average age of marriage (from 27.0 to 27.7) or difference in age profiles (Chart 6). The age structures, nonetheless, illustrate how continuing to live with one's parents through to one's mid to late twenties was a normal practice in early-20th-century Helsinki.[242] Similarly, for example, in 19th-century England and the US sons lived with their parents until marriage sometimes into their late twenties or thirties.[243] One might have assumed that industrialization and migration to cities would have decreased the possibilities for children to continue to live with their parents, but previous research has shown how the opposite was actually the case. At least in some areas of Europe, older children were "more, not less, likely to be living with their parents in the city

[242] Koskinen et al., *Suomen väestö*, 141.
[243] Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, 134; Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 21 & 103; Anderson, 'The Social Position of Spinsters', 389; Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*, 98–99. See also Peter N. Stearns, *Be a Man! Males in Modern Society*, 2nd ed (Holmes & Meier, 1990), 84–85; Kok and Mandemakers, 'Life and Death of Singles', 111; Litchfield, 'Single People in the Nineteenth-Century City', 92.

than in the country."[244] In the case of Finland, rural families often sent their sons and daughters to work on other farms, whereas in cities the children of working-class families continued to live with their parents even after they had started working themselves. The census samples point to this being the case also among urban middle-class families. The nuclear family therefore stayed together longer and moving out from one's family home as soon as one could was not considered as important a rite of adulthood as it is today.[245]

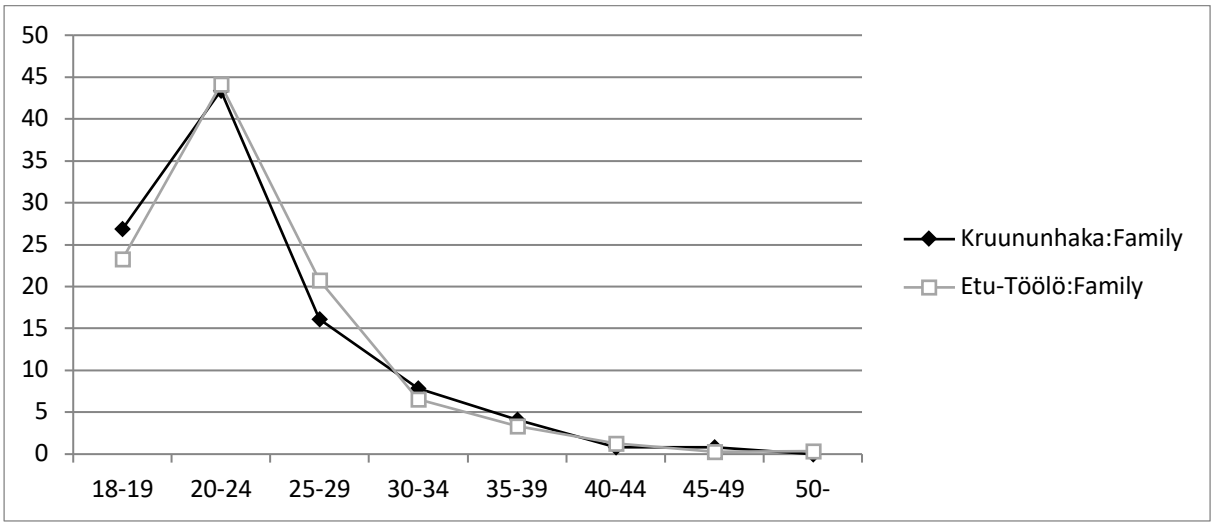


Chart 6. The age structure of bachelors living with one or both of their parents in Kruununhaka in 1900 and in Etu-Töölö in 1930.[246]

Following the preference for living with one's parents until marriage if it was possible, a key distinction can be made between those bachelors, who were either born in Helsinki or had lived there with their family and stayed there for work or studies, and those, who had moved to the city alone in search of employment or educational opportunities from other parts of the country.[247] 20-year-old filer Leo Valkama, who died in 1927 and had lived with his parents, might have lived as a lodger had he moved to Helsinki alone.[248] This difference based on geographical origin is also supported by interviews conducted in 1968–1969 of men, who had either been born in Helsinki or moved there when they were young: only those men who had

[244] David I. Kertzer, 'Living with Kin', in *The History of the European Family: Vol. 2, Family Life in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1789-1913*, ed. David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2002), 62; Häggman, *Johdatus perhehistoriaan*, 42; Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty*, 9–10 & 228.
[245] Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty*, 43, 83–84 & 228.
[246] For a full comparison of the age profiles of the whole census samples, see table 14 in Appendix 3.
[247] However, David I. Kertzer and Vicky Holmes have, for example, pointed out how all young lodgers were not necessarily new to the area, but could also be urban natives; see Kertzer, 'Living with Kin', 62; Holmes, 'Accommodating the Lodger', 318–19.
[248] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:145 Perukirjat (1928)/26985.

moved to Helsinki by themselves to earn a living talked about lodging and other forms of housing. Those who had lived in Helsinki as children with their families described moving from family homes to marital homes.[249] The interviews also further confirm that this custom was prevalent both among the working classes as well as among the middle classes.[250]

Siblings likewise played an important part in the lives of many bachelors: in both census samples, 83–84% per cent of those living with family members or relatives in different living arrangements lived together with at least one sibling. Besides sharing a parental household with siblings, there were also circumstances which led bachelors to form sibling households with their, mostly unmarried, sisters and brothers. Just under a fifth of those who lived with family members lived with one or several unmarried siblings in different living arrangements.[251] While in 1900 the highest proportion lived in households where the bachelor himself was head of the household, in 1930 slightly more lived in a rented room together with a sibling or siblings.

Sibling households could have been the result of a shared life phase or situation in life or an older sibling taking care of a younger sibling similar to a parental relationship. Major Karl G., who died at 58 years of age in 1883, had been the guardian of his underage sister Fredrika until his death. In the Biström household, the two oldest siblings worked as office clerks supporting four younger siblings, of which two were students and two were still at school.[252] According to Davidoff, in 19th-century England, it was more common for an unmarried brother to live together with an unmarried sister than with an unmarried brother.[253] In the two censuses, brother-sister households were slightly more common than brother-brother households but neither form constituted a significant majority. Furthermore, among those bachelors living in a rented room together with a sibling, it was much more common for the roommate to be a brother.

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[249] HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:1, see for example interviews with Harald Mexmontan, Paavo Helenius, and Karl Vesanto. These interviews were conducted in 1968 and 1969 and focused on the housing, food, working lives and freetime activities of the interviewees both in their childhoods as well as in later life.
[250] See also Pekka Leimu, *Forssa - elämää tehtaan pillin mukaan: tutkimus Forssan puuvillatehtaan työntekijöistä 1840-luvulta 1980-luvulle*, Työväenkulttuuriprojektin julkaisu (Helsinki: Museovirasto, 1983), 126–27.
[251] In 1900, 18% of bachelors living with family members lived with unmarried siblings, whereas in 1930 the percentage was 19%. This constitues 7% and 10% respectively of the whole sample of bachelors.
[252] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:38 Perukirjat (1883)/7752.
[253] Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, 151.

Among older bachelors, different kinds of changes in the life situations of both bachelors and their siblings could have led to a bachelor setting up a sibling household. Such circumstances included getting old, becoming ill, the death of a spouse or divorce. Generally, it seems that a joint household with one's siblings, who were in a similar situation, made even more sense at a more advanced age, when one's singlehood was more established and long-term instead of being a temporary phase.[254] In 9 out of 12 cases of bachelor probates, where the household composition has been confirmed as a single sibling household, the ages ran from 39 to 77.[255] As a man got older his ability to work or earn as much money especially in the case of physical labour would have lessened. Old age could have led to diminished economic resources, a cut in domestic comforts as well as an increased need for physical care.[256] In the case of Karl B., a 46-year-old accountant for the railways, who was living with his two sisters, his illness might have prompted this sharing of a household.[257] While for unmarried men the pool of potential help was undoubtedly more likely to be more limited than in the case of a man who was or had been married, being single did not automatically mean that one did not have any family members to whom to turn for help. Karl E., a 76-year-old accountant who died in 1901, had been cared for by his niece Anna during his last years, and Karl left everything to her in his will.[258] In another probate it is specified how the deceased, who no longer had a job, had lived on a small inheritance, which had ran out about two years earlier and after that he had been supported by his sister's daughters.[259] Kustaa D., a 73-year-old merchant, shared a household with his widowed sister and her daughter—an arrangement, which might have been the result of his sister's husband passing away.[260]

Sharing a place to live with a married sibling was to some degree less common than cohabiting with an unmarried sibling. Among bachelors heading households with siblings or bachelors living in households headed by their siblings or a sibling's spouse, 18% in 1900 and 30% in 1930 of such households included a married sibling and their spouse as well as possible children. Aside from a couple of exceptions, all such households were headed by the bachelor's married brother or sister's husband. Upholding a close relationship with one's married sibling

[254] See also Davidoff, 161.
[255] See for example, KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:62 Perukirjat (1903)/13127.
[256] R. J Morris, *Men, Women, and Property in England, 1780-1870: A Social and Economic History of Family Strategies amongst the Leeds Middle Classes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 148–49.
[257] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:178 Perukirjat (1932)/31378.
[258] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:60 Perukirjat (1902)/12721.
[259] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:164 Perukirjat (1931)/29557.
[260] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:192 Perukirjat (1934)/34762.

was beneficial but moving in with them indefinitely would have been more impractical than living with unmarried relatives. Arvid Neovius, for example, shared a household precisely with the sibling that, like him, had stayed unmarried and, while he did spend a lot of time and especially often shared meals with his married brother and his brother's family, he did not share housing with them.[261] Results from previous research indicate that relatives with their own families were more reluctant to have single men than women living with them.[262]

According to written oral history sources, living with married siblings usually took place when a bachelor was fairly young and needed a place to stay after relocating to a new city or area. Besides siblings, bachelors benefitted from the help of other relatives or acquaintances.[263] The support as well as company the newcomer gained through these connections could ease the transition by providing him with the first stepping stones in terms of introduction and integration.[264] Such support could extend from providing a place to stay to meals, money, guidance and tips to hospitality and general kindness and familiarity. Ilmari, for example, moved to Helsinki when he was 16 and stayed with his sister, who had moved to the city earlier and got married. Besides a home to live in, his sister and her husband provided Ilmari the economic support needed to be able to study.[265]

Other relatives heading households in which bachelors lived in 1900 and in 1930 included uncles, aunts, grandmothers and cousins. When Eino Salmelainen started studying at the University of Helsinki in 1912, he first moved to live with his aunt Iida and her husband and two children. In his memoirs, Eino describes how he enjoyed the atmosphere that presided in his aunt's family and felt happy and safe to live with them despite being in a new environment. Besides a place to live, Eino received guidance and tips on clean but cheap places to eat in the city centre.[266] A new environment required the adoption of new everyday practices in relation to, for example, food and family members and relatives could provide the newcomer with the

[261] KA/Arvid Neoviuksen arkisto/Kirjeenvaihto/Lähteneet kirjeet, Arvid Neovius to Dagmar Neovius for example in 1909 (VAY 1883).
[262] Anderson, 'The Social Position of Spinsters', 390; Kok and Mandemakers, 'Life and Death of Singles', 111.
[263] Kertzer, 'Living with Kin', 67.
[264] KA/Kalle Väisälän arkisto/2 Kirjeenvaihto, Kalle to his mother, 14.9.1911; KA/Uuno Pesosen arkisto/1 Kirjeenvaihtoa, Uuno to his parents, 30.9.1911; KA/Arno Cederberg/Muistojen pirstaleita syksyllä 1903, 23.9.1903; Muistojen pirstaleita syksyllä 1904 I, 15.10.1904; Pirstaleita muistoista syksyllä 1905, 28.9.1905; Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 1.4.-10.5.1912, 1.4.1912; 4.4.1912; Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 11.5.-10.7.1912, 3.6.–8.6.1912. See also Anderson, 'The Social Position of Spinsters', 393.
[265] SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 147:3647. 1993.
[266] Eino Salmelainen, *Kun olin nuori* (Helsinki: Tammi, 1966), 166 & 184.

right kind of knowledge that would make this adoption easier and smoother. Samuli Harima (1879–1962), in turn, describes how the evenings he and his friends were able to spend at the welcoming home of his friend's relative "brought a breath of homey warmth" in contrast to the "cold rented rooms" that they lived in. Such contacts and the hospitality they accorded could thus mediate the lack of homey comforts that could characterise the lives of unmarried men.[267]

The economic benefits of family households

Sharing a household with family members had many benefits ranging from economic and domestic ones to safety, familiarity, and emotional support. The custom or strategy of continuing to live with parents in adulthood would have made sense for many city dwellers, first of all, economically: rents in Helsinki were high, entry-level jobs were often low-paid, and finding suitable housing was not necessarily easy.[268] This was also true in factory communities where, due to the lack of housing for unmarried workers, bachelors continued living with their parents until they married.[269] Factory communities, which only offered employee housing for workers with families, are only one example of the general housing culture and policies which favoured people with families. Such policies contributed to the 'delayed departure', as Davidoff has called it, of unmarried men and women from their parental homes.[270] In discussions about the housing of both students and single women, people complained that the rooms available for single people were often so-called leftover spaces in poor condition and lacking warmth or light.[271] In addition, continuing to live at home could also have been a strategy to secure the kind of economic means one needed for marriage.

Since students had no income from their studies, the fact that they continued to live with their parents made sense in many respects, but even for those who were earning wages, living as a

[267] Harima, *Myötä- ja vastatuulta*, 25.
[268] Juntto, *Asuntokysymys Suomessa*, 109–13 & 148–50; Åström, 'Kaupunkiyhteiskunta murrosvaiheessa', 148–55.
[269] TYKL/1366/Leena Mäkipää, 'Lauritsalan sahan työväen työ- ja asunto-oloista n. v. 1916–1956' (Master's thesis, University of Turku, 1982), 76; TYKL/563/Virpi Nurmi, 'Suomen lasitehtaan työntekijöiden työstä ja elämänoloista 1800-luvun lopulla ja 1900-luvun alkupuolella' (Master's thesis, University of Turku, 1968), 58; TYKL/1400/Marja-Liisa Vilppo, 'Nokian työväenasutus ennen toista maailmansotaa' (Master's thesis, University of Turku, 1982), 168.
[270] Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, 134.
[271] Adèle Hindström, 'Ett hem för den arbetande, bildade kvinnan', *Astra* 19/1919, 5–6; V. K., 'Pohjalaisten osakuntatalo ylioppilaskodiksi', *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/1913, 158; Y. H., 'Ylioppilaitten asuntokysymys,' *Ylioppilaslehti* 20/1915, 187–189.

lodger or in a rented room would have been more expensive than staying with their parents.[272] In trying to account for the rise in the percentage of bachelors living with their parents, it is worth considering the occupations of the bachelors in question: while the proportion of students actually decreased (from 28 to 20%) and the proportion of men working in different kinds of early-career professions and trainee posts as well as working-class occupations stayed approximately the same (at 10–11 and 12% respectively), the percentage of bachelors in non-university types of education and those working as office workers or as assistants increased slightly (from 8.7 to 10.1% and from 10.8 to 12.8% respectively). The most significant change was in the proportion of bachelors for whom no profession was listed or who were marked as unemployed or suffering from an illness, which increased from 3.7% to 10.6%.[273] This could have been a result of the economic depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s, which left increasing numbers of people unemployed. They, in turn, might have been forced to rely upon the help of their families.[274] The economic prospects of the time might also have made even those people with a job hesitant to move out of their family homes. Furthermore, unemployment not only postponed moving out but could also have led to a bachelor moving back in with his parents. In the case of Samuli Harima, he occasionally had to return to his childhood home to work on the family farm due to unemployment at the end of the 19th century.[275] For Arvo and his brother Toivo, returning to their grandparents to do forestry work in the area formed a part of their yearly cycle of different types of jobs.[276]

The fact that a bachelor continued to live with his family was not always a matter of the bachelor's personal finances alone. It could concern the overall economic situation of the family. As Kai Häggman has pointed out, sons did not make decisions concerning their lives or futures as individuals but rather as members of the family and its "survival strategy." What they could and had to do was often dictated by what was best for their family.[277] In the countryside

[272] For examples of students, see KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:177 Perukirjat (1932)/31270, Ec:195 Perukirjat (1934)/35079, Ec:198 Perukirjat (1934)/35316, and Ec:160 Perukirjat (1930)/29038.
[273] There could have been other reasons besides employment for not listing an occupation, but this would most likely have meant that the son was supported by his parents because the census form asked for "a profession, post, or source of livelihood." Some bachelor sons had "none" written in this column on the form.
[274] Riitta Hjerppe, *Kasvun vuosisata* (Helsinki: VAPK-kustannus, 1990), 27. According to Riitta Hjerppe, the depression started in Finland before reaching Western Europe but the country also recovered quicker than the rest of Europe. People living in cities, who became unemployed, were forced to return to the countryside and private consumption did not return to pre-depression levels until 1935.
[275] Harima, *Myötä- ja vastatuulta*, 27–28.
[276] TMT:288:1086:TA, 18.
[277] Häggman, *Johdatus perhehistoriaan*, 40.

and among the working classes boys were expected to start working and contributing to the family economy as soon as they could—sometimes when they were still at school.[278] Continuing to live together constituted an effective way of pooling resources. For families, whose members worked in low-income jobs or who had one or several family members not working for different reasons, such a strategy could have been a matter of survival. This may have been the case with the 60-year-old office worker Wasilij K. who shared a household with his widowed mother and sister, who cleaned sleeper cars for a living.[279] For those in better financial circumstances, such pooling strategies could often have secured a more comfortable existence for all family members. Together, siblings could afford to rent a whole apartment or to hire a servant.

Economic downturns could also have affected the livelihood of the parents and middle-class families too might have been forced to rely on the salaries of several family members in order to keep up a certain standard of living. For example, the purchasing power of the salaries of civil servants, many of whom lived in Etu-Töölö, decreased significantly as a result of the inflation that had followed the First World War. The state had not raised their salaries to pre-war levels.[280] 30% of the families in the Etu-Töölö census sample had a servant compared to 63% of the families in Kruununhaka. This decrease in the prevalence of servants is one indication of the lower wealth of the families in Etu-Töölö.[281] Furthermore, the fact that the proportion of bachelors who lived in a parental household with both parents, as opposed to one headed by the widowed mother, rose from 48% in 1900 to 60% in 1930, further suggesting that

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[278] SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 177:22753–22755. 1993; SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 48:21696. 1993; SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 40: 4748–4751. 1993; SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 37:1917. 1993; Mary Abbott, *Family Ties: English Families, 1540-1920* (London: Routledge, 1993), 146. Ella Johansson has discussed how the practice of young boys following their fathers to work in the countryside was not a matter of using child labour but a way for the fathers to raise their sons and "socialize them among men"; see Ella Johansson, *Skogarnas fria söner: maskulinitet och modernitet i norrländskt skogsarbete* (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1994), 155.

[279] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:200 Perukirjat (1934)/35565.

[280] Risto Alapuro, 'Yhteiskuntaluokat ja sosiaaliset kerrostumat 1870-luvulta toiseen maailmansotaan', in *Suomalaiset: Yhteiskunnan rakenne teollistumisen aikana*, ed. Tapani Valkonen et al. (Helsinki: WSOY, 1980), 93.

[281] Besides a reduction in the standard of living, other factors would have led to fewer families employing a servant: good servants were harder to find and it had generally become more difficult to retain servants as they had also started to fight for their rights, while the nuclear family ideal as well as changes in housing and standards of hygiene required stricter spatial division between servants and the family. See for example Nevalainen, 'Rationalisoitua säädynmukaisuutta', 53–54; Sulkunen, *Naisen kutsumus*, 27–30; Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 154; Saarikangas, 'Suomalaisen kodin likaiset paikat', 203 & 205. However, overall having servants did remain a part of the lifestyle of the middle and upper classes during the interwar period and the number of servants kept increasing from the 1910s to the 1930s. See Marjatta Rahikainen, 'Kotiapulaisena 1900-luvun kaupunkilaisperheissä', in *Työteliäs ja uskollinen: Naiset piikoina ja palvelijoina keskiajalta nykypäivään*, ed. Marjatta Rahikainen and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2006), 227.

despite the fact that the father of the family was still alive, it made economic sense for the children to continue living at home.[282]

According to Tosh and Davidoff, those sons who started working for their father's business in particular continued to live at home.[283] In some cases, even after the death of the father the upholding of the continuity of the family home could have been a part of a business strategy. 42-year-old merchant Edvard Wilhelm Ekberg, the son of the famous head baker, confectioner and bakery and cafe owner Fredrik Edvard Ekberg, lived together with two of his brothers and his brother's wife and children. In 1900, the whole family lived in Aleksanterinkatu 52, right in the centre of Helsinki, in the same building where the family's bakery and cafe were located at the time.[284] According to the probate, Edvard Wilhelm had been in charge of the wine and liquor shop, which his father had founded in 1874 and which was located at the same address.[285] Continuing to live together while each of the brothers focused on a different aspect of the business was a way to maintain all the assets in the family and to prevent them from being broken into different portions. The situation might actually have been made easier by the fact that Edvard never married since the need for a single man to have a household of his own was significantly smaller than if he had been married.

Bachelors as heads of family households

The circumstances of both bachelors and their different family members changed throughout their lives affecting both the possibilities as well as the need to form family households. When bachelors were young and studying, working as apprentices or had moved to a new place in search of work, they were likely to live in their parental home, in a household headed by a sibling or other relative, or they rented a room together with their brother.[286] Only when they were older, professionally more established, one or both of their parents had died and at least some of their siblings had married, were bachelors more likely to head a household with family members. Changes in family circumstances led to a bachelor having to take on new family responsibilities. A son could become the primary supporter and caregiver of one or both of his

[282] In 1900, 48 % of bachelors lived in a household with both their parents, 49 % with their mother and only 4 % with their father. In 1930, 60 % lived with both parents, 35 % with only their mother, and 5 % lived with their father as the head of the household.
[283] Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 105; Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, 134.
[284] KA/Henkikirjat/Uudenmaan läänin henkikirjat/Henkikirjat/U:174 Henkikirja (1900).
[285] http://www.cafeekberg.fi/aboutus/history, visited 15.4.2016.
[286] See also Kok and Mandemakers, 'Life and Death of Singles', 111.

parents or other family members either alone or together with siblings. Most often a son became the breadwinner (and even head of household) after his father died. Out of those households that were headed by a bachelor and which included one or both parents, in about 70 % of the cases in both censuses the parent in question was a widowed mother.[287] This is not to say that widowed mothers were always in a more vulnerable position but it does point to widowhood constituting one of the possible reasons why unmarried children continued living with their families.

Changes in circumstances could also result in the bachelor returning to live with one or several family members. Both Erkki Melartin and Jalmari Finne, two bachelors whose homes and family lives we will be focusing on in more detail in the rest of this chapter, had already lived apart from their families before again forming a household together with family members in their 20s and 30s. Both men were life-long bachelors who never married. Erkki Melartin (1875–1937) was a composer and the director of the Helsinki Music College[288] from 1911 to 1936.[289] Jalmari Finne (1874–1938) started his career as a theatre director before moving onto writing novels, plays and children's books. Later in life he focused mostly on genealogical research. Erkki Melartin and his family were from Käkisalmi,[290] but he moved to Helsinki in 1892 to study at the Helsinki Music College. Jalmari Finne was originally from Kangasala,[291] but moved to Helsinki together with his family in 1885.[292]

After his father had died in 1910, Melartin took his father's place as the head of the family and undertook responsibility for his mother and sister. Melartin was the oldest of the children since he was the only one of the three children born to his mother, his father's first wife, to have survived into adulthood. Out of the seven children to whom his father's second wife gave birth, only three lived to adulthood. His sister Livi was the oldest of the three and then there were two

[287] The exact proportions were in 1900 71% (12 widowed mothers out of 17 bachelor headed households with one or both parents) and in 1930 72% (41 widowed mothers out of 57 households with parents). Among rural families, if the father became ill or died, boys were forced to support the rest of their families either alone or with other family members from as young as 15 years old. See SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 324: 17616. 1993; SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 268: 1993. 1993; SKS KRA: Eläköön mies 37:1918. 1993; TYKL/kys/6: informant 4; TYKL/kys/17: informant 4; informant 27.
[288] In 1924 the name of the college was changed to Helsinki Conservatory and in 1939 to Sibelius Academy.
[289] Ilmari Heikinheimo, *Suomen elämäkerrasto* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1955), 510.
[290] Käkisalmi is located in an area called Karelia and is nowadays a part of Russia, in Swedish *Kexholm* and nowadays in Russian *Priozersk*.
[291] Kangasala is a place close to the city of Tampere, about 160 km north of Helsinki.
[292] Unto Kanerva, *Jalmari Finne: työn ja mielikuvituksen mies*, Hämeenmaa 14 (Hämeenlinna: Hämeen Heimoliitto, 1974), 7 & 13.

younger brothers, Kurt, who stayed in Karelia as a farmer, and Ivar, who studied in Helsinki and became a meteorologist.[293] Melartin reunited with his (step)mother, unmarried sister Livi, and his aunt in 1913.[294] Finne, on the other hand, had become the head of the family sometime after his father had left in 1898 when an unexplained event broke up his parents' marriage. Not only did he support and provide a home for his mother and unmarried sister until she got married but he paid for the care of his brother, who was in some kind of institution. Later he even paid for his father to be placed in old people's home after he had come into the care of the city.[295]

In representations, bachelors' writings on marriage as well as in the discussion surrounding the tax of 1935, adult masculinity was equated with taking responsibility and providing for a, mostly marital, family. Yet, previous research on different historical contexts has shown that marriage was not a prerequisite for a patriarchal role and that equivalent fatherly roles could be carried out as masters, uncles or brothers.[296] As Sandra Cavallo has aptly observed: "It was therefore the household rather than the family of marriage that formed the terrain on which the status of the adult man was played out."[297] Despite not being married or not having biological children of their own, Melartin and Finne were family men in practice and identified as such: "The life of a familyman means a constant flow of expenditures. That I am noticing. A family is like a well, where you pour money but it never fills up," Finne wrote to a friend in 1904.[298] Despite his sister Livi earning her own money by also working at the Music Institute as a secretary, with his larger income Melartin was the main breadwinner of the household. Along with the customs of the time, which designated males as the public representatives and head decision makers of families and females as the caretakers, Melartin felt he was the one who had the main responsibility over the household on a more general level. If problems were to arise,

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[293] KK/Erkki Melartin/Coll.530.2, Melartin-sukututkimus.
[294] KK/Coll.530.24, Lähetetyt kirjeet, Erkki Melartin to his aunt Maria Renfors, 5.8.1913.
[295] KA/Jalmari Finnen arkisto/Kirjekokoelma 19, Jalmari Finne Helmi Setälä-Khronille, 2.11.1906; Kanerva, *Jalmari Finne*, 14.
[296] Sandra Cavallo, 'Bachelorhood and Masculinity in Renaissance and Early Modern Italy', *European History Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (2008): 376–77 & 388; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 71 & 77; McCurdy, *Citizen Bachelors*, 138 & 140; Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 87; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 334; Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 23.
[297] Cavallo, 'Bachelorhood and Masculinity in Renaissance', 392.
[298] KA/Jalmari Finne/Kirjekokoelma 17, Jalmari Finne to Anna Sarlin, 21.8.1904. Original: "Kyllä se perheellisen miehen elämä on aika rahan menoa. Sen minä huomaan. Perhe on kuin kaivo, jonne ajan rahaa, rahaa, eikä se koskaan tule täyteen."

he was the one who knew how to take care of them.[299] Furthermore, Melartin and Finne were not only heads of the household but heads of the family: in one of her letters, Melartin's sister even called him "our pa" (*meidän pappa*).[300] These two bachelors, despite being single, can be said to have "achieved the formal qualifications for full masculine status."[301]

Finne and Melartin felt a responsibility and an obligation towards their family members, and their independence and financial means made it possible for them to be able to provide for their sisters, mothers, and other relatives. It was, however, not only a matter of them being the eldest sons. It was also their single status that meant that they had more financial and possibly even more emotional resources to spare compared to their married siblings. Verneri Louhivuori (1886–1980) reunited with his parents and younger sister after having lived by himself for a few years and became at least partly economically responsible for them. These responsibilities made him contemplate staying unmarried in order to be able to better and more securely take care of his family members. Verneri was not only worried whether he personally would be able to continue financially supporting his parents without jeopardizing his responsibilities towards his own potential marital family but also whether it was fair of him to inflict part of the responsibility on his already married siblings. As long as Verneri stayed "free" in a marital sense he was also more free to help his parents. Unmarried people were considered to be more able to care for parents precisely because they did not have family responsibilities of their own.[302]

> I was no longer in the theatre. I thus did not have that income, and I had to provide for the livelihood of a big family. - - How lax I would have become with my artistic hobbies if this blow [his father leaving] had not taken place?[303]

On the level of life planning and decision making, family responsibilities therefore meant that a bachelor had to make compromises that a single man with no one to support would not necessarily have been forced to make. The above quotation from Finne's memoirs exemplifies how, because of their economic responsibilities towards their families, both Finne and Melartin

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[299] KK/530.21, Erkki Melartin to Livi Melartin; 530.10, Livi Melartin to Erkki Melartin; Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, 144; Ollila, *Jalo velvollisuus*, 92. See also Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 350.
[300] KK/Coll.530.10, Saapuneet kirjeet, Livi Melartin to Erkki Melartin, 11.5.1911.
[301] Tosh, 'The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?', 27.
[302] See also Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*, 59–68.
[303] Jalmari Finne, *Ihmeellinen seikkailu: ihmisiä, elämyksiä, mietteitä* (Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 1939), 65–66. Original: "Teatterista olin poissa. Niitä tuloja ei siis ollut, ja minun oli hankittava suuren perheen elatus. - - Millainenhan lepsu minusta olisikaan taiteellisine harrastukseneni tullut, ellei tätä kolausta olisi ilmaantunut?"

had to make compromises as regards their professional interests and take on work that earned them money even though they were not so enthusiastic about it. Similarly, Vieno Sukselainen had to postpone his dream of having his own room completely to himself in order to be able to live as economically as possible and to be able to care for his mother.[304]

As a part of their patriarchal roles, both Finne and Melartin secured their families a permanent place to live by buying a house or an apartment respectively. After spending a few years as the director of a local theatre (*Maaseututeatteri*) in Vyborg, Finne returned to Helsinki and in 1908 bought an apartment in a new building in Kruununhaka and settled there with his mother and unmarried sister.[305] After also working in Vyborg as the conductor of the local orchestra for a couple of years, Melartin moved back to Helsinki in 1911 after he had been asked to become the director of the Helsinki Music College.[306] A couple of years later, in 1913, Melartin bought an unfinished villa located in an area called Boxbacka (later in Finnish *Pukinmäki*), which was close to Helsinki (nowadays also officially a part of it).[307] On the fifth of August 1913 Melartin wrote to his aunt:

> The villa is even closer to the station than where I have been living now. It is even in the woods and on such a healthy spot. It has five rooms and a kitchen and it is thus well built. - - So I hope that I now finally get my own nook where I can work in peace and from where one will not be driven out because of every little thing that happens, it is after all a different thing to live as a tenant and be dependent on one thing or the other. And now I will move there the first of September and mother and Livi and probably [aunt] Mutti as well will move there first of November the latest. So that one will then have one's own people under one's own roof and can when needed take care of each other.[308]

These dwellings of their own constituted both physical manifestations as well as guarantees of a home since they made it possible for all Melartin's or Finne's family members to have a permanent, independent and safe own home *together*. Artist Kaarlo Enqvist-Atra (1879–1961) likewise built his own house in Lempäälä, near the city of Tampere, in 1903. The house also

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[304] KA/Vieno Sukselainen/1 Päiväkirjat, Päiväkirja 5, 5.11.1929; 22.3.1930; 9.5.1930.
[305] KK/Jalmari Finne/Kirjekokoelma 19, Jalmari Finne to Helmi Setälä (Krohn), 9.6.1908; Kanerva, *Jalmari Finne*, 26–27.
[306] Heikinheimo, *Suomen elämäkerrasto*, 510.
[307] KK/530.24, Erkki Melartin to his aunt Maria Renfors, 5.8.1913.
[308] KK/530.24, Erkki Melartin to his aunt Maria Renfors, 5.8.1913. Original: "Villan är ännu närmare station än den jag hittils bodde i. Den är även i skogen och på ett därdeles hälsosamt ställe. Den har 5 rum och kök och är därdeles väl uppsatt. - - Sålunda hoppas jag nu äntligen få en egen knut där jag kan arbeta i fred och därifrån man inte alltefter litet blir borthasad, ty det är ändå annat än att bo som hyresgäst och vara beroende av den ena och andra. – Och nu flyttar jag dit den första september och mor och Livi och antagligen Mutti med flyttar dit senast den 1 november. Sålunda har man då eget folk under eget tak och kan litet vid behov sköta om varandra."

became the home of Kaarlo's parents, who took care of the house, while he was away travelling. Kaarlo liked to spend winters in Southern Europe, but returned to Finland for the summer.[309]

> I am happy when I see all of this [Florence and the hills of Tuscany]. But even happier am I when I remember that two loving hearts wait for me far far away, in a white house in the middle of dark spruces. There is less sunshine and spring lasts only a moment. But it is mine and there is more love than anywhere else in the world.[310]

Atra's artist villa and its carefully planned decoration as an artwork itself can be considered part of a general trend around 1900 of Finnish artists building themselves houses with atelier spaces in the peaceful countryside. Yet, the actions of Atra as well as Finne and Melartin can also be seen as indications of a need for unmarried men also to establish permanent homes of their own generally associated with families with children.[311] These homes provided not only a place to which they could always return to from their travels but personal stability and a means of caring for their family members.[312] Atra was his parents' only son and despite their fairly humble background, Atra had been able to train as an artist.[313] He therefore felt a responsibility towards his parents and wanted to be able to provide for them in their old age.[314] The continuity, stability and familiarity that their own houses and apartments delivered for these men contrasted to the temporariness and mobility associated with bachelorhood.

In addition, as uncles, bachelors could carry out fatherly roles and be the ones offering a place to stay or other forms of support to their relatives. The Melartin household grew in 1923, when his brother Kurt's two oldest daughters, Ester and Irma, ten and eleven years old, moved to live with Melartin and his sister (their mother had died in 1918). The reasons for the girls' move was not discussed in any of the surviving letters between the family members, but it would have eased the economic circumstances of the brother's family. Kurt had altogether six children and he had problems with the profitability of his farm. Both on a practical and an emotional level

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[309] SKS/KIA/Volter Kilpi's archive/Correspondence mk 21-22/1988, letters from Kaarlo [Enqvist-]Atra to Volter Kilpi 1905–1908; KK/Coll.17.14/Kaarlo Enqvist-Atra's diaries and notebooks, diary starting 20.10.1901, 1.6.1902; small black notebook; Meri Ruuska, *Kaarlo Enqvist-Atra: myllärinpojasta maailmankansalaiseksi* (Lempäälä: Lempäälä-seura, 2007), 52.
[310] KK/Coll.17.14, Kaarlo Enqvist-Atra's small notebook, 19.5.1905. Original quotation: "Olen onnellinen nähdessäni tätä kaikkea. Mutta vielä onnellisempi olen muistaessani että minua odottaa kaukana kaukana kaksi rakastavaa sydäntä, valkeassa talossa tummien kuusten keskellä. Siellä on vähemmän aurinkoa ja kevät kestää vain hetken. Mutta se on minun ja siellä on rakkautta enemmän kuin missään muualla maailmassa."
[311] Saarikangas, *Model Houses for Model Families*, 70–714 & 336–37.
[312] KK/530.21, Erkki Melartin to Irma and Ester Melartin, 31.12.1927; Ruuska, *Kaarlo Enqvist-Atra*, 52 & 55.
[313] For example the letters from Kaarlo's father to him reveal how his father could not write very well. See KK/Coll. 17.1. letters from Karlo Enqvist to Kaarlo Enqvist-Atra.
[314] KK/Coll.17.8., letters from Kaarlo Enqvist-Atra to Fanny Davidson, July 1904.

Ester and Irma became Melartin's and his sister's own children. Melartin felt a responsibility towards the girls, promised to always take care of them no matter what the circumstances: "I just want you to know that no matter how things turn out You will always be my own girls, for whom I feel responsible. What I have been able to do for You, you have awarded me multiple times with your warm compassion and goodness."[315] At the time, it was common for family members or relatives to support children coming from big families with less money, to have a relative's student child stay at one's home, or to help raise relatives whose mother or father had died.[316] Typically, both childless couples and unmarried women took in children, but in addition to Melartin the probate samples also indicate that at least some bachelors provided for the children of relatives or for foster children of their own.[317]

Material culture and domestic organization of the household

The probate of 52-year-old bank clerk Carl Oskar S., who died in 1933, stated that his widowed mother Johanna Maria had been taking care of his household for the past ten years. The debts in Carl's probate also listed rent for an apartment and an unpaid servant's salary but his possessions did not include any domestic items. One explanation could be that Carl had been living together with his mother and possibly also his two unmarried sisters Yolanda and Anna. His father had died in 1911 and in 1914 he along with his sisters and mother had moved to Helsinki. It seems likely that Carl acted as the head of the household but all the furniture and other domestic items had either come from his parents' household or were bought jointly for the whole family household.[318]

As in the case of Carl Oskar, living with family members would have made sense in relation to material culture and domestic work. A bachelor moving out of his parental home would have had to face the problem of how to organise his household: who would take care of household work and how was he going to furnish his apartment? In terms of material culture, in a family

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[315] KK/Erkki Melartin/Coll.530.21, Erkki Melartin to Ester and Irma Melartin, 27.12.1930. Original: "Tahdon vaan, että tietäisitte, että vaikka asiat kuinka kääntyisivät[?] Te aina olette minun omat tyttöni, joista minä tunnen täyden edesvastuun. Sen minkä olen voinut tehdä teille olette te palkinneet monin keinoin lämpöisellä myötätunnollanne ja hyvyydellänne." See also KK/Coll.530.21, Erkki Melartin to Livi Melartin, 26.12.1930; Ollila, *Jalo velvollisuus*, 99.

[316] Ollila, 101–2. See also Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, 170–75.

[317] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:39 Perukirjat (1884)/7973; Ec:64 Perukirjat (1904)/13480; Ec:199 (1934)/35459; Ec:145 (1928)/27001; Ec:161 (1930)/29235; Ec:162 (1930)/29364; KA/Henkikirjat/Uudenmaan läänin henkikirjat/U:495 Henkikirja (1927), 12.-13. kaupunginosa, Helsingin kaupunki.

[318] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:190 Perukirjat (1933)/34522. The probate includes several statements from local parishes as appendixes.

home a bachelor would have been able to enjoy more comfort, benefitting from existing family resources not only in terms of money but also in terms of domestic material culture. He had less or no need to acquire basic domestic items himself.[319] In such cases, the bachelor heads of household thus differed significantly from married men as the few personal possessions of these men did not reflect either their financial and familial responsibilities or the domestic comforts they were able to enjoy.

Compared to bachelors, who continued living in their parental household, those who formed joint households with their unmarried or widowed siblings were more likely to own at least some basic domestic items.[320] In cases where the household was truly a joint household—in contrast to one where the sibling had moved into the existing household of the bachelor or where the siblings had continued to live in the old family household—the bachelors most likely had furniture for one to two personal rooms with the functions of a bedroom and a gentleman's room.[321] 39-year-old office worker Vincent P., who died in 1932, lived with his sister Kaisa, a shop assistant. His probate listed two tables, seven chairs, a smoking table, a chaise longue, a book shelf, and several smaller domestic items, but no cooking or dining ware.[322] Vincent's personal possessions underline the specific domestic needs of a man but also exemplify the likelihood that in such sibling households most domestic items would have been shared and bought or inherited together—and therefore not listed in a probate. This constituted yet another form of pooling resources. Out of the deceased bachelors, whose household composition has been verified as being a household of unmarried sister(s) and brother(s), none of the bachelors who lived in a household headed by their sister and half of those bachelors who headed the household themselves, owned any cooking utensils or tableware.

Moreover, a lack of cooking and dinner ware in bachelor probates reflected the fact that, in a family home, a bachelor did not have to worry about meals, cleaning, laundry or other domestic tasks because they would have been the responsibility of either his mother or sister with or without the help of a servant.

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[319] Living with family members thus also offers one explanation for the lack of basic domestic items in the probates of many bachelors.
[320] See for example, KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:41 Perukirjat (1886)/8334, Ec:178 Perukirjat (1932)/31378, Ec:146 Perukirjat (1928)/27135, Ec:179 Perukirjat (1932)/31479, Ec:176 Perukirjat (1932)/31123, Ec:183 Perukirjat (1933)/31810, and Ec:192 Perukirjat (1934)/34762.
[321] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:41 Perukirjat (1886)/8334, and Ec:183 Perukirjat (1933)/31810.
[322] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:176 (1932)/31123.

> First he notices his home is a little more bare and bleak than those of his friends, who have a spouse; he also notices that he has nobody who would out of their own initiative take care of his food, his drink, his clothes, his cleanliness and so on.[323]

As this quotation exemplifies, in representations bachelors and oldboys not only lacked a home in terms of atmosphere and emotional meanings but they had to live without the more practical domestic comforts that were associated with a home.[324] Lack of a wife meant that there was no one to take care of household tasks. This, in turn, could lead to both a bachelor's dwelling as well as his personal appearance becoming shabby and unclean.[325] In accordance with middle-class norms, most of the texts on bachelors upheld stereotypical gender roles according to which men were not able to take care of household work themselves.[326] Previous research has pointed out how unmarried men and women were treated differently as regards to housework: men more often had servants, ordered meals from their landlady or were given household services included in the rent, in comparison with women, who were rarely provided with these services or were expected to do most of the household-related work themselves.[327] Due to their education and upbringing, however, women were also more capable in this regard. Men, in turn, lacked this *domestic capital*. These gender differences contributed to the "always to some extent compromised" domesticity of single people, which, according to Hussey and Ponsonby, was due to the household's lack of a gender division of work between a breadwinner and someone managing the household.[328]

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[323] Lassi, 'Vanhapoika', *Wiipurin Sanomat* 12.7.1894, 3. In Finnish: "Ensiksi hän huomaa kotinsa tosin vähän autiommaksi ja kolkommaksi kuin niiden hänen tuttaviensa, joilla on puoliso; huomaa senkin, ettei hänellä ole ketään, joka oikein omintakein välittäisi hänen ruuastansa, juomastansa, vaatteistaan, siisteydestään j. n. e."
[324] See for example, Tuomas Hynönen, 'Nuorten miesten puolesta', *Velikulta* 15.5.1902, 6, & 29.5.1902, 6–7.
[325] 'Laitila. Sellaista se nuoren miehen elämä', *Rauman Lehti* 18.6.1901, 2; 'Semmoista se on vanhanpojan elämä', *Uudenkaupungin Sanomat* 11.6.1901, 2; Kaarlo M., 'Setäni-vanhapoika', *Aamulehti* 6.5.1893, 2; K. T. M., 'Ikävä', *Tampereen Sanomat* 20.12.1895, 2; Aira, 'Vanhanpojan laulu', *Kalevatar* 15.1.1895, 14; 'Kuinka Tuomas Tutiseva sai varakkaan eukon', *Tuulispää* 27.2.1906, 6; Jatkokertomus, *Uusi Suometar* 21.4.1906, 7–8; 'Tre systrar. III. Signes hem', *Mot hemmet* 1.10.1906, 150–153; 'Napit', *Suomalainen* 16.2.1910, 2; Vieno henkäys, 'Neuvoja nuorisolle', *Hyvätuuli* 1.11.1908, 5; 'Yhtä ja toista. Kaskuja Krylowista', *Etelä-Suomi* 21.4.1910, 3; Jatkokertomus, *Satakunta* 8.9.1910, 3–4.
[326] N., 'Karjakirje', *Pellervo* 1.4.1901, 116–118; 'Huveja [an advertisement for a cinema]', *Karjala* 24.5.1908, 2. An oldboy who manages domestic tasks and can handle housework by himself is an oddity and something to report on and marvel at. See for example, 'Talo, jossa ei ole vaimoihmistä', *Uusi Suometar* 13.12.1902, 4; 'Harvinaisen kätevä', *Wiipurin Sanomat* 16.2.1907, 4. 'Siirtolaispapin matkoilta', *Merimiehen ystävä* 1.1.1900, 7–10. One such text was titled 'Womanly man'; see 'Naismainen mies', *Lahden Lehti* 15.1.1902, 2–3.
[327] Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*, 33 & 37–38.
[328] Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 81.

Not being able to cook, food represented one of the "darkest circumstances"[329] in an unmarried man's life. Many bachelors had no choice but to do the everyday 'dinner run',[330] that is, to go out to eat in a restaurant or a diner, where the food was of poor quality and with little variation.[331]

> *Always*, when I come to eat the food is cold. And still I have been a food guest here for already over ten years. And then this eternal one-dimensionality. No variation in the food. One knows already when one arrives what is on the table. Today porridge, tomorrow gruel. And so on day after day, week after week, year after year. One gets tired of this, one gets fed up with this, one dies of this.[332]

Ultimately the feelings of frustration and hopelessness that domestic problems such as meal provision raised could result in the oldboy "giving in" and deciding that it was better and easier to get married than to suffer a minute longer —as was the case with the oldboy in the above quotation.[333] In the stories and jokes in which an oldboy does finally get married, sometimes even with his housekeeper, it is often for precisely such domestic reasons.[334] In one joke, at a time when there was a lack of housing, an oldboy proposes to a spinster with a nice apartment.[335] In another one an oldboy cries out to his fiancée: "We need to hurry up with our wedding: almost all of my clothes already have no buttons!"[336] Such stories underlined even further the oddities, stinginess and desperation of oldboys as something to be laughed at. Similar thought processes can also be detected in the writings of bachelors themselves, who described "eating in noisy diners and sewing buttons" starting to "taste of wood".[337] As time

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[329] Kaima, 'Päivän pakinaa', *Gutenberg* 1.7.1903, 107–110.
[330] In Swedish 'middags-motionstur', in Culex, 'Gamla Kajsis', *Fyren* 16.4.1910, 9–10.
[331] See for example, K. T. M., 'Ikävä', *Tampereen Sanomat* 20.12.1895, 2; Kaima, 'Päivän pakinaa', *Gutenberg* 1.7.1903, 107–110; Simuna, 'Kylpykirje Savonlinnasta', *Karjala* 10.8.1910, 4–5; 'Aamorin ihmeelliset tiet', *Aura* 20.10.1893, 2–3.
[332] Kalle Kaljahousu, 'Tiitus Timoteeus eli epätoivon viimeinen teko', *Tuulispää* 12.4.1906, 11. In Finnish: "*Aina*, kun minä tulen syömään, ovat ruuat kylmiä. Ja kuitenkin olen täällä jo toistakymmentä vuotta ollut ruokavieraana. Ja sitte tämä ijankaikkinen yksitoikkoisuus. Ei mitään vaihtelua ruuissa. Tietää jo tullessaan, mitä pöydällä on. Tänään puuroa, huomenna velliä. Ja niin poispäin päivä päivältä, viikko viikolta, vuosi vuodelta. Tähän väsyy, tähän kyllästyy, tähän kuolee."
[333] Kalle Kaljahousu, 'Tiitus Timoteeus eli epätoivon viimeinen teko', *Tuulispää* 12.4.1906, 11; Albert Slottko, 'Ruokailupaikkaa hakemassa', *Kajaanin Lehti* 5.10.1904, 4. See also Amy Milne-Smith, *London clubland. A cultural history of gender and class in late Victorian* Britain (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 148, for a similar discussion of the English case.
[334] 'Joululahja', *Tampereen Sanomat* 20.1.1893, 3; 'Myötäjäiset', *Sanomia Turusta* 10.7.1898, 3; Albert Slottko, 'Ruokailupaikkaa hakemassa', *Kajaanin Lehti* 5.10.1904, 4; 'Naimiskaupan rakentaminen', *Uusi Savo* 17.11.1898, 2–3; Vanhapoika', 'Koetin rakentaa naimiskauppaa', *Wuoksi* 16.7.1898, 2–3.
[335] 'Sekulia. Kun oikein kovalle ottaa, niin täytyy', *Tampereen Sanomat* 4.11.1899, 3.
[336] 'Kaikenlaista. Houkuttelevaa', *Uusi Suometar* 24.5.1902, 5. Original: "Vanhapoika (morsiamelleen): Meidän tulee jouduttaa häitämme: miltei kaikki vaatteni ovat jo napittomia!"
[337] KA/Arno Cederberg/Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 25.12.1914–18.4.1915, 25.12.1914.

went on, the domestic advantages of a wife started to weigh more heavily in the balance, as opposed to finding a great love:

> - - find yourself a pleasant girl from a good home, who will make you a faithful housewife, a good and healthy mother for your children, a good cook and a maker of a soft bed. That harmony of souls you will anyway never obtain and is it not only a beautiful dream.[338]

Complaining about having to go out to eat or dreaming of the day he could host guests in his own home express the importance for an adult male of having someone to take care of his domestic needs within his home and not having to think about such issues oneself. Besides having someone to come home to, being married meant having food waiting for him at home, which contributed to a man's enjoyment of home as well as to him leading a regular life. In this respect, marriage was a means by which to achieve an ideal mature existence. The above quote from Cederberg also reinforces the importance of settling for a woman who made a good "housewife"—a term that, in comparison to "wife", underlined the duties of a household manager as opposed to her emotional significance.

Written oral history sources attest to how setting up and organising one's household could indeed be a challenge for the bachelor. As a trainee at Ylistaro station Kustaa shared a room with the line telegraphist. They had to clean and heat the room themselves but since Kustaa's roommate was frequently away for long periods of time whereas Kustaa himself worked long hours, often there was no time to heat the room until it was time to go to bed. Nonetheless, Kustaa's "life started to feel a bit brighter", when he was able to start paying his sister-in-law for regular meals.[339] The organisation of meals could be an especially difficult problem to solve in secluded areas. When station night guard Jaakko moved to his work-allocated apartment, his younger sister accompanied him to serve as his housekeeper.[340] Similarly, Kalle, a village shopkeeper, recruited his sister to be his housekeeper after he started to suffer from stomach problems that resulted from eating too much "dry food" (presumably bread instead of warm meals).[341]

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[338] KA/Arno Cederberg/Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 20.4.–15.6.1915, 14.6.1915. In Finnish: "etsi itsellesi miellyttävä, hyvästä kodista oleva tyttölapsi, josta saat uskollisen emännän, lapsillesi terveen ja hyvän äidin, hyvän ruuanlaittajan ja pehmeän vuoteen tekijän. Sitä sielujen sisäistä kammiota(?) sinä kuitenkaan et koskaan saavuta ja eiköhän se olekin vain kaunis unelma." See also Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 260.
[339] TYKL/kys/17: informant 5. The name of the respondent has been changed.
[340] TYKL/kys/17: informant 29. The name of the respondent has been changed.
[341] SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 16: 6908. 1993.

Living with a mother or a sister thus ameliorated some of the limitations or difficulties created by the lack of a partner.[342] In the census records, in a few cases the inhabitants have themselves specified in the census forms that an unmarried sister was responsible for the domestic work.[343] In most cases, however, the unmarried sisters had their own occupation. Despite the increase in the number of unmarried women working also among the middle classes, it was thus highly likely that working sisters took more responsibility for the everyday running of the household—even if a servant was employed. Even in cases, where both siblings had established careers and were in many ways active in public life, the sister took more responsibility for the domestic side of things: sister and brother Arvid and Dagmar Neovius lived together after both of their parents had died and their other siblings married. They were both members of parliament and active politically, yet their correspondence reveals how it was only when Dagmar was abroad taking care of her health that Arvid was forced to take a more active role in running the household.[344] Moreover, for some bachelors, such an arrangement meant that they were not necessarily in a hurry to find a wife to perform these tasks: Vieno Sukselainen described in his diary in 1932 how, because his mother was still able to take care of the household, he was not especially in need of such a "luxury item" as a wife.[345]

All this does not mean that the bachelors did not have any interest in food or any opinions about it, but their decisions concerning meals could be described more as executive decisions whereas the women were responsible for the practical and everyday side of the actual planning of meals and cooking. Finne describes "holding a hard food command", that is, instructing his mother that the food should be "plentiful and strong."[346] Yet, there were also times when Melartin and Finne had to take care of domestic tasks such as cooking and cleaning themselves:

> I am all alone in my apartment. I make my morning coffee myself, I boil eggs and that is my first breakfast, I sweep the floor, of course only from those places where there is dirt, I do the dishes and when I do not have company I talk aloud to myself.[347]

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[342] Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, 141; Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 62 & 106.
[343] In 1900, there were three such cases and in 1930 nine.
[344] KA/Arvid Neoviuksen arkisto/Kirjeenvaihto/Lähteneet kirjeet/1 Lähetetyt kirjeet, Arvid Neovius to Dagmar Neovius, Hfors 28.11.1908 and 2.12.1908.
[345] KA/V. J. Sukselainen/Päiväkirja 7, 22.8.1932. Original: "sellaisen ylellisyyskapineen kuin vaimon."
[346] KA/Jalmari Finne/Kirjekokoelma 15, Jalmari Finne to Maria Lallukka, 28.10.1918, 1126. Original: "kovaa ruokakomentoa pidän" and "runsaasti ja vahvaa".
[347] KA/Jalmari Finne/Kirjekokoelma 19, Jalmari Finne to Helmi Setälä/Krohn, 14.6.1909, 2111. Original: "Olen aivan yksin asunnossani. Keitän aamukahvin itse, keitän kokonaisia munia ja se on ensimmäinen aamiaiseni, lakaisen lattiat, tietysti vaan siltä kohdalta, jossa rikka on, pesen astiat ja kun ei ole seuraa, puhelen itsekseni ääneen."

> It is so strangely sweet to be at home just by myself for this long. Nothing to disturb me and you get to think and work so much. - - With how little can a person who is alone survive. I sometimes cook a large portion of porridge, and it lasts usually a couple of days. Bread I buy about every three or four days. Milk I get every day. Eggs I also boil sometimes. And I clean everything myself and despite that there is plenty of time for a lot of other things. Sometimes I have time also to take care of the garden, to weed and water the plants.[348]

Melartin's amazement at how little time the cleaning took or Finne's pragmatic approach to sweeping the floor reveal their unfamiliarity as men with household tasks. The simplicity of the food or the aim to minimize the time spent on these chores (cleaning only where there was visible dirt or cooking a portion of porridge to last several days) underline that these tasks were not important in themselves to these men. They enjoyed the comforts of home but they were not willing to spend the same amount of time on them as women were expected to. Men might have even complained about the disturbance household work caused their own domestic activities—demonstrating a further aspect of how relationships to home and domesticity were gendered.[349] Even if a bachelor did manage by himself, it was only through the work and hands of women that his home regained proper order and homeliness: The women not only cleaned the dust and dirt away but also returned things to "normal" from a bachelor state of things:

> My mother and my sister have been here in Helsinki for over a week now and they have done the big autumn clean… that monstrosity for men… so no more is my apartment taken over by the summery uncleanliness of a bachelor.[350]

The Melartin and Finne households were gendered in other ways as well. The men's status as heads of households and families was reflected in the arrangements and practices of their homes where the two men's needs were considered primary. Both men had more individual, private spaces within the homes than the women. Melartin had most of the upstairs rooms of the villa at this disposal.[351] The others had to respect the men's need for silence and peace when they

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[348] KK/Coll.530.24, Sent letters to relatives and others, Erkki Melarin to Helmi Krohn (Setälä), 25.8.1914. His mother and sister were in Käkisalmi at the time. Original: "On niin omituisen suloista olla ihan yksin kotona näin kauan aikaa. Ei mikään häiritse ja saa niin paljon miettiä ja työskennellä. - - Kuinka vähällä yksinäinen ihminen tulee toimeen. Keitän joskus suurenlaisen puuroannoksen, ja se kestää usein pari päivää. Leipää ostan noin joka kolmas ja neljäs päivä. Maitoa saan joka päivä. Munia keitän myös joskus. Ja siivoan itse kaikki, ja siitä huolimatta on aikaa ihan riittävän paljon muuhun. Välillä ennätän vielä hoitaa hiukan puutarhaa, kitkeä ja kastella."

[349] See also Doolittle, 'Time, Space, and Memories', 252–253, see also p. 258; Tosh, *A Man's Place*; Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 110. About how husbands and wives were responsible for different aspects of the household, see, for example, Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*; Harvey, *The Little Republic*.

[350] KA/Jalmari Finne/Kirjekokoelma 15, Jalmari Finne to Maria Lallukka, 14.9.1914, 195. Original: "Äitini ja Hilkka sisareni ovat jo olleet toista viikkoa täällä Helsingissä ja tehneet suursiivouksen… tuon miesten kauhistuksen… jotenka asunnossani ei enää vallitse kesäinen vanhanpojan siivottomuus."

[351] Museovirasto/photograph collections, HK19670603_1680; HK19670603_1681; HK19670603_4049; HK19670603_4050, available online at www.finna.fi.

were working. Such hierarchies were even more apparent in Finne's household where the others were more clearly at the mercy of his intense working routines:

> Nowhere else than in my own home could I get this [state of happiness], because nowhere else could I change the conditions like here. - - During the meal times all the courses [have] to be at the table at the same time, because no meal can last for more than ten minutes, because when I am working food is just a necessary evil for me. Even though my family has become used to my awfully fast pace of eating, they have not yet reached the second course when I have already finished. And then coffee times! There are none. The coffee is set on the table and I run from my room to drink it when I feel like it. If the coffee runs out during the day, a new pot will be made, because there needs to be coffee on the table at least until three in the afternoon. Nobody comes into my room even though the door to the hall is open. Nobody says anything to me because I do not have time to answer.[352]

When Finne started conducting his genealogical research, it was so extensive that he could not do everything by himself. So he spent most of his income on hiring assistants to help him with his archival research (at best he was paying the salaries of five to six assistants). This meant that he tried to live as economically as possible to avoid having to do other kinds of paid work.[353] As a consequence, all the others living in the same household also had to live by his economic principles and to "sacrifice absolutely everything."[354] Finne even contemplated moving himself and his mother to a smaller apartment in order to further cut down living costs.[355]

Finne's example might be extreme, but it nonetheless underlines the gender differences in terms of control and decision-making power. At the same time, his example demonstrates how control over domestic routines and especially meal times was a part of what made these homes a home for these bachelors. They wanted and needed to create optimal working conditions for themselves. Having their sisters or mothers as *de facto* housekeepers enabled them to maintain

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[352] KA/Jalmari Finne/Kirjekokoelma 15, Jalmari Finne to Maria Lallukka, 1.6.1919, 1234-1235. Original: "Minä en missään muualla tätä voi saada kuin omassa kodissani, sillä muualla ei voi saada oloja muutettua niin kuin täällä. Aterioilla pitäisi olla kaikki ruokalajit yhtaikaa pöydässä, sillä mikään ateria ei saa kestää kymmentä minuuttia kauempaa, koska työtä tehdessäni on ruoka minulle ainoastaan välttämätön paha. Vaikka omaiseni ovatkin tottuneet minun hirvittämään [sic] syömisvauhtiini, niin eivät he ole päässeet vielä toiseen ruokalajiin, kun minä olen jo lopettanut. Ja sitten kahviajat! Niitä ei ole ollenkaan. Kahvi pannaan pöytään ja minä juoksen huoneestani juomaan silloin kun mieleni tekee. Jos kahvi loppuu päivällä, keitetään uusi pannu, sillä kahvia pitää olla pöydässä aina kello kolmeen asti. Huoneeseeni ei kukaan tule, vaikka ovi eteiseen on auki. Kukaan ei puhu minulle mitään, sillä minä en joudu vastaamaan."
[353] KA/Jalmari Finne/Kirjekokoelma 15, Jalmari Finne to Maria Lallukka 8.2.1919; 8.11.1919, 1246; 'Hämäläisiä talonpoikassukuja tutkittu 26 pitäjässä. Jalmari Finne antaa mielenkiintoisia tietoja laajakantoisesta sukututkimustyöstään', *Maaseudun tulevaisuus* 22.3.1927, 3.
[354] KA/Jalmari Finne/Kirjekokoelma 16, Jalmari Finne to Yrjö Raevuori, 1.12.1925, 524. Original: "En ole vielä koskaan ollut tämän työni suhteen niin ahtaalla kuin nyt. Äitini ja minä säästämme kaikin tavoin. Talous tuli viime kuussa maksamaan hänelle, minulle ja palvelijattarelle vajaan tuhannen. Me uhraamme aivan kaiken."
[355] KA/Jalmari Finne/Kirjekokoelma 15, Jalmari Finne to Maria Lallukka, 30.6.1916, 630.

this control. Exactly this kind of control over space or, for example, the timing of meals was part of adult masculinity as well as a sort of recompense for the responsibility they had undertaken as heads of a household.

Nevertheless, the division of responsibilities among non-married family members points to how relationships were often mixed in terms of care, meaning that both parties contributed to the well-being of the other in different ways. Also men could physically take care of their family members when needed. Vieno Sukselainen had taken on the role of the head of the household that he formed with his mother at least by the time he started studying. The family had been poor with Vieno's mother taking in seamstress work and doing other odd jobs. Vieno's parents had never gotten married and Vieno's mother had been his sole guardian with his father having started his own, separate family. Vieno's mother was thus the only (nuclear) family he had and, besides studying, Vieno had a full-time job in order to support both himself and his mother. He made the economic decisions in the family and, for example, took care of their housing arrangements, while his mother took care of the domestic matters such as cooking. Vieno's diaries do not reveal whether his mother had any of her own income after they moved to Helsinki, but at least Vieno's efforts to save as much money in terms of housing by having other students living in the apartments with them indicates that they did not have a lot of money to spare. However, when Vieno's mother was diagnosed with cancer, he had to take on more physical caring responsibilities as well as managing the day to day running of the household, which before had been his mother's responsibility.[356]

Emotional meanings

Jalmari Finne's mother's sacrifices were, however, not only about the organization of domestic work or the gendered power structure of the family. Finne considered the unconditional emotional, as well as practical, support he received from his mother through all his different work projects to be invaluable. She was someone he could trust to always be on his side and to be willing to sacrifice her domestic comforts in order to help her son achieve his goals. Their relationship was made even closer and more meaningful to Finne as the other siblings got

[356] KA/V. J. Sukselainen/1 Päiväkirjat (1926-1965), for example 4 (1929), 17.2.1929; 5 (2.10.1929–19.5.1930), 23.10.1929; 8 (1935–1936), 12.9.1935, 11.6.1936, 13.6.1939, 22.7.1936, 23.7.1936, 29.7.1936, 27.8.1936, 6.9.1936; V. J. Sukselainen, *Halusin valtiomieheksi* (Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä, 1997), 51 & 73–76; Seppo Sarlund, *V. J. Sukselainen: vähäväkisten valtiomies* (Helsinki: Maahenki, 2008), 22 & 33–34.

married and moved away from the family home.[357] In December 1916, Finne described his feelings about his home to a friend in the following way: "The more I look around, the more I notice other people's private lives, the clearer I see how I have gotten myself a great happiness. How few have a home as good as mine, exactly the kind where one prospers and where the prevailing peace stays with everyone who has stayed there."[358]

If in bachelors' own writings as well as in bachelor representations marriage meant having someone to love, someone to care for you and accept you as you were, someone to bring happiness to your life, Finne's, Melartin's and Atra's experiences demonstrate that such feelings of love and belonging could also be gained through ways other than marriage. Especially the last sentence of the Melartin quotation above— "So that one will then have one's own people under one's own roof and can when needed take care of each other"—underlined how Melartin's family, especially his mother and sister, were an essential part of a home for him and how full domestic happiness could not be achieved without them. In 1917 when his mother was visiting relatives, he wrote to her: "It is a bit as if home is not really home before mother is there."[359] And after their mother had died, Melartin described his feelings to his sister in July 1918: "How empty our home will now be!"[360] Several deaths in the family that had taken away so many loved ones prematurely had shaped the surviving family members into a close-knit unit and made it even more pertinent for them to be together and to take care of each other. A sense of home and belonging was therefore tied to the people one loved also beyond the childhood or marital home. Bachelors continued to equate home with family even as they grew older.

The emotional and social reasons behind family households are also important when considering the continuity of living arrangements. Staying in one's childhood home was not always a conscious decision. People did not necessarily reconsider their housing situation until they were forced to by, for example, a death in the family. Moreover, the desire to keep the family together even after the parents had died is exemplified by siblings who continued to live

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[357] Finne, *Ihmeellinen seikkailu*, 11, 168 & 280.
[358] KA/Jalmari Finne/Kirjekokoelma 15, Jalmari Finne to Maria Lallukka, 10.12.1916, 700. Original: "Jota enemmän katson ympärilleni, jota enemmän, sitä selvemmin tulen näkemään, miten minä olen saanut itselleni suuren onnellisuuden. Kuinka harvalla onkaan niin hyvä koti kuin minulla, juuri sellainen, missä viihtyy ja jossa vallitseva rauha tuntuu jokaisessa, joka on siellä viipynyt."
[359] KK/Coll.530.22, Erkki Melartin to Maria Melartin, 6.8.1917. Original: "Det är nog litet så att hemmet inte riktigt är hem ännu innan mor finnes där."
[360] KK/Coll.530.21, Erkki Melartin to Livi Melartin, 31.7.1918. Original: "Kuinka tyhjäksi koti nyt käy!"

in their family home. Such seems to have been the case with 50-year-old Karl K. who lived together with his two sisters in an apartment, which they had probably inherited from their parents as he owned a third of the property.[361] Björn W., a 68-year-old protocol secretary in the Senate, also lived in 1927 with his younger brother Lars, a 62-year-old bank director and lawyer, who also died unmarried, in a house they had most likely inherited from their parents.[362] The house fulfilled the turn-of-the-century bourgeois principles with its office, drawing room, and dining room, and the brothers employed altogether three female servants. Their other two brothers, Torsten and Knut, were married, but by sharing a household with each other the two unmarried brothers were able to enjoy not only the high level of domesticity that such a house provided but also each other's company. Despite the strong stereotype of the 'confirmed bachelor', we need to consider that in most cases staying unmarried was not a conscious decision that a man made at some point in his life and then arranged his entire life to reflect his bachelorhood. Living arrangements, which had been thought of as temporary, could become more permanent or hopes of a family home once again being inhabited by a family never fulfilled.[363] Furthermore, especially in later life, siblings could provide an unmarried person with the mental support, safety, familiarity, closeness, and experience of shared traditions and worldview, which were considered the prerogatives of a nuclear family.

Finally, it is important to point out that family could play an important role in a bachelor's life and well-being even if he did not live in the same dwelling as his family members. This was the case for Richard Faltin (1867–1952), who was a surgeon and a life-long bachelor. Richard described in his memoirs that without any children of his own he felt that he would have missed a lot in life if he had not had his sister's eight children and their children to love and cherish. Even though he did not live together with the children, he could share the joys and celebrations of life with them: the children, in his words, prevented his "bachelor heart" from "withering away."[364] As in the case of Melartin, the children of siblings or other relatives could play an emotionally important part in the lives of bachelors, who did not have their own biological children.

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[361] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:183 Perukirjat (1933)/31810.
[362] http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/1853-1899/henkilo.php?id=20437; http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/1853-1899/henkilo.php?id=21426; visited 15.4.2016; KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:148 (1928)/27380.
[363] See also Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 55.
[364] Faltin, *Mitt liv*, 23. Original: "Tack vare dessa barn - och senare barnbarnen - har mitt ungkarlshjärta inte förtorkat, såsom det säkert annars hade gjort."

Conclusions

On an ideological level family may have become increasingly equated with the nuclear family, but by contrasting the imagined marital family with the experiences of bachelors this chapter has demonstrated how several other forms of family continued to exist alongside it.[365] Considering how the definition and feeling of home was in many respects tied to people's loved ones and how family not only constituted the primary context for people's lives but also the primary form of care at the beginning of the 20th century, it is not surprising that so many bachelors lived with family members even in older age. Anne Ollila's research on Finnish unmarried upper-class women has discussed how such women sought to avoid living alone and thus often shared a home and a household with siblings, other relatives, and female friends or took in foster children.[366] In this chapter I have demonstrated how unmarried men also preferred to live with family members in different configurations; how they also acted as care givers not only in an economic sense; how bachelors also raised foster children; and how their happiness was improved by interacting with the children of relatives. By showing 'alternative' forms of caring and taking responsibility for other people, the latter part of the chapter contests the idea that adult masculinity was tied specifically to marriage or to a nuclear family. This was not the only possible care unit or relevant emotional context for a person.

In bachelors' writings on marriage, a wife was imagined as rescuing her husband from a lonely, meaningless, and insecure existence. She would end the temporariness, instability and irregularity of bachelorhood as well as its domestic limitations. The examples and cases discussed in this chapter have demonstrated that most of these elements could be provided for within the context of a non-marital family household: not only domesticity and food but also company, emotional support, encouragement, acceptance, a stable and permanent home physically as well as emotionally. What was understood as a "regular home life" could in fact be established by sharing a household with a family member or relative. Female family members constituted one solution to the domestic problems with which unmarried men struggled.

While Melartin and Finne lived comfortably as heads of households, the level of comfort or, for example, privacy provided by a family home should not be exaggerated, especially if several

[365] Ollila, *Jalo velvollisuus*, 84 & 105; Häggman, 'Suurperhe, ydinperhe, pyhä perhe?', 220. For 19th century Europe generally, see also Kertzer, 'Living with Kin', 43.
[366] Ollila, *Jalo velvollisuus*, 115.

other unmarried siblings were also living in the same household. The census records do not tell us whether the men living with family members had their own room or, for example, where and with whom they slept. As Jane Hamlett has pointed out, divisions of spaces in family homes were not so much about "securing the privacy of the individual in isolation—rather, they were about negotiating the relationships between family members, and constructing gendered roles."[367] Different family members had different amounts and different kinds of space available to them as well as access to different spaces. Furthermore, compared to bachelors sharing a household with an unmarried sibling, those living with married siblings and their families would have been more in the position of a lodger, boarder or renter in terms of the space and material culture available to them. All in all, the level of comfort, privacy, and personal space varied according to social class: bakery owner Edvard Ekberg represented the wealthier end of the spectrum, while Arvo and his brother Toivo, who slept in their sister's kitchen, represented the other end.[368]

All in all, the possibilities of living with family members and the kinds of configurations such arrangements took varied according to which family members were alive, which were married, and whether a single person was able to live in the same geographical area as his family members.[369] The need to live with family members was, in turn, affected by economic circumstances and physical well-being but also the personal preferences of people. Despite a general preference for sharing a household with family members, living with family was not always harmonious and without its conflicts and problems—even if the middle classes especially wished to portray the family as the truest provider of happiness, contentment and the highest level of privacy. The temperaments or lifestyles and routines of family members did not always match. They could even make living together in a small space difficult.[370] For Väinö Pesola, the problems and conflicts he experienced in his parental home continued when he temporarily let his brother Aarne stay with him in his rented room. Väinö complained in his diary that his brother kept him up by coming home late in the evening, disturbed his work, and

[367] Hamlett, *Material Relations*, 40.
[368] TMT:288:1086:TA, 18.
[369] See also Ollila, *Jalo velvollisuus*, 85–111. Ollila's examples include the four Hällström sisters, who all continued living in their parental home for their whole lives until and beyond their parents' deaths, and Lucina Hagman who took her widowed mother to live with her and later the two children of her brother after his wife had died. Naemi Ingman had to live away from her family members in a different city due to her post as a teacher, even though family remained important to her and she even made plans to reunite with her unmarried siblings in old age – a plan that was never realised.
[370] See also Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, 145.

did not respect him.[371] Arno Cederberg, on the other hand, found it difficult living with his brother because he considered him to be a "bad character" and untrustworthy, fickle and nervous.[372] The feelings of difficulty seem to have been mutual as Arno's brother decided to rent a room of his own after only a week of living together.[373] The issue had been more the incompatibility of characters rather than the idea of sharing a living space with a brother since a couple of years later, Arno successfully rented shared rooms with his younger brother Armas and experienced no similar complaints.[374] Living with a sibling compared to a stranger may have provided familiarity but it could also mean that family members were less likely to respect one's privacy or personal space.[375] Family members could also have been more likely to try and assert control and influence over one's decisions.[376]

At the same time, many bachelors were forced to leave their parental homes when their families could not afford to support someone who could make a living for themselves, or when educational or work opportunities had to be explored elsewhere. Others would have welcomed the opportunity to distance themselves from their families and enjoy the freedom that living alone could offer. Such living arrangements, which could be considered most stereotypically bachelor, are the focus of the next chapter.

[371] KK/Coll.433.2, Päiväkirja II, 8.4.1917, 357; 2.6.1917, 476; 6.6.1917, 479; Päiväkirja III, 26.7.1917, 591; 24.12.1917, 879; Päiväkirja VI, 8.7.1918, 1505; 15.8.1918, 1556; Päiväkirja VII, 26.1.1919, 1785.
[372] KA/Arno Cederberg/Muistojen pirstaleita syksyllä 1914 I, 17.9.1904.
[373] KA/Arno Cederberg/Muistojen pirstaleita syksyllä 1914 I, 25.9.1904
[374] KA/Arno Cederberg/Muistojen pirstaleita keväältä 1907 I, 25.1.1907.
[375] Vicky Holmes, for example, found that newly-wed working-class couples who lived with relatives could have less private and personal space than couples who lived as lodgers and were provided with their own bedrooms. See Holmes, *In Bed with the Victorians*, 21–23.
[376] Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, 140–41.

3. Bachelor Boxes: At Home in Bachelorhood

> [I ordered from a carpenter's shop a] table and three chairs. A thin wallet would not allow for more. The bachelor box next to the shop became fairly homely, when my sister came to put up the curtains and when I bought a small desk from my brother, placing it under the window and putting the third chair next to it. A bed was replaced by a chaise longue, which I bought from the son of the house, who had a second-hand shop in Helsinki.[377]

> A young oldboy, who also has been forced to venture out into the world, got a position or an appointment and his own "box", possibly even a two-room apartment, eats in a restaurant or takes food from a central kitchen - -.[378]

> Alone living in his/her box, being completely free, the young student for once wants to enjoy his/her freedom: sleeps as long as he/she wants in the morning, reads loads of popular novels, - - , spends his/her evenings at the cinema, a cafe or a dancehall or gathers other students to drink and carouse in his/her apartment.[379]

In both bachelors' personal writings and written oral history sources as well as newspapers and magazine texts, the term (*bachelor) box* ('(poikamies)boksi' or sometimes also 'poksi' in Finnish) was used to refer to a room or a small apartment with one or two rooms that was inhabited by a bachelor alone or together with one or several other bachelors.[380] The room or apartment was either rented or owned by the bachelor and furnished by the landlord or landlady or by the bachelor himself. The term box could be preceded by the word *oldboy* underlining that the inhabitant was not that young anymore, although during the interwar period a box was

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[377] SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 16:6902–3. 1993. Original: "Kävin jonain iltana Kausalassa missä Korpelan uudesta puusepänliikkeestä tilasin. Pöydän ja kolme tuolia. Laiha lompakko ei sallinut enempää. Myymälän viereinen poikamiesboksi tuli ihan kodikkaaksi, kun sisko kävi laittamassa ikkunaan verhot ja ostin veljeltäni pienen kirjoituspöydän siihen ikkunan ääreen ja laitoin sen kolmannen tuolin sen viereen. Sängyn korvasi seslonki, jonka ostin talon omistajien pojalta, joka piti Helsingissä osto- ja myyntiliikettä."

[378] Sauli, 'Pankaa meidät poikina naisten töihin', *Kotiliesi* 13/1934, 476. Original: "Nuori vanhapoika, joka myöskin on jo joutunut maailmalle, saanut jo viran tai toimen ja oman "boksin", mahdollisesti oikein kaksion, syö ravintolassa tai keskuskeittiön ruokaa - -."

[379] Tauno Laine, 'Kodistaan poissa olevat opiskelijat ja nuorison huvittelu', *Nuori Voima* 20.8.1936, 245. Original: "Yksin "boksissaan" asuen, täysin vapaana ollen, nuori opiskelija tahtoo kerrankin nauttia vapaudestaan: nukkuu aamulla niin kauan kuin uni maistaa, lueskelee mielin määrin ajanvieteromaaneja, - - istuu iltansa elokuvissa, kahvilassa tai tanssipaikoissa taikka kokoaa toisia opiskelijoita asuntoonsa juopottelemaan ja hummaamaan."

[380] In Sweden, the concept of *lådrum* (box room) as referring to a small box-like room seems to have existed but in Swedish a bachelor's apartment was more commonly referred to as "ungkarls lya", which could be translated as bachelor's nest or cave as "lya" refers to an animal's nest that is at least partly underground. See Allan Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds: Modernity and the Language of Everyday Life in Late Nineteenth-Century Stockholm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 229. In English the term *box room* refers to "a very small room used for storage or as a bedroom" (Oxford English Dictionary, online version 2015), but "chambers" constituted a form of housing "most often associated with bachelors" in the English context. See Snyder, *Bachelors, Masculinity, and the Novel*, 36. According to the OED, the term 'bachelor pad' originates from the 1950s with the earliest use found in *The Chicago Tribune*.

increasingly used to refer to rooms rented by students.[381] As the number of female students as well as working women increased during the interwar period, a box no longer referred solely to a bachelor's flat but more generally to an unmarried person's room or apartment. Besides students, the profession with which the box was most often associated with was that of an office worker, both male and female (*virkanainen/virkamies*).[382]

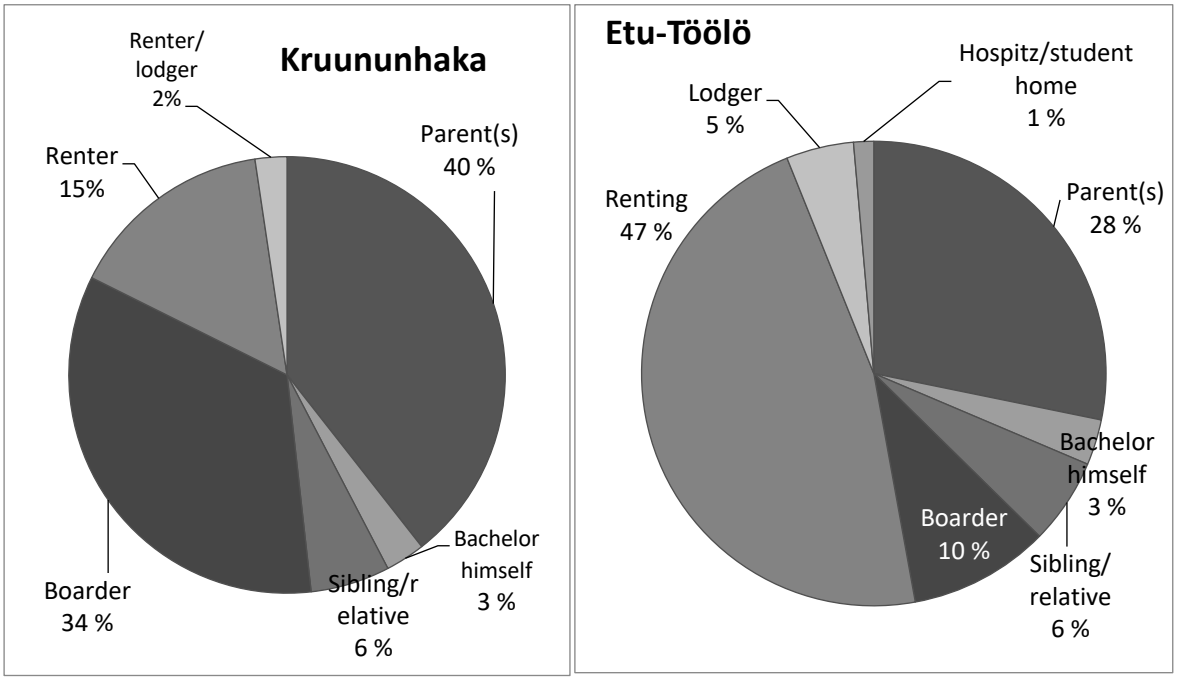
The concept of the box enables us to approach both bachelor specific domestic needs and desires as well as limitations and problems. On the one hand, the term box underlined that the dwelling in question was only temporary and not a home in the sense of a childhood or marital home. Yet, on the other hand, the box was especially in the case of students most strongly associated with freedom (see third quote above).[383] Drawing mostly on the probate samples as well as on bachelors' personal and oral history writings, this chapter explores the inhabitants, spaces, material culture and domestic practices central to living in a bachelor box. The chapter asks whether bachelorhood led to different types of domestic practices or material culture compared to married households—and if yes, in what ways and to what extent? At the end of the chapter, special attention is paid to food both as an everyday necessity as well as a domestic comfort. Despite the association with young bachelors, this chapter will also consider those older unmarried men, who according to the census and probate samples could be considered to have lived in a box-type apartment.

A box of one's own

The increased value of privacy and the growing undesirability of living with strangers were developments that touched not only families or people renting out living spaces. Bachelors too increasingly wanted to live in arrangements that gave them more of their own space and less contact with their hosts. Between the census samples from 1900 and 1930, the move from boarding to renting was the most significant change in housing for unmarried men who did not live with family members or other relatives. The percentage of men living in rented

[381] On oldboy boxes see, for example, Yrjänä Karjalainen, 'Moottoriseikkailuja Laatokalla', *Maailma* 1/1920, 88–92; Arttu Brummer, 'Elettyä historiaa', *Kirjapainotaito* 12/1926, 274–278. On students, see *Ylioppilaslehti* and *Tekniikan ylioppilas* especially during the 1930s.
[382] Priska, 'Matka kävi Turun kautta', *Suomen Nainen* 9-10/1930, 72 & 77; Salme Setälä, 'Virkanaisen "boksi"', *Lotta-Svärd* 1931, 263–264; 'Tuija tutkiskelee elämää: Itsenäisyyden ongelmia - yksinäisyyden probleema', *Hopeapeili* 2/1936, 2.
[383] For example Ani, 'Fuksin päiväkirjasta: Oi Makaroooooooooni!!', *Ylioppilaslehti* 7B/1936, 123–124.

accommodation rose from 13% to 31%, whereas the percentage of boarders decreased from 20% to 5% (see Charts 2 and 3 in Chapter 2).[384]



Charts 7 and 8. Students living in Kruununhaka in 1900 (n=170, 17.6 % of all bachelors) and in Etu-Töölö in 1930 (n=789, 27.8 % of all bachelors) according to type of living arrangement/relationship to head of household.

Among students, in 1900 only 15% had rented a room but by 1930 this proportion had more than tripled to 47%. At the same time, the number of students living as boarders with full upkeep decreased from 34% to 10% (see Charts 7 and 8).[385] What differentiated a boarder from a lodger or a renter was the fact that, in addition to a place to live and sleep, the landlord or landlady provided a boarder with full upkeep thus making him part of the same household as the landlord/landlady, their family if they had one and/or other possible boarders. During the interwar period, the size of new apartments that were built was smaller than before meaning that there was less room for accommodating boarders. In Helsinki, the average size of apartments built during the latter half of the 1920s had decreased to 2.4 rooms compared to 3.1 rooms during the first half of the decade; for Töölö the corresponding sizes were 2.8 and 3.8

[384] This change might be partly a result of technical and terminological differences between the two censuses and the census cards used, but even so this cannot account for the whole extent of the change. For details about the different terms used in the censuses and the translation of the different Finnish and Swedish terms, see Appendix 2.

[385] For 1900 the data includes altogether 170 students studying at the university or other higher education institutions constituting 17.6% of all the unmarried men for that year. For 1930 there are 789 students representing 27.8% of all bachelors.

rooms.[386] Furthermore, the growth of the city saw an increase in the number and variety of different places in which to eat outside the home. For example, the cooperative student restaurant Osmola had been founded in as early as 1903. Such options would have made boarding less necessary for the provision of meals.[387] Despite not being apparent from the used census samples, on the level of the whole city lodging was also being replaced by renting.[388] In 1909, 14.9% of the inhabitants of Helsinki had been lodgers, but by 1930 this had fallen to 5.7%.[389]

The increasing preference for greater privacy is likewise visible in the types of accommodation students and other young bachelors sought, according to advertisements published in the "Looking to rent" (*Vuokrata halutaan* / *Åstundas hyra*) section in the two Helsinki-based newspapers *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Uusi Suometar* in 1890 and 1900.[390] The clearest difference between the two years is between the proportion of adverts specifying full or half upkeep as preferable: this decreased from 64% in 1890 to 41% in 1900. This result implies that the shift from boarding to renting had already started at the end of the 19th century.[391] Another sign of the increasing importance of privacy is that in 1900 8% of adverts specifically sought a room with a separate entrance, whereas none of the 1890 ads had included such a preference. The fact that the proportion of men hoping to live with a family actually increased from a fifth to a quarter of the adverts might imply a counterargument to the increased desire for privacy. However, if we look at these adverts in more detail, we can see that in 1890 only one person specified that he wanted his own room with a family but in 1900 already seven people specified

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[386] Jouko Siipi, 'Pääkaupunkiyhteiskunta ja sen sosiaalipolitiikka', in *Helsingin kaupungin historia V osa 1. nide*, ed. Ragnar Rosén and et al. (Helsinki: Helsingin kaupunki, 1962), 247.
[387] See also Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*, 91–92.
[388] This change does not come across in the census samples, in which the proportion of bachelors living as lodgers stayed approximately the same, but thid was due to the fact that neither Kruununhaka or Etu-Töölö were characteristically working-class areas.
[389] Juntto, *Asuntokysymys Suomessa*, 161.
[390] I have included advertisements in in which the words used or pseudonym given indicated that the person or persons looking for a room(s) were unmarried men. The most common descriptions or terms included in the selection: nuorimies/ungherre/ung man (young man), ungkarl (bachelor), nuorukainen/yngling (youngster), bolagist = somebody living together with another (young) man, and terms referring to students such as polytekniker, student, ylioppilas. Collected adverts do not include those looking for short-term or summer accommodation outside of Helsinki, or schoolboys looking for a place to stay. This means that a majority are young men and, unfortunately, besides a couple of exceptions, we do not get a wider idea of what kind of rooms or apartments older unmarried men were looking for since, unlike younger men or students, such men did not usually mention their marital status or age in the advertisements. The young age of the sample is reflected in the fact that about a third of the room-seekers were students. The sample for 1890 consisted of 42 and the one for 1900 of 160 advertisements.
[391] We would also need statistics from adverts from the 1920s/1930s to make a further comparison, but since these years are not digitized for the newspapers in question, this has not been done for the moment.

this condition. This represents a very slight increase in terms of percentages but could be seen as an indication that men increasingly valued the privacy of their own room even if they wanted that room to be rented from a specific type of landlord.

> After all I think I will be alone, which is for the best. For starters, one does not want just anybody [for a roommate] and I hardly know anybody suitable except maybe A. Aminoff.[392]

The fact that a majority, 57 to 59%, had specified that they were looking for a room of their own, exemplifies that young men preferred to live alone. For many students living alone was specifically a matter of being better able to concentrate on their work. A roommate could also, for example, prevent one from enjoying a good night's sleep.

> Due to lack of money I was not able to rent myself a private apartment. My reading has suffered and will suffer so much from this that I won't make it to next month's exam and that can make even my graduation more difficult.[393]

> "Peace on earth", I am alone in my new quarters. What a lovely feeling in my soul – alone, alone. The fitting tone for my soul rings in this word, only now I realize how completely I have become accustomed to loneliness by living alone for 10 years, but there have to have been other factors, besides the colour of [?], the sensitivity of nerves and the difficulty in concentrating.[394]

Väinö Pesola, who studied and composed at home and also suffered from sleeping problems, was, based on his diaries, easily disturbed by the presence and behaviour of the others with whom he sometimes had to share a room. He complained, among other things, that he could not sleep properly since his roommate liked to read novels late at night as well as to smoke constantly while he read.[395] Väinö therefore preferred primarily to live alone—as long as his financial situation permitted it.[396] Vieno Sukselainen, on the other hand, did not want to make the financial investment a room of his own would have required, even when he would have been able to do so. Nonetheless, he dreamed of his "own lonely box with its own entrance" and

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[392] ÅA/Lofsdal-samlingen/Mapp 19, brev till Aline Reuter från Julio Reuter, 26.9.1881. Original: "Emedertid tror jag blifva ensam, hvilket väl är det bästa. Man vill först och främst icke hafva hvem som helst och jag vet knapt någon lämplig utan mögligen A. Aminoff."
[393] KK/Coll.433.2/Päiväkirja III, 22.9.1917. Original: "Rahan puutteen takia en ole voinut vuokrata itselleni yksityisasuntoa. Lukuni ovat kärsineet ja tulevat kärsimään tästä siksi paljon, etten ehdi ensi kuun tenttiin ja se voi vaikeuttaa aivan valmistumiseeni."
[394] KK/Coll.433.2/Päiväkirja III, 3.11.1917. Original: "Rauha maassa", olen yksin uudessa kortteerissani. Aivan suloinen tunne sielussa - yksin, yksin. Tässä sanassa soi sieluni oikea sävel, nyt vasta huomaan miten täysin 10-vuotinen yksinasumiseni oli minut yksinäisyyteen totuttaneet, mutta on siinä täytynyt olla muitakin tekijöitä, paitsi elumuksen mainittu väri, hermoston herkkyys ja keskittymisen vaikeus."
[395] KK/Coll.433.2/Päiväkirja III, 26.10.1917.
[396] KK/ Coll.433.2, Päiväkirja III, 11.9.1917; 22.9.1917; 12.10.1917; 23.10. 1917; 26.10.1917; 3.11.1917; Päiväkirja IV, 7.3.1918.

enjoyed the evenings or days when his roommate was away and he was able to have the room to himself. He felt that alone he was better able to concentrate on his work and improve his abilities, he was more productive. In addition, the peace and quiet gave him the opportunity to reflect and mentally recharge his batteries.[397] Living alone meant that one was free to do what one wanted whenever one wanted and that one did not have to take any other person into consideration in one's domestic practices. Sukselainen describes how he longed for a place to work, where he could leave his papers scattered across the table and return to find them as he had left them.[398] One's own room was thus a matter of freedom and control over one's everyday life, from sleeping and studying to playing the piano or just having a moment to oneself.

Bachelors gradually improved their housing conditions by moving from a boarding situation to a room of their own or, among lodgers, from living with a family to sharing a place with men in a similar situation. Having one's own apartment or room was to some extent a "luxury", which was considered a more appropriate form of housing, especially for older bachelors who had graduated or were already working.[399] For example, Miss Olga Nyholm, who with the help of two servants provided rooms and full upkeep for boarders in her eight-room apartment in Liisankatu, Kruununhaka, in 1901 advertised a "beautiful furnished room with full upkeep for a civil servant or two male roommates."[400] The advert suggested that there existed a custom of younger students more often sharing a room whereas a man, who already had a profession, a civil servant in this case, was expected to have his own private room. In a similar vein, Väinö Salminen (1880–1947) describes in his memoirs how in 1907 he had wanted a nicer room, one with its own entrance and an alcove since he was about to graduate.[401] Compared to all bachelors, students or early-stage students were expected to be the most flexible and to settle for the most temporary domestic solutions.

For working-class bachelors, living as a lodger was most common among people who had just moved to the city or the area, because renting one's own apartment was difficult and expensive due to the shortage of housing and the lack of local contacts. From one's first dwelling, it was

[397] KA/V. J. Sukselaisen arkisto/1 Päiväkirjat/Päiväkirja 4, 1.3.1929; 18.4.1929; Päiväkirja 5, 15.11.1929; 22.3.1930; 24.3.1930; 25.3.1930; 5.5.1930; Päiväkirja 6, 27.6. 1931.
[398] KA/V. J. Sukselaisen arkisto/Päiväkirja 5, 22.3.1930; 9.5.1930.
[399] V. A. Koskenniemi, *Vuosisadanalun ylioppilas* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1947), 42.
[400] 'Syysk. 1 pstä', *Uusi Suometar* 15.8.1901, 8. Original: "kaunis kalustettu huone ynnä täysihoito virkamiehelle tai herroille bolagisteille."
[401] Väinö Salminen, *Vallattomilta vaellusvuosilta* (Helsinki: Otava, 1946), 170.

easier to look for a more permanent place in the city.[402] In 1905, 20-year-old Albert S. moved to Helsinki with two of his friends in search for work, which they found on a construction site. Albert first lived with a widow, her younger son and three other male lodgers (who Albert describes as 'strange men' indicating a common synonym for a lodger) in a small room, which had been divided into two with a screen. The "back" side was the widow's living space, while the men slept on the side of the door with two sleeping on the sofa bed that could be drawn out, two sleeping on a bed and one on the lid of the sofa placed on the floor. After a few months, Albert moved to the same lodgings, where one of his friends had been living. This apartment was "a little bit quieter." The father of the family slept in one and Albert and his friend in the other of two beds placed in the 'sleeping cupboard' (*makuukomero*). The mother and the small boy slept in the kitchen. The following year Albert lived with a colleague's four-person family and another lodger in a two-room apartment. After that Albert gave up living with families and rented a furnished room together with three or four men.[403] As Albert's story demonstrates, for some working-class bachelors living in lodgings was only the first step on a ladder of many different forms of urban housing options.[404] Even though in magazines the term box was used to refer almost exclusively to non-working-class apartments, oral history sources attest that working-class bachelors also used the term.[405] Unlike his situation as a lodger, in a box a working-class bachelor would have had more personal space, would have more likely had his own bed and would have been free from the possible social control of his host family.[406]

Bachelor households

Having freedom or privacy did not necessarily mean that a bachelor had to live alone. Rather, it was more about not living under the control or rules of someone senior—be that a landlord/landlady, a relative or an employer. In an article on single men in later medieval England, P. J. P. Goldberg has made use of Olwen Hufton's term 'spinster clustering' in order to look for signs of similar 'bachelor clustering', that is, bachelors living together or in close

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[402] TYKL/887/Henri, Nordberg, Henri, 'Verlan ruukkiyhdyskunta 1882–1964. Kansatieteellinen tutkimus puuhioke- ja pahvitehtaan työtekijöiden työ- ja elämänoloista' (Master's thesis, University of Turku, 1974), 109; TYKL/1400/ Vilppo, 'Nokian työväenasutus', 166; Markkola, 'Koti, asunto, kortteeri', 25–27; Unto Kanerva, *Pumpulilaisia ja pruukilaisia: Tehdastyöväen työ- ja kotioloja Tampereella viime vuosisadalla* (Helsinki: Tammi, 1946), 302.
[403] TMT:176:576:TA, 1–2.
[404] See also HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:1/Lauri Viljanen, 1; HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:3, Alarik Lahikainen, 1–2.
[405] TMT:263:1309:TA, 56; SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 16:6902. 1993; TYKL/kys/6: informant 1; TYKL/KYS/17; informant 2.
[406] Heikki Waris, *Työläisyhteiskunnan syntyminen Helsingin Pitkänsillan pohjoispuolelle* (Helsinki: Weilin & Göös, 1973), 177.

proximity to each other. Goldberg identifies the advantages of such clustering to be solidarity, "making best use of their meagre earnings", and "a degree of sociability."[407] Hussey and Ponsonby have also pointed out that single people could be reluctant to live by themselves. [408] Previous Finnish research has discussed how the shared households of single women were a way for the women to improve the conditions of everyday life and how such arrangements became more widespread with the increased numbers of unmarried working women.[409] Even though the census samples used in this thesis do not allow for a larger scale comparison or even an estimate of the typicality of such households, both census records and oral history sources include similar examples of bachelors also sharing an apartment or a household with other bachelors.[410] As the census did not recognise terms such as "colleague" or "friend" as possible descriptions of a housing relationship, the census cannot reveal all the dimensions of the relationships among people sharing a living space. Yet these relationships are important because they could be pivotal for the bachelor since, for example, they might represent connections which could have made a newcomer's transition and integration into his new urban life quicker and easier.[411]

The bachelors sharing a household were often of a fairly similar age and they usually worked in a similar type of occupation if not at exactly the same place of employment. Domestic cooperation was more likely to take place between people who had an existing social connection. Similar life situations explain why such an arrangement had been possible and desirable in the first place. In Kruununhaka in 1900, there were eight households in which two to six bachelors lived together (see Table 3). In Etu-Töölö in 1930, there were nine cases in which several bachelors, who were not brothers, were heads of a household together (see Table 4). In both census years, the men in these shared households ranged in age from their 20s to 40s, thus making this form of living more common among younger bachelors than, for example, sharing a household with siblings. This suggests that these arrangements were of a more

[407] Goldberg, 'Desperately Seeking the Single Man', 121–24.
[408] Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 53.
[409] Ollila, *Jalo velvollisuus*, 43–44, 55 & 58–60; Häggman, *Perheen vuosisata*, 100 & 198; Beatrice Moring, 'Gender, Class and Lodging in Urban Finland around 1900', *Continuity and Change* 31, no. 1 (May 2016): 69–70; Markkola, 'Koti, asunto, kortteeri', 27; Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty*, 81. For a contemporary description see Aune Kajanne, 'Eräs uusi kotimuoto', *Kotiliesi* 7/1931, 287–290.
[410] Especially, in terms of testing how common such an arrangement was among working-class men, Kruunuhaka or Etu-Töölö are not the best areas for doing this. For a more comprehensive picture, the census records for a more predominantly working-class area, such as Kallio, Punavuori or Sörnäinen, should be used.
[411] Timo Yliaho, Hanna Snellman, and Katarina Koskiranta, *Tehtaalainen Helsingissä: Pitkänsillan pohjoispuoli ja leipomotyöntekijät ennen toista maailmansotaa* (Helsinki: Museovirasto, tutkimusosasto, 1991), 148.

temporary nature. In 1900, a further 25 renters (20% of all renters) were marked as sharing a household with another renter.

In addition, the relationship between a landlord/landlady and a renter or a lodger was not necessarily only an economic one but other connections, based on, for example, occupation, place of employment, kinship, friendship, geographical origin, nationality, language or religion could play a significant part in such arrangements.[412] In 1900, there were three cases in which a bachelor head of household had the same or a similar profession to his bachelor lodger. In Etu-Töölö in 1930, there were 14 cases in which a lodger shared the apartment only with another man, in most cases also unmarried. Half of these roommates had the same occupation or place of work but at least some of them could also have been friends sharing an apartment.

	Address	Inhabitants	Rooms	Profession	Ages	Same household?
1	Liisankatu 1	3	1	2 drivers, outdoor workers	23, 30, 31	yes
2	Ritarikatu 7	2+1 servant	2	2 merchants	27, 41	yes
3	Pohjois-Esplanadi 7	5 + housekeeper, servant	7	2 merchants, 2 sales assistants, accountant	18, 20, 38, 40, 45	yes
4	Pohjois-Esplanadi 17	2 + 2 servants	6	doctor, bachelor of medicine	26, 34	yes
5	Rauhankatu 19	2	2	2 bachelors of medicine	25, 28	yes
6	Helenankatu 2	2	2	2 bachelors of medicine	26, 27	yes
7	Konstantinin-katu 13	2 + servant	6	Senate clerk, protocol secretary	40, 48	yes
8	Ritarinkatu 3	2 + servant	6	merchant, procurator	40, 44	yes

Table 3. Bachelors living together and sharing a household in Kruununhaka in 1900.

[412] Moring, 'Gender, Class and Lodging', 60 & 68–69; Jeff Meek, 'Boarding and Lodging Practices in Early Twentieth-Century Scotland', *Continuity and Change* 31, no. 1 (2016): 83, 85–86 & 92; Holmes, 'Accommodating the Lodger', 324–26 & 330.

	Address	Inhabitants	Rooms	Profession	Ages	Same household?
1	Eteläinen Hesperiankatu 26	2	1+atelier	sculptor, artist	27, 29	yes
2	Runeberginkatu 37	2	1	2 chauffeurs/ drivers	32, 33	?
3	Aurorankatu 17	2 + housekeeper	5	professor, lecturer	42, 45	yes
4	Mechelininkatu 23	3	2	office manager, engineer, journalist	27, 28, 32	yes
5	Runeberginkatu 21	2	4 + kitchen cupboard	agent, insurance officer	45, 59	yes
6	Eteläinen Hesperiankatu 46	2	1	2 butchers (same place)	24, 28	yes
7	Arkadiankatu 21	2	1 + kc	metal worker, driver	25, 30	yes
8	Nervanderinkatu 11	2	2	2 students	21, 23	no
9	Tunturikatu 15	3	2h+ kc	customs officer, procurator, treasurer	27, 28, 29	?

Table 4. Bachelors who were marked as heads of a household together (not including brothers) in Etu-Töölö in 1930.

Similar to sibling or other types of family households, sharing an apartment with a friend or friends would have provided a bachelor with more space, more privacy, more control over his space, as well as more freedom in terms of routines, behaviour and the furnishings of the rooms (if they were not furnished). In a shared household bachelors were better able to afford a servant to do the domestic work and, for example, provide meals more economically. Even if a private apartment had been readily available, sometimes a joint household was domestically the better option. Railway workers, who formed an exception to the rule that employer-provided housing was not usually allocated to unmarried men, were given apartments by the state no matter what their marital status. Yet, for a bachelor such an apartment could be more expensive to live in than to live somewhere else as a renter, boarder, or lodger.[413] When Kaarlo, who worked as a switchman, and his colleague were both given a one-room apartment with a kitchen, the colleague rented out his apartment and together with a third young man they lived in Kaarlo's apartment. They hired a widow to take care of their household.[414] In more rural and remote

[413] TYKL/kys/17: informant 10, 16; informant 12, 14.
[414] TYKL/kys/17: informant 13, 10. The name of the respondent has been changed.

areas, where there were no diners or other establishments selling food, hiring a housekeeper together might have been the only way to organize regular meals.

Living with friends also carried emotional meanings that made the arrangement preferable to other options. When bachelors did have to share a room or an apartment with someone, they preferred to do so with a friend or friends.[415] For students, living companions were often found among fellow students, friends from high school or from the area they came from. Opting to live with a friend provided a better guarantee that one's personality and habits would be compatible compared to living with a person one did not know beforehand. A person who one knew well and could trust provided safety through familiarity and could even relieve the anxiety caused by a new environment.[416] As students, Kalle Väisälä and Uuno Pesonen lived together in different rooms for several years. They shared the costs but also their daily routines: when one came home from a lecture they would go and eat together.[417] Kalle and Uuno changed apartments every year, but their continued sharing of a dwelling mediated this mobility. Similarly, working-class bachelors, who could change apartments quite often, might nonetheless keep living with the same person: a metal worker at the shipyard in Helsinki, described how he rented a furnished room with a friend first from Luotsikatu and then from Liisankatu, then Albertinkatu and finally from Uudenmaankatu.[418] Even though the focus of previous research has often been on the joint households and support among women, these cases have shown that we can find evidence of 'bachelor clustering' taking place for both practical as well as emotional reasons.[419]

The material culture of a box

The word "box" evokes images of a fairly small, simple space that is narrow and possibly dark as well as being temporary and even disposable. And indeed, in the press, box-apartments were described as cramped, modestly furnished or decorated, dark, or filled with bits and pieces that the owner of the room did not need any more—along the lines of a storage container for the

[415] See for example Salmelainen, *Kun olin nuori*, 170–71; Ernst Bonsdorff, *Elämäni varrelta* (Hämeenlinna: Karisto, 1923), 111.
[416] Sasha Handley, *Sleep in Early Modern England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2016), 178–79.
[417] KA/Kalle Väisälän arkisto/2 Kirjeenvaihto, Kalle to his mother, 9.3.1912.
[418] TMT:19:41/43:TA, 63.
[419] Ollila, *Jalo velvollisuus*; Moring, 'Gender, Class and Lodging'.

owner's leftover items.[420] Yet, despite these negative connotations and descriptions, a box could be a comfortable and pleasant home that had everything a single person needed and wanted, a place "where a lonely man could live a nice and peaceful life and spend his free time."[421] In practice the freedom associated with bachelor boxes meant that the decoration or use of the space was not constrained by parents or familial domesticity. A bachelor had the freedom to be selfish since he had no need to provide spaces and material culture that having a wife and children would have required.[422] A bachelor was able to express and accommodate his personal interests and likes and he had the freedom to do what he wanted, whether that was indeed sleeping in, having friends over for drinks or concentrating on his studies.[423] In the words of Andrew Gorman-Murray, a bachelor box could thus be "a space which affirms and supports men living alone."[424]

Generally, we can say that the domestic functions accommodated by boxes included sleeping, personal hygiene, storing one's possession, working, writing, reading, relaxing, smoking, entertaining (male) friends, pursuing personal interests as well as establishing and performing one's identity. In terms of the sources, I treat men whose probates included furniture for approximately one or two rooms, to have occupied boxes.[425] Almost all boxes would have housed some kind of table, some form of seating as well as a piece for storing items, and at least two thirds would have included a bed, a sofa and a desk (Chart 9). Washstands and other types of furniture related to personal hygiene were common during the first two periods, but their proportion decreased with the introduction of bathrooms during the interwar period.[426]

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[420] See for example, "Vilkku", '"Tyttö saa asunnon - oma peti"!!!', *Seura* 40/1936, 12; Arkkitehti Viljo Rewell, 'Ylioppilaat saapuvat mutta millaisiin oloihin?', *Suomen Kuvalehti* 2/1938, 48–49; Arttu Brummer, 'Elettyä historiaa', *Kirjapainotaito* 12/1926, 274–278.
[421] Kaarlo Luukkonen, 'Eräs joululahja', *Kylväjä* 1–2/1929, 20–23. Original: "Kammari oli pieni ja yksinkertaisesti kalustettu, sellainen nuorenmiehen "poksi", jossa oli yksinäisen miehen mukava ja rauhaisia oleskella ja vapaa-aikansa elellä."
[422] Hoskins, 'Reading the Inventory', 211; Lesley Hoskins, 'Stories of Work and Home in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Home Cultures* 8, no. 2 (2011): 158; Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 130 & 138.
[423] Hamlett, *Material Relations*, 158 & 166.
[424] Gorman-Murray, 'Masculinity and the Home', 373.
[425] Even though some of the men might have been a part of larger (family) households, as discussed in the previous chapter, we can assume that at least a part of this group either rented the room or rooms or even owned the apartment themselves. Moreover, due to the problems and risks discussed in the first chapter, not all of these probates represented such housing arrangements as the furniture listed could have been scattered around several different rooms in a larger house or the furniture included did not necessarily give a complete picture of the deceased's domestic surroundings to mention a few possibilities.
[426] Rönkkö, 'Kotia rakennetaan', 61.

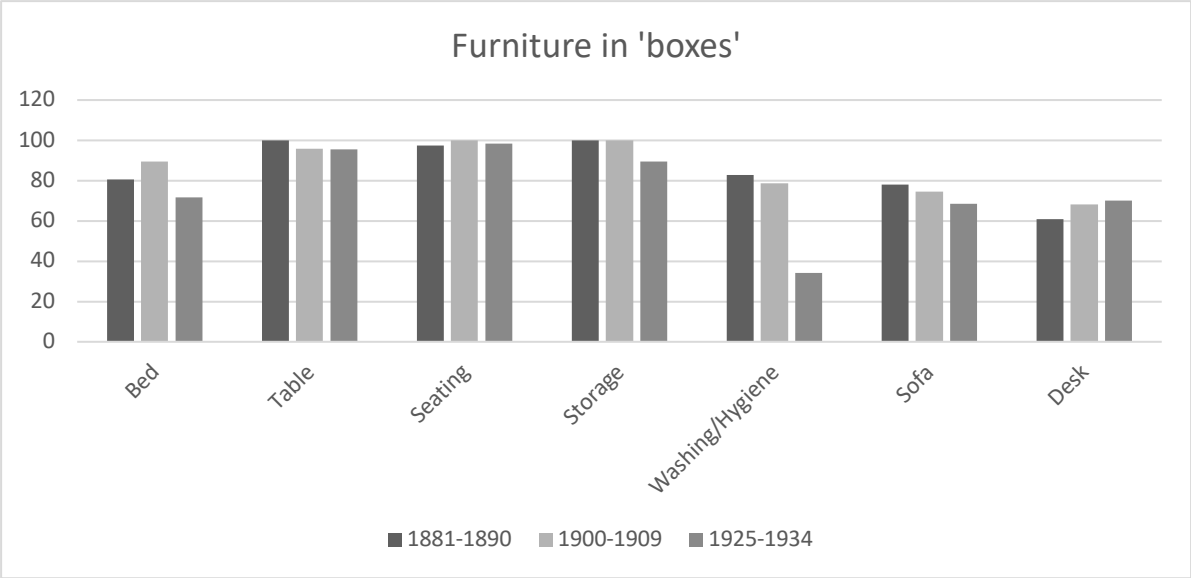

Chart 9. Proportion of probates categorised as representing boxes listing different types of furniture.[427]

How many functions a bachelor was able to accommodate in his box or, for example, the level of spatial differentiation depended on the size of the dwelling. 41-year-old tailor Kalle K. had, before his death in 1929, lived in an apartment with a room, kitchen and hallway (Table 5).[428] 37-year-old merchant Emil M., who died the same year, had been living in a two-room apartment, which was comprised of a gentleman's room, a bedroom, a kitchen, and a vestibule (see Table 6 below).[429] If we compare the dwellings of Kalle and Emil, we see that with his two rooms Emil was able more easily to separate the more public functions of his home from the more private ones, that is, his bedroom from his gentleman's room. A gentleman's room (*herrainhuone, herrum*) functioned as a combination of a study and a living or drawing room for men. Along with a study, an office or library, this is what the father's or head of the household's room was called in a family home. Approximately half of the probates which have been considered to represent boxes, that is 15 to 23% of all the probates, included furniture that could combine the functions of a bedroom, an office or a gentleman's room and a drawing or living room.[430] Such furniture included a bed or a chaise longue, a desk and a sofa set or a sofa together with other chairs.

[427] The 1900–1909 and 1924–1934 periods include a few probates, where the markings in terms of all the furniture have not been clear enough to determine whether they included a specific piece of furniture or not. These have been counted as not listing the piece of furniture.
[428] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:159 Perukirjat (1930)/28896.
[429] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:154 Perukirjat (1929)/28200.
[430] In the English context, terms such as drawing room or parlour have their own histories and connotations of class, but here I am using drawing room or living room to refer to the Finnish and Swedish terms 'sali' and

Room	Kitchen	Hallway
1 oak gentleman's room set (a sofa, 2 armchairs, 4 small chairs, a rocking chair, a desk, a bookcase, a stand) 1 cabinet gramophone with records 1 bed (2 mattresses, 1 feather pillow, 2 pillows, 1 duvet/cover) 1 night stand 1 rug 2 sofa cushions 3 rugs 2 pictures 2 small pictures and a portrait 1 mirror 2 pairs of window and door curtains with rods 1 chandelier 1 table lamp 1 writing set 2 crystal vases books 1 photography machine 1 clock 1 sculpture 1 stuffed bird	1 kitchen furniture set (2 tables, 4 chairs, 1 rocking chair, 1 tabouret, 1 cupboard) 1 sewing machine 1 mirror 1 rug 3 table cloths 1 rug 1 clock 1 picture/painting 2 lamps glass, porcelain, knives, forks etc. coffee pot pressing iron miscellaneous curtains with a rod linen (2 pairs of sheets, 20 handkerchiefs, underwear etc.) miscellaneous fabric	1 bathtub 1 chest with clothes 3 rugs

Table 5. The contents of the rooms of Kalle K., a tailor who died in 1929.[431]

At the time, a home was increasingly seen not only as a space in which to perform basic domestic activities or fulfil basic everyday needs but also where its inhabitants' "inner sense of beauty and mental balance need[ed] to be satisfied."[432] In representations, bachelors were often presented as being essentially homeless because they did not have a wife to make their homes beautiful and comfortable. The probates demonstrate, however, that bachelor apartments were not necessarily cold, dark, bleak, simply furnished or decorated, uncomfortable or unhomely. The curtains, rugs, pictures, sculptures, stuffed birds, crystal vases, miniatures, sofa cushions, table cloths, and chandeliers listed in the probates would have provided their inhabitants with visual pleasure, homeliness, comfort, warmth and other types of sensory stimulants (see Tables 5 and 6, see also Chart 15 in Appendix 5). Items such as radios or musical instruments, works of art, books, scientific instruments, tobacco cases and pipe stands, hunting gear and hunting trophies such as animal heads or skins, or different types of collections would have been signs of their owners' interests, hobbies, education, sophistication and even connoisseurship. The probate of Toivo W., a 28-year-old student of medicine, for example, listed two smoking tables,

'salen', which were most often used in Finland at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century to refer to a room meant for social events and hosting guests.

[431] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:159 Perukirjat (1930)/28896.

[432] Elna Kiljander, 'Kotiemme sisustuksesta', *Kotiliesi* 21/1926, 592–593. Original: "- - sisäinen kauneustajumme ja henkisen tasapainomme vaativat tyydytystä - -."

a radio, a wolf skin, elk horns, two guns and two revolvers, a hunting bag, a microscope and an egg collection.[433] In some cases, the items reflected the owner's profession and experiences. The two sextants, an animal horn from the Orient, as well as old weapons and daggers owned by a 42-year-old sea captain were most likely souvenirs from his travels around the world and mementoes of the adventures he had experienced and dreamed of as well as the different cultures he had seen.[434]

Gentleman's room	Bedroom	Kitchen
1 leather sofa	1 chaise longue with a horsehair	1 wicker table with a chair
4 armchairs	mattress	1 round table
2 small chairs	1 duvet	4 chairs
1 desk (oak)	2 pillows	1 picture/painting
1 sofa table (oak)	1 lace quilt	1 kitchen lamp
1 bookcase (oak)	1 linen cupboard (birch)	2 pairs of kitchen curtains
5 pictures/paintings	1 wall mirror (oval)	1 coffee pot (copper)
3 etchings	1 painting/picture	4 pans (aluminium)
7 miniatures	1 washstand (birch)	1 washing-up bowl
1 ceiling lamp	1 bed rug	1 cleaning basin (enamel)
1 table clock (oak)	1 gramophone with records	1 bucket (enamel)
1 travel clock	1 thermometer	1 broom and dustpan
Desk garniture	4 curtain rods	1 broom with a long shaft
Table lamp	1 ceiling lamp	1 polishing brush
4 curtain rods (brass)	1 clothes basket	2 (food)carriers
1 table cloth	1 table (birch)	1 tray (wood)
1 dozen coffee cups with plates	1 water jug	2 milk jugs
9 drinking glasses	1 fever thermometer	1 dozen plates
1 bread dish (crystal) and 1 smaller	1 quartz lamp	1 basket
1 fruit bowl	3 armchairs	2 teapots
1 sugar bowl	1 corona game	4 drinking glasses
1 creamer	1 tablecloth	3 suitcases
A set of books		1 small bag
		1 shaving knife
		1 strop

Table 6. The contents of the rooms of 37-year-old tradesman Emil M., who died in 1929.
In addition, in the hallway there were a table, a rug, 3 doormats, a lamp, table runner, and a clothes brush.[435]

The extent to which a bachelor was able to exercise his freedom depended on his personal situation. Schmidt, Devos and Blondé have stated that marital status often mattered less than income or wealth as regards to domestic material culture.[436] We have already established that the type of arrangement in which a bachelor lived was, to some extent, dependent on his age as well as on his wealth and status, which in turn were likely to increase with age.[437] Furthermore, the domestic material culture as well as the spatial organisation of the home of a bachelor, who

[433] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:153 Perukirjat (1929)/28090.
[434] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:135 Perukirjat (1926)/25682.
[435] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:154 Perukirjat (1929)/28200.
[436] Schmidt, Devos, and Blondé, 'Introduction: Single and the City', 16.
[437] Morris, *Men, Women, and Property*, 148–49.

lived either in a rented room or a small apartment of his own, was influenced by his personal preferences, experiences, ideas, needs, identity and lifestyle as well as cultural and social assumptions and attitudes about the relationships between singleness, gender and domesticity. These, in turn, also influenced a bachelor's personal preferences. For some men working hard and living frugally was a way to ensure that they had the means to set up a home later in life. Such a strategy meant sacrificing current domesticity for the sake of future domesticity. Other men did not want to or did not have to wait until they were married to have a place of their own and to invest in homemaking.[438]

Changing apartments was normal when bachelors were young but, especially as they got older, the differences between personal preferences and priorities became more pronounced both in terms of the frequency of moving and in terms of the acquisition of furniture and domestic items. Arno Cederberg, for example moved between the homes of relatives and rented rooms and guesthouses both home and abroad up until he married at the age of 35. In contrast, for Vieno Sukselainen it was important to pay attention to and invest in the furnishing of his apartment even before his marriage. He writes of furnishing his room with a leather gentleman's room furniture set, rugs, a chandelier and a smoking table.[439] For Sukselainen a properly furnished room was a prerequisite for being able to invite guests. He was of the opinion that "[a] man, who has a pleasant room, exudes much more confidence and esteem than someone who lives among old pieces of junk."[440] Already as a bachelor, the state of his home reflected both his character and abilities, which mattered especially in relation to the professional ambitions he held. Nor was this true only of middle-class men but, within the probate samples, working-class men are evenly divided between the group that had no basic capacities and those who had some items including furniture. Not all working-class bachelors lived in lodgings or had no basic domestic items.

[438] See for example TYKL/kys/17: informant 5, 54–55; TMT:10:14/1:TA, 31.
[439] KA/V. J. Sukselaisen arkisto/Päiväkirja 7, 20.6.1932; Päiväkirja 8, 27.9.1935.
[440] KA/V. J. Sukselaisen arkisto/Päiväkirja 7, 20.6.1932; Päiväkirja 8, 21.8.1935. Original: "Mies, jolla on sievä huone, herättää paljon enemmän luottamusta ja arvonantoa kuin sellainen, joka asuu vanhojen kromojen joukossa."

Furnished rooms

> As regards the quality of the apartment, this is better than ever. The furniture includes: a very soft sofa (this is the most important), two chairs that are so soft that when you sit in them you fall in up to your armpits, four padded but not so soft chairs, two tables, two iron beds, a bureau, a big mirror, a book shelf, a washing table. The walls are filled with paintings and the top of the bureau and so on are full of all sorts of decorations. The room also has beautiful plants. I cannot be bothered to continue describing this splendour.[441]

Middle-class bachelors might have wanted their rented rooms to be big enough, in a good location, in good condition and with an adequate selection of furnishings in good condition, to have enough warmth and light, and for the landlord or landlady to be polite but keeping to him/herself and not meddling or too interested in the renter's business.[442] Yet, the level and forms of domesticity bachelors were able to enjoy in a rented room depended on the tastes, choices and wealth of the landlord or landlady. These were shaped by the cultural and social ideas about the kind of domestic needs *unmarried men* were expected and assumed to have. Besides the price of the room, landlords and landladies' decisions would have been affected by the type of person to whom they aimed to rent the room and what they thought such a person would consider necessary and desirable in a room.[443] Many bachelors or boarders were not as lucky as Kalle and Uuno, who described the room in the above quotation as being "better than ever before," but instead had to settle for "a sofa bed, a bureau, a 'screen' and a wash stand."[444]

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[441] KA/Kalle Väisälän arkisto/2 Kirjeenvaihto, Kalle to his mother, 1.10.1914. Original: "Mitä kortteerin hyvyyteen tulee, niin on tämä parempi kuin koskaan ennen. Huonekaluihin kuuluu: oikein pehmyt sohva (tämä se onkin kaikkein tärkein), kaksi tuolia, jotka ovat niin pehmeät, että kun niihin istuutuu, niin uppoaa kainolojaan myöten, neljä topattua, mutta ei aivan niin pehmeätä tuolia, kaksi pöytää, kaksi rautasänkyä, piironki, iso peili, kirjahylly, komuutti(?). Seinät ovat täynnä tauluja ja piirongin y.m. päällykset kaikellaisia koristuksia. Huoneessa on myös kauniita kasveja. Enkä minä viitsi enää luetella näitä komeuksia."

[442] SLSA 665/Paul B Nyberg/Mapp 30/Dagbok 4, 7.10.1907; KK/Kaarlo Enqvist-Atran arkisto/Coll.17.14, Päivä- ja muistikirjat/'Kaarlo Enqvist'in Päiväkirja. 27.5.1898', 21.9.1898; KA/Väinö Pesolan arkisto/Coll.433.2, Päiväkirjat/Päiväkirja I, 2.11.1916, 56; 8.12.1916, 124; 11.12.1916, 132; 31.3.1917, 217; Päiväkirja II, 10.3.1917, 310; Päiväkirja III, 20.9.1917, 706; 15.10.1917, 745–746; 3.11.1917, 787; 7.11.1917, 789; Päiväkirja V, 1369–70; Päiväkirja VIII, 27.10.1919, 1916; KA/Arno Cederbergin arkisto/PÄIVÄ- JA MUISTIKIRJAT/1 Päivä- ja muistikirjoja (1899-1914)/Muistojen pirstaleita syksyllä 1904 I, 15.9.1904; Muistojen pirstaleita keväältä 1905, 19.1.1905; Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 19.1.-20.2.1912, 20.1.1912; Päiväkirjamuistiinpanoja 23.9.-2.11.1917, 1.10.1917; Salmelainen, *Kun olin nuori*, 170; Heikki Klemetti, *Elämää, jota elin* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström, 1947), 159 & 226.

[443] John Styles, 'Lodging at the Old Bailey: Lodgings and Their Furnishing in Eighteenth-Century', in *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830*, ed. John Styles and Amanda Vickery, Studies in British Art 17 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 61–63 & 77; Marja-Liisa Lehto, 'Asunnosta kodiksi', in *Koti kaupungissa: 100 vuotta asumista Helsingissä*, ed. Marja-Liisa Rönkkö, Marja-Liisa Lehto, and Bo Lönnqvist (Helsinki: Tammi, 1986), 114.

[444] Viljo Rewell, 'Ylioppilaat saapuvat mutta millaisiin oloihin?', *Suomen Kuvalehti* 2/1938, 48–49.

Students Kalle V. and Uuno P. in 1914[445]	**A rented room in Annakatu 9 in 1925**[446]	**Brothers R. in Museokatu 15 in 1930**[447]	**Esko K. in Museokatu 15 in 1930**[448]
1 sofa 2 armchairs 4 chairs 2 tables 2 beds 1 bureau 1 large mirror 1 bookshelf 1 washstand Houseplants Several paintings/pictures Decorative items	1 sofa 2 armchairs 4 small chairs 1 game table 1 round table 1 a bureau 1 desk lamp 1 ceiling lamp 1 wash set	1 sofa 2 armchairs 4 chairs 1 table 1 chaise longue 1 bookshelf 1 bed 1 ceiling lamp 1 table lamp 1 night lamp 1 mirror	1 sofa 2 armchairs 4 chairs 1 table 1 writing desk and a chair 1 cupboard 1 smoking table 1 chaise longue 1 ceiling lamp 1 table lamp 1 paper basket 2 mirrors 4 paintings 1 bed rug 1 thermometer

Table 7. The furnishings of the four rented rooms.[449]

A comparison of a few examples of furnished rented rooms presented in Table 7 reveals a similar furniture profile as in boxes in general, with a sofa set for relaxing and sociability, a bed in one form or another for sleeping, and some form of storage be it a bureau, a bookshelf, or a cupboard. In addition to Kalle and Uuno, the inhabitants of the rooms included 23-year-old second lieutenant Holmer R. and his 31-year-old engineer brother sharing one room, and 28-year-old appellate court (*hovioikeus*) trainee Esko K. inhabiting the third room, with the resident of the fourth room unknown.[450] In 1938 architect Viljo Rewell described the ideal student's room as being furnished with a "real desk, a bed and a drawing room furniture set."[451] Rewell's article indicates that the aim for a student at the time was indeed considered to be a room that combined sleeping with work and entertainment. Yet, the fact that the two other rooms did not include a desk reflects the different requirements of the renters. As students Kalle and Uuno

[445] KA/Kalle Väisälän arkisto/2 Kirjeenvaihto, Kalle to his mother, 1.10.1914.
[446] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:131 Perukirjat (1926)/25196. The heading used in the probate for this room stated that it was "rented out as furnished".
[447] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:196 Perukirjat (1934)/35133. KA/Tilastollinen päätoimisto/ Tilastollisen päätoimiston kaupunkien väestönlaskennat /He:Helsingin väestönlaskennat/He:422.
[448] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:196 Perukirjat (1934)/35133. KA/Tilastollinen päätoimisto/ Tilastollisen päätoimiston kaupunkien väestönlaskennat /He:Helsingin väestönlaskennat/He:422.
[449] For further examples see ÅA/Lofsdal-samlingen/Mapp 19/Brev till Aline Reuter från Julio Reuter, 29.9.1880; SLSA 665/Paul B Nyberg/Mapp 30/Dagbok 7, 31.8.1912; Artur Siegberg, *Vuodet ovat vierineet 2. Opintoaikana Helsingissä 1880-luvulla* (Hämeenlinna: Karisto, 1947), 160.
[450] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:131 (1926)/25196; /Ec:196 (1934)/35133.
[451] Viljo Rewell, 'Ylioppilaat saapuvat mutta millaisiin oloihin?' *Suomen Kuvalehti* 2/1938, 48–49. Original: "oikea kirjoituspöytä, sänky ja salinkalusto."

worked at home a lot of the time and having a table or desk would have been crucial to them, whereas a lieutenant or engineer would have been more likely to have a workplace to go to. We do not know how much work Esko as a court trainee would have been expected to do at home, but in his case living in a room with the characteristics of a gentleman's room could have been more about his social position and age than his practical domestic needs.

Class differences were, however, significant and the few available descriptions of working-class rented rooms attest to their being much more sparsely furnished with usually only a bed or beds, a table or a desk and a few chairs.[452] There was no or hardly any decoration and other domestic items such as rugs or curtains were rare—or at least such items are rarely mentioned by the respondents.[453] The smallest rooms did not necessarily provide space for activities other than sleeping. Lauri Viljanen shared a room with two boys, which had been designed as a servant's room and which contained only the beds and a small table. He described such apartments as being "mainly only for sleeping."[454] As a consequence, such spaces were not always experienced as providing a place of comfort or relaxation. Albert S. described how men lodging with families did not spend much time in the apartment: "as soon as we had changed out of our work clothes we went to the diner to eat and then to walk on Espis [Esplanade park in the centre of the city]."[455] Niilo, who worked as a ticket salesman at Seinäjoki station, did have his own room that was five by five metres big and furnished with a bed and two chairs. He, however, found this room unwelcoming and this proved problematic in terms of where to spend his free time: "Midday was free and finding something to do turned out quite difficult since I could not enjoy being in my room for [it being so small]. My saviour was the local club, Seinäjoen ukot. When I had time and there were enough opponents, I made use of the pool table in the clubrooms."[456] The differences between living as a lodger and living in a box should thus not be exaggerated as in both cases there could have been a need for other, alternative spaces for free time activities, dining, or meeting friends.

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[452] HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:1/Viljanen, Lauri, 1. HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:2/ Johan Svahn, 1. HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:3, Alarik Lahikainen, 2. HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:3/Kaarlo Lehtinen, 1.
[453] HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:3/Alarik Lahikainen, 2; HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:3/Kaarlo Lehtinen, 1; TYKL/kys/17: informant 5, 46–48.
[454] HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:1/Lauri Viljanen, 1. Original: "Asunnot olivat pääasiassa vain nukkumista varten."
[455] TMT:176:576:TA, 2.
[456] TYKL/kys/17: informant 14, 28. The name of the respondent has been changed. The 'box' of another respondent was even smaller, 3,5 times 4 meters, see TYKL/kys/6: informant 1, 65.

With these limitations, the occupant's smaller domestic and decorative items held even bigger significance in a rented room since they were the only personal items that he had chosen for his room. They could alleviate some of the lack of comforts and homeliness. For example, while the 21-year-old office worker Paul Ö.'s list of possessions included no furniture he did have, among other things, two canaries, sculptures, a table lamp, and a clock.[457] In another example, the probate of 46-year-old Master of Arts Rikhard H. catalogued three paintings, a table lamp, a radio, a telephone, curtains, and two tablecloths. He also owned his own bedclothes and sheets.[458] For some the possibility of changing or influencing the decoration of the room was more important than for others. Paul B. Nyberg complained about the fact that he could not organise his room "after his own taste and make it more personally mine."[459] Being able to add a personal touch would have made the room feel more familiar and given its inhabitant a feeling of control over his living space. Furthermore, such additions could be significant in terms of the identity development of a bachelor: future artist Kaarlo Enqvist-Atra (1879–1961) describes in his diary from the time he was a student at the Turku Art School how putting up his own pictures on the wall of his room had made the space feel like an artist's room.[460] While Kaarlo was only learning the skills of an artist, decorating his living space provided a safe way for him to experiment as well as a way for him to build and strengthen his developing identity as an artist.

Gentleman's room and masculine domesticity

Already the name of "gentleman's room" defined the room as a space specifically for men—especially within a household which included both men and women. The name drew a line between those who were allowed to enter the room (to engage in activities among adult men), and the rest.[461] In a family home this room belonged to the head of the household. It provided him with the privacy he needed for work but also with the ability to read or contemplate more comfortably. A gentleman's room typically included at least some if not all of the following items: a desk with a chair, bookshelves and bookcases, a sofa, armchairs, chairs, a small table or a coffee table, a rocking chair, and a smoking or gaming table.[462] This

[457] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:37 Perukirjat (1881-1882)/7447.
[458] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:162 Perukirjat (1930)/29361.
[459] SLSA 665/Paul B Nyberg/Mapp 30/Dagbok 7, 2.9.1912.
[460] KK/Kaarlo Enqvist-Atran arkisto/Coll.17.14, Päivä- ja muistikirjat/'Kaarlo Enqvist'in Päiväkirja. 27.5.1898', 21.9.1898.
[461] Lehto, 'Asunnosta kodiksi', 98.
[462] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:69 Perukirjat

combination of furniture enabled the head of household to invite work colleagues or friends over for more informal visits. Although some bachelors did indeed live in arrangements that did not differ that much from a family home, it is interesting that similar characteristics to those in this type of room can be found in a group of bachelor probates as well.

The dark woods and leather used typically in the furniture played their part in creating a manly and serious atmosphere that underlined the masculine character of the gentleman's room. The probate of Emil M. describes the sofa in his gentleman's room as being upholstered with leather and the desk, coffee table, and bookcases are recorded to have been made from oak (see Table 6 above). Pictures from catalogues of furniture sets meant for a gentleman's room confirm that the furniture was indeed often made out of dark woods such as oak and the chairs upholstered with leather. Previous research on England has established that already during the 18th and 19th centuries furniture design was gendered with massiveness, dark colours, oak, and leather associated with men and used to underline their importance not only in the offices and libraries of private homes but also in the gentleman's clubs of 19th-century London.[463] The heaviness of the gentleman's room's furniture sets was meant to convey stability and responsibility. The long straight backs of the sofas suggested moral rectitude. According to Kari-Paavo Kokki, furniture sets for the different rooms of the home were popular in Finland from late 19th century up until the 1920s.[464] Such furniture would have made decorating one's home easier also for a bachelor since a set would have contained most of the different pieces that were considered essential for a specific room. The different parts of a set were designed to go together to create a pleasant and desirable atmosphere for the room in question. What was on offer in terms of

(1906)/14420; Ec:138 Perukirjat (1927)/26169; Ec:141 Perukirjat (1927)/26570; Ec:154 Perukirjat (1929)/28200; Ec:161 Perukirjat (1930)/29185; Edvard Elenius, *Kotiemme kauneus: asuinrakennukset, huoneiden sisustus, puutarha*, Kansanvalistusseuran käsiteollisuuskirjasto (Kansanvalistusseura, 1915), 71 & 75; Lehto, 'Asunnosta kodiksi', 93, 95 & 101. The difference between an office and a gentleman's room is here defined through the existence of a sofa or a sofa set: a gentleman's room had a sofa or sofa set *and* a desk whereas an office only had a desk. During the 1881–1890 period there are no mentions of a gentleman's room or a gentleman's room furniture set (*herrainhuoneenkalusto, herrumsmöblemang /möbel*) in the probates and such terms start to appear more frequently only during the 1925–1934 period. However, if we look at the probates in which the furniture has been listed according to rooms, several probates had a room which shared the above described characteristics of a gentleman's room, mainly the combination of a desk and a sofa set, even if the room was not named as such. These rooms were listed as offices or studies (*arbetsrum/työhuone*), as "everyday rooms" (*vardagsrum*), guestroom (*vierashuone*), "cabinet" (*kabinett*), or chamber (*kamari*). In addition, altogether five rooms defined as drawing rooms were furnished more like a typical gentleman's room than a drawing room.

[463] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 21; Hamlett, 'Dining Room Should Be the Man's Paradise', 576; Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 133; Milne-Smith, *London Clubland*, 116.

[464] Kari-Paavo Kokki, *Tuolit, sohvat ja jakkarat* (Helsinki: Otava, 2011), 162.

sets for a gentleman's room would have thus “reflected the 'gendered' conventions” of the time as well as played their part in constructing and reproducing ideals of masculinity.[465]

In a family home, together with the division of spaces, household responsibilities and activities as well as family roles, domestic material culture played its part in producing, upholding, and enforcing the gendered division of middle-class homes. Yet, such a gender division did not apply only to the private sphere of the home but permeated society as a whole. Men and women were seen to occupy different roles and positions with different responsibilities towards their families as well as the state. For this reason, furniture associated with being a man does not seem at all unnecessary or out-of-place in a bachelor's apartment. In an unmarried man's home, domestic practices reflected and reproduced these larger ideas about gender divisions and especially what it meant to be a man both for the occupant personally but also on a larger scale socially and culturally. For a younger bachelor, his decoration choices were a way to assert himself as a mature and adult man or mark the transition from the more relaxed time as a student to being a more serious man with responsibilities and career ambitions.

Whether part of a family or bachelor home, a gentleman's room represented many of the functions and activities that were desirable for a man. In this regard, the bachelor probates bridge the differences assumed to exist between married and unmarried men and suggest that men from both groups subscribed to similar masculine attributes. Both unmarried and married men shared similar requirements as men in terms of personal spaces in a home, even if the rest of their homes were different from each other. From this perspective men remain men, and bachelorhood was not such a completely distinctive life phase that it would contrast too much with marriage.

A box of his own, nevertheless, gave the bachelor the possibility to apply the characteristics of the gentleman’s room to the whole apartment instead of limiting them to just one room. Homosocial hospitality and its accompanying material culture is one example of this but work could also constitute a prominent part of bachelors’ home lives despite the fact that on an ideological level home was increasingly being defined in opposition to work as a retreat.[466]

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[465] Hamlett, ‘Dining Room Should Be the Man’s Paradise’, 583.
[466] Jane Hamlett and Lesley Hoskins, ‘Introduction’, *Home Cultures* 8, no. 2 (2011): 112; Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 80. Here I am mainly concerned with work as an "economically productive activity" as opposed to housework, which has been mostly discussed in other parts of the thesis and which most of the bachelors would not have done themselves; see Hamlett and Hoskins, ‘Introduction’, 111.

Students were assumed mostly to work at home and without family obligations, unmarried professionals, such as artisans, doctors, or shopkeepers, were also prone to working at home and even to organising their home around work activities. The desk, found in 61 to 70% of the box probates, represented the most typical material evidence that work was possibly done in boxes. In addition, the sewing machine, pressing iron, and miscellaneous fabric located in tailor Kalle's kitchen indicate that he at least partly practiced his profession at home (Table 5).

The case of Jalmari Finne provides a more extreme example of the extent to which work could take over the homes and home lives of bachelors while at the same time demonstrating how living alone could make a critical difference. The extent to which work needs were the main organising principle in Finne's household escalated even further after his mother's death in 1926. Finne let the servant go and took care of everything else himself except for his dinner, which he had delivered. In March of 1927 a newspaper called *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus* published an article about his genealogical work. At the beginning of the article the reporter described a visit to Finne's home:

> We ring the doorbell. It is answered by a sharp-eyed man dressed in a velvet morning robe, the novelist himself. Nobody else is in the house, because the novelist takes care of his whole household himself. Expenses are thus as small as possible and the money to pay for an expensive servant can be used for genealogical work.
> On the tables there are high stacks of documents, boxes with cards have been piled up against the walls, the air smells of archive dust, which will make every researcher feel at home, whenever they happen to pop by.[467]

Work had not just taken command of his routines but had materially taken over his home in the form of boxes, dust and heaps of paper. For Finne, work *was* his home. He was not interested in other domestic activities, which were "a necessary evil" for him.[468] By preferring to work at home, Finne challenged the separation of work from home even on the level of emotional meanings or aspirations. Throughout Europe during this period, middle-class representations of home framed it as a place of rest, comfort, love, regeneration, and higher moral values. At home, as opposed to work, a man could "be truly and authentically himself."[469] While some bachelors might have suffered from the lack of homes that could serve as a refuge from work, especially when the line between the two became blurred, this was clearly not the case for all men. For Finne, the home was indeed a refuge from the city and outside disturbances but only

[467] 'Hämäläisiä talonpoikassukuja tutkittu 26 pitäjässä. Jalmari Finne antaa mielenkiintoisia tietoja laajakantoisesta sukututkimustyöstään', *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus*, 22.3.1927, 3.
[468] KA/Jalmari Finne/Kirjekokoelma 15, Jalmari Finne to Maria Lallukka, 1.6.1919, 1235.
[469] Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 30–33.

so that he could concentrate all the more on the work that he was most passionate about. This genealogical work gave him a sense of belonging and purpose—doing it was when he felt most at home.

Of course bachelor rooms housed many other types of material culture that could equally be defined as more feminine or as not gender specific, items that might be found not only in the gentleman's room but in drawing or living rooms.[470] Moreover, while certain items (such as smoking equipment, hunting paraphernalia, or scientific instruments) would have been connected to shared understandings of certain activities and practices as being part of being a man, decorative items, such as textiles, would have been gendered on different levels. Their multi-layered gendered character resulted both from the relationship between the item and the user as well as from the gender of the user. For example Sara Pennell has argued in her work on the early modern kitchen that gendering took place more on the level of activities and objects according to the circumstances and times of their use, rather than on the level of an entire space.[471] Men would have, for example, both possessed the knowledge related to smoking ware and its care as well as being the users of such items, whereas in the case of textiles, women would have been the carriers of knowledge and even the producers of such items but men would also have used and enjoyed the comforts of such items.[472]

The several pictures and etchings hanging on the walls, the tablecloth laid across the coffee table, and seven miniatures placed possibly on the bookcase or the tables reveal less to us about what the special interests of tradesman Emil M. were (see Table 6) than the typical decorating strategies of the period. Despite the freedom to decorate and furnish as he pleased, a bachelor living in a 'box' did not necessarily take gender or being single as the main organising principle in decoration. He might have aspired, for example, to recreate the atmosphere of his childhood home or simply followed what was typical or normal for the time. Instead of extravagant expressions of individuality, Hussey and Ponsonby found that most people preferred their homes to conform to prevailing norms and ideas of appropriateness so that they would not be disapproved of or their intensions misunderstood.[473] Fulfilling the requirements and expectations of class and professional status was more apparent in the bigger, 'bourgeois'

[470] See also Hamlett, *Material Relations*, 160–63.
[471] Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850*, 133.
[472] Doolittle, 'Time, Space, and Memories', 252–253, see also p. 258.
[473] Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 107 & 110–11.

apartments inhabited by bachelors. Yet even in the case of smaller apartments having the right kind of home would have been a part of portraying a respectable image and enforcing people's trust in one's capabilities and character, which would have been paramount especially in certain professions or sectors of society.[474] Furthermore, not all the possessions were necessarily a result of a conscious, well-thought decision-making process. People also acquired items because they had internalised socialised ideas about the material culture of homes and domestic practices. In addition, boxes would have been a combination of the occupant's own active consumer choices as well as what he inherited from his family or received as gifts or donations.

The power of norms: Question of morality

Social and, for example, religious norms influenced the way bachelors took advantage of the freedom of box living. While the bed symbolised a certain type of bachelor lifestyle by providing a space for premarital sex, masturbation, or lying in all day, bachelors could struggle to reconcile their desires and pleasures with outside expectations, pressures and advice.[475] At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, despite being illegal, using the services of prostitutes was considered normal within male society. The majority of men who used the services of prostitutes were unmarried and between twenty to thirty years old. In the early 20th century, students and educated groups, however, adopted a more critical stance toward prostitution.[476] Already during the last two decades of the 19th century, as a part of a larger effort to redefine norms of moral behaviour, groups of women activists had campaigned against prostitution.[477] They had objected to the sexual double standard that until then had allowed men to do as they pleased sexually before and after marriage whereas women had to stay chaste before and faithful in marriage. The activists argued that the same definition of morality should apply to *both* women and men.[478] Since an individual's sexual behaviour was believed to have

[474] For example Hoskins in one of her case studies discusses, how a dentist through his home presented himself as respectable in order to attract patients, see Hoskins, 'Reading the Inventory', 171.
[475] Tom Crook, 'Norms, Forms and Beds: Spatializing Sleep in Victorian Britain', *Body & Society* 14, no. 4 (2008): 26–29. Such freedoms could of course also have included relations and relationships with other men, see, for example, Houlbrook, *Queer London*.
[476] Antti Häkkinen, *Rahasta - vaan ei rakkaudesta: prostituutio Helsingissä 1867-1939* (Helsingissä: Otava, 1995), 72–77, 87–88 & 90–91; Pirjo Markkola, 'Moraalin miehet: Mitä prostituution säätely kertoo mieheydestä?', in *Näkymätön sukupuoli: Mieheyden pitkä historia*, ed. Pirjo Markkola, Ann-Catrin Östman, and Marko Lamberg (Tampere: Vastapaino, 2014), 134–35.
[477] Markkola has named both the women and men pushing for a 'moral reform' (moraalireformi) as 'moral reformists' (moraalireformistit). For more detailed information see, for example Pirjo Markkola, *Synti ja siveys: naiset, uskonto ja sosiaalinen työ Suomessa 1860-1920* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2002), 12–13.
[478] Maija Rajainen, *Naisliike ja sukupuolimoraali: keskustelua ja toimintaa 1800-luvulla ja nykyisen vuosisadan alkupuolella noin vuoteen 1918 saakka.* (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1973), 9; Pirjo Markkola,

social consequences, husbands who visited prostitutes were especially condemned. At the same time, young men needed to be taught the importance of abstinence, the dangers of immorality, and how to remain strong and in control of one's body.[479] A redefinition of abstinence as the new test of manhood resulted also in a redefinition of bachelorhood from a time of freedom and self-indulgence to a time of self-control. Abstinence became a test of one's will, "a trial decreed by God", for which the reward was the sex one could have in marriage.[480]

Bachelors' own diary writings attest to their internalization of the teachings of both the Church and the moralists. Bachelors felt pressure to remain pure and clean for marriage.[481] Abiding by such norms and resisting one's sexual drive and urges was, however, not always easy or uncomplicated.

> During the last couple of nights I have gotten a relief. I believe firmly that the course of my life would have in many ways been different if I had satisfied the orders of a limitlessly strong libido. Even after the passing of the worst age the libido disturbs the ability to work to a great extent. My disgust towards street love, in a way being inactive in terms of acquiring a "private" and a strong, unselfish cry for help, when thinking about how the private would be left feeling broken and body unclean, keeps the heavy feeling as it is. Idea of marriage

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'Seksi, miehet ja moraali: Miesten seksuaalisuus moraalikysemyksenä 1800- ja 1900-lukujen taitteessa', in *Taivaallista seksiä – Kristinusko ja seksuaalisuus*, ed. Minna Ahola, Marjo-Riitta Antikainen, and Päivi Salmesvuori (Helsinki: Tammi, 2006), 224 & 226–27; Ilpo Helén, *Äidin elämän politiikka: naissukupuolisuus, valta ja itsesuhde Suomessa 1880-luvulta 1960-luvulle* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 1997), 148–49 & 155; Markkola, *Synti ja siveys*, 170–71; Ollila, *Jalo velvollisuus*, 171 & 180; Sulkunen, *Naisen kutsumus*, 40–41. I have referred here to the women's movement but those that participated in the discussion about morality were both men and women from the upper and middle classes.

[479] Markkola, 'Moraalin miehet', 135, 144 & 154; Markkola, 'Seksi, miehet ja moraali', 224, 231, 233 & 235; Helén, *Äidin elämän politiikka*, 178 & 181–82.

[480] Markkola, 'Moraalin miehet', 141 & 155–56; Markkola, 'Seksi, miehet ja moraali', 225, 230 & 233; Helén, *Äidin elämän politiikka*, 188–91. It is important to note that at the same time there also existed people and movements that advocated for more free understandings of love, sexual activity and relationships. See Räisänen, *Onnellisen avioliiton ehdot*, 49–53. The working-class commentators saw capitalism as the root cause of immorality since postponing marriage due to economic reasons led to, firstly, bourgeois men exploiting working-class women to satisfy their needs, and, secondly, sex outside marriage among the working classes, who did not see abstinence as an answer. See for example, Rahikainen, 'Mitä osallisuutta on pääomalla avioliitossa?', *Sorretun Voima* 25.10.1907, 3; 'Siveellisyyshumbuugia', *Työläisnainen: Sodialidemokraattisen naisliiton äänenkannattaja* 48/1907, 382–383; M. S., 'Helsingin Palvelijataryhdistys siveettömyydestä', T*yöläisnainen: Sodialidemokraattisen naisliiton äänenkannattaja* 18/1910, 139; Hanna Ranta, 'Miehen ja naisen suhteesta avioliitossa', *Työläisnainen: Sodialidemokraattisen naisliiton äänenkannattaja* 1.4.1909, 91 – 92; Valpas, 'Siveyskäsitteistä', *Työmiehen illanvietto: Suomen työväen viikkolehti* 46/1904, 361–362; Aatto Sirén, 'Siveellisyys luokka-asemamme kannalta', *Uuden ajan kynnyksellä: Suomen työväen alpumi* 1.1.1904, 11–15. For some, only socialism could truly bring about change and free people from the capitalist idea of marriage. See also Räisänen, 71.

[481] See for example, KA/Verner Louhivuoren arkisto/Käsikirjoitukset/1 Päiväkirjat/ Päiväkirja 25.6.1908-13.4.1918, 21p. Helatorstai [1914]; SLSA 665/Paul B Nyberg/Mapp 30/Dagbok 7, 3.11.1912. KA/Arno Cederbergin arkisto/Muistojen pirstaleita keväältä 1908. Not all bachelors explicitly mention the subject in their diaries but circle around it, using words referring to a struggle or staying strong, praying to God, giving the reader a feeling that they were struggling with sexual tensions and desires as well as the need to follow the principles of abstinence

> impossible for now. Being "untitled" in the eyes of the public at large, the low financial status and the boundless love of freedom banish the thought of tying down far away.[482]

The diary writings of Väinö Pesola are the clearest and most explicit example of an unmarried man's struggles with both the psychological and physical difficulties created by his single status as regards to sexual behaviour. On the one hand, Pesola felt that it was wrong to succumb to the urges of his libido and that he should try to abstain both from "unnatural" masturbation and sexual intercourse.[483] He experienced masturbation as affecting his health and memory, making him sleep badly. He feared that his immoral behaviour would be punished by him contracting a venereal decease, being unable to conceive, his future wife being unable to get pregnant, or that he would father an illegitimate child.[484] Yet, on the other hand, he experienced the attempts to resist such urges as a "torment." He felt that, had he not abstained and been able to have a "normal sex life", he would have been better able to work and thus be more successful in life.[485] During this time Pesola was thirty to thirty-five years old and he considered his struggle to be specifically an "oldboy's torment."[486] Not being economically or mentally ready to get married, Pesola was thus caught between two contradictory definitions of being a man in regard to sexual behaviour: one based on sexual virility and the other on remaining chaste.[487] Indeed, the opponents of the absolute moralists argued that a man's libido was a natural drive and that abstinence could be harmful and unhealthy. A man's drive was considered to be so pressing especially among young men, who usually could not get married yet, that prostitution was a necessary evil.[488]

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[482] KA/Coll.433.2/Päiväkirja I, 24.10.1916. Original: "Parina yönä olen saanut vapautusta. Uskon varmasti, että elämäni kulku olisi monessa suhteessa ollut toisin päin jos olisin tyydyttänyt äärettömän voimakkaan vietin käskyt. Vielä nyt pahimman ijän mentyä ohi häiritsee vietti työkykyä suurissa määrin. Inho katurakkautta kohtaan, tavallaan toimettomuus "yksityisen" hankkimiseksi" ja voimakas epäitsekkäisyyden hätähuuto ajatellessa yksityisen jäämistä säretyn tunteensa ja ruumiinsa puhtauden risakaläjille(?) pidättävät raskaan tilan entisellään. Avioliitto-ajatus mahdoton toistaiseksi. "Tittellittömyys" suuren joukon silmissä, taloudellisen aseman kehnous ja rajaton vapauden rakkaus karkoittavas kauas sitomis-ajatukset."
[483] KA/Coll.433.2/Päiväkirja II, 27.6.1917.
[484] KA/Coll.433.2/Päiväkirja I, 6.2.1917; Päiväkirja II, 18.4.1917; 21.4.1917; Päiväkirja IV, 11.1.1918; 12.1.1918; 26.1.1918; 18.3.1918; Päiväkirja VI, 9.7.1918; Päiväkirja, VII, 17.12.1918; Päiväkirja VIII, 4.3.1919; 5.5.1919. Despite his fears and disgust, Pesola did have sex outside marriage and eventually got a girl pregnant, but she miscarried (it is not clear from the diaries if she got an abortion through some means).
[485] KA/Coll.433.2/Päiväkirja I, 20.12.1916; 23.2.1917; Päiväkirja III, 16.8.1917; 26.8.1917; Päiväkirja VII, 17.12.1918; Päiväkirja VIII, 12.3.1919.
[486] KA/Coll.433.2/Päiväkirja VI, 9.7.1918; Päiväkirja VII, 17.12.1918. See also Päiväkirja III, 30.8.1917.
[487] KA/Coll.433.2/Päiväkirja IV, 7.3.1918.
[488] Markkola, 'Moraalin miehet', 151–52; Markkola, 'Seksi, miehet ja moraali', 229; Helén, *Äidin elämän politiikka*, 186.

Flexible and temporal domesticity

According to both international as well as Finnish examples, two rooms were considered enough to accommodate what could be called the basic components of bachelor domesticity.[489] Nevertheless, bachelors living in two-room boxes and especially in smaller ones would have had to employ *flexible* and *temporal* domestic practices due to the limited amount of space and limited availability of different types of items. *Flexible and temporal domesticity* describe the strategies in relation to different practices through which people found ways to accommodate certain needs, desires and activities within their material and social realities.[490] In the context of boxes, such strategies included a) the clustering of items to form separate functional spaces within one room, b) temporal uses of space and furniture, as well as c) using a piece of furniture or other domestic item in different ways or a piece of furniture that was designed to allow for different uses.

As one or two rooms would not have had enough space to separate each function to its own room, it was more a matter of creating several functional spaces within one or two rooms. This would have been apparent in the rented rooms discussed above as well as in the apartment of Kalle K., where the main room served both as a bedroom as well as a gentleman's room and the kitchen as a dining, possible cooking and work space (see Table 5 above). Creating several functional spaces within one or two rooms was a matter of *clustering* relevant furniture and other items together: for example, a desk, a work chair and a writing set for working and writing, or an armchair, books, a lamp, and a bookcase for reading, relaxing, and cultivating oneself. Kalle could have used his sofa, desk and bed as the focal points of the separation between relaxing/entertainment from writing/working and sleeping.

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[489] E. I., 'Uutisrakennuksilta. I.', *Rakentaja* 1.3.1902, 9; E. I., 'Uutisrakennuksilta.', *Rakentaja* 1.11.1902, 169; John Potvin, *Bachelors of a Different Sort: Queer Aesthetics, Material Culture and the Modern Interior in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 19. According to John Potvin, when apartments meant for bachelors started to appear in big Western cities such as London or New York during the latter part of the 19th century, they consisted on average of two rooms, a bedroom and a parlour. In Finland, the writer E. I. used the term *oldboy's double rooms* (*vanhanpojan kaksoishuone*) in a couple of articles in the magazine *Rakentaja* (Builder), the building section of *Suomen Teollisuuslehti* (Finnish Industry Magazine) in 1902, but I have not been able to find any mention of the term in other sources and since the writer of the article was the same in both instances, whereas the buildings had been designed by different architects, the author might have come up with the term himself.

[490] In the Anglo-American context phrases such as 'baching it' or 'bachelorizing', which referred to the forms of housing and lifestyles of men, who had emigrated to the British colonies or America and were making new homes in these new frontier areas, similarly incorporated the idea that bachelor housing was temporary, to some extent makeshift and employed strategies of making do with what one had. See Snyder, *Bachelors, Masculinity, and the Novel*, 34.

Kalle's kitchen housed two tables so he could have used one for eating and the other for work. He might also have used them temporally, for different tasks at different times of the day. Even if a bachelor was not able to differentiate between work and other domestic activities spatially, he might still have temporally distinguished between times for labour and leisure.[491] The time of day or the activity would have defined the function of an item, piece of furniture or space. In Julio Reuter's (1863–1937) first apartment as a student (two rooms which he shared with three other boys) several of the beds were cleared away during the day to make room for other activities.[492] The need for flexibility could also have been a result of several bachelors living together in fairly close quarters or wanting to save in domestic costs. Reuter's apartment only had one writing desk so the boys gathered around their dinner table to work alongside each other—not only because there wasn't a desk space for everyone but also to manage with just one lamp.[493] At other times existing spaces had to be divided with temporary measures: one year when he was a student, Paul B. Nyberg lived in a two-room apartment, which a friend of his had rented, sharing the dining room with another friend and separating his "own little corner" from the rest of the room with some curtains.[494] Based on both probate and personal writings, flexible domesticity was most often practiced in relation to sleeping arrangements.

Beds and sleeping arrangements

Today we treat bedrooms and their privacy as essential parts of a home. The transformation of sleeping from a communal activity, taking place mostly in a shared space, into a private activity taking place in secluded bedrooms differentiated according to age, gender, and class, started during the early modern period. By the end of the 19th century personal beds had become "an essential ingredient of civilized society."[495] The reformulation of the bedroom as the most private space of the home, "as a sanctum within a sanctum," is a clear manifestation of the differentiation of spaces within home.[496]

Yet, probates, oral history sources as well as personal archives include a rich variety of examples of flexible beds and other pieces of furniture bachelors used flexibly for sleeping. At

[491] Hoskins, 'Stories of Work and Home', 166.
[492] ÅA/Lofsdal-samlingen/Mapp 19/Brev till Aline Reuter från Julio Reuter, 29.9.1880.
[493] ÅA/Lofsdal-samlingen/Mapp 19/Brev till Aline från Julio Reuter, 22.10.1880.
[494] SLSA 665/Paul B Nyberg/Mapp 30/Dagbok 4, 6.3.1908.
[495] Crook, 'Norms, Forms and Beds', 15–16; Judith Flanders, *The Making of Home* (London: Atlantic Books, 2014), 69–72; Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), 1.
[496] Crook, 'Norms, Forms and Beds', 23.

least in one of their student apartments, Kalle Väisälä and Uuno Pesonen slept in foldable beds that could be folded against a wall with their bedclothes during the day. V. A. Koskenniemi describes how the only bed in the room, which he was renting with a friend, was complemented with a trestle bed (*pukkisänky*) that was placed there during the night.[497] Like Paul B. Nyberg, who describes how one student year his room housed a nice "inventionssoffa", many bachelors slept permanently on different types of sofas or chaise longues.[498] Emil's bedroom housed a chaise longue and bedclothes but no other bed, implying that he slept on the chaise longue (Table 6). The rented room in Annankatu 9 (Table 7), did not house a bed and the renter was expected to sleep on the sofa. Both rented rooms in Museokatu 15 had a chaise longue in addition to a sofa and in both cases it was probably used as a bed during the night since neither of the rooms had enough beds for all the inhabitants. In the two earlier probate samples, a piece called 'utdragssoffa' ('drawing out' sofa) seems to have been more common whereas by 1925–1934 68 probates (14% of the total) list a chaise longue.[499] The chaise longue could just as well have been used solely as a sofa but the fact that several of these probates list chaise longue quilts, pillows or bedclothes as well suggests that they were often meant to be used also for sleeping. In addition, there are a few cases in each period where a bachelor, who possibly lived in a box-sized apartment, did not own a bed despite owning bedclothes (see Chart 9 above). Almost all such men did, however, own a sofa, which implies that they used the sofa as a bed even though it was not specified to have been a type of sofa bed.

The chaise longue and different types of sofas that could be turned into beds are examples of furniture that through a double function brought flexibility into the use of rooms and the daily activities of the inhabitants: during the day, when they were not needed for sleeping, they could be used as a sofa by the inhabitant himself or they made it possible for him to invite guests by providing them with a hospitable form of seating. Beds provided an easy area of domesticity upon which to implement flexibility, as sleeping was most of the time temporally limited to a specific and undivided time period. An article published in *Kiinteistölehti* in 1925 argued that replacing a bed with a sofa was a way to furnish a small apartment so that the same room could function both as an "everyday room" and bedroom.[500] Besides the sofa bed or the chaise longue,

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[497] Koskenniemi, *Vuosisadanalun ylioppilas*, 40.
[498] SLSA 665/Paul B Nyberg/Mapp 30/Dagbok 7, 31.8.1912. Inventionssoffa was a type of sofa that could be turned into a bed.
[499] In 1881–90 seven and in 1900–1909 three probates list an 'utdragssoffa'; as for the chaise longue, in 1881–1890 there were none and in 1900–1909 only 7 probates (3%) to use the term.
[500] 'Tilan käyttäminen huoneita sisustettaessa', *Kiinteistölehti* 15.12.1925, 212–213.

different terms seem to have been used to refer to similar types of furniture, and there were also other types of flexible beds such as chair beds as well as table beds.[501] In some cases there was room inside the sofa or chair to store the bedclothes during the day.

Such temporary beds seem to be in line with the temporary nature of bachelorhood itself. However, the flexible beds of bachelors can actually be placed within the context of the widespread early-20th-century national custom of using multifunctional pieces of furniture due to the limited availability of living space or a lack of the separation of space. The crowdedness of sleeping spaces and the sharing of beds that the upper classes condemned as unnatural or improper was considered normal among the working-classes.[502] Heikki Waris links this to the fact that most workers had migrated to the city from the countryside, where homes were not considered to be a private space as such.[503] Most country houses only had a separate room for the master and mistress of the house to sleep in. The different types of workers employed by the farm or travelling men accommodated on a temporary basis especially slept in the main room on benches, on the floor, or on top of the baking oven, sharing a bed, or, during the summer, in the granary (*aitta*) or other outbuildings.[504] For example in 1901, 19.8% of agricultural workers did not have a specific dwelling of their own.[505] According to Leena Sammallahti and Marja-Liisa Lehto, by the end of the 19th century, the wooden sofa bed that was pulled out from the side into a bed had become the most popular bed type in all of Finland.[506]

At the same time, opting for a chaise longue instead of an actual bed could, nevertheless, be taken as an indication that sleeping was not necessarily among the most important functions of a home for a bachelor. Bachelors might have prioritised other functions over sleeping by

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[501] Leena Sammallahti and Marja-Liisa Lehto, *Suomalainen sänky: kansanomaisten vuodekalusteiden historiaa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2006), 151 & 163.
[502] Moring has pointed out how physical closeness could also offer "consolation and comfort" and, instead of only seeing the sharing of a bed or a sleeping space as leading potentially to sexual tension, we should pay attention to the practical sides of such a solution in, for example, keeping warm. See Moring, 'Gender, Class and Lodging', 71. Moreover, as Saarikangas has described, at the beginning of the 20th century even in bourgeois families people were forced to sleep in crowded conditions with several people sharing a bedroom or, in smaller apartments, placing beds in most of the rooms of the dwelling during the night and clearing them away during the day. See Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 152–53.
[503] Waris, *Työläisyhteiskunnan syntyminen*, 174 & 176.
[504] SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 80:4387–88. 1993; Sammallahti and Lehto, *Suomalainen sänky*, 19.
[505] Ann-Catrin Östman, 'Mekanisoinnin ensimmäinen aalto', in *Suomen maatalouden historia II: Kasvun ja kriisien aika 1870-luvulta 1950-luvulle*, ed. Matti Peltonen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2004), 56 & 59.
[506] Sammallahti and Lehto, *Suomalainen sänky*, 88.

combining the functions of a bedroom and an office or gentleman's room in one room while having both a drawing room and a dining room.[507] Maintaining the required public rooms was more important for these bachelors than having a room dedicated solely to sleeping. All in all, the flexible beds and the spatial choices made by bachelors demonstrate how people renegotiated public ideals and norms with their personal circumstances, preferences and priorities.

[507] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:71 Perukirjat (1907)/14833; Ec:131 Perukirjat (1926)/25196; Ec:135 Perukirjat (1926)/25822; Ec:182 Perukirjat (1933)/31746; Ec:194 Perukirjat (1934)/34992; Ec:199 Perukirjat (1934)/35459. In her PhD, Hoskins also presents one case in which a family had two living rooms that were equipped and furnished much better than the crowded bedrooms; see Hoskins, 'Reading the Inventory', 243–44.

Hospitality

Hospitality represents another example of a domestic activity where bachelors employed the flexible use of domestic furniture and other items. Especially among the middle and upper classes home provided a space where one entertained one's friends and family but also through hosting social events created, upheld and nurtured professional connections. In a larger home that adhered to 'bourgeois' principles, the dining and drawing rooms provided the main spaces for sociability and hospitality. In a smaller apartment alternative arrangements had to be made, where a gentleman's room could also provide such a space—especially for more informal gatherings.

	Sofa/sofa set	Any seating	Dining table	Any table
1881–1890	36%	53%	11%	51%
1900–1909	37%	54%	15%	51%
1925–1934	28%	45%	14%	44%

Table 8. Percentage of probates listing a sofa or a sofa set in comparison to any type of seating and percentage of probates listing a dinner table in comparison to any type of table.

As regards the capacity for hospitality, looking at the items more typically associated with hospitality (dining tables, coffee- or teaware, serving ware or napery, see Charts 16 and 17 in Appendix 6) can only give us a limited picture of bachelors' capabilities. If we compare the proportions of all probates listing a sofa or a sofa set to those that list any type of seating or those listing a dining table to any type of table, we see that, especially in the case of tables, the proportion of unmarried men who were able to provide some form of hospitality was probably higher than the numbers concerning only sofas and dinner tables would lead us to believe (see Table 8). Hospitality is therefore one of the clearest examples of a category where we need to be open about the definitions we give for specific types of items or their capacities, if we want to leave room for interpretations that take into account different forms of domestic practices. Focusing on furniture and other items traditionally linked to hosting visitors might conceal other forms of hospitality more common among unmarried men. Bachelors could use other types of furniture to seat their guests or, on the other hand, not follow rules of formal hospitality at all and instead use what was at hand for informal gatherings.

In one example, the photograph archive of the Helsinki City Museum includes a photograph with the inscription "a group picture in the bachelor apartment of Vilfred Nenonen" on the back.[508] The photograph shows a group of men and women sitting crammed on a bed. There are glasses and cups on a table in the foreground of the photograph and the group of friends looks like they have been having a small party or gathering of some sort and have paused to take the photo.

The fact that the friends in the photo are all sitting on the bed does not mean that the bed was the only form of seating available—it might just have been the most convenient place to take the photograph. Nevertheless, the photograph underlines the informality of the situation that contrasts with more formal ideas of hospitality. With its curtains, tablecloth, table lamp, and pictures on the wall, the room in the photograph gives an impression of a nicely decorated home. Vilfred, whoever he was, might have lived in a 'box', thus making formal hospitality out of his reach. Yet clearly that was no obstacle to inviting friends over and having a good time.

In terms of specifically male hospitality or sociability, probates listed table- or serving ware related to alcohol use, gaming tables or other types of games, and smoking tables, pipe shelves, cigar stands, or other types of items related to smoking such as cigarette cases or ashtrays (see Chart 18 in Appendix 6). Items and furniture related to smoking was listed in 23–38% of the probates, making such items more common than, for example, dining tables. Unlike in family dwellings, bachelors living by themselves would have been free to smoke in their homes regardless of the room.[509] Some probates do indeed include a variety of items related to smoking: 29-year-old student Axel S. owned a smoking table with a smoking set, an additional silver smoking set, 2 silver cigarette cases, and a silver snuff case.[510] Smoking and the related material culture thus offers one example of the ways in which a bachelor's home was affirmed as not only a male space but as a specifically bachelor space.[511]

Smoking, drinking, and gambling represented some of the pleasures and vices, which played a part in explaining why bachelors' dwellings were depicted as the antithesis of home in public discussions. Such pleasures were often portrayed as specifically linked to the figure of the

[508] HKA/81: Vapaa-ajanviettoa 1: neg. no 65758.
[509] Hamlett, *Material Relations*, 48–49.
[510] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/Ec:197 (1934)/35255.
[511] Gorman-Murray, 'Masculinity and the Home', 373.

bachelor, despite the fact that married men would also have engaged in such activities. Male-only drinking or smoking was certainly not limited to unmarried men, as attested to by the existence of such a room as the gentleman's room or men's clubs on a larger scale. I prefer to use the term *male* or *homosocial hospitality* or *sociability* in order to emphasize that such activities were enjoyed by both unmarried *and* married men and so as not to reproduce the middle-class discourse in which a bachelor and his vices represented 'the other' in opposition to the proper family man.[512] The type of hospitality that could more appropriately be called *bachelor hospitality* would be the kind of flexible 'box hospitality' represented by Vilfred's case. That is, hospitality that had to accommodate itself within the limits imposed by a smaller apartment without much spatial differentiation being possible or without a large variety of different types of glasses, cups or serving ware. Such a definition of bachelor hospitality would be determined by the spatial and domestic arrangements typical of bachelors and bachelorhood understood as a temporary stage instead of by the specific activities pursued in these spaces.

Food and linen

Food and linen represent both *domestic comforts*, dinners and clean sheets and shirts, and the *domestic work* to reproduce them, cooking and laundry. Food was both a necessary sustenance but also an enjoyment or a form of sociability and hospitality, whereas clean linen would have been important in terms of the bachelor's appearances and his status as a man. While bachelors were not expected to take of care of domestic work themselves, they often did not possess even the material capacity to eat let alone cook at home.[513] Even so, those who owned the quantity of furniture fit for a box-sized apartment also had any type of cooking or tableware of any type more often than all the probates, from 38 to 63% depending on the period and type of item. However, the items in question often ranged from only one to a few items and included, for example, only a coffee pot or cutlery. Such was the case, for example, for Berndt Ingman, a 49-year-old engineer, whose probate listed an electric cooking plate but no other cooking utensils

[512] 'Homosocial' is used here as an adjective to describe an all-male interaction or activity. For theoretical definitions and uses see Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Jean Lipman-Blumen, 'Toward a Homosocial Theory of Sex Roles: An Explanation of the Sex Segregation of Social Institutions', *Signs* 1, no. 3 (1976): 15–31; Sharon R. Bird, 'Welcome to the Men's Club: Homosociality and the Maintenance of Hegemonic Masculinity', *Gender & Society* 10, no. 2 (1996): 120–32. For an overview, see for example Nils Hammarén and Thomas Johansson, 'Homosociality: In Between Power and Intimacy', *SAGE Open* 4, no. 1 (2014), http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/2158244013518057.

[513] There are only a few mentions in the oral history sources of men cooking themselves, see TYKL/kys/17: informant 18, 11; informant 19, 10–11; TYKL/kys/10: informant 7, 28–29; TYKL/KTL 512/Ulla Vettenranta: Toivo Vettenrannan rautatieläismuistelmia. Keruutyö 1964, 8.

or pieces of tableware.[514] Lack of a material capacity often went together with having nobody, either a hired servant, housekeeper or a female relative, to do the cooking.[515] Yet, as an (adult) man was generally expected to have these services provided for him, the lack of both competence and material capacity could lead to a situation in which the reality of a bachelors' eating practices were in conflict with the meanings and expectations associated with eating. Such a conflict as well as the practical problems bachelors experienced in relation to food and linen constituted one of the reasons why bachelors were considered to be homeless in many representations. Without anyone to do cooking or other housework for them, bachelors turned to *outsourced* and *postable* domesticity for help.

Postable domesticity

Families sent packages containing food stuffs such as bread, butter, or jam and baked goods such as pies, pastries, cakes and biscuits as well as made, mended and washed clothes to their studying sons. These packages can be called a form of *postable domesticity* and care.[516] The train connections that had been built during the latter part of the 19th century had made it possible to send items fairly quickly from city to city.[517] Both letters as well as these packages carried, first of all, an emotional significance and, secondly, especially the food and linen constituted a form of caring in a material form. They could both alleviate and induce homesickness as well as help to create a "homely atmosphere." They could produce a feeling of belonging in the receiver as well as provide him with a physical link to home.[518] The packages and letters sent by Finnish mothers to their studying sons were a continuation of the maternal care the sons had received at home.[519]

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[514] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:158 Perukirjat (1930)/28730.

[515] According to the census samples, in 1900 43% and in 1930 24% of bachelors, who were heads of their household, had a servant and 14% and 11% respectively lived only with a servant. As having a servant, especially if you lived alone, required a high enough income, those with a servant usually lived in a bigger apartment than what has here been defined as a 'box'. 20 out of 28 heads of household, who in 1930 only lived with a servant, lived in apartment with three or more rooms.

[516] KA/Kalle Väisälän arkisto/2 Kirjeenvaihto, Kalle to his mother, 30.11.1913; KA/Uuno Pesosen arkisto/B KIRJEENVAIHTO/1 Kirjeenvaihto, Uuno to his family 30.9.1911; 10.10.1911; 23.1.1912; 20.2.1914; 28.10.1915; ÅA/Lofsdal-samlingen/Mapp 19, brev till Aline Reuter från Julio Reuter, 13.2.1882; 23.10.1884; 27.1.1894; 24.2.1894; 20.3.1894; 3.4.1894; 24.10.1894; 3.2.1895; 21.4.1896; 28.5.1896.

[517] Anne Ollila, *Aika ja elämä: aikakäsitys 1800-luvun lopussa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2000), 42.

[518] SLSA/665/Mapp 30/Dagbok 5, 4.7.1909. See also Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2010), 10.

[519] Michael Roper has analysed the practical and emotional significance of parcels that families sent their sons fighting on the Western front during First World War. See Roper, 'Slipping Out of View', 63–64. See also Roper, *The Secret Battle*.

For families that were not particularly wealthy, sending food and helping with other domestic matters was one of the easiest ways for them to support their studying children, who were far away in a city that the parents were not familiar with. Families that owned farms might especially have been low in cash but they had plenty of food products that they could send their children.[520] The food sent saved the boys money because they did not have to buy as much food themselves.[521] Moreover, it provided them with foods that they would not otherwise have had: soft bread instead of the dried bread, and pastries and other sweet treats.[522] A food package that arrived gave them a small change in their otherwise quite simple diets and a chance to indulge themselves, have a treat, and brighten up their everyday life. Food sent from home could also enable the bachelor to provide hospitality for his friends, as with the case of Julio Reuter, who served a cake his mother had sent him during an afternoon coffee he hosted at his apartment.[523] In addition, specific foods could physically ease bachelors' homesickness if they were made according to the recipes to which they were accustomed to or when they were regional foods that were not necessarily available in Helsinki. In the case of Uuno Pesonen and the Väisälä brothers, these included *rinkeli*[524] or *kukko*[525], which were specialities from Eastern Finland, their home region.[526] Such foods created "the taste of home" for their receivers.[527]

Postable domesticity ranged from necessities to comforts. Most of the foods sent can be characterized as comforts or even luxuries, but linen constituted an example of a domestic necessity that families took care of for their sons.[528] For example, both Uuno Pesonen and Kalle Väisälä sent their dirty laundry to be washed at home in Joensuu, which is nearly 400 km from Helsinki but, since the train route went via Viborg, the laundry actually had to travel a longer distance than that.[529] Was using a laundry lady in Helsinki indeed so expensive that sending

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[520] Kirsi Keravuori, 'Itseoppineet kirjoittajat, kirjeenvaihdon kulttuuri ja kirjeet egodokumentteina: Tutkimus Janssonin laivuriperheen kirjeenvaihdosta 1860- ja 1870-luvulla' (Licentiate thesis, University of Turku, 2012), 120–26.
[521] KA/Kalle Väisälän arkisto/2 Kirjeenvaihto, Kalle to his mother, 6.10.1911.
[522] KA/Kalle Väisälän arkisto/2 Kirjeenvaihto, Kalle to his mother, 17.11.1913; KA/Uuno Pesosen arkisto/1 Kirjeenvaihto, Uuno to his family, 7.2.1912.
[523] ÅA/Lofsdal-samlingen/Mapp 20/Brev till Aline Reuter från Julio Reuter, 20.3.1894.
[524] A type of bagel.
[525] For example fish that has been baked inside a rye bread crust.
[526] KA/Uuno Pesosen arkisto/B KIRJEENVAIHTO/1 Correspondence, Uuno to his family, 30.9.1911; 21.10.1911; 11.11.1911; 23.1.1912; 7.2.1912; 26.2.1912; KA/Kalle Väisälän arkisto/2 Correspondence, Kalle to his mother, 29.10.1911; 30.11.1913.
[527] Roper, *The Secret Battle*, 29.
[528] See also Roper, 96.
[529] KA/Kalle Väisälän arkisto/2 Kirjeenvaihto, Kalle to his mother 9.3.1913; 24.10.1913; KA/Uuno Pesosen arkisto/1 Kirjeenvaihto, Uuno to his family 19.10.1913; 1.4.1914.

packages back and forth to Joensuu was cheaper than having the laundry washed in Helsinki? Linen as a form of postable domesticity exemplifies how domestic tasks were not only a question of money but also required knowhow that bachelors often did not or were not even expected to have. Different forms of postable domesticity and the advice offered in letters helped the bachelor with the aspects of his everyday domestic life that he found especially problematic now that he was away from his mother's household.[530] Linen and laundry constituted one of the areas of housekeeping in which bachelors lacked domestic capital the most.[531] Besides washing, Uuno's sister also mended his clothes and made new ones for him.[532] In the case of Julio Reuter, he kept receiving food packages and new clothes as well as sending his laundry to be washed at his childhood home long after he had finished his studies and at least until he was 33 years old.[533]

Outsourced domesticity and everyday micro-mobility

While lodgers' rent might have included early morning coffee and even a dinner on Sunday, generally lodgers and renters had to find their meals outside their dwellings.[534] Following Vickery, eating out could be defined as part of 'outsourced domesticity' which, besides meals, also included laundry services, washing in public saunas and baths, spending free time in restaurants, cafes, clubs, associations or other 'public living-rooms'.[535] Different types of restaurants, diners, cafes and food sellers catered to the needs of men from different backgrounds. Diners ranged from small places kept by individuals to larger ones run by, for example, working-class organizations, temperance associations, or cooperatives such as *Elanto*.[536] Kalle Väisälä and Uuno Pesonen ate in the People's Diner (*Kansan ruokala*), the

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[530] As I have not gone through the letters that Uuno or Kalle received from their mothers and families, I do not know how much advice regarding different domestic matters was given in letters to the boys. Previous research does suggest that the input given by female family members in order to improve bachelors' domestic conditions could be substantial. See for example Keravuori, 'Itseoppineet kirjoittajat', 126; Hamlett, *Material Relations*, 169 & 172.

[531] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 120–22.

[532] KA/Uuno Pesosen arkisto/1 Kirjeenvaihto, Uuno to his family, 20.2.1914

[533] ÅA/Lofsdal-samlingen/Mapp 19/ Brev till Aline Reuter från Julio Reuter, 28.5.1896.

[534] Moring, 'Gender, Class and Lodging', 57.

[535] TMT:176:576:TA, 2; HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:3/Alarik Lahikainen, 2; TYKL/KTL 512/Ulla Vettenranta: Toivo Vettenrannan rautatieläismuistelmia. Keruutyö 1964, 8; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 75. According to Saarikangas, there were about 70 baths and public saunas in Helsinki at the turn of the 20th century. See Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 140.

[536] HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:2/Johan Svahn, 1; Eb:3/Kaarlo Lehtinen, 3; KA/V. J. Sukselaisen arkisto/Päiväkirja 9; TYKL/kys/17: informant 15, 29; SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 203:20486. 1993; SLSA 665/Paul B Nyberg/Mapp 30/Dagbok 4, 18.10.1907; KK/Väinö Pesolan arkisto/Coll.433.2 Päiväkirjat/Päiväkirja 1, 25.11.1916; Eino Sormunen, *Nuoruus myrskyssä* (Helsinki: Kirjapaja, 1954), 9.

restaurant at the YMCA Hospitz or at the student cooperative restaurant Osmola.[537] Most diners stressed the cheapness of the food and tried to attract more long-term customers by offering discounts to people who bought food tickets or monthly passes.[538] In Helsinki, one could also eat in automats (*automaattiruokala*), which were self-service diners, where customers would choose what they wanted to drink and eat from vending machines.[539] The variety of services catering to the domestic needs of bachelors increased with urbanization and might have contributed to the decrease in the number and variety of cooking and tableware found in the bachelor probates during the third period of 1925–1934 (see Chart 12 and 13 in Appendix 4).[540]

Working-class people often bought their lunch from food stands located in the different markets of Helsinki.[541] Many men were 'weekly men' (*viikkomies*), meaning they ate at the same place every day and paid the total sum they owed on their payday.[542] A 'monthly man' (*kuukausimies*), in turn, was someone who regularly ate three meals a day from the same 'food lady' (*ruokamatami*), who sold meals from her home.[543] Some men arranged to have their meals from a private family or the family of a work colleague.[544] Harbours or sites with a lot of workers would have their own diners, food stalls or even people going around selling food.[545]

Diners, cheaper restaurants, cooperative kitchens, cooking schools, and food ladies also sold food by the portion.[546] This was called "taking food with a portör" as the food was taken home in a food carrier (*porttööri*, from Swedish, *(mat)portör*).[547] This historical form of take-away had existed at least since the mid-1800s. Already Ernst Bonsdorff (1842–1936), who had started

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[537] KA/Kalle Väisälän arkisto/2 Kirjeenvaihto, Kalle Väisälä to his mother, 14.9.1911; 29.10.1911; 17.11.1913; 1.10.1914; Hanna Väisälä to her mother, 11.10.1911; KA/Uuno Pesosen arkisto/1 Kirjeenvaihto, Uuno Pesonen to his family, 30.9.1911; 11.11.1911; 14.9.1912; 8.10.1914; 27.1.1915. Also for example Eino Sormunen mentions having eaten at Osmola, see Sormunen, *Nuoruus myrskyssä*, 9.
[538] Advertisements in *Ylioppilaslehti* 1915–1931.
[539] TYKL/kys/17: informant 15, 30. According to Åström, in 1913 there were nine such establishments in the centre of Helsinki. See Åström, 'Kaupunkiyhteiskunta murrosvaiheessa', 235–36.
[540] Statistics for the number of the smallest diners are not readily available, but Åström's overview of different types of restaurants in Helsinki between 1875–1918, for example, gives a general idea of the new types of establishments founded during this period, including automats, people's kitchens, and temperance restaurants and cafes. See Åström, 235–38.
[541] TMT:263:1309:TA, 44.
[542] Sinikka Vainio, 'Helsinkiläisten ruokaperinnettä muistelmien pohjalta', in *Narinkka 1990* (Helsinki: Helsingin kaupunginmuseo, 1990), 116–17.
[543] TYKL/kys/17: informant 15, 29; Vainio, 117.
[544] Sormunen, *Nuoruus myrskyssä*, 9 & 20.
[545] TMT: 307:972/3:TA, 3; TMT:263:1309:TA, 44; Vainio, 'Helsinkiläisten ruokaperinnettä', 116.
[546] Nevalainen, 'Rationalisoitua säädynmukaisuutta', 154.
[547] Similar to tiffin tin or carrier the 'porttööri' consisted of several tiers that were placed on top of each other. This made it possible to separate different foods from each other and one of the tiers could also contain hot water, which would have kept the food portions warm. The carriers were usually made from enamel or metal.

his studies in 1859, describes in his memoirs how as a student he bought bad but cheap food with a food carrier together with his roommate.[548] In the probate samples, each period included a few probates which listed a food carrier, and the two mentioned in the probate of Emil M., for example, suggest that he might have been more inclined to eat takeaways than cook dinner himself, despite owning a coffee pot, two teapots, and four pans.[549]

> One diner was on Pursimiehenkatu. There [I] ate three times a day. The weekly price was nine marks. The meal consisted of cold cuts and a warm dish and porridge and pap. Often there were also meatballs or a roast. - - Breakfast was porridge. That was the day's first visit to the diner. 11 o'clock we went to eat again. This time we had milk and sour milk [*piimää*] and also kalja [a dark beer with a low alcohol content]. We did not take any packed food, but ordered even bread from the diner. Between 4 and 5 in the afternoon was the actual main meal. This was the meal, when one ate first cold cuts and then a warm dish.
>
> On Sundays we ate usually better food than on weekdays.[550]

Using different domestic services resulted in *everyday micro-mobility* as bachelors had to move between their home or workplace and the places that provided them with these everyday domestic services. This going back and forth often took place several times a day in the case of meals, as exemplified in the above quotation from Alarik L., who worked as a tailor journeyman in Helsinki in the 1910s and ate all or nearly all of his meals out, including breakfast.[551] Similarly, Uuno Pesonen described in March 1914 how he heard a lecture in the morning at 8 after which he had breakfast at 9. He then went home and read until at 3 pm, when he went to eat again. After eating he went back home to continue studying.[552] In this sense, the wider city became an extension of the bachelor's home and domestic life. Unlike the ideal of the time that separated work from home, many bachelors actually did work at home, but had to go *out* of their homes to eat. This calls into question conventional ideas about the division of activities between the public and private. Outsourced domesticity and the micro-mobility that followed

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[548] Bonsdorff, *Elämäni varrelta*, 107. Vickery describes how people living in 18th-century London organized to have their meals from local inns on a takeaway basis, the meal being transported on a tray or in a pewter-pot. See Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 25 & 59.

[549] KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:154 (1929)/28200. Terms used in 1881-1890 included matportör, portör i 4 avdelningar, matporteur, and mathemtare, in 1900-1909 portör, portier, matportör and koppar portör, and in 1925-1934 porttööri and portörbärare.

[550] HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:3/Alarik Lahikainen, 2–3. Original: "Yksi ruokala oli Pursimiehenkadulla. Siinä kertoja söi kolmasti päivässä. Viikkomaksu oli yhdeksän markkaa. Ateriaan kuului leikkeleitä ja lämminruoka sekä puuroa ja velliä. Hyvin usein oli myös lihapullat tai paistia. - - Aamiainen oli puuroa. Se oli ensimmäinen käynti ruokalassa päivän mittaan. Kello 11 mentiin uudelleen syömään. Tällä kertaa nautittiin maitoa ja piimää sekä lisäksi kaljaa. Evästä ei otettu mukaan, vaan myös leipä tilattiin ruokalasta. Kello 4 ja 5 välillä iltapäivällä oli varsinainen pääateria. Tämä oli se ateria, jona syötiin ensin leikkeleitä ja sitten lämmin ruoka. Sunnuntaisin syötiin yleensä parempaa ruokaa kuin arkisin."

[551] HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:2/Johan Svahn, 1; HKA/Helsinki-Seura/Eb:3/Kaarlo Lehtinen, 3; TMT:176:576:TA, 2.

[552] KA/Uuno Pesosen arkisto/1 Kirjeenvaihto, Uuno to his family, 6.3.1914.

it contributed to the fact that a bachelor did not necessarily consider his place of residence a home in comparison to his childhood home or his imagined future marital home.[553]

Outsourced domesticity and the micro-mobility it required could improve the level of domestic comforts a bachelor was able to enjoy as well as enable him to enjoy the sociability associated with dining and homeliness. In her research into London gentlemen's clubs Amy Milne-Smith has argued that clubs acted as 'surrogate homes', 'second homes', 'homes away from homes' and as "sites of an alternative domestic life."[554] I argue that food played a key role in making such alternative domestic spaces lucrative, comfortable and homey and therefore different organisations saw the serving of meals as an important part of the social spaces they set up. During the early decades of their existence, Finnish clubs did not own their own rooms or buildings, but food was, nonetheless, an important part of the club activities and services of both the Helsinki Finnish Club (*Helsingin Suomalainen Klubi*), founded in 1876, and the Swedish Club (*Svenska Klubben i Helsingfors*), founded in 1880. The first rooms of the Finnish Club, which consisted of a small hall and two smaller rooms, boasted a restaurant to serve the members of the Club. When the Club did not have its own rooms, it would convene at one of the restaurants in the city.[555] In the beginning, the Swedish Club rented rooms, which were located in the same property as an existing restaurant and organised meals from there before organising its own meal service in 1895. A 'supé', supper, consisted of a smorgasbord and a drink.[556]

Student organisations, in turn, founded restaurants in order to address the problem of finding good food at a cheap price. In addition, the student restaurants provided student-friendly spaces to socialize and party. The (Old) Student House housed a restaurant while the Ostrobothnian nations' building also included one, which served food for all students, but was during the evenings reserved for the nations' own members.[557] The provision of food and drink in their own facilities was also important to the students of technology although the student organisation

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[553] Liz Kenyon, 'A Home from Home: Students' Transitional Experience of Home', in *Ideal Homes? Social Change and the Experience of the Home*, ed. Tony Chapman and Jenny Hockey (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 84–95.
[554] Amy Milne-Smith, 'A Flight to Domesticity? Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880–1914', *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 4 (2006): 796–99 & 818.
[555] Jalmari Edvard Salomaa, *Helsingin Suomalainen Klubi 1876-1926* (Helsinki: Otava, 1926), 21 & 28.
[556] Arvid Hultin, *Svenska klubben i Helsingfors, 1880-1925: en kort historik* (Helsingfors: [kustantaja tuntematon], 1926), 15, 21 & 33–34.
[557] KK/Pohjalaisten osakuntien yhteiset arkistot(PY1)/Ha1.1, Pohjalaisten osakuntien ravintolan Ohjesääntö.

struggled to find a profitable and sustainable way to organise the running of their restaurant.[558] A third example of the importance of offering food in the context of male associational life are the rooms of the Civil Servants' Association (*Virkamiesliitto*), which were opened in 1919 in Helsinki. "The House of Civil Servants" included a restaurant in order to be able to serve meals to the Association's members.[559] For bachelors, the significance of such associational and communal domestic spaces could have been even greater than for married men—even the primary domesticity they were able to enjoy.

Conclusions

Hussey and Ponsonby have asked whether what they call "the requirements of the discrete household", that is, security, privacy and choice, could be achieved in the context of a single room.[560] This chapter has argued that a one- or two-room bachelor box did indeed provide the bachelor with such requirements and, through the use of temporal and flexible domesticities, he was able to accommodate the main domestic functions he needed and desired. In regard to gentlemen's clubs in 19th-century London, Milne-Smith has asserted how the clubs "both challenged and reinforced the domestic ideal."[561] The same description can also be applied to the bachelor boxes. As such small spaces they could not fulfil all the domestic ideals of the time but they provided bachelors with a potentially alternative domestic space. At the same time, the analysis of the probate records has demonstrated that many boxes not followed only contemporary design principles but they constituted comfortable and homey environments. Bachelors invested time, money and personality in their boxes and they enjoyed spending time in them. A box made a young man feel at home in bachelorhood. I have identified flexible, temporal, postable and outsourced domesticities as practices and strategies, which bachelors adopted to address some of the more practical limitations and problems they faced when living in a box. Other issues, such as the contradictions resulting from social norms and expectations were not always so easily overcome or ignored despite the freedoms of box living.

The fact that bachelors from different sections of society referred to their living spaces as boxes demonstrates that the crucial issue was the difference between a single person's "box" and a

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[558] Paavo Koponen, *75 vuotta teekkarielämää: Teknillisen korkeakoulun ylioppilaskunta* (Helsinki: Otava, 1947), 61–64.
[559] 'Virkamieskoti Helsinkiin', *Virkamiesten aikakauskirja* 2/1919, 106; R. O. S., 'Virkamiestentalo', *Virkamiesten aikakauskirja* 3/1919, 128–131.
[560] Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 151.
[561] Milne-Smith, *London Clubland*, 110.

family's "home." Even without the prefix 'bachelor' or 'office woman', the term box would have automatically been understood as referring to the temporary, pre-marriage apartment of an unmarried, and mostly young, person. The box was a symbol of youth and single status. No matter how well furnished or how comfortable the box was, it was not a suitable or appropriate place for a family:

> First we had difficulties in terms of housing, when the family grew and that could not be cared for in a bachelor box.[562]

> Therefore when I had organised my work affairs, it was time for private matters. Because of irregular working conditions, the bachelor box was no longer fit for its purpose, I had to set up my own home. A life partner was already picked; our home was small, pleasant, although modest.[563]

These two quotations from oral history writings exemplify how the change from unmarried to married was accompanied by the spatial change from a bachelor box to a "home." The spatial arrangements of bachelorhood were contrasted with those of family life. Different phases of life demanded different kinds of spatial and domestic requirements. Consequently, the box was usually not considered a real home but the site of a temporary phase between one's childhood *home* and marital *home*. The term box was not tied so much to the character of the space, but rather to the issue of who inhabited the space. The fact that the inhabitant was unmarried made a space or an apartment a 'box'; if the next inhabitants occupying the same space were a family, it would no longer have been called such. The box thus represented a quintessential form of bachelor, or generally single, living—also in the sense that it enabled the freedom and testing of boundaries associated with such a transitional phase.

At the same time that the upper and middle classes called bachelor apartments boxes, the attributes attached to box living (crowdedness, darkness, temporariness) would have been more appropriate to describe the living conditions of many male lodgers or even working-class families. This contrast underlines the class differences as well the power structures behind public definitions of home. Moreover, some working-class men could be said to have slept almost literally in a box such as sailors in a fo'c'sle or logging workers in a sauna or cabin built in the middle of the forest—these living arrangements are the focus of the next chapter.

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[562] SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 217: 15997. 1993. Original: "Asuntoasiassa oli aluksi vaikeuksia, kun tuli perhelisäystä, jota ei voinut hoitaa poikamiespoksissa."
[563] TYKL/kys/17: informant 2. Original: "Näin kun oli saanut työasiani järjestykseen, niin koitti aika yksityisasioille. Työolojen epäsäännöllisyyden vuoksi, ei poikamiespoksi enää vastannut tarkoitustaan, vaan piti perustaa oma koti. Elämän kumpanikin [sic] oli katsottu; kotimme oli pieni, sievä, joskin vaatimaton."

4. Living a 'suitcase life' – Sailors, Mobile Domesticities and Belonging

> There was no table nor chairs [in the forecastle], *if one had not had one's seaman's chest one would have been quite homeless. On it one sat, on it one ate and in it one had all of one's possessions*, with the exception of oilskins and seamen's boots. All underwear and the costume for going ashore were at the other end of the chest, there was a compartment for sewing equipment, letter paper, etc. It was also the object of everyone's interests, one tried to make it as nice and pretty as possible with richly decorated handles, it was just the shape and colour which you could not change, the colour absolutely had to be green with the lid and bottom lath black. There was an unwritten law that nobody could keep their chest locked when the ship was sailing but neither was anybody going to lift the lid of somebody else's chest.[564]

At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, sailors used seamen's chests for both storing their personal belongings as well as transporting them.[565] As the above quotation from a former sea captain born in 1883 demonstrates, the seaman's chest was in many ways the focal point of a sailor's domesticity. The chest served several domestic functions, contained all the possessions of the sailor and was itself the focus of domestic activities. Besides often being the only piece of furniture that the sailor owned, on board the chest was one of the few pieces of furniture that a sailor had the use of altogether. He therefore performed many domestic activities on his chest such as eating, sitting, or writing letters. As the men changed ships over and over, the chest and its contents represented stability, familiarity and a private space—even home in a sense.[566]

Wooden chests for different purposes have been used on ships as long as people have sailed. Even though the sailor's chest was slowly replaced by duffel bags and suitcases as sailors moved from sailing ships to steamships, many sailors during the early 1900s had both a chest

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[564] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 8. Italics LN. Original: "Bord eller stolar fanns inte häller, hade man inte haft sin sjömanskista hade man varit ganska hemlös. På den satt man på den åt man och i den hade man alla sina ägodelar, med undantag av öljekläderna och sjöstövlarna. Alla underkläderna och landgångskostymen fanns där I ena ändan av kistan fanss ett fack för sytilbehör, brevpapper mm. Den var också föremål för vars och ens intresse man försökte göra den så fin och nätt som möjligt med rikt utsirade bärstroppar, det var bara formen och färgen som inte gick at rucka på, den måste absolut vara grön med svart lock och fotlist. Det fanns en oskriven lag att ingen fick ha sin kista låst när fartyget var på resa, men det skulle heller inte fallit någon in att lyfta på en annans kistlock."

[565] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 14; informant 24; informant 37.

[566] Ponsonby, *Stories from Home*, 73; Fiona Fisher, 'Viewing the Early Twentieth-Century Institutional Interior through the Pages of Living London', in *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1725-1970*, ed. Jane Hamlett, Lesley Hoskins, and Rebecca Preston (London ; New York: Routledge, 2015), 30.

and a duffel bag.[567] As users of chests, sailors were a part of a very long tradition or continuum, or one could even say the end point of it. Chests are one of the oldest pieces of furniture and have been widely used for storing and transporting possessions. As did sailors, some people also used chests as chairs and tables especially if it was the only piece of furniture they owned. Merchants, craftsmen, civil servants, soldiers, or other travelling professionals, used chests of different sizes to store and transport their work tools and papers as well as their personal belongings.[568] The chest and its contents as a form of *portable domesticity* not only link the sailors to these older domestic traditions of material culture but also to other contemporary travelling workers as well as bachelorhood as a mobile life stage.[569] The term 'kapsäkkielämä' (suitcase life), used in one of the oral history writings, well describes the kind of mobile life (young) bachelors often led and the extent of the accompanying material culture.[570] Both travelling workers such as logging and rafting workers or railway builders as well as bachelors, who owned some or only a few basic domestic items, owned a similar array of items as sailors did. Such items included, for example, clothes, a watch, shaving equipment, smoking equipment, a wallet, a knife, a gold ring and a silver spoon.[571]

While bachelors living in boxes might have changed rooms every year, this chapter focuses on sailors as an example of travelling workers for whom mobility was a more integral part of their everyday life. Little has been written about sailors and their relationship to home while most of the existing research focuses on the family homes sailors had in their homeland.[572] Quintin

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[567] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 11; informant 32; informant 34; informant 44; informant 51; informant 76; Gösta Webe, *Nautika: Sjöhistorisk Årsbok 1985-1986* (Stockholm: Föreningen Sveriges sjöfartsmuseum, 1986), 210.
[568] Jorma Heinonen and Osmo Vuoristo, *Antiikkikirja* (Helsinki: Tammi, 1979), 90. See also Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 39.
[569] TYKL/1694/Pertti Itkonen, 'Savolaista rautatieläiselämää' (Master's thesis, University of Turku, 1988), 42.
[570] TMT:263:1309:TA, 55.
[571] TYKL/kys/10/informant 1; informant 4; informant 5; informant 6; TYKL/kys/4/informant 1; informant 2; SKS KRA. Kiuru, Aukusti Jätkät 7:22. 1969; Hanna Snellman, *Tukkilaisten tulo ja lähtö: kansatieteellinen tutkimus Kemijoen metsä- ja uittotöistä* (Oulu: Pohjoinen, 1996), 138, 141 & 145.
[572] In his article 'British Merchant Seafarers and Their Homes, 1895–1970', Alston Kennerley takes sailors' relationship to their homes as his focus, but he sees the home of a sailor being on land in his homeland. See Alston Kennerley, 'British Merchant Seafarers and Their Homes, 1895–1970', *International Journal of Maritime History* 24, no. 1 (2012): 115–46. David Brandon Dennis and Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen's articles widen home to encompass the whole nation as homeland. See David Brandon Dennis, 'Seduction on the Waterfront: German Merchant Sailors, Masculinity and the "Brücke Zu Heimat" in New York and Buenos Aires, 1884–1914', *German History* 29, no. 2 (2011): 175–201; Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen, 'Expressions of Longing, Sources of Anxiety? The Significance of Contacts with Home for Finnish Sailors in London and Hull in the Late Nineteenth Century', in *People of the Northern Seas*, ed. Lewis R. Fischer and Walter E. Minchinton, Research in Maritime History 3 (St. John's, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 1992), 63–79; Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen, 'Kun koti tuli satamaan: Suomalaisten merimiesten yhteydet kotimaahan Englannin satamista 1800-luvun loppupuolella'', in *Meren kansaa. IX Itämeriseminaari Kotkassa 5.-8.8.1992* (Kotka: Kymenlaakson maakuntamuseo, 1994); Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen, 'Land Amidst the Sea: Merchant Seamen and

Colville, Elin Jones and Katherine Parker have called for research that looks at daily practices on board as well as considers ships themselves as homes and dwellings.[573] My own interest here is exactly this: to focus on ships as domestic spaces as well as places of belonging. By focusing on the living conditions, domesticity and everyday lives of sailors, this chapter explores the different strategies and practices sailors employed "to achieve some sense of permanence and security - - against a backdrop of changing circumstances."[574] This analysis of mobile workers pushes us to be even more open and critical about our definitions of domesticity and home than in the previous chapters. In this chapter, I argue that domestic practices or a sense of belonging were not in every context tied to a dwelling or a specific place. Looking at belonging helps us to go beyond home as a dwelling and, instead, to focus on the other contexts and scales in relation to which senses of belonging or identity were constructed.[575] In addition to spending long times away from their homes and homeland, what makes sailors an interesting case is the fact that contemporaries considered most of them to be unmarried men. The linking of sailorhood with bachelorhood was part of a wider set of associations between bachelorhood, mobility, liminality and transitory living arrangements, on the one hand, and between masculinity, breadwinning, and family homes, on the other. This chapter offers a critique of bachelorising certain occupations and argues that the relationships between sailors, masculinity and home were more complicated than implied by the bachelor association.

The main source for this chapter has been the collection of sailors' oral history writings, which was collected in 1963 and which forms part of the University of Turku's Department of Ethnology's (TYKL) archive.[576] Most of the respondents dedicated a major part of their responses to giving detailed accounts of the ships they had worked on, where they had travelled,

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Port Towns in the Nineteenth Century', in *Reclaiming the City: Innovation, Culture, Experience*, ed. Marjaana Niemi and Ville Vuolanto (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2003), 177–90. Eric Sager is the only one to take a wider approach to home in his book chapter titled 'Home to the Sea'; see Eric W. Sager, *Seafaring Labour: The Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914* (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 222–44.

[573] Quintin Colville, Elin Jones, and Katherine Parker, 'Gendering the Maritime World', *Journal for Maritime Research* 17, no. 2 (2015): 98.

[574] Ponsonby, *Stories from Home*, 55.

[575] Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 27.

[576] The collection leaflet asked the respondents to write "*about their own work and own life*." The respondents could write freely in the form and order they wanted, but the leaflet also included a list of questions to help the respondents in the process of remembering and writing. These included questions about the respondent's family background, first voyage and ship, other ships, conditions on board, events, their own families, good and negative sides of the profession, food, clothing and equipment, seaman's chest and bag, free time on board and in the harbour, habits and rituals, as well as sailors' songs and sayings. See TYKL/kys/19&20: Questionnaire brochure.

what the cargo had been, and especially what had happened during their voyages: storms, escapes, special events and so on. I have, however, focused on what the respondents wrote about the living conditions on board, food, free time activities both on board and in harbours, and whether they reflected on their lives and careers as sailors and their relationship with home. Altogether 155 respondents had sent in shorter or longer written accounts about life as a sailor. I have included information from 84 respondents, who themselves had worked as sailors before the Second World War on both Finnish and foreign merchant and cargo ships, which made longer voyages at least across the Baltic Sea.[577] In addition, I have included recollections from seven respondents, who had worked as sailors at some point in their lives, from the Labour archive's (TA) collection of memory data and four fairly short interviews with former sailors from the archive of the Department of Ethnology at the University of Helsinki (HYKL). These four interviews were conducted in 1969.

The period we are focusing on, from the 1880s to the end of the 1930s, coincides with a time, when sailing ships were being replaced by steam ships. In 1872, the number of sailing ships had hit its peak, with about 20 000 such ships globally.[578] This was, however, also the beginning of the end for sailing ships since by the turn of the century steamships had almost completely taken over traffic on the regular lines.[579] In Finland sailing ships remained in wider use longer than in other Western seafaring countries. Finland even witnessed a re-blossoming of sailing ships after the First World War, when ship owners in Åland bought cheap sailing ships from abroad.[580] Only in 1925 did the number of steam ships overtake the number of sailing ships.[581] At the turn of the century, there were approximately 9000 to 10 000 Finnish sailors. By 1924 the number had risen to about 15 000, working on both Finnish and foreign ships.[582]

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[577] I have thus not included sailors or soldiers on navy ships, men working in inland waterways, or men practicing or working in farmer sailing (*talonpoikaispurjehdus, bondeseglationen*).
[578] Eino Koivistoinen, 'Purjeiden aika', in *Purjeiden aika. Seglens tidevarv*, ed. Markku Haapio (Turku: Eita Oy, 1983), 7.
[579] Esa Hiltunen, 'Suomen purjeet maailman merillä', in *Purjeiden aika. Seglens tidevarv*, ed. Markku Haapio (Turku: Eita Oy, 1983), 59 & 61.
[580] Hiltunen, 62; Timo Soukola, *Riistorauhaa rikkomassa: Suomen Merimies-Unionin ja sen edeltäjien vaiheita 1905-2000* (Helsinki: Otava, 2003), 14; Risto Kari, 'Koneet voittavat perinteiset purjeet', in *Navis Fennica: Suomen merenkulun historia. Osa 1, Puuruuhista syvänmeren purjelaivoihin*, ed. Erkki Riimala (Porvoo: WSOY, 1993), 360; Yrjö Kaukiainen, *Ulos maailmaan! suomalaisen merenkulun historia* (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2008), 391; Yrjö Kaukiainen, *Sailing into Twilight: Finnish Shipping in an Age of Transport Revolution, 1860-1914* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1991), 24.
[581] Eino Koivistoinen, 'Meripoika se merta seelailee', in *Purjeiden aika. Seglens tidevarv*, ed. Markku Haapio (Turku: Eita Oy, 1983), 146.
[582] Koivistoinen, 146.

During this period, crews usually lived in small spaces situated above or below the deck and either at the prow or stern of the ship.[583] In Finnish the living quarters of the crew, the forecastle or fo'c'sle in English, were called either *skanssi* or *ruffi* (*skans* and *ruff* in Swedish).[584] The number of men sleeping in one *skans* varied in the respondents' writings between four and 24 but most commonly there were 12 to 16 men sharing the living space.[585] The men slept in berths or bunks (in Finnish *koija* from Swedish *koja*) that were built on the sides of the space, two on top of each other. For the crewmembers, the skans was the only space that was solely reserved for things other than work. The men slept, ate and spent their free time in the skans. There were no special facilities for washing oneself or one's clothes and most of the time not even a toilet. Due to the large proportion of old sailing ships, during the period in question Finnish ships were not always in very good condition and they often lacked facilities such as individual cabins for crewmembers or separate facilities for dining and free time, facilities that ships from other countries already had.[586] Compared to many other travelling workers on land, the living quarters of sailors travelled with them and therefore a sailor lived and slept in the same place as long as he stayed on the same ship. Due to this permanency there would have been more reason to build the crew proper living quarters, but generally the condition of the skans was not a priority for employers. Space remained limited on ships and well-built cabins would have cost more money. Moreover, the difference between the comforts and availability of space constituted a part of the hierarchy that separated the crew from the officers.[587]

The mobile lifestyle of sailors, the fact that they spent long periods of time away from land and their homes, the lack of personal space as well as space and facilities in general, and the fact that they often had very little control over aspects of their everyday lives such as the food they

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[583] Knut Weibust, *Deep Sea Sailors. A Study in Maritime Ethnology.* (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1969), 73.
[584] According to Jari Lybeck, a *skans* was usually under deck, while a *ruff* was above deck, but the terms were also used synomously. See Jari Lybeck, *Rauman merimiesväestö purjehduksen kasvun vuosina 1840-luvulta 1870-luvulle* (Rauma: Rauman merimuseo, 2012), 154. I have decided to use the term *skans* to generally refer to the quarters of the ratings.
[585] TMT:210:791:TA; TMT:406:2228:TA; TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 8; informant 9; informant 21; informant 24; informant 34; informant 37; informant 44; informant 47; informant 61; informant 70.
[586] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 59. According to Gösta Webe, also in Sweden at the end of the 1930s four to nine sailors would share a skans in older steam ships; see Webe, *Nautika: Sjöhistorisk Årsbok 1985-1986*, 109. In 1948, a decree was issued in Finland that stated that the crew should be housed mainly in two-person cabins, but still at the beginning of the 1950s there were old steam ships in use where the crew lived in a cold skans situated at the prow. See Yrjö Kaukiainen, 'Johdanto – Suomalaisen merimiehen kolme vuosisataa', in *Täkillä, koneessa ja byssassa. Merenkulkijan elämää ennen ja nyt. Nautica Fennica 2007-2008*, ed. Sari Mäenpää, Johanna Aartomaa, and Ismo Malinen (Helsinki: Museovirasto, 2008), 10.
[587] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 4; informant 21; informant 43; HYKL/Keruutyö 133, C; SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 226:16045. 1993. As Vickery has stated, "[a]ccess to privacy was an index of power." See Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 41.

ate, all meant that the domesticity of sailors could in many ways be seen as being compromised or limited. Even though in the oral history writings there are a couple of examples of crewmembers together using their free time to clean the skans or to renovate it because they thought it was in such poor condition, not everyone was that bothered especially if one changed ships often.[588] How much the sailors themselves could do about their situation was also limited by the ship's general condition. Sailors employed strategies to make it easier and more manageable to adapt themselves to the given circumstances. These forms of on board domesticity can be described as *flexible, temporal, portable,* and *communal domesticity*. These domestic strategies and practices were more a matter of temporary, micro-scale domesticity making than about homemaking on a large scale. Many of these strategies were shared and a part of the established culture that prevailed among sailors and also within other mobile occupations. As a result, these strategies enabled these men to find stability in instability. Their established routines made everyday life more manageable, predictable and safe.

Portable domesticity

Sailors had to supply all their everyday domestic items themselves. While the chest provided a practical way of transporting and storing these items, the mobility of sailors placed limitations on the amount and weight of such items and, as a consequence, also the domestic comforts they were able to enjoy. Sailors changed ships quite often and having more than the necessities of life with them would have been inconvenient. There was always the danger that all a sailor owned would be lost in a shipwreck. The companies did not have to pay any kind of compensation in such cases.[589] In addition, if a sailor decided to run away, he could take very little if anything with him. The variety of items or level of comfort also varied between the men depending on their situation, their wealth, what kind of family they came from as well as personal habits and priorities.[590] One respondent recalled how his mother had packed a duffel bag and three suitcases full of supplies for him when he was leaving to go to for the sea for the first time. On the ship, only half of the contents of his bag fitted in his cupboard so he had to return the rest home.[591] In contrast, the possessions of other sailors fitted into a small bundle or a "box of cigars."[592]

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[588] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 55. TMT:210:791:TA; SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 226: 16045. 1993.
[589] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 1; informant 9; informant 29.
[590] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 32.
[591] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 32.
[592] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 9; informant 26; informant 16; informant 24; informant 28; informant 29.

The form and functionality of the seaman's chest were planned in a way that made it a very practical solution not only to the mobile lifestyle of sailors but also living conditions on board ship. Besides hooks or cupboards for storing dishes or working clothes, for most of the period there was no storage space, shared or personal, in the living quarters of ships. The chest was therefore the only way to keep one's belongings safe and organised. During the 19th century the seaman's chest took a standardised form, which the chests of the respondents followed.[593] The chest was about 45 cm high, 90 cm long at the bottom and 85 cm at the top, and 45–47 cm wide at the bottom and 40–42 cm at the top. Being slightly bigger at the bottom, the chest stood more firmly. The chests were usually made from spruce, pine or, more rarely, from teak, mahogany, or camphor tree. On the sides were handles and the lid was covered with sailcloth. Since especially during stormy weather the skans was often flooded, the laths at and around the bottom protected the contents from water and dampness.[594] The sides were painted grey or light green, the top and the laths at the bottom black, and the bottom was tarred. The finer woods were oiled or varnished. Inside the chest on the other side was usually a small box with a lid, called a *ledika*, where the sailor kept his most valuable possessions.[595] In the skans, there was usually a dining table with benches on the sides bolted to the floor, but there was not enough space for everyone to sit at the table at the same time.[596] Besides being waterproof and keeping things more organized, the fact that the chest could also be used as a chair or a table gave it an advantage over the duffel bag.[597] The duffel bag was made of sailcloth using sail thread. The bag was about 1.5 metres long, 50 to 60 cm wide and it had a round, double bottom. The mouth of the bag had brass hoops and a lock. The handles at both ends were made from cotton thread or sailing rope.[598]

Both the chest and the duffel bag represented the sailor's personality as well as his skills and expertise since the sailor often made or inherited his chest or his duffel bag.[599] The handles of

[593] Gösta Webe, 'Sjömanskistan', in *Sjöhistorisk Årsbok 1965-1966* (Stockholm: Föreningen Sveriges sjöfartsmuseum, 1967), 72; Heinonen and Vuoristo, *Antiikkikirja*, 94.
[594] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 67; TMT:210:791:TA. See also Lybeck, *Rauman merimiesväestö*, 154–55.
[595] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 8; informant 9; informant 23; informant 32; informant 64; informant 68; Webe, 'Sjömanskistan', 72–75; Webe, *Nautika: Sjöhistorisk Årsbok 1985-1986*, 205.
[596] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 8; informant 9; informant 16; informant 24; informant 37; informant 55; informant 77; informant 82; TMT:210:791:TA; TMT:184:665:TA; SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 226:16044. 1993.
[597] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 32; informant 34; informant 44; informant 45; informant 51; informant 73.
[598] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 7; informant 9; informant 17; informant 56.
[599] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 61; informant 64; informant 77; TMT:115:147/29:TA.

the chest or bag especially offered the best ways for a sailor to show off his skills and talent.[600] In the words of one respondent, "a good sailor would always make his seaman's bag himself and tried to make it as beautiful as possible because it was a matter of honour to have a beautiful bag."[601] Besides the decorative handles, the inside of the chest's lid could be decorated with a painting (usually a sailing ship, a life buoy, or an anchor, a heart and a cross) or the owner's initials were nailed to the top of the lid. According to Judith Flanders, these kinds of practices, which were ways of identifying with one's possession, had started in the Western world already at the end of the 16th century. Even in small and simple domestic settings "possessions were decorated, cupboards and chests were carved or painted in cheerful colours; they were considered worth making beautiful."[602] Sailors living in cramped, often dirty environments and whose lifestyle was quite irregular, or perhaps precisely because it was, wanted to make their chests as beautiful as possible. The chest and the bag portrayed its owner's mastery of skills and were a way for a sailor to take his place within the sailor community.

In her book *Antipodal England. Emigration and Portable Domesticity in the Victorian Imagination*, Janet C. Myers uses the concept of *portable domesticity* to refer to the domestic objects and practices that English emigrants travelling to Australia used both during their journey as well as when they were settling into their new place of residence. The aim of portable domesticity was to recreate and sustain familiar domestic spaces, practices and rituals and, through them, uphold their English identity abroad. This reproduction of middle-class domesticity was accomplished, for example, through the use of furniture and domestic items that were specifically designed for life in the cabin of the ship but most important was the domestic work done by women and the domestic values they embodied.[603] I propose to apply the concept of portable domesticity to analyse the domestic uses of the seaman's chest but in a manner in which the domesticity was not necessarily based on or stemmed from a specific class-based or national identity or ideal. I argue that the chest and its contents were the main way a sailor could build, sustain and practice domesticity on board as well as maintain a link to his home in Finland—be that his childhood home or his wife and children.

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[600] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 8; informant 10; informant 48.
[601] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 17. Original: "Hyvä merimies neuloi aina itse merimiessäkkinä ja koetti tehdä sen mahdollisimman kauniiksi sillä se oli kunnia asia olla kaunis säkki."
[602] Flanders, *The Making of Home*, 148–49.
[603] Janet C Myers, *Antipodal England: Emigration and Portable Domesticity in the Victorian Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009).

Sailors had to bring their own work clothes, bedclothes, dishes and cutlery with them and in some cases not even a mattress was provided by the ship.[604] Besides these items the contents of the sailor's chest and the duffel bag could include: better clothes (for going ashore), socks and underwear, sewing equipment, photographs of family members, wife or girlfriend, shaving equipment, pens, paper and envelopes for writing letters, towels, pillow cases, soap, mirror, a comb, handkerchiefs, clothes brush, shoe brush, matches, cigarettes, a book of hymns, a bible, books, tools for work (fixing and making sails, woodwork), a cap, a scarf, woolly socks, and souvenirs.[605] If a sailor had both a chest and a bag, usually he kept bedclothes, working clothes, oil or rain clothes, boots, and tools in the bag, and the more valuable, personal and intimate items were kept in the chest. Whereas the chest was both for transportation as well as storing possessions on board, the duffel bag was only for transportation.[606]

The different items found in a sailor's chest connected the sailor to the different domestic activities that were otherwise absent from the ship. Despite them being in isolated conditions for extended periods of time, the men held onto basic domestic practices. The Bible, for example, could be a reminder of domestic values and responsibilities and upholding the ritual of reading it on Sundays would have forged a link to weekly habits performed on land. The different items were linked to domestic comforts such as warmth, recreation, sociability, textiles, crafts or hygiene and taking care of one's appearance. The sense of familiarity, which the different items could carry, ranged from memories to personal routines embodied in muscle memory.[607]

The presence of shaving equipment in sailor's chests together with other items related to taking care of personal hygiene and appearances attests to the importance of taking care of one's appearance. Despite the fact that working-class people were often criticized by the upper classes

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[604] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 4; informant 5; informant 6; informant 29; informant 34; informant 37; informant 46; informant 56; informant 73; TMT:210:791:TA. A common set of dishes and cutlery included an enamel plate, an enamel mug, a knife, a fork, a spoon, a teaspoon, and a mess tin.
[605] TYKL/ K19&20: informant 7; informant 8; informant 9; informant 23; informant 26; informant 34; informant 32; informant 41; informant 45; informant 48; informant 61; informant 62; informant 64; informant 67; informant 68; informant 82; Webe, *Nautika: Sjöhistorisk Årsbok 1985-1986*, 206. The few probates of sailors included in the probate samples confirm that sailors mostly owned only clothes and small selection of personal items, see KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:40 Perukirjat (1885)/8319; Ec:43 Perukirjat (1888)/8816; 8820; Ec:60 Perukirjat (1902)/12842; Ec:70 Perukirjat (1907)/14459; Ec:149 (1929)/27432; Ec:159 (1930)/28915; Ec:170 (1931)/30286; Ec:176 (1932)/31217.
[606] TYKL/ K19&20: informant 45; informant 48; informant 51; informant 56; informant 62; informant 67; informant 14; informant 64.
[607] Warde, 'Consumption and Theories of Practice', 137 & 140.

for not observing high enough standards of hygiene, the evidence from the probates shows that not only sailors but generally bachelors had the capacity to care for personal hygiene even if they owned little else. Many sailors had a separate suit for going ashore. It was important for sailors to look good when they went out once they had reached the harbour and, in the words of Conley, "domesticity afloat contributed to maintaining domesticity ashore"—as well as masculine identity.[608] Similarly shaving was a domestic routine through which a man shaped his body according to the "expectations of male appearance" of his social class as well as his personal idea of himself as a man.[609] According to George L. Mosse, in the modern idea of masculinity, outward appearances were seen as a demonstration of a man's inner discipline.[610] The appropriate type of beard or clean-shaven face was thus also proof of a man's capacity to perform "the tasks expected of a man" and that he was in control of himself and his body.[611]

The chest itself was the focus of domestic attention: organizing the contents and cleaning the chest were one of the free time activities sailors engaged in. According to Knut Weibust, this activity was called *sailor's holiday* or *kisteförnöjelse* (chest enjoyment or amusement) and it usually took place on Sundays. The sailors would take out everything that was in the chest, repair what needed to be repaired, organize everything and place it back in the chest. As they went through all their things they could reminisce, where they had bought something or who had given it to them. In doing so they took a mental holiday from their work and the current ship. Weibust quotes a sailor's memoir: "the letters which lay in the locker were read yet again and the album of photographs looked through once again."[612] Both the contents and the chest itself could remind the sailor of his home and help him maintain a connection to it.[613] Photographs of family members are the clearest example of this, but maybe his mother or wife had packed the chest for him or given him some of the goods. If the chest was inherited from the sailor's father, it linked him to his family and their family's way of life. Souvenirs bought for loved ones told that the sailor was thinking about his family and of the anticipation of returning home.

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[608] Mary A. Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack: Representing Naval Manhood in the British Empire, 1870-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 129.
[609] Alun Withey, 'Shaving and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, no. 2 (2013): 235 & 239; Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 23.
[610] Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 59.
[611] Withey, 'Shaving and Masculinity', 229 & 238; Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 59.
[612] Weibust, *Deep Sea Sailors*, 108.
[613] Emma Robinson-Thomsett, ' 'So Having Ordered My Berth I Lay Me Down to Rest': Ships and Trains: Travelling Home', in *The Domestic Space Reader*, ed. Chiara Briganti and Kathy Mezei (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 275.

Flexible and temporal domesticity

Due to the limited amount of both possessions and space as well as the limited opportunities to acquire items, domestic items as well as space on board were used flexibly and temporally. Sailors, for example, dried their socks or pressed their trousers under their mattress or, when they were washing clothes used whatever vessels were suitable and at hand.[614] As with working-class housing generally, living spaces were crowded. In addition, the skans was a fairly dark space as the only sources of light were small windows, skylights or possible oil lamps.[615] The skans could get very cold or very hot depending on the weather and usually smelled of a combination of sweat, smoke, wet clothes, dampness, saltwater and tar.[616] As a consequence, many domestic tasks such as washing clothes or getting one's hair cut were done on deck.[617] Overall, a lot of the free time was spent on deck as long as the weather allowed it. Photographs from ships show men relaxing in hammocks, sitting and standing around, playing instruments, smoking, dancing, playing cards, or lying in the sun.[618] They exercised, boxed, fought with swords, or did gymnastics.[619] Also, religious services were held on deck.[620] The spaces on deck had multiple functions besides being the sailors' workplace as they were temporarily utilised for other uses: the deck functioned as the sailors living room, gym, dance hall, church, patio, barber shop, laundry room, and bathroom. Moreover, parts of the ship were re-appropriated if even for a short while: a side bar or stairs became a bench or a chair, or ropes became training equipment for gymnastics.

Typical mealtimes		Typical foods and dishes
5.30 or 6.30	Morning coffee	
8 or 8.30	Breakfast	coffee, dried rye bread, potatoes, salted herring, biscuits, porridge, leftovers from the previous day

[614] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 15; informant 44. In 'Meripoika se merta seilailee', the illustration shows a row of men washing laundry. One of them has a small wooden tub, two of them have buckets, and one of them has something that looks like a wooden box. See Koivistoinen, 'Meripoika se merta seelailee', 132.
[615] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 37; Digital photograph collections in Finna, collections of the Maritime Museum of Finland, SMK200627:958.
[616] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 42, informant 65; informant 67; informant 83; TMT:210:791:TA; Webe, *Nautika: Sjöhistorisk Årsbok 1985-1986*, 109. See also Lybeck, *Rauman merimiesväestö*, 154–55.
[617] Digitised photograph collections in Finna, collections of the Maritime Museum of Finland: SMK200414:707; SMK200414:748; SMK200316:26.
[618] Digitised photograph collections in Finna, collections of the Finnish Emigrant Museum: sv11990;, sv119504; sv119604; sv119704; collections of the Maritime Museum of Finland: SMK93039:33; SMK200412:838; collections of the Labour archive: TA22136.
[619] Digitised photograph collections in Finna, collections of the Maritime Museum of Finland: SMK200316:10; SMK88002:45; SMK200414:749.
[620] Digitised photograph collections in Finna, collections of the Maritime Museum of Finland, SMK97034:29.

12 am to 1 pm	Dinner	pea soup with pork meat, potato soup, meat soup, bean soup, raisin soup, rise porridge with syrup
Between 2.30 and 4	Coffee break	
Between 5.30 and 8 pm	Supper	tea, dried bread, biscuits, leftovers from dinner or the leftover soup was remade into a casserole by adding flour

Table 9. Typical mealtimes and typical foods and dishes served on board.[621]

Rationed food gave a further opportunity for sailors to employ flexible domestic strategies. Generally the respondents of the TYKL questionnaire described the food served on board as being bad, poor, one-sided, simple, "nothing to cheer for" or "nothing to speak positively about."[622] At its worst the food was "beyond all description" or "unsuitable for humans."[623] The low quality of the food was due to a lack of appropriate (cool) storage facilities, bulk-buying food stuffs for the whole sailing season in the spring and employing as cooks 13- to 16-year-old boys, who were on their first journey and most of whom had never cooked before.[624] Comparatively, food in Finnish and Scandinavian ships was of poor quality, while American ships were famous for having better food and larger portions.[625] Most common foods were dried potatoes and vegetables, salted meat, white and brown beans, canned meat, dried bread, or salted herring.[626] Typical meal times and served foods are presented in Table 9. On most ships, dinner was the main meal of the day and a typical dinner menu for a week would have looked like this: Monday meat soup, Tuesday bean soup, Wednesday meat soup, Thursday bean soup, Friday meat soup, Saturday rice porridge with syrup, Sunday raisin soup.[627] A speciality that was usually served on Saturdays and was the favourite food of many sailors was *lapskaus*

[621] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 4; informant 8; informant 9; informant 11; informant 14, informant 17; informant 25; informant 30; informant 32; informant 35; informant 37; informant 38; informant 41; informant 52; informant 58; informant 62; informant 67; informant 70; informant 76; informant 81; informant 82; HYKL/Keruutyö 133, D.
[622] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 2; informant 6; informant 4; informant 8; informant 18; informant 34; informant 44; informant 46; informant 48; informant 68; informant 52; informant 77; informant 79; HYKL/Keruutyö 133, A.
[623] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 5; informant 57.
[624] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 6; informant 34; informant 83; informant 3; informant 25; informant 28; informant 82; informant 36; informant 44; informant 68; informant 72; informant 77; informant 80; HYKL/Keruutyö 133, A; B. The law from 1893 stated that each sailor was to be given 4 kg of bread, 2 kg meat, 957 g pork meat, 875 g cereal, 500 g wheat flour, 840 g beans, 20 g tea, 180 g unburnt coffee, 400 g sugar, 350 g butter, potatoes and root vegetables in harbours and on voyages for as long as they lasted, and 4 litres of water for drinking and cooking a day. See for example H. D. P., 'Merikapitalistien palkkaorjat', *Työmies* 12.7.1910, 2–3.
[625] Lybeck, *Rauman merimiesväestö*, 166.
[626] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 9; informant 12; informant 14, informant 16; informant 17; informant 21; informant 23; informant 27; informant 41; informant 48; informant 82.
[627] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 14.

(Norwegian for stew), which was a mix of leftover potatoes, onion, and meat.[628] Despite many respondents recording that the food was poor or almost inedible, there are respondents who pointed out that the food served on ships was more varied and there was more of it than young men from poor families had been used to.[629]

Certain foods such as sugar, butter or margarine, condensed milk and pork meat were given only in the form of a rationed amount each week. Sugar and butter were given in rations of 250 to 500 grams per week with the most common amount being 400 or 450 grams per week.[630] The rations were usually handed out every Saturday and the sailors could use these rations as they pleased. Consequently, those sailors especially who came from families of agricultural or urban workers actually ate more meat, sugar and butter than they would have eaten in their childhood homes. In addition, the rations gave the men at least a little control over their food.[631] If you used your rations "carelessly" you would very soon have run out a long time before the next Saturday, but sailors used tactics to make the rations last as long as possible: the men would not, for example, spread butter or margarine onto bread if the meal contained a lot of fat or not use sugar in every cup of coffee.[632] However, as one respondents writes, sometimes one just wanted to treat oneself and eat a larger portion of the rations at one go even if it meant having less during the rest of the week.[633] These kinds of domestic strategies enabled the sailors to have some control in their everyday lives and, moreover, in this way food could be used to stimulate oneself not only physically but mentally: for example, by saving one's rations as a reward for the end of the week.

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[628] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 9; informant 30; informant 32; informant 36; informant 38; informant 62; informant 68; informant 76. The Finnish respondents used words such as *lapskoisi, lapskojsi, lapskoussi, lapskous, slapskousi,* and *lapskousu*.
[629] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 28; informant 39; informant 69; informant 78.
[630] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 6; informant 16; informant 18; informant 25; informant 30; informant 32; informant 36; informant 40; informant 52; informant 41; informant 67; informant 45; informant 76; informant 62; informant 72; informant 68; informant 78; informant 81.
[631] According to consumption statistics compiled by Heikkinen in 1905–1906 people in rural areas (farmers, agricultural workers, etc.) consumed, for example, 39 grams of butter per day (273 grams per week) or 32 grams of sugar or syrup per day (224 grams perweek). This category included both wealthier farmers and poorer workers, so the poorer families would have had less sugar and butter. For industrial workers in 1908–1909 the equivalent amounts were 34 and 46 grams (238 and 322 grams per week). See Sakari Heikkinen, 'Finnish Food Consumption 1860–1957', in Sakari Heikkinen and Johanna Maula, *Finnish Food Consumption 1860-1993* (Helsinki: National Consumer Research Centre, 1996), 25.
[632] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 23; informant 32.
[633] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 23.

As one of the main possible source of enjoyment, food was an important part of the atmosphere and comforts on board. Nonetheless, at the same time one had to accept that poor food was part of the lifestyle and that in such circumstances what mattered more than the taste of the food was that there was enough of it.[634] As one respondent pointed out, the quality of the food did not matter so much after a long day of hard work.[635] Besides, unlike for example logging workers, sailors only needed to take a seat when the meal was served and were able to enjoy more varied diets.[636] Still, some did run away from ship because of the low quality of the food or the crew would, for example, force the captain to change the cook.[637] What mattered was whether the food was bad because of poor weather conditions or because the captain or cook was trying to steal a part of the food money for himself.[638]

Sailorhood and communality

> I had been on this ship for almost 9 months, a few a lot longer and we had become like the members of the same family. - - That kind of feeling of sadness seemed to be the case for many, when we left the ship with our bags and each went his own way into the buzz of the big city. - - [returns to sea after working in a factory in America] It was like coming home again. The work was familiar, the people and language familiar and homely.[639]

> [after working on the same ship for almost 20 years] That ship in effect became my other home.[640]

For most of the respondents, home was where their family was: first with their parents and after marriage with their wife and children. Not many of the respondents talk about their relationship with home or their feelings towards their home. It might have been easier to write about specific events and describe life on board than to reflect upon how one felt.[641] Yet, as the quotations above exemplify, at least some of the respondents did develop emotional attachments to their co-workers, to the places they visited often and to life on ship. Although, according to Weibust,

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[634] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 21; informant 29; informant 28; informant 32; informant 36; informant 56; informant 60.
[635] HYKL/Keruutyö 133, B.
[636] TMT:171:541/17:TA, 17; TYKL/kys/10: informant 1; informant 3; Snellman, *Tukkilaisten tulo ja lähtö*, 147–50.
[637] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 3; informant 71.
[638] Weibust, *Deep Sea Sailors*, 408.
[639] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 39. Original: ” ”Olin ollut tällä laivalla lähes 9 kuukautta, muutamat paljon kauemmin ja olimme tulleet kuin saman perheen jäseniksi. - - Sellaista ikävän tunnetta siinä monen kohdalla näytti olevan, kun säkkeinemme lähdimme laivasta ja kukin tahollemme sekaannuimme suurkaupungin [New York] hälinään. - - Oli taas kuin olisi kotiin tullut. Työ oli tuttua, väki ja puhekieli tunnettua ja kotoista.”
[640] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 43. Original: ” Tuosta laivasta tuli oikeastaan toinen kotini.”
[641] See also Weibust, *Deep Sea Sailors*, 145.

sailors did feel strongly attached to specific ships, more often than not it would be more apt to say that a sailor felt that he belonged to sailorhood.[642] Key for the development of this sense of belonging was the occupational community and its components: comradeship and solidarity, masculinity that was attainable as well as shared material circumstances, traditions and culture including rituals, sayings and language, stories and legends.[643] This belonging was not tied to a specific place but to the general sailor community or cultural and occupational space. Co-workers could become one's family as described by the sailor in the first quotation above.

"First and foremost a feeling of pleasantness is created by mutual comradeship."[644] Many respondents mention good comradeship and group spirit as being important to how good a sailor considered the quality of life on a specific ship to be—even more important than the material conditions.[645] This communality functioned as a form of group control within which disputes were settled.[646] Beyond the ship, colleagues would help each other in harbours if someone, for example, got into trouble.[647] Solidarity was generally strong within the profession even if sailors did not personally know each other: for example, sailors often gave unemployed colleagues food and money. It was important to help those in need since nobody ever knew when they would be in the same position.[648]

Communality and comradeship were created through shared professional identity, working hard together and the sharing of dangers as well as poor conditions.[649] Sailorhood, the shared understanding among sailors of what it took to be a proper sailor, was built on seamanship, physical strength and psychological endurance.[650] A sailor needed to be healthy, strong, not easily frightened, and prepared for hardships. Two of the respondents mentioned *sisu*, which is

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[642] Weibust, 34–37.
[643] See Sager, *Seafaring Labour*, 231, 239 & 243–44. Hinkkanen has discussed the common culture of sailors and their culturally and socially created world view by using the concept of mentality. See Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen, 'A Survey of the Mentality of Finnish Merchant Sailors at the Turn of the Century', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 14, no. 4 (1989): 299–309. See also Marco Antonsich, 'Searching for Belonging – An Analytical Framework', *Geography Compass* 4, no. 6 (2010): 648; Anne-Marie Fortier, 'Re-Membering Places and the Performance of Belonging(s)', *Theory, Culture & Society* 16, no. 2 (1999): 42; Jane Hamlett and Rebecca Preston, '"A Veritable Palace for the Hard-Working Labourer?" Space, Material Culture and Inmate Experience in London's Rowton Houses, 1892-1918', in *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1725-1970*, ed. Lesley Hoskins and Rebecca Preston (London ; New York: Routledge, 2015), 103.
[644] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 43. Original: "Ennen kaikkea suovat viihtyisyyden keskinäinen toverihenki."
[645] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 32; informant 43; informant 55; informant 67; informant 84.
[646] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 7; informant 70.
[647] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 12.
[648] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 11; informant 17.
[649] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 44. See also Weibust, *Deep Sea Sailors*, 443.
[650] Weibust, 259; Koivistoinen, 'Purjeiden aika', 9.

a Finnish word that is hard to translate but which refers more to mental than physical stamina, endurance and determinedness. Part of the sailor's life was to endure the hard work, difficult circumstances, poor living conditions and food without complaining.[651] Already on their first trip, the boys were made to climb to the top of the main mast to show that they were not afraid and had what it took to become a sailor. Through learning not only the skills, knowledge, and language but also the everyday practices of sailor culture, a ship *boy* or *jungman* became an actual sailor or sea*man*.[652]

> The sailor's profession is indeed a very important profession, but requires a very particular character. Not all mama's boys can do it since it requires quite a lot of enthusiasm and *sisu*.[653]

> In terms of sailorhood as a profession, I would be ready to start everything from the beginning if I was young, it indeed is a real men's profession. It requires health, but it also keeps a man healthy. During the period of sailing ships, it made your arms steel, strengthened all your muscles and grew your *sisu* and courage.[654]

Sailors built their masculine identity in contrast to all other men through their workmanship, *sisu* and ability to triumph over both the poor conditions and the dangers of the sea. As the Finnish saying went, a sailor was a different type of man ("*merimies on erimies*").[655] According to the respondents, being a sailor was a man's job, a profession for manly men and a real man's profession.[656] One needed to be a proper, manly man to become a sailor but being a sailor also made one more of a man. Interestingly, according to one respondent, personal manliness (*miehekkyys*) was also what made a sailor resist the temptations of home and comfort and to return to a life at sea.[657]

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[651] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 67; informant 84.
[652] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 23. See also Hinkkanen, 'A Survey of the Mentality of Finnish Merchant Sailors', 305; Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, 'Dangerous Work, Hard Men and Broken Bodies: Masculinity in the Clydeside Heavy Industries, C. 1930-1970s', *Labour History Review* 69, no. 2 (August 2004): 139.
[653] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 82, italics LN. Original: "Merimiesammatti on kyllä hyvin tärkeä ammatti, mutta vaatii aivan erityistä luonnetta. Ei siihen kaikki mamman pojat kykene, vaan vaati se aikatavalla innostusta ja sisua."
[654] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 83, italics LN. Original: "Mitä merimies-ammattiin tulee olisin valmis aloittamaan kaiken alusta, jos olisin nuori, kyllä se on oikea miesten ammatti. Se vaatii terveyttä, mutta se myös pitää miehen terveenä. Purjelaiva-aikoina se antoi terästä käsivarsiin, voimisti kaikkia lihaksia ja kasvatti sisua ja rohkeutta."
[655] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (Harlow, England; New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), 105; Ellis, ''Boys, Semi-Men and Bearded Scholars'', 267 & 277. See also Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 75–76.
[656] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 7; informant 9; informant 48; informant 83; informant 59; informant 82.
[657] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 72.

In terms of emphasizing working skills and capacity, sailor masculinity was in line with contemporary definitions of rural masculinity. Like propertyless rural workers, sailors could not base their masculinity on landownership, the economic autonomy provided by it, or acting as the head of their own household. They placed their working capacity and sense of independence at the centre of their masculinity.[658] Also among other travelling or precarious workers, such as logging and rafting workers or harbour workers, freedom and independence were presented as one of the main positive sides of the profession.[659] This freedom discourse could be seen as a strategy for these different men to be able to adapt to the irregular availability of work or the difficult working conditions. The men linked masculinity to their claim that they were their own masters as well as to the physical and emotional strength that enabled them to carry out their duties. In the oral history writings, focusing on adventures, legends and stories of what happened could have been a way to emphasize the survival abilities of the respondents. By describing how they did not simply stay in a ship and suffer the poor conditions, injustices or bad treatment but escaped and changed ships, the respondents underlined the control they had had over their lives.

As in the second quotation above, several of the respondents juxtaposed the idea of the old days to nowadays, this being the 1960s when the writings were collected. This juxtaposition in regard to time usually coincides with a juxtaposition between sailing ships and the steam ships that had replaced them. The respondents maintained that even though life on sailing ships was hard and monotonous, one did not complain in those days, one took it as it was, whereas in the 1960s sailors complained constantly and were unhappy even though their life was so much easier. In the old sailors' eyes the men working on steam ships were spoiled and no longer proper sailors.[660] They did not have the right kind of attitude towards life at sea, which meant that they were not the kinds of men the respondents had been and they could not lay claim to the kind of sailor masculinity described above. The respondents made several references to a song written in 1952, the most famous line of which was: "*Before were men made of iron / ships were made*

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[658] Ahlbäck, *Soldiering and the Making of Finnish Manhood*, 15–18.
[659] SKS KRA. Oksanen, Anton Jätkät 14:18. 1969; SKS KRA. Tervo, Aimo Jätkät 20:Metsätyömiehen elämän valopuolia- kirjoitus, 1. 1969; SKS KRA. Karhu, Väinö Jätkät 5: 3. 1969; SKS KRA. Kähkölä, Olli Jätkät 9:102. 1969; SKS KRA. Rutanen, Kalle Jätkät 17:9. 1969; SKS KRA. Penannen, Toivo Jätkät 15: 6. 1969; Tapio Bergholm, '"Harmajan jälkeen olemme kaikki poikamiehiä": Vielä kerran kuljetustyöläisten poikamieskulttuurista', in *Työläisperhe arjessa ja kriiseissä*, ed. Kirsi-Maria Hytönen and Tuomas Laine-Frigren, Väki Voimakas 28 (Helsinki: Työväen historian ja perinteen tutkimuksen seura, 2015), 120; Tapio Bergholm, *Ammattiliiton nousu ja tuho: kuljetusalan ammattiyhdistystoiminta ja työmarkkinasuhteiden murros 1944-1949* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura; Työministeriö, 1997), 37.
[660] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 9; informant 44; informant 45; informant 51; informant 73.

of wood hii-o hoi! / Of wood are men now and ships are made of iron hii-o hoi! Hii-o hoi!"[661] However, we need to take into account the position of the respondents and the time of writing, especially in instances like these when the writers build a strong juxtaposition between their present day and "the good old days." It is as if the respondents are romanticising the conditions they had to endure and at the same time their own youth. By emphasising the link between masculinity and the dire conditions on board in opposition to the post-war situation, they are justifying and making understandable the conditions they had to endure. This also functions as a way to strengthen their own masculine sailor identity as well as their claims of seamanship: replacing sailing ships completely with steamships and the technological advancements that accompanied that change meant that many of the seaman's skills that the respondents had learned were no longer at the core of the profession.[662]

Communal domesticity

In her book on naval manhood in turn of the 20th century Britain, Mary A. Conley has stated that on board "homosociality was domesticity."[663] In a similar vein, I argue that a large part of the domesticity on board was, indeed, communal and that this *communal domesticity*—that is, the continuous participation in and performance of shared everyday practices—contributed to the formation of communality and belonging among sailors.[664] Many of the on-board domestic tasks, such as washing clothes or cleaning, were performed together with other crewmembers. Free time activities strengthened the bonds among the men: they shared songs and stories but personal items such as instruments or playing cards also helped create a sense of community by providing shared entertainment.[665] Borrowing items from other men was common and everything was shared between crewmembers from soap and mugs to combs and sewing equipment whether you liked the other person or not.[666] Borrowing was a form of solidarity among the men but also a necessity forced on them by the scarcity of items as well as the

[661] In Finnish: "Ennen oli miehet rautaa / laivat oli puuta hii-o hoi! / Puuta ovat miehet nyt ja laivat ovat rautaa hii-o hoi! Hii-o hoi!", from Laivat puuta, miehet rautaa, a song written by Reino Helismaa in 1952.
[662] In his research on the written oral history data produced by (former) logging workers, Jyrki Pöysä similarly found that older logging workers criticized younger logging workers for having an easier life as way to criticize the changes brought on by machines and to heroise their own sufferings, see Pöysä, *Jätkän synty*, 47.
[663] Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack*, 129.
[664] Kathleen Mee, 'A Space to Care, a Space of Care: Public Housing, Belonging, and Care in Inner Newcastle, Australia', *Environment and Planning A* 41, no. 4 (2009): 842–44; Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Belonging and the Politics of Belonging', *Patterns of Prejudice* 40, no. 3 (2006): 203; Tovi Fenster, 'Gender and the City: The Different Formations of Belonging', in *A Companion to Feminist Geography*, ed. Lise Nelson and Joni Seager (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 242–43 & 249.
[665] Webe, *Nautika: Sjöhistorisk Årsbok 1985-1986*, 109.
[666] Weibust, *Deep Sea Sailors*, 193.

lifestyle in which men would sell their possessions to obtain money during times of unemployment.

A further element of the communal domesticity, not only among sailors but also, for example, among logging workers was the unwritten rules and shared understanding of appropriate behaviour.[667] The different unwritten rules about domestic practices and customs were a way to deal with the fact that people shared a small living space. They made everyday life more manageable and consequently created a greater sense of familiarity and stability.[668] In the different types of homes discussed in Chapter 5, these aspects, which were necessary for the cohabitation of larger groups of people to function, were enforced or at least formalised in the rules of the homes. In the context of sailors or logging workers, such practices and values were, in turn, a part of the established traditions and practices, the culture, of the occupational groups. For example, because there was so little space in the cabins of logging workers, the men were very conscious and strict about personal boundaries. 19-year-old Eino K. went on his first logging trip in Eastern Finland in 1929 together with the father of his neighbouring house and his two adult sons. He recalls what happened when they arrived at the cabin of their worksite:

> The first thing was to see where on the berth one wanted to sleep. There was room to choose, because there were no former inhabitants. Being close to the stove was tempting and so we reserved places from the middle of the cabin, near the side window. The side of the door remained empty, and some places next to the rear wall on both sides of the other window and the table. The stove was between the berths in the middle of the cabin and at least it would be warm there even when it was minus degrees. We did not trust the stove's ability to give warmth to the side of the door or on the rear side, especially since the cabin had just been finished and the walls were damp, and the ground beneath the cabin had not had time to warm up during the few days of heating.
>
> Each horsehold[669] with its men chose places next to each other, this way one got familiar neighbours. After reserving the places and the loads had arrived, we brought in the equipment. This was placed under the berth. There was no other space, except for the things one needed in the bed and those that one had on. Tools, pots and pans were left outside. The loads were unloaded and welcome coffee made outside on the fire, which became our cooking place.[670]

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[667] For the case of logging workers, see Pöysä, *Jätkän synty*, 189.
[668] Kaj Ilmonen, *Johan on markkinat: kulutuksen sosiologista tarkastelua* (Tampere: Vastapaino, 2007), 199–202; Kaj Ilmonen, 'Sociology, Consumption and Routine', in *Ordinary Concumption*, ed. Jukka Gronow and Alan Warde (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), 14 & 17.
[669] A horsehold (*hevoskunta* in Finnish) here refers to the work unit formed by the man who was responsible for the horse and transporting the felled trees and by men who felled the trees.
[670] Eino Keronen, 'Kämpällä: Ensimmäinen savotta', in *Leivän tähden: suomalaisen työn historiaa*, ed. Pekka Laaksonen, Laura Junnila and Juha Nirkko (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1995), 27. Original: "Ensimmäinen asia oli katsoa riksiltä eli laverilta, mihin sijoitetaan vakituinen olotila, petin paikka. Valinnan varaa oli koska entisiä asukkaita ei ollut. Kaminan läheisyys oli houkutteleva ja niinpä varasimme paikat kämpän keskikohdalta, sivuakkunan läheltä. Ovensuupuoli jäi tyhjäksi vielä, ja muutamia paikkoja peräseinän viereen toisen akkunan ja pöydä kahden puolen. Kamina oli riksien välissä kämpän keskikohdalla ja siinä oli

Sailors each had their own bunks, but Eino's description exemplifies how important the sleeping arrangements were also in a cabin, especially everyone having his own place. Despite or precisely because everyone had to sleep side by side, the men were not indifferent as to whom they had to sleep next to: "The young ones kicked in their sleep, someone was a terrible snorer, some coughed a lot so that you could not sleep."[671] The competition about the places that were considered the best could be fierce and nobody in a skans or in a cabin wanted to sleep too far away from the stove or too close to the door. Warmth from the stove was not distributed evenly and especially during the winter it was not sufficient to properly warm the whole space: former sailors recounted how their shirts or hair could freeze to the wall of the space when they slept.[672]

Among logging workers, men slept in the same place throughout the season, and, once somebody had reserved a spot on the berth for himself, that made it his private space, which the others had to respect:

> Once an unknown or new man came to the cabin and taken someone else's place on the berth. The owner of the spot asked the man to leave but when he did not the old man took out his knife and said do I bloody have to do twelve years [in prison for killing a man]. Then the stranger found his way out of his spot.[673]

For the men to be able to keep some kind of order and achieve a level of domestic comfort in a very rudimentary environment it was essential that everybody followed the same shared practices and respected each other. Nobody was allowed to deliberately move or touch another person's belongings: among logging workers it was forbidden to move other people's clothes that were drying or a cooking ladle that was placed on the fire.[674] Sailors left their chest unlocked while on board since locking it would have been a sign of mistrust.[675] At logging cabins, urinating was to happen outside only in an allocated place instead of all over the area

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ainakin lämmin pakkasellakin. Emme luottaneet kaminan tehon lämmönantajana ovensuussa ja peräpuolella, varsinkin kun kämppä oli juuri valmistunut ja seinät kosteat, eikä maaperä vielä ollut ehtinyt kämpän alla tarpeeksi lämmitä muutamien lämmityspäivien aikana. Kukin hevoskunta miehineen valitsi vierekkäiset paikat, saihan näin tutut vieruskaverit. Paikkojen tultua varatuksi ja kuormien saavuttua perille, tuotiin sisään varusteet. Niiden paikka oli riksin alla. Muuta tilaa ei juuri ollut, paitsi niille mitä petillä ja yllä tarvittiin. Työkalut, padat ja pannut saivat jäädä ulos. Kuormat purettiin ja tuliaiskahvit keitettiin ulkona nuotiolla, joka myös tuli keittopaikaksi."

[671] SKS KRA. Hillukka, Jouko Jätkät 3: 13. 1969.

[672] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 9; informant 42; informant 67.

[673] SKS KRA. Kauppinen, Matti Jätkät 6:13. 1969. Original: "Kerran oli tullut vieras tai uusi mies kämpille ja menny toisen petille nukkumaan. Petin omistaja pyyti miestä lähtemään pois vaan mies ei heti lähteny niin ukko nykäs puukon tupesta ja sano että helevetillä pitääkö tehä kakstoista vuotta. Silloin vieras osas tois ukon petiltä."

[674] SKS KRA. Mäkelä, Juho Jätkät 13:2. 1969.

[675] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 8.

and definitely not next to the cabin, the men had to clear the snowfrom their clothes before entering the cabin, and everybody had to take turns at the general tasks such as chopping wood, heating the stove or fetching water.[676] Stealing was strongly condemned among both sailors and logging workers because the men had to be able to trust that they could leave their belongings in the skans or cabin. If somebody was, for example, caught stealing, the men among themselves decreed the punishment.[677]

Comparing travelling workers or even lodgers to bachelors, who lived in their boxes or bigger apartments, highlights the class differences between bachelors but also how everyday life was a very different kind of *bodily* experience. In the skans and in the forest cabins, men slept up against the bodies of other men, there would have been less fresh air, light, warmth, or opportunities for washing, or their diets would have been more monotonous. Privacy, personal space and hygiene were luxuries not everyone could afford or had access to but the examples above demonstrate how travelling workers were not necessarily indifferent towards ideas about differentiation, personal private space, separation or hygiene. Nonetheless, they had to implement and exercise such principles and ideas flexibly within the limitations posed by their everyday circumstances by, for example, respecting invisible boundaries or allocating specific spots for specific functions. Furthermore, even if it was harder for some people to have their privacy, this does not mean it was not sought after.[678] For example, working-class men's desire to move to their own room even if it was shared with another bachelor, tells us of the desire for a higher degree of privacy even among the lower classes, who were not used to having their own room. Both this desire to move from lodgings to a shared box as well as respecting people's personal space among mobile workers demonstrate that privacy was not so much about enclosed spaces or aloneness but about autonomy, independence and individuality; about having control over one's own space and possessions, no matter how limited this personal space was.[679] The unwritten rules and customs of forest cabins and skans represented exactly these kinds of 'everyday tactics' or practices of gaining control.[680]

[676] SKS KRA. Mäkelä, Juho Jätkät 13:2. 1969.
[677] SKS KRA. Mäkelä, Juho Jätkät 13:2. 1969; SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 226: 16046. 1993.
[678] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 26.
[679] Vickery, 28 & 45–46. See also Douglas, 'The Idea of a Home', 289.
[680] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 46.

Bachelor sailors?

Due to the conditions on board, in public discussions sailors were seen to be in need of a home. However, instead of pushing for improving the living quarters of ships, sailors' homes (discussed in the following chapter) were offered as a means to counteract these negative effects. Sailors' living conditions did not have to be fundamentally problematized since contemporaries equated sailorhood with bachelorhood and enduring these conditions was therefore only temporary, a part of a temporary phase of life.

In previous research, sailors have often been presented as young men who worked in the profession for a couple of years before moving onto something else.[681] Historians have also situated sailors and, for example, harbour workers as part of an urban "bachelor culture" or characterized their lifestyle as "bachelor culture." George Chauncey refers to "what several historians and sociologists have rather ambiguously termed a "bachelor subculture"" when he discusses both married and unmarried men in New York, who spent most of their time with other men, including sailors and other transient workers.[682] Within the Finnish context, Tapio Bergholm and Kari Teräs have labelled the lifestyle of harbour workers as "bachelor culture" (*poikamieskulttuuri*) because of the irregular nature of their lifestyle—despite the fact that some of them were married.[683] Besides the uncertainty and seasonality of their work, Bergholm bases his characterisation on the harbour workers' "loose" life situation, using money outside the "family economy", having sex with prostitutes, and "using their freedom for their own pleasure."[684] In the contemporary public's mind, sailors' behaviour ashore in sailortowns drinking, partying, gambling, sleeping with prostitutes, and spending money without a thought for the future especially represented activities associated with bachelorhood.

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[681] Pirita Frigren, *Kotisatamassa: merimiesten vaimot, naisten toimijuus ja perheiden toimeentuloehdot 1800-luvun suomalaisessa rannikkokaupungissa* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 2016), 93; Soukola, *Riistorauhaa rikkomassa*, 13; Kaukiainen, 'Johdanto – Suomalaisen merimiehen kolme vuosisataa', 9. See also Robert Lee, 'The Seafarers' Urban World: A Critical Review', *International Journal of Maritime History* 25, no. 1 (2013): 25.

[682] George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 76–77. Chauncey does not, however, specify which historians and sociologists he means. Out of all the different bachelor contexts discussed in this thesis, the time sailors spent ashore and the variety of services they used in port towns is the one that most closely resembles the urban bachelor culture that is at the centre of Chudacoff's *The Age of the Bachelor*.

[683] Kari Teräs, 'Hampuuseista ahtaajiksi - käsipelistä konetyöhön: Satamatyön kehitys', in *Turun sataman historia*, ed. Jussi T Lappalainen (Turku: Turun satama, 1999), 251; Bergholm, *Ammattiliiton nousu ja tuho*, 36; Tapio Bergholm, 'Satamien kova miehisyys', in *Miestä rakennetaan, maskuliinisuuksia puretaan*, ed. Jorma Sipilä and Arto Tiihonen (Tampere: Vastapaino, 1994), 57.

[684] Bergholm, *Ammattiliiton nousu ja tuho*, 35–37.

On the one hand, in many respects sailors could indeed have lived a life that corresponded with a stereotypical idea of a bachelor lifestyle. Sailors were free to do what they wanted and to go where they wanted, especially since changing ships seems to have been fairly easy and contracts were not very long. At least for some the sea represented freedom, a state of being unattached and of not having to make long-term decisions about one's life. Land, to the contrary, represented settling down and growing up by taking responsibility. Sailors spent all of their time in male groups, and even if a sailor did have a family he could 'live the life of a bachelor'.

> There was money, there was drink, there were women. There were new harbours, drinking and fighting. All that real sailor's life of the time.[685]

According to the oral history writings, a further element of sailorhood and sailor masculinity was the "rougher" entertainment ashore that sailors allegedly needed as a counterpart to their hard and dangerous life at sea. Many respondents repeated the reasoning, either as their own or as said by someone else, that it was natural or understandable that after spending months in close quarters with the same people, with little amusement, eating simple food, working hard and fighting against the dangers of the ocean, a sailor wanted to let loose, to find entertainment and have some fun once he had reached the harbour.[686] One respondent describes how one of his co-workers had told him that "hard work requires rough fun."[687] The fact that the above reasoning is repeated so many times exposes the prevalence of the custom as well as the presumption that every sailor accepted it and even took part in it. According to Weibust, the point made by many sailors' aphorisms was "that a fully experienced sailor must not only have rounded the Horn, but also have slept with girls a certain number of times."[688] Men were not ashamed of going to brothels or of the fact that they had contracted a venereal disease as a result.[689] Admiration for such adventures meant that stories were often actually exaggerated versions of what had actually happened.[690] Emphasizing the multitude of one's sexual relations

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[685] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 30. Original: "Oli rahaa, oli juotavaa, oli naisia. Oli uusia satamia ryyppäämistä ja tappelua. Kaikkea senaikaista oikeaa merimiehen elämää."
[686] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 6; informant 55; informant 58; informant 66; informant 24; informant 51; TMT:210:791:TA. Hinkkanen has argued that in the context of sailor mentality "the riotous life ashore can be interpreted as a response to the hard discipline and heavy working conditions on board". See Hinkkanen, 'A Survey of the Mentality of Finnish Merchant Sailors', 307.
[687] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 24. Similar phrases and sentiments existed also among logging and rafting workers, see for example SKS KRA. Ala-Anttila, Mikko Jätkät 1: 3. 1969; SKS KRA. Helttunen, Kalle Jätkät 3:6–7. 1969; SKS KRA. Keronen, Eero Jätkät 11:7. 1969; SKS KRA. Lumme, Ossi Jätkät 11:4. 1969; SKS KRA. Tervo, Aimo Jätkät 20:8. 1969.
[688] Weibust, *Deep Sea Sailors*, 203.
[689] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 77.
[690] TMT:210:791:TA.

worked to strengthened one's identity as a man within the mostly homosocial world sailors lived in, firstly, by demonstrating one's virility, and, secondly, by representing the control which one, as a man, held over women.[691]

The part that alcohol and sex played in definitions of seamanhood is also apparent in the different kinds of rites of passage that were a part of the process in which a young boy became a sailor and a man on his first journey. The most common of these rites required those, who were on their first voyage, to buy a round of drinks for the whole crew after passing the Kullaberg peninsula on the south-west coast of Sweden.[692] This rite was called *kulliviinat* in Finnish with "kulli" being an abbreviation of Kullaberg but also a word that in colloquial Finnish refers to men's genitalia. The other part of the Finnish term, *viinat*, means "drinks". In another tradition, apparently specific to the area of Koivisto, the testicles of the cook boy were tarred when he slept.[693] The older sailors did not solely teach the young boys about the skills a sailor needed on board but also introduced them to the practices of bars and brothels. The writings include stories of boys having a drink for the first time, being surprised that they are even being served beer as they are underage, or being taken to a brothel but being too nervous to do anything.[694] According to one respondent, "the older sailors took it as their rightful duty to show the green seaboy all the possible forms of entertainment."[695]

However, we could, on the other hand, ask whether phrases such as "rough work requires rough pleasures" could also be interpreted to reflect the harsh realities of low pay, job uncertainty, distance from family and the simple and sometimes quite makeshift nature of the living conditions. Such realities did not necessarily encourage saving or investing in a home if the men saw no possibilities of improving their lives. Emphasizing the freedom of seafaring or other mobile professions could be seen as a coping mechanism in the face of circumstances or structures one felt one had little control over or chances of changing.[696] While we should not evaluate the domesticity of working-class men from the perspective of middle-class ideals nor

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[691] Margaret S. Creighton, 'American Mariners and the Rites of Manhood, 1830-1870', in *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour*, ed. Colin Howell and Richard J. Twomey (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 1991), 158–59.
[692] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 52; informant 4; informant 10; TMT:322:1631:TA; Koivistoinen, 'Meripoika se merta seelailee', 103.
[693] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 10.
[694] TMT:319:1571:TA.
[695] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 77.
[696] Hinkkanen, 'Land Amidst the Sea', 187.

underestimate the amount of agency they had over their lives, neither should we forget the economic, social and cultural structures that heavily influenced their circumstances and the opportunities available to them.[697] Bachelors describe suffering from hunger, eating very simple diets, or sleeping in random corners of buildings because they could not afford better.[698] Seasonal or temporary jobs were available in many sectors but a lack of a permanent position inevitably meant periods of unemployment. This created a vicious circle in which savings were spent on survival during these times of unemployment and the men were forced to take any job that was available given their empty pockets.[699] The transient lifestyle that such mobile workers led was thus very different in comparison with the cosmopolitan mobility of, for example, composer Erkki Melartin, who travelled around Europe for work, health and pleasure.

> Several of the men did indeed succumb to alcohol and then he goes to the bar and after sitting there for a while and after becoming drunk he even succumbs to a woman's company.[700]

> There are of course a lot of people among seafarers who provide for their families and who spend no money on bars and brothels. But again there is a portion which allows all its money to go to these establishments.[701]

Moreover, several respondents wanted to distance themselves from the image of a drunken sailor visiting prostitutes. They did this by using different strategies: 1. they underlined their own sobriety or their distaste for people who drank; 2. they stated that they used very little alcohol, had only tried it once or only at the beginning of their time at sea; or 3. when they talked about the use of alcohol and visiting bars they framed it as an activity undertaken by other people, "many men", "many", "several", "a part", but not the respondent himself.[702] But, while drinking could indeed be seen or presented as something natural or understandable especially right after a long voyage, excessive use of alcohol was also seen as a sign of weakness and as unmanly. There existed a divide in the oral history writings between those, who were

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[697] Sheller and Urry as well as Cresswell have pointed out how mobility should not automatically be equated with freedom. See Sheller and Urry, 'The New Mobilities Paradigm', 211; Tim Cresswell, 'Towards a Politics of Mobility', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28, no. 1 (2010): 22.
[698] TYKL/kys/17: informant 1, 87–88 & 92; informant 3, 29; SKS KRA. Eläköön mies 4: 5440. 1993; TMT:10:14/1:TA, 15–16.
[699] For example SKS KRA. Leinonen, Matti Jätkät 10: 38–39. 1969.
[700] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 31. Original: "Osa miehistä sortuu kyllä alkoholin pariin ja silloin mennään kapakkaan ja siellä aikansa istuttuaan ja tultuaan humalaan hän vielä sortuu naisten seuraan."
[701] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 54. Original: "On tietenkin merenkulkijoissa paljon väkeä jotka huolehtivat perheidensä toimeentulosta joilta ei liikene rahoja kapakoihin ja bordelleihin. Mutta on taas yksi osa joka antaa kaiken palkkansa mennä niihin laitoksiin."
[702] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 6; informant 4; informant 25; informant 31; informant 36; informant 42; informant 52; informant 54; informant 66; informant 72. See also Valerie Burton, 'The Myth of Bachelor Jack: Masculinity, Patriarchy and Seafaring Labour', in *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour*, ed. Colin Howell and Richard J. Twomey (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 1991), 188/footnote 32.

smart and strong enough not to waste their money on alcohol and those who had a weak character and let themselves be fooled and taken advantage of by the owners and managers of clubs and bars:[703] "- - the sailor profession is not suitable for every type of person. A man has to have good morals and a strong backbone in order to defeat the temptations that await."[704] A man was someone who could control his behaviour, take care of himself and not become a burden on others. Most importantly a man had to be able to take care of and provide for his family: he put the needs of his wife and children above his lust for personal pleasures.[705]

A sailor's relationship to both home and masculinity changed throughout his life and career depending not only on his age but also his professional and family situation.[706] Heather Ellis's proposition that we explore how ideal 'manliness' was "constructed primarily in opposition to boyishness, rather than overtly gendered ideas of femininity or effeminacy" can be useful in trying to understand and analyse the different forms of masculinity that prevailed among Finnish sailors.[707] Already in order to become a "real" sailor and a man, a boy or young man needed to master certain skills and knowledge as well as masculine attributes. Later in their lives, the changing professional roles as well as changes in personal lives led to changes in ideas about how a man should behave.

While for some men working as a sailor was indeed only a phase when they were young and unmarried, many stayed in the profession and some even educated themselves and became officers and eventually captains. 67% of the respondents of the TYKL-questionnaire had indeed

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[703] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 31; informant 72; informant 36; informant 52; informant 54; informant 66.
[704] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 21. Original: "- - ei merimiesala sovi kaikille luonteille. Pitää olla hyvä siveellinen ryhti ja vahva selkäranka miehellä, että voittaa siellä olevat kiusaukset."
[705] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 17; informant 21; informant 39; informant 44; informant 54. Yet, again we must remember the time and the position in which the respondents were writing from as older men and often as captains or officers as well as fathers. This might have made them more prone to condemn than if they had been writing when they were young sailors. These responses are also very much in line with those put forward in the articles and opinions that condemned such actions. The respondents might have adopted these arguments or felt that they had to disapprove of such stereotypical behaviour. When using written oral history data, it is necessary to consider why the respondent writes as he does and one of the factors that might have influenced the respondents' writing was the fact they knew the material would be read by university researchers. See Pöysä, *Jätkän synty*, 49; Kirsi Laurén, 'Kirjoitetun kokemuksen kiehtovuus', in *Vaeltavat metodit*, ed. Jyrki Pöysä, Helmi Järviluoma, and Sinikka Vakimo, vol. 8, Kultaneito (Joensuu: Suomen kansantietouden tutkijain seura, 2010), 437; Riitta Matilainen, 'Oral History Data in Gambling Studies', in *Gambling in Finland: Themes and Data for Qualitative Research*, ed. Pauliina Raento (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2014), 164 & 170; Hynninen, 'Elämää kerroksittain: Arkistokirjoittamisen kontekstualisointi', 268; Kirsi-Maria Hytönen, *Ei elämääni lomia mahtunut: naisten muistelukerrontaa palkkatyöstä talvi- ja jatkosotien ja jälleenrakennuksen aikana*, vol. 13, Kultaneito (Joensuu: Suomen kansantietouden tutkijain seura, 2014), 47–48.
[706] Kennerley, 'British Merchant Seafarers', 130; Creighton, 'American Mariners', 147.
[707] Ellis, ''Boys, Semi-Men and Bearded Scholars'', 267.

been young, 14 to 19 years old, when they started as a sailor, but altogether 63 out of the 78 respondents who reported their profession worked in a profession related to the sea: 31 were sea captains, 10 were engineers on steam ships and 10 simply wrote "sailor."[708] Some of the respondents had chosen the life of a sailor exactly because it was one of the few possibilities a boy with a working-class or poorer background had of educating himself and moving up the social ladder.[709] Getting into seafaring school did not require many years of previous or higher level education. What mattered was having enough experience of working as a sailor on sailing ships. An officer had more responsibilities but since many sailors met their future wives when they were back in Finland attending seafaring school, a change in occupational identity was often accompanied by a change in a sailor's relationship to home and an increase in responsibilities on that front as well. 35 of the respondents of the TYKL-questionnaire mention getting married at some point. The average age at marriage was 29–30 years old, which is slightly higher than in Finland generally at the time.[710]

> When one was young life at sea was maybe more carefree than on land, but when the family has grown Father's care at home has kept him ashore - - .[711]

> As long as you are young and unmarried, you enjoy being [at sea], but when you are married and older you long to get a job on land.[712]

As these two quotations exemplify, respondents, who had married but had stayed in the profession, described how one's attitude towards life as a sailor changed.[713] Transgressions and living more carefree were acceptable when a sailor was young and unattached. But especially as a sailor became older and more experienced, he was expected to know better and to take his responsibilities both at work and at home more seriously.[714] Despite the different definitions of

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[708] None of the seven respondents from the Labour archive's collection had contined working in seafaring, but this difference is for the most part explained by the different nature of the sources. The material from the Labour archive has been collected as part of larger projects to collect memories of working-class lives or from workers working in specific industries, such as metal working. The TYKL-questionnaire, in turn, was specifically aimed at former sailors. We do not know exactly how the questionnaire was distributed, but the leaflet states that the questionnaire had the support of the Finnish Seafarers' Union.
[709] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 8; informant 44; informant 28.
[710] Koskinen et al., *Suomen väestö*, 135 & 137.
[711] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 81. Original: "Nuorenpana oli meri elämä ehkä huolettomampaa kuin maissa, mutta perheen lisääntyessä on Isän huolenpito kotosalla pidättänyt maissa - - ."
[712] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 82. Original: "Niin kauan kun on nuori naimaton, niin sielläkin viihtyy, mutta naimisissa ollen vanhemmalla ijällä kaipaa päästä maihin töihin."
[713] Both the attributes of 'real' sailors as well as the existence of alternative attitudes and identities are in many ways similar to those traced by Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor in the context of men working in heavy industries in Clydeside, Glasgow, in 1930s to 1970s, see Johnston and McIvor, 'Dangerous Work, Hard Men and Broken Bodies'.
[714] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 43; informant 10; informant 21; informant 22; informant 81.

masculinity in the context of sailors from, for example, a middle- or upper-class idea, in the oral history writings sailors did subscribe to the more general idea that central to being an adult man was his support for a family. "Redirecting" one's "virility into reproductive sex" thus constituted one of the main markers of adult or mature masculinity.[715] In spite of the mobile nature of the profession, sailors thus did not necessarily differ in their attitude towards family responsibilities compared to other working-class men, and they too placed providing for a family before personal pleasures.[716] Life on a ship and sailor culture are easily seen as an escape from or as being oppositional to family life on shore, but Valerie Burton has argued that, actually, precisely the fact that sailors were away from their homes and homelands so much might have encouraged the men "to put down roots." Establishing a stable and permanent place would have acted as a balance against their mobile and transient work life, and, more importantly, enabled them to gain the mature masculine qualifications of taking responsibility for a family.[717]

I therefore find it problematic to use the word "bachelor" to describe behaviour that applied to both unmarried and married men. Such a characterization runs the risk of building a juxtaposition between irresponsible bachelors and dedicated husbands.[718] Equating freedom to enjoying pleasures and irregularity with bachelorhood only reproduces the discourses of the upper and middle classes around 1900, which defined home as the site of an ideal adult masculinity. Other forms of behaviour were defined as bachelor behaviour, making bachelors the countertype of ideal masculinity. Such a definition meant that social critics condemning the lifestyle of, for example, sailors or harbour workers, did not have to recognise the economic structures and their consequences (the irregular availability of work, dangerous working conditions, poor living conditions, organisation of labour contracts, long periods away from home) that gave rise to such a lifestyle or behaviour. Instead, the low character and unwillingness of these individuals to renounce their bachelor pleasures, even if they had a family to support, was defined as the problem. The fault was placed on the individuals' moral failings.[719]

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[715] Joanne Begiato (Bailey), 'Tears and the Manly Sailor in England, C. 1760–1860', *Journal for Maritime Research* 17, no. 2 (2015): 121–22.
[716] See also Lee, 'The Seafarers' Urban World', 41.
[717] Burton, 'The Myth of Bachelor Jack', 187. See also Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack*, 195.
[718] Also Tytti Steel has criticised Tapio Bergholm in her PhD research, see Tytti Steel, *Risteäviä eroja sataman arjessa* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 2013), 103–4.
[719] See also Lee, 'The Seafarers' Urban World', 27; Burton, 'The Myth of Bachelor Jack', 181 & 183–84; Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack*, 69. Lemisch has discussed, how the society wanted sailors to be

Burton has argued already in the 1990s that the reorganisation of an industrializing society and the rise of the home and nuclear family ideals meant that masculinity was increasingly tied to breadwinning as the only acceptable way of being a man.[720] However, in some professions or occupations, most of which involved travelling or irregular work, this breadwinning ideal became impossible to attain. In turn, such professions were reshaped as the countertype of work that could be performed close to home by defining them as bachelor occupations in which men engaged only when they were unmarried and only temporarily.[721] These discourses and especially the theoretical characterisations, such as "bachelor culture," that reproduce these categorisations are problematic from the perspective of research on home since such definitions marginalize bachelors in relation to home and domesticity. Unmarried men were placed outside society as undeserving of a home, and the oral history sources reveal how some of the men even thought the same about themselves.[722]

Literary historian Katherine V. Snyder has similarly considered the term "bachelor subculture" to be a "misleading" one exactly because in most cases it is used to refer to a group of men that consisted of both unmarried and married men. She suggests using "homosocial male subcultures" or "sporting male cultures" as more suitable terms.[723] I would also prefer the term 'homosocial culture' to describe activities, practices, communality, rites, customs and so on that were prevalent among men with mixed marital statuses. Consequently, I would argue that the term "individualistic masculinity" that Bergholm at times uses alongside "bachelor culture" has better analytical power since it underlines "the pursuit of independence and underscoring

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dependent and to follow the authority of higher levels and thus "made him that way and then concluded that that was the way he really was." See Jesse Lemisch, 'Jack Tar in the Streets: Merchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolutionary America', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (1968): 371–407. Lemisch's article is considered to have constituted the beginning of "new" maritime history as it considered sailors as actors in their own right. See also John L. Duthie, 'Philanthropy and Evangelism among Aberdeen Seamen, 1814-1924', *The Scottish Historical Review* 63, no. 176 (1984): 162.

[720] Valerie Burton, 'Whoring, Drinking Sailor: Reflections on Masculinity from the Labor History of Nineteenth-Century British Shipping', in *Working out Gender: Perspectives from Labour History*, ed. Margaret Walsh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 85; Burton, 'The Myth of Bachelor Jack', 180–81. See also Frigren, *Kotisatamassa*, 93–95; Pirita Frigren, 'Työläisperhe hajallaan: 1800-luvun merityön vaikutukset kotisatamissa', in *Työläisperhe arjessa ja kriiseissä*, ed. Kirsi-Maria Hytönen and Tuomas Laine-Frigren, Väki Voimakas 28 (Helsinki: Työväen historian ja perinteen tutkimuksen seura, 2015), 81–82.

[721] Frigren, *Kotisatamassa*, 94–95; Frigren, 'Työläisperhe hajallaan', 81–82; Burton, 'Whoring, Drinking Sailor'.

[722] SKS KRA. Pääkkönen, Matti Jätkät 39: 9–10. 1969.

[723] Snyder, *Bachelors, Masculinity, and the Novel*, 26.

of personal freedom" no matter what the marital status of the men and without making deterministic assumptions about bachelors.[724]

According to Pöysä, within the logging and rafting culture, and the culture around logging and rafting workers, an important part of the coherence and comradeship of the community was how the men talked. This talk both built and upheld ideas about ideal *jätkä* (a logging and rafting worker) masculinity within which all the men were imagined and treated as bachelors.[725] This also comes across clearly from oral history sources in which a travelling 'lentojätkä' (flying logging worker) or 'irtojätkä' (loose logging worker) are described as young and without a home or a family, as opposed to the 'vakinainen jätkä' (permanent or regular logging worker), most of whom had a family.[726] We should take seriously the fact that among certain occupational groups such ways of talking, imaginings of freedom, and positionings in relation to (family) responsibilities did exist or that this imagined bachelorhood functioned as a way to cope with the contrasts of sailorhood especially in relation to home. We should, however, not simply adopt such practices or stereotypes of the time as *theoretical concepts* since this will only lead us to enforce the power structures behind such conceptions and definitions instead of picking apart such structures analytically.

Contradictions and feelings of homelessness

As in the case of bachelor representations, this kind of bachelorising of all men should instead be seen as an indication of the complicated relationship men could have with domesticity as well as the sometimes contradictory attributes of masculinity.[727] The changes in gender identity and professional and family roles that a sailor experienced as he married and educated himself could lead to contradictions since it was rarely easy to fit the two very different lives at sea and ashore together. Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen has argued that Finnish sailors experienced contradictory feelings towards home and their relatives. Sailors, for example, often expressed a willingness to send money home but in the end were not able to carry out such plans. According to Hinkkanen, these contradictions were a result of the huge discordance between the sailors' different spheres of life. What was considered a normal or assumed part of sailor

[724] Bergholm, 'Harmajan jälkeen olemme kaikki poikamiehiä', 116.
[725] Pöysä, *Jätkän synty*, 189–95. For Sweden, see Johansson, *Skogarnas fria söner*, Chapter 9.
[726] SKS KRA. Ala-Anttila, Mikko Jätkät 1: 3. 1969; SKS KRA. Eskelinen, Ilmari Jätkät 2:1. 1969; SKS KRA. Kekäläinen, Martti Jätkät 6: 5. 1969; SKS KRA. Pääkkönen, Matti Jätkät 39:1. 1969.
[727] Johansson, *Skogarnas fria söner*, 160–62.

culture and identity was at odds with what a responsible head of the family or member of the church should do.[728] Married sailors fulfilled different roles in different contexts and sometimes the norms and expectations deriving from these roles opposed each other.[729]

Some respondents' writings reveal how younger sailors also felt that their relationship to home had become complicated and contradictory. One former sea captain writes about going home as a young man after being at sea for five years. The realization that things had not stayed the same at home, even if in his mind they had, gave rise to contradictory feelings. These changes at home underlined how the respondent himself had also changed and, as a result, he felt as though he did not fit in at home anymore. This made him leave again for the sea even though he still missed home. As a result he did not feel right anywhere.[730] Another example of feeling homeless comes from a respondent who heard about the death of his mother when he was at sea. This made him feel that his last link with home had been broken and that he was all alone, even though he still had brothers alive. He added that in his opinion sailors lived their life without a home, relatives or true friends and even those who got married in order to set up a home, very rarely got to go to that home. Instead, they had to sit alone in their cabin while their wife was alone at home.[731] These examples demonstrate how it was not always easy to accommodate one's need for a sense of belonging with the constant travelling and changes. They also show how such contradictions or incompatibilities could take their psychological toll.

On the other hand, a sailor could postpone settling down and taking responsibility by continuing to work on ships and avoiding going back home. Myers notes how emigrants travelling to Australia could become nostalgic towards their new "home" on board and she sees this "nostalgia for the voyage" as indicative of a "desire to remain in a liminal stage that can forestall the transformation that occurs once an emigrant leaves the ship and becomes a colonial settler."[732] A portion of the sailors seem to have been searching for something better all the time: better pay, a better ship or better opportunities. A description used by a former logging worker describes this attitude well: "They searched for goodness, the goodness in front escaped."[733] Was this constant changing and searching a sign of feeling homeless or an attempt

[728] Hinkkanen, 'Kun koti tuli satamaan', 60–64; Hinkkanen, 'Expressions of Longing', 75–78.
[729] Johansson, *Skogarnas fria söner*, 160–62. See also Weibust, *Deep Sea Sailors*, 208.
[730] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 23.
[731] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 69.
[732] Myers, *Antipodal England*, 36–37.
[733] SKS KRA. Pääkkönen, Matti Jätkät 39: 2. 1969. Original: "He etsivät hyvää hyvä eessä pakeni."

to find one's place in the world? Or perhaps some of the men did not want to arrive anywhere and the characteristic restlessness and the fact that a ship never arrived anywhere in a final sense was exactly what they were looking for. Some sailors wanted the exact opposite of the supposed boredom of home and familiarity—they sought excitement and adventure.[734] Mobility could become a part of the identity of a sailor; a sense of belonging did not have to be based on stability or familiarity but on change and variation: "My home is where my bag is and my nationality is what flag is at the rear of the ship."[735]

Yet, choosing a seafaring life was not a simple question of either flight or an agonizing separation from home. Each sailor's relationship to home included a mixture of different factors, which could sometimes feel very contradictory and which changed over time throughout his life. As a young man a sailor might have been anxious to establish his independence away from home, while at the same time feeling homesick and longing for his mother. An older sailor, with his own wife and children, could have been torn between the solidarity and communality felt towards his sailor colleagues while at the same time wanting to stay loyal to his wife ashore. Yet, it is important to note that sailors were not unique in this respect. Other travelling workers would have struggled with same issues, and previous research on Britain has argued in favour of acknowledging the 'co-presence' of masculine ideals based on 'family breadwinner' on the one hand and 'independent working man' on the other, stretching back into the 19th century. This 'co-presence' could, in turn, potentially lead to conflict.[736] Furthermore, as the discussion of bachelor representations demonstrated, men, who stayed in one place could also experience a contradictory relationship to their marriage and home, with their sense of masculinity based both on taking responsibility as well as on being free to do what one wanted. Sailor identity and the accompanying ideals of masculine behaviour need to be situated within the larger context of contemporary masculinities. The mobility of

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[734] See Weibust, *Deep Sea Sailors*, 413–16.
[735] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 17. Original: "Sanalla sanoen siellä on kotini missä on säkkini ja se on kansalaisuuteni mikä lippu on laivan ahterissa." Logging workers had similar sayings, such as "home is where there is a nail for hanging one's bag" ("koti on siellä, missä löytyy naula toimeentulopussin (repun) roikkumiselle") or "home is where I have been for three nights" ("koti on siellä missä olen ollut kolme yötä"), see SKS KRA. Karttunen, Aarne Jätkät 5:10. 1969; SKS KRA. Korhonen, August Jätkät 7:17. 1969.
[736] Lucy Delap, '"Be Strong and Play the Man": Anglican Masculinities in the Twentieth Century', in *Men, Masculinties and Religious Change in Twentieth-Century Britain*, ed. Lucy Delap and Sue Morgan (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 122; Selina Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class, 1910-2010* (London: John Murray, 2014), 208; Johnston and McIvor, 'Dangerous Work, Hard Men and Broken Bodies'. See also Richard Hall, 'Being a Man, Being a Member: Masculinity and Community in Britain's Working Men's Clubs, 1945–1960', *Cultural and Social History* 14, no. 1 (2017): 75; Johansson, *Skogarnas fria söner*, 160–62.

sailors did not differentiate them from all men in every respect nor should it lead us to see them as a homogenous group.[737]

Nevertheless, as Weibust has pointed out, "outside the world of ships, seamanship and experience as a seaman counted for very little."[738] Men, who had worked as sailors for several years or decades, could feel homeless and lost on land, as if they were outsiders in their home communities or did not have a place in society.[739] Especially in old age, sailors could end up being literally homeless. If a sailor had not married, he did not necessarily have any kind of protection in old age after he was no longer fit to work. If a sailor had been away from Finland long enough, he would lose his place of residence in a Finnish municipality and thus also his right to poor relief. The fate of some men comes across clearly in a contemporary poem:

> No mother, no sister, just a whore.
> No home, no lodgings, just a cell.
> No food, no money, just a bottle.[740]

[737] See also Lee, 'The Seafarers' Urban World', 64.
[738] Weibust, *Deep Sea Sailors*, 261.
[739] Kennerley, 'British Merchant Seafarers', 115 & 131.
[740] TMT:210:791:TA. Original: "Ei oo äitii, ei oo siskoo, huora vaan. Ei oo kotii, ei oo kortteerii, linna vaan. Ei oo ruokaa, ei oo rahaa, viinaa vaan." Logging and rafting workers had similar rhymes, for example: Through that fierce nature a boy has three homes; Jala jallai jala vila vei vei vei and through that fierce nature. First is the lazaretto, the second is prison and the third is a rafting raft; Jala jallai jala vila vei vei vei and the third is a rafting raft. (Kolme on kotia pojalla tuon hurjan luonnon kautta; Jala jallai jala vila vei vei vei ja hurjan luonnon kautta. Ensin on lasaretti, toinen on vankila ja kolmas on tukkilautta; Jala jallai jala vila vei vei vei ja kolmas on tukkilautta.), see SKS KRA. Aitamäki, Kaarlo Jätkät 1: 11. 1969.

5. Communal 'Homes' – Homes or Institutions?

When their ships were in harbour waiting for the cargo to be loaded or unloaded, or when they were looking for a new post, sailors explored what port cities had to offer. As we saw in Chapter 4 they spent their time in bars, restaurants, dance halls and brothels. They went sightseeing, shopping, to the cinema, the theatre, the circus, the zoo, or visited parks or museums. Sailors also visited the local (national) seaman's mission, reading hall or sailors' home, where they could read newspapers, write and receive letters, send money home, or take part in religious services.[741]

According to Yrjö Kaukiainen, at the end of the 19th century, a Finnish sailing ship spent on average over thirty days in port, whereas with steam ships port time decreased to a few days or weeks, and fewer long stops were replaced by several shorter stops.[742] A sailor's relationship to a port and the services he sought depended on whether he was in mid-contract—sleeping and living on board—or whether he had to find a place to stay while he was looking for a new post. Sailors under contract had to get permission to go ashore as well as an advance on their salary. Consequently, they did not necessarily get to spend that much time in port or have that much money at their disposal.[743] In addition, whether a sailor was in a port in his home city or homeland or in a port abroad affected his situation ashore.

> And how strange how a sailor, who on his ship gets used to following the warnings and directions of beacons, foghorns, lighthouses and so on, in the harbour does not listen to the cries of warning that counsel him not to end up on the rocks of sin and even though he sees how many proud sea boys have ended up on the rocks and have been left floating shipwrecked.[744]

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[741] TYKL/kys/19&20: informant 1; informant 6; informant 7; informant 9; informant 10; informant 14; informant 16; informant 17; informant 25; informant 28; informant 31; informant 32; informant 33; informant 36; informant 41; informant 42; informant 46; informant 51; informant 52; informant 54; informant 55; informant 58; informant 62; informant 68; informant 76; informant 82; informant 83.
[742] Yrjö Kaukiainen, 'Seamen Ashore: Port Visits of Late Nineteenth-Century Finnish Sailors', in *Sail and Steam: Selected Maritime Writings of Yrjö Kaukiainen*, ed. Lars U. scholl and Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen, Research in Maritime History 27 (St. John's: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2004), 144–46.
[743] Kaukiainen, 147–48; Hinkkanen, 'Land Amidst the Sea', 181. Besides men on a stop-over or those between voyages, Hinkkanen has identified sailors, who were sick or dying, as a third group of men with specific port-related needs. See Hinkkanen, 179–80.
[744] 'Suomalaisten merimiesten lukusali Lontoossa', *Kotimaa* 16.12.1907, 3. Original: "Ja merkillistä, miten merimies, joka laivallaan tottuu tottelemaan merimerkkien, sumutorvien, majakkalitosten y. m. varoituksia ja ohjauksia, ei satamassa, kaupungin kaduilla tottele niitä varoitushuutoja, jotka varoittavat synnin kareille joutumasta ja vaikka näkee miten moni uljas meripoika on karille niissä joutunut ja jäänyt haaksirikkoisena ajelehtimaan."

> - - sailors and those who often visit [bars] are in danger of being materially and morally shipwrecked and occasionally even their life is in danger.[745]

These kinds of maritime references were used to underline the fact that sailors not only faced dangers when they were at sea but even more serious threats might await them when they disembarked at port towns. Newspaper articles painted a grim picture of how sailors were lured by crimps and runners (*runnari*) to bars or boarding houses, where they were deceived, robbed, and seduced.[746] The stories that the sailors might have told to their crewmates as indications of their manhood were transformed into examples of their moral ruin. With boarding houses being depicted as squalid places that usually included a bar, it was argued that sailors essentially lived in bars. This was presented as posing a threat to the future of not only sailors themselves but also their home country in several ways. As a solution to this problem it was proposed that sailors' homes should be built both in Finland and abroad.[747]

Unmarried men were not only seen as a danger to the well-being of homes but they were considered to be in danger themselves due to their lack of a 'proper' home. While bachelors' housing was generally not considered important due to the temporariness of their life stage, at the same time, concerns were raised about the consequences of bachelors' living arrangements as well as their stereotypical lifestyle. The issues sailors' homes aimed to tackle constitute only one example of the dangers that bachelors, or groups that included bachelors, were seen to face around 1900. Images of immorality were invoked especially in relation to younger bachelors, who had recently relocated to a city from the countryside, and to those, who lived in boxes free from supervision. In turn, older bachelors who had no family to turn to were at risk of spending their last days neglected and even destitute. To address these issues, private organizations set up 'homes' for sailors, students as well as older men and the city of Helsinki built housing for its unmarried employees. These different types of communal housing solutions are the focus of this chapter. Such 'homes' were not gratuitous charity as they all charged a fee for their services,

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[745] 'Vaikuttava syy', *Suomi* 12.9.1891, 2. Original: "- - merimiehille että niille jotka usein näissä paikoissa käydessään ovat vaarassa joutua aineellisen ja siveelliseen haaksirikkoon ja toisinnaan hengenvaaroihinkin."
[746] Crimps acted as middlemen between the captains of ships and the sailors in hiring crews and also either had close ties to the proprietors of boarding houses, bars, brothels and so on or owned such establishments themselves. See, for example, Dennis, 'Seduction on the Waterfront', 185.
[747] J. H. E., 'Kirje Belgiasta. (Päivälehdelle). Toinen kirje. Antwerpi, joulukuun lopusta', *Päivälehti* 7.1.1890, 2; 'Jyväskylästä ja lähiseuduilta. Kokous merimieskodin perustamista varten Hulliin', *Suomalainen* 13.4.1894, 2; 'Suomalaista merimieskotia Englantiin', *Suomalainen* 5.3.1897, 2; 'Arpajaiset merimieskodin hyväksi', *Päivälehti* 1.2.1901, 3; 'Suomalaisten merimiesten lukusali Lontoossa', *Kotimaa* 16.12.1907, 3; Juho T-nen, 'Pimeätä ja valoisaa merimiestemme elämästä Antwerpenin satamassa. I', *Aamulehti* 3.12.1913, 6; U. J. P., 'Merimieslähetys ja merimieskodit', *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat* 27.7.1926, 3.

but they can be situated in the larger context of middle- and upper-class philanthropy of this period.[748] With public investment in social welfare before the Second World War focused mainly on the most obvious issues, philanthropic organisations played a significant role in helping people and providing social services.[749]

This chapter examines, firstly, how the organisers and managers of the communal arrangements understood home and homeliness and how they tried to create and maintain such homeliness in these 'homes'. In public discussions about possible communal living arrangements, including the central kitchen buildings of the 1910s and 1920s, some people condemned such solutions as unhomely by associating their layout and organization with those of hotels, barracks, or monasteries.[750] Rooms along corridors were especially considered to make the buildings resemble institutions, which, in turn, constituted the very antithesis of home.[751] Calling the establishments 'homes' was one way the founders could try and detach themselves from such associations. This is even more interesting, when we consider how the different living arrangements of bachelors were referred to as 'boxes' in order to differentiate them from family homes. Moreover, the planners and managers used elements of homeliness as a way of fulfilling their aims to make the places more attractive in the eyes of potential residents as well as to avoid being associated with institutions. Decoration, domestic material culture as well as other practices were used in order to create a sense of home and homeliness for the inhabitants.[752] The spaces and material culture of the 'homes' not only formed the background for the activities and functioning of these organizations but they were also an active part of pursuing their missions. In addition, the student's and sailors' homes especially allow us to examine

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[748] Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 135. For the British case in relation to sailors, see Alston Kennerley, 'British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes 1815–1970: Voluntary Provision for Serving Seafarers' (Ph.D. thesis, South West Polytechnic, 1989); Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack*, chapter 2 and especially p. 68. Kennerley looks at British seamen's missions and homes precisely within the wider context of "general social welfare and religious developments."

[749] Urponen, 'Huoltoyhteiskunnasta hyvinvointivaltioon', 184.

[750] According to Markkola, already Luther had juxtaposed monasteries with homes by criticizing monastic life while emphasizing the centrality of homes, Markkola, 'Koti, asunto, kortteeri', 21.

[751] P., '"Ylioppilaskoti ja raittiuskoti pääkaupunkiin."', *Päivän Uutiset* 23.8.1889, 1–2; 'Raittius-yhdistys "Tähden"', *Uusi Suometar* 3.9.1889, 3; Solmu, 'Helsingin kirjeitä. III.', *Satakunta* 1.10.1889, 1–2; Tuomas, 'Kirje Helsingistä', *Päivälehti* 5.2.1899, 2–3; T. H..-T., 'Keskuskeittiö', *Suomen nainen* 19/1920, 280–282; M.v.B., 'Clara Raphaels hus', *Astra* 13/1920, 3–4; H.C., 'Clara Rafael-talo Köpenhaminassa', *Naisten ääni* 34-35/1920, 252–254; Pentti Kivinen, *Karjalaisten Talo-Osakeyhtiö: Ylioppilaskoti Helsinkiin* (Helsinki, Pentti Kivinen, 1907), 18; KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Pöytäkirjat/Ca.2, Yhdistyksen pöytäkirjat 1928–1935, 16.12.1933, liite: matka/tarkastuskertomus. For the English context see, Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 160.

[752] Hamlett, 1–3.

alternative or simultaneous contexts of belonging on different scales, that is, the multi-scalarity of home.

Secondly, these different housing solutions are a fruitful way in which to explore how and why a home was defined differently for single people than for families, what kinds of specific needs single people were considered to have and what were the differences between different groups of single people. In the context of philanthropy, the home that bachelor behaviour was built in opposition to in public discussions and stereotypes actually represented a way to protect and educate bachelors. Nevertheless, an analysis of these 'homes' also reveals how a home was defined differently depending on a person's marital status or family situation.[753] At a time when home was increasingly being defined as the private space of the nuclear family, unmarried people were offered communal housing solutions separate from family homes. The services and material culture provided in the 'homes' reflected the domestic needs specifically single men were assumed to have due to their lack of domestic capacity as well as their limited amount of material possessions.[754]

The founders and managers of the student and sailors' homes as well as the municipal bachelor building did, however, not only want to improve the lives of the men by fulfilling their basic domestic needs or by providing additional domestic spaces. At the time youth was considered to be an unstable phase of life connected to both risks and problems as well as high hopes and the future.[755] A student home could not only mediate these risks but through education help these young men prepare for their future lives as full members of society, but the other communal homes also had wider educational and nationalist aims. Since the 19th century, the Fennomanian movement had seen the raising of the level of civilization (*sivistystaso*) of the Finnish nation as key in the nationalism project.[756] Taking care of those who were in a weaker

[753] Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 101. See also Jenny Hockey, 'The Ideal Home: Domesticating the Institutional Space of Old Age and Death', in *Ideal Homes? Social Change and Domestic Life*, ed. Jenny Hockey and Tony Chapman (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 108–10; Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 6.
[754] 'N:o 24: Asiakirjoja, jotka koskevat ehdotusta huoneista ja tarkoituksenmukaisista työväenasunnoista', in *Helsingin valtuuston painetut asiakirjat vuodelta* 1905 (Helsinki: Helsingin kaupunki, 1906), 37–38; A. P., 'De kommunala arbetarebostäderna i Helsingfors', *Nya Pressen* 28.11.1908, 2; 'Gubbhem i Åbo', *Åbo Tidning* 11.10.1891, 2. See also 'Föreningen Gubbhemmets i Åbo Första Årsberättelse', *Åbo Underrättelser* 30.4.1893, 2.
[755] Aapola and Kaarninen, 'Näkökulmia suomalaisen nuoruuden', 12–13. According to Aapola and Kaarninen, theories concerning youth and the development of young people arrived in Finland at the end of the 19th century, see p. 18.
[756] Ilkka Männikkö, 'Making the People Fit for Democracy: Kansanvalistusseura and Popular Adult Education in Finlnad after the General Strike of 1905', in *Nordic Lights: Education for Nation and Civic Society in the Nordic Countries, 1850-2000*, ed. Sirkka Ahonen and Rantala, Jukka (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2001), 52 & 69. The Fennomanian movement was a nationalist movement led by a "nationalist intelligentsia" and which

position was considered to be one of the characteristics of a 'civilized' country and, in arguing for the different types of 'homes' as well as municipal housing, advocates appealed to the example set by countries considered to be more "cultured" (*kulturländer*) or "civilised" (*sivistysmaa*) than Finland.[757] Education was also a way to address the changes in the traditional social order of society brought about by industrialization and urbanization. These new instabilities made the upper classes fear for the radicalization of the lower classes, which eventually culminated in the war of 1918. However, before and after the war, the upper classes tried to remain in control through education and by using policies designed to address social problems that affected the lower classes, as a means of shaping their consciousness as well.[758] Promoting, for example, adult education constituted one part of this endeavour, but the provision of housing and accommodation can also be seen as a tool with which to educate especially working-class people to become responsible and obedient "citizen-subjects."[759]

The large-scale social changes had also prompted the foundation of a variety of different types of Christian organisations already during the 19th century. In the context of the different forms of communal housing Christian teachings were used, firstly, to educate young men within the Christian movements, and, secondly, to fight against immoral behaviour more widely. Christian values were explicitly central for the YMCA, the Christian student homes and the early years

aimed "to "awaken" the national consciousness of the Finnish-speaking common people" by, for example, promoting and advancing Finnish culture and the Finnish language. See, for example, Männikkö, 'Making the People Fit for Democracy'.

[757] Ilkka Mäkinen, *'Nödvändighet af LainaKirjasto' : modernin lukuhalun tulo Suomeen ja lukemisen instituutiot*, 1997, 373. For the discussion among Helsinki city government, see Jussi Kuusanmäki, *Tietoa, taitoa, asiantuntemusta: Helsinki eurooppalaisessa kehityksessä 1875-1917. 2. 2.* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura; Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskus, 1992), 65. For sailors' homes, see for example, 'Turun merimieskoti', *Turun Sanomat* 22.5.1906, 1; J. H. E., 'Kirje Englannista. III London. Merimieskoti', *Keski-Suomi* 15.10.1889, 1–2; J. H. E., 'Kirje Belgiasta. (Päivälehdelle). Toinen kirje. Antwerpi(sic), joulukuun lopusta. Skandinavialainen merimieskoti', *Päivälehti* 7.1.1890, 2. When talking about old men's homes, the home most often mentioned were homes built in Sweden, in Stockholm and Göteborg specifically. See for example, 'Föreningen Gubbhemmets i Åbo Första Årsberättelse', *Åbo Underrättelser* 30.4.1893, 2; 'Gubbhem i hufvudstaden', *Aftonbladet* 2.5.1893, 1–2; 'Ett gubbhem i Helsingfors', *Nya Pressen* 17.11.1893, 2.

[758] Anttonen and Sipilä, *Suomalaista sosiaalipolitiikkaa*, 45; Irma Sulkunen, *Raittius kansalaisuskontona: raittiusliike ja järjestäytyminen 1870-luvulta suurlakon jälkeisiin vuosiin* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1986), 24, 27 & 35–36; Männikkö, 'Making the People Fit for Democracy', 67–72; Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty*, 22, 181, 191 & 229. See also Jon Press, 'Philanthropy and the British Shipping Industry, 1815-1860', *International Journal of Maritime History* 1 (1989): 108; Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 145; Gordon and Nair, *Public Lives*, 13.

[759] Männikkö, 'Making the People Fit for Democracy', 52, 69 & 72; Sulkunen, *Raittius kansalaisuskontona*, 38–39 & 42. In Finnish "alamaiskansalaisuus". See also Räisänen, *Onnellisen avioliiton ehdot*, 39; Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty*, 22 & 30. English sailors' homes had similar aims, see Louise Moon, 'Sailorhoods': Sailortown and Sailors in the Port of Portsmouth circa 1850–1900' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Portsmouth, 2015), 232–38.

of the sailors' homes but a Christian world view would also have influenced the other actors' views on, for example, temperance or morality (*siveellisyys*).[760]

Several of the organisations behind the 'homes' therefore both reacted to social problems while formulating needs for social engineering. Balancing between these two intertwined motivations could be tricky and resulted also in failed experiments, which do not feature prominently in previous historical narratives. The third aim of this chapter is to try to assess how successful the different types of 'homes' were in creating a sense of home for their inhabitants, and which elements were key in this process. Unfortunately, hardly any sources survive, which would reveal to us how the inhabitants of these 'homes' experienced their stays. By contrasting the sources concerning the 'homes' with elements of home and belonging discussed in the previous chapters we can, nonetheless, gain some insight into the possible attitudes of the groups involved and the problems that the managers of the 'homes' faced. One aspect that can help us to better understand the problems and limitations faced by the different forms of communal living had is to focus not only on the homeliness of these 'homes' but also on characteristics associated more with institutions.[761] In terms of the characteristics that can be associated either with institutionality or with domesticity, Julia Williams Robinson's work on late-20th-century American residential care institutions guides us to focus on the spatial and material organisation of private and shared spaces, the levels of privacy and control and the possibilities for personalization.[762]

The main sources for the section on the municipal bachelor building include the archive of the Building Commission for the Communal Workers' Apartments (*Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen rakennuttamiskomissio*) and the managing board of the Communal Workers' Apartments (*Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen hallintolautakunta*) as well as the published documents of the Helsinki City Council and the City of Helsinki's annual reports (*kunnalliskertomukset*). The source material for the section on student housing consists of the

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[760] Markkola, *Synti ja siveys*, 15, 28, 37 & 53–54; Marjo-Riitta Antikainen, *Suuri sisarpiiri: NNKY-liike Suomessa 1890-luvulta 1990-luvulle* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2006), 15.

[761] Jane Hamlett, Lesley Hoskins and Rebecca Preston have defined insitutions as "socities or organizations founded for particular purposes" and residential institutions as providing "the primary living spaces of their inhabitants (staff, inmates or both)." See Jane Hamlett, Lesley Hoskins, and Rebecca Preston, 'Introduction', in *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1725-1970*, ed. Jane Hamlett, Lesley Hoskins, and Rebecca Preston (London: Routledge, 2015), 3. I have chosen to use the term 'communal housing' as providing housing or accommodation was in most cases the main function of these endeavours.

[762] Julia Williams Robinson, 'Architecture of Institution & Home: Architecture as Cultural Medium' (Ph.D. thesis, Delft University of Technology, 2004), 104– 8, 139–40, 163 & 180–82.

archives of the student nations and the Helsinki YMCA as well as articles on student housing published in *Ylioppilaslehti*, a student magazine published by the Student Union of the University of Helsinki. In addition, material from personal diaries and correspondence as well as published memoirs or autobiographies that discuss life as a student before the Second World War have been used where relevant. The main source for the section on sailors' homes is the archive of the Finnish Association for Sailors' Homes (*Suomen Merimieskotiyhdistys*). Original sources from the earlier periods of the two old men's homes have not survived and this section is therefore based on blueprints of the homes, an earlier version of the history of the Turku home (Erland Colliander, *Turun Ukkokoti-yhdistys 1892-1942*), population records and the rules of the Helsinki home as well as other women's homes, which are a part of the National Library's ephemera collection.[763] In each section, newspapers, magazines as well as histories published by the organizations themselves have additionally been used where relevant.

Municipal bachelor housing: Alternative to lodging

In 1907–1908 the city of Helsinki built eight wooden houses with family apartments and a stone building for housing unmarried working-class men in Hietaniemenkatu in the area of Etu-Töölö. Together with four houses built in an area called Vallila the following year, these apartments and rooms constituted the first communal working-class housing built by the city. The city rented the apartments to the city's own employees mainly working for the gas- and waterworks or in the city's warehouses.[764]

The right wing of the ground floor of the 'bachelor building' (*naimattomain asuntola*) housed the facilities of a people's diner (*kansankeittiö*), which was open not only to the residents of the building but to the wider public. The other half of the ground floor as well both wings of the

[763] The Helsinki old men's home (ukkokoti), located in Meilahti in a villa called Fridhäll, was torn down in the 1960s whereas the Turku home still exists and functions as an old people's home for both women and men under the name Palvelutalo Wilén - Servicehuset Wilén. According to the history of the Turku home, material from the early days of the home has not survived. See Jan-Erik Börman et al., *Gubbhemsliv mer än 100 år - Yli 100 vuotta Ukkokotielämää* (Åbo: Gubbhemmet i Åbo, 2014).

[764] Jere Jäppinen, *Yhdeksän pientä kotia: arjen historiaa Työväenasuntomuseossa - Nio små hem: vardagens historia i Arbetarbostadsmuseet* (Helsinki: Helsingin kaupunginmuseo, 2009), 25–26; Kuusanmäki, *Tietoa, taitoa, asiantuntemusta*, 77–83. The wooden houses were demolished in the 1970s but the 'bachelor building' still stands, although with a different use. Three more floors were added to the building in 1949, when it was allocated as housing for the employees of a nearby hospital (*Marian sairaala*). See Kaija Hackzell, *Viertotietä itään ja länteen*, Helsingin vanhoja kortteleita (Helsinki: Sanoma, 1988). Nowadays the building houses a homeless shelter run by the city of Helsinki.

first floor consisted of 15 two-person and 21 single rooms, providing accommodation for 51 bachelors altogether.[765] The two-person rooms were a way for the building to be able to accommodate more men and, as their rents were lower per person, they also provided a cheaper option that would have been welcome by at least some bachelors. The records of the management board reveal that in 1911, most of the unmarried men sharing a room either worked in the same place of employment or had a similar occupation.[766] The fairly small individual rooms, seven or twelve square metres in size, were complemented by the shared spaces: a reading room, washrooms, and the dining hall of the people's diner.[767]

The main motivation behind the building of municipal working-class housing was to provide working-class families with good homes, which were seen as the foundation for leading a moral life.[768] This concern entailed forbidding the families, who occupied the municipal apartments, from keeping lodgers or housing anybody outside the immediate family for a longer period of time.[769] Unlike in most cases of employer or public working-class housing of the time, as a further measure to fight against lodging, the city of Helsinki decided to include rooms for unmarried men as well, so that they no longer had to find housing with families.[770] The City Council's Board of Workers' Affairs (*Työväenasiain lautakunta*) argued that no final solution to the overall housing question could be reached unless alternative forms of housing could be found or offered to unmarried workers.[771] Unmarried workers were acknowledged to be financially unable to invest in building their own homes and thus they needed housing that was built by public authorities. Furthermore, it was thought to be impractical to expect unmarried

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[765] HKA/K187 Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen rakennuttamiskomissiot/UK 187:1 Komissioiden asiakirjat, Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen rakennuttamiskomission pöytäkirjojen liitteet, Redogörelse för uppförandet af kommunala hyresbostäder för arbetare i Helsingfors stad.
[766] HKA/Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen hallintolautakunta/Ea:2, Saapuneet kunnallisia työväenasuntoja koskevan tutkimuksen kyselykaavakkeet.
[767] 'N:o 24: Förslag rörande åtgärder för uppförande i Helsingfors af kommunala arbetarebostäder**', i**n *Helsingin valtuuston painetut asiakirjat vuodelta 1906* (Helsinki: Helsingin kaupunki, 1907), 6 and attached drawings. The plans of the buildings were also published in *Arkitekten* (1.2.1907) and *Teknikern* (20.6.1906).
[768] Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty*, 30; Markkola, 'Koti, asunto, kortteeri', 29; Juntto, *Asuntokysymys Suomessa*, 117 & 119; Häggman, 'Suurperhe, ydinperhe, pyhä perhe?', 224.
[769] V. v. W., 'Kommunala arbetarebostäder', *Hufvudstadsbladet* 25.11.1908, 5. In Sweden the question of the crowded conditions of working-class housing and lodging prompted the foundation of building socities with the aim of building housing for the working-classes. One such society, the Stockholms Arbetarehem, built housing in Stockholm and likewise forbade the keeping of lodgers in its apartments. See Kerstin Thörn, 'Stockholms Arbetarehem: Building Welfare', in *Charitable Women - Philanthropic Welfare 1780-1930*, ed. Birgitta Jordansson and Tinne Vammen (Odense: Odense University Press, 1998), 193–218.
[770] V. v. W., 'Kommunala arbetarebostäderna. Efterfrågan', *Hufvudstadsbladet* 2.10.1908, 5.
[771] 'N:o 24: Asiakirjoja, 37; 'N:o 24: Förslag', 8–9; 'Den första arbetarebostadsundersökningen i Finland', *Åbo Underättelser* 29.7.1902, 1; 'Kampen mot inneboendesystemet', *Åbo Underättelser* 22.3.1905, 1.

men to have their own home as they did not have anyone to run their household. They needed a housing solution, which included upkeep.[772]

During the planning process, it was suggested that buildings should be built for both unmarried male and female workers. Yet in the end the city only built the building for men, as completing the whole plan would have required too much investment.[773] Bachelors were most likely chosen because at the time male lodgers constituted almost double the number of female lodgers in Helsinki.[774] Moreover, bachelor lodgers were considered a bigger threat to the well-being of the families hosting them. Lodging often resulted in persons of the opposite sex sleeping in the same space, and it was feared that bachelor lodgers might tempt the father or other members of the family into bad habits such as drinking or gambling.[775] While the bachelors and their assumed lifestyle needed to be both physically and mentally separated from the family *homes*, the committee responsible for preparing the plans for the buildings nonetheless considered it important to locate the bachelor *building* within the same courtyard as the family apartments because of the educational and exemplary influence the families could have on the unmarried men.[776]

Even though Finnish newspaper writers borrowed the term 'working-man's hotel' (*arbetarehotell* or *ungkarlshotell*) from foreign examples when writing about housing designed for single working-class men or women, the aim of municipal housing was to improve the overall housing conditions and amenities of single men by offering them a more permanent housing solution than the workers' hotels built abroad.[777] For example in 19th-century England,

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[772] 'N:o 3: Asiakirjat, jotka koskevat ehdotusta esikaupungin perustamisesta työväenasuntoja varten', in *Helsingin valtuuston painetut asiakirjat vuodelta 1905* (Helsinki: Helsingin kaupunki, 1906), 4.
[773] 'N:o 24: Förslag', 1, 4, 6 & 9; *Kertomus Helsingin kaupungin kunnallishallinnosta vuonna 1906* (Helsinki: Helsingin Rahatoimikamari, 1909), I:47, 50 & 52.
[774] According to research conducted by Professor Vilhelm Sucksdorff into working-class living conditions, in 1900, out of 6829 lodgers 4285 were men, 2306 women and 238 children, in 'N:o 24: Asiakirjoja', 11. For a complete publication of Sucksdorff's research see Vilhelm Sucksdorff, *Helsingin työväestön asunto-olot: selonteko työväenasunto-tutkimuksesta 1900* (Helsinki, 1904).
[775] 'Kampen mot inneboendesystemet', *Åbo Underättelser* 22.3.1905, 1. Beatrice Moring has pointed out how upper-class concerns about naked bodies mixing were "pure fantasy" as in the countryside or among the urban working classes people would have kept if not most clothes then at least "shifts, smocks, vests and undergarments" on when sleeping. See Moring, 'Gender, Class and Lodging', 61.
[776] 'N:o 24: Förslag', 8–9.
[777] '"Arbetarehotell" i Stockholm', *Arbetaren* 28.5.1888, 4; 'Den första arbetarebostadsundersökningen i Finland', *Åbo Underätterlser* 29.7.1902, 1; 'Kampen mot inneboendesystemet', *Åbo Underätterlser* 22.3.1905, 1; V. v. W., 'Kommunala arbetarebostäder', *Hufvudstadsbladet* 25.11.1908, 5; 'N:o 24: Asiakirjoja', 38. In Swedish the 'bachelor building' was referred to as *logihus* or *logishus*, which carried connotations similar to a lodging house or other type of temporary housing, but the terms used in Finnish, *asumatalo* (residential house) or *naimattomain asuntola* (singles' dormitory/boarding house), did not link to temporariness as strongly.

philanthropic societies set up model and semi-philanthropic lodging houses in which men slept in small individual cubicles but could not stay in them during the day.[778] Despite plans being drawn up for an option that would similarly have housed men in large dormitories with individual cubicles, the commission, which had been responsible for drawing up a plan for the building of the apartments, dismissed them as unsuitable and opposed to the general principles of working-class housing set by the City Council.[779] Dormitories were considered unhygienic because a lot of men crammed in one space would have led to overcrowding and not enough air would have been secured for each person.[780] It was important that the men be given their own, either single or two-person, rooms.

Allocation of personal space, the practices of the building as well as the features of the rooms all strengthened the municipal apartments' purpose as a form of permanent housing. In comparison to both living as a lodger or in employer housing, the inhabitants of the 'bachelor building' had more privacy, freedom, space, room for personalization as well as more control over their domestic lives. If factories did provide housing for their unmarried workers, it was usually in barracks or in rooms situated in, for example, attics. Most often the room was shared with several other unmarried workers.[781] Employers also used housing as a way to control their workforce.[782] In contrast, in Hietaniemenkatu bachelors had the opportunity and freedom to arrange their home as they saw fit without being in the way of other people or other domestic activities, they could come and go as they pleased, and could live in the room as long as they continued to pay the rent.[783]

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[778] Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 143–46.
[779] 'N:o 24: Förslag', 7. The closest resemblance to the English common lodgings houses would have been the dosshouses (*yömaja*), which provided a place to sleep for homeless men and were run by the Salvation Army and the *Helsingin Työkoti- ja Yömajayhdistys* (The Association for Work Houses and Dosshouses in Helsinki). See Matti Salminen, *Sadan vuoden inhimillisyys: Pelastusarmeija kovaosaisten miesten auttajana* (Helsinki: Like, 2008), 11–14. A leaflet published in 1890 by the Central committee of charitable organisations in Helsinki, advised people helping poor men in need of a place to stay to direct them either to the doss-houses on Fredrikinkatu or Läntinen Rantakatu (for men from the countryside), a temperance home called Fridhem, or the communal poorhouse's workhouse. See *Neuvoja köyhäin auttajille pääkaupungissa* (Helsinki: Helsingin Hyväntekeväisyysyhdistysten Keskuskomitea, 1890), in KK/pienpainatekokoelma/ Hyväntekeväisyys: 1810–1999.
[780] 'N:o 24: Förslag', 7. See also Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 55.
[781] TYKL/1095/Matias Aho, 'Ab Stockfors Oy:n puuhiomoyhteisön työ- ja asumisoloista Pyhtäällä vuosien 1902–1950 välisenä aikana' (Master's thesis, University of Turku, 1977), 124–26; TYKL/563/Nurmi, 'Suomen lasitehtaan työntekijöiden työstä', 58; TYKL/332/Kerttu Stenholm, 'Iittalan lasitehtaan työläisten asunto-oloista ja kotitaloudesta' (Proseminaari-presentation, University of Turku, 10.5.1962), 3 & 10.
[782] TMT:411:2622:TA, 151; Teräs, 'Hampuuseista ahtaajiksi', 243–44. See also Urponen, 'Huoltoyhteiskunnasta hyvinvointivaltioon', 185.
[783] Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 135–59. Despite some similar features such as washrooms, hot water, dining and reading rooms, the Rowton Houses were much bigger operations with a wider selection of services,

In addition, both the fact that the rooms were originally meant for bachelors, who had worked for the city for a long time, and that none of the rooms was initially furnished, attests that the rooms were designed as long-term apartments for bachelors with their own furniture.[784] When most of the first potential renters of the rooms had stated that they preferred to rent the rooms furnished, the management commissioned basic furniture (iron beds, cupboards, a table and chairs) for approximately two thirds of the bachelor rooms.[785] In the end it turned out that the demand for furnishings had been more about bedclothes, which the board was unwilling to supply, and most of the rooms were actually rented to men who had their own furniture.[786] The building housed bachelors, who were at various stages of their lives, and their domestic possessions as well as needs would have varied accordingly. The 1910 population records, for example, list 47 residents between the ages of 19 and 61 living in the building with an average age of 37.[787]

Student homes: A proper home instead of a 'box'

On campus housing and student halls in the style of English or American colleges did not exist in Finland. According to the census samples, both in 1900 and 1930 students either lived with their parents or other relatives, boarded, or rented a room (see Charts 7 and 8 in Chapter 3). 19th-century forms of student accommodation, the *bolag* or residing with an 'educated' (*sivistynyt*) family, were increasingly being replaced by renting a room, *a box*, alone or together with another student.[788] Students, who had no family or other connections in Helsinki, had to

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while the key difference was the fact that it offered working-class men only a bed for the night and not a permanent place to live.

[784] V. v. W., 'Kommunala arbetarebostäderna', *Nya Pressen* 8.12.1908, 6–7; HKA/K187 Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen rakennuttamiskomissiot/UK 187:1, Komissioiden asiakirjat, Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen rakennuttamiskomission pöytäkirjojen liitteet, Utdrag ur protokollet, fördt vid Drätselkammarens i Helsingfors stad sammanträde den 15 oktober 1908.

[785] HKA/K187 Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen rakennuttamiskomissiot/UK 187:1 Komissioiden asiakirjat, Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen rakennuttamiskomission pöytäkirjojen liitteet, Utdrag ur protokollet, fördt vid Drätselkammarens i Helsingfors stad sammanträde den 15 oktober 1908; Redogörelse för uppförandet af kommunala hyresbostäder för arbetare i Helsingfors stad; HKA/Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen hallintolautakunta/Ca:1, Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen hallintolautakunnan pöytäkirja, 31.8.1908; V. v. W., 'Kommunala arbetarebostäder', *Hufvudstadsbladet* 25.11.1908, 5.

[786] HKA/Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen hallintolautakunta/Ca:1, Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen hallintolautakunnan pöytäkirja, 9.11.1908; V. v. W., 'Kommunala arbetarebostäder', *Hufvudstadsbladet* 25.11.1908, 5; V. v. W.: Kommunala arbetarebostäderna, *Nya Pressen* 8.12.1908, 6–7.

[787] KA/Henkikirjat/Uudenmaan läänin henkikirjat/U:263 Henkikirja (1910).

[788] A *bolag* (Swedish for company) or a *puulaaki* in Finnish was a system whereby an unmarried woman or widower rented out rooms to male students as well as younger pupils and provided them with full upkeep usually with the help of one or several servants. See for example Siegberg, *Vuodet ovat vierineet 2*.

rely on newspaper announcements and settle for a room rented from a stranger.[789] These students were especially seen as being in danger of lacking a proper home when in Helsinki.

> It was by the way lucky that we could come to our old apartment; it is impossible to get one here now and they are very expensive. The Russians have rented a lot of them for their wives and families (the officers who are here and so on). Many boys have searched for an apartment for up to three days and in the end they have had to settle for a bad one. Everyone who has visited us admires the fact that we have such a good room and so cheaply.[790]

> My apartment was ready waiting for me. It was wonderful that I could come to my apartment straight like this without having to run around the city, uncertain about whether one would get an apartment and what kind one would get. Apartments here are now even tighter and one has to pay staggeringly high prices.[791]

Finding a suitable room to rent became harder as the 20th century progressed. The city's growth meant that there was a general lack of housing since building could not keep up with the constant influx of people and students competed for housing with increasing numbers of other newcomers. Educational institutions were mainly concentrated in Helsinki since the only university, *The Imperial Alexander University/University of Helsinki*, was located there as were many of the smaller art, technical, and business schools.[792] The growth in the number of students contributed to the overall growth of the city: between 1872 and 1899 the number of students at the University rose from about six hundred to approximately 1300 students. Between 1899 and 1917 the number varied between 1300 and two or even three thousand depending on the year. In 1917 there were about 1700 students, but at the end of the 1920s the numbers rose

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[789] Koskenniemi, *Vuosisadanalun ylioppilas*,, 39–40.
[790] KA/Uuno Pesosen arkisto/KIRJEENVAIHTO/1 Kirjeenvaihtoa, Uuno to his family, 27.1.1915. Original: "Oli muuten onni, että saimme tulla entiseen kortteerimme; niitä ei täällä tahdo nyt saada mitenkään ja ovat hyvin kalliita. Ryssät ovat niitä nim. paljon vuokranneet rouvilleen ja perheilleen (täällä olevat upseerit y.m.). Monet pojat ovat etsineet kortteeria kolmekin päivää ja lopuksi saaneet huonoon tyytyä. Kaikki, jotka meillä käyvät, ihastelevat sitä, kun meillä on niin hyvä huone ja niin huokealla."
[791] KA/Uuno Pesosen arkisto/1 Kirjeenvaihtoa, Uuno to his family, 24.1.1916. Original: "Asuntoni oli valmiina minua odottamassa. Oli se suloinen asia, että sain näin tulla suoraan asuntooni tarvitsematta lähteä ramppaamaan ympäri kaupunki epätietoisena saako asunnon ja millaisen sen saa. Entistä tiukemmassa täällä nyt ovatkin asunnot ja saa maksaa aivan huikeita hintoja."
[792] *The Imperial Alexander University* of Finland had originally been founded in Turku in 1640 as the *Royal Academy of Turku* but it had been moved to Helsinki and renamed in 1828. In 1919 the university was renamed a second time and became the *University of Helsinki*. In addition to the university, there existed four schools that would eventually gain the status of a higher educational institution: the Art Society of Finland's drawing school (founded in 1848), a technical school called *Helsingin teknillinen reaalikoulu* (1849), the *Craft School* (1871), and the *Helsinki Music Institute* (1882). During the first three decades of the 20th century several new higher educational institutes were founded both in Helsinki and Turku: the *Hanken School of Economics* in 1909 (Swedish-speaking business school in Helsinki), the *Helsinki School of Economics* in 1911, *Åbo Akademi* in 1918 (a Swedish-speaking university in Turku), the *University of Turku* in 1920, and the *Civic College* in Helsinki in 1925.

rapidly, reaching 5000 students by 1930.[793] The increase in student numbers was a result of the education system widening to include more pupils from Finnish-speaking urban bourgeois, working-class and farming families.[794] As a consequence, higher proportions of students had smaller economic means and came from other parts of the country, meaning that they did not have the possibility of staying with their parents.[795]

In turn, fewer rooms were available for several reasons: post-war inflation had reduced the number of people able to rent rooms to students. The increased value placed on privacy and hygiene meant that bourgeois and upper-class families were no longer willing to offer rooms in their homes to students. New inter-war family housing no longer had extra rooms that could be rented out. In addition, many of the big apartments in the centre of the city, where students had traditionally found rooms, were being converted into office and business spaces, leaving even fewer options available.[796] All in all, as Y. H. wrote in *Ylioppilaslehti*, the student housing problem could only be solved as a part of solving the more general lack of housing.[797] Increased demand and inflation coupled with decreased supply led to higher rents, but price was not the only problem. It was claimed that many of the rooms were dark, cramped, draughty, noisy, and in a bad condition with old worn furniture. These poor living conditions were claimed to affect students' study success, health, and character in a negative way. Furthermore, because students in these kinds of rooms tended not to feel at home, it was argued that they would be more likely to seek entertainment elsewhere and succumb to the temptations of the city's nightlife, which not only took away their money but also endangered the development of their character.[798]

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[793] Matti Klinge, *Ylioppilaskunnan historia. 3, 1872-1917* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1968), 1 & 168; Matti Klinge, *Ylioppilaskunnan historia. 4, 1918-1960* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1968), 16 & 19–20.
[794] Mervi Kaarninen and Pekka Kaarninen, *Sivistyksen portti: ylioppilastutkinnon historia* (Helsinki: Otava, 2002), 102–8.
[795] Klinge, *Ylioppilaskunnan historia. 4, 1918-1960*, 16 & 19–20.
[796] KK/Etelä-Pohjalainen Osakunta (EPO):Ba6, pöytäkirjat, 29.4.1913, Liite 50; V. K., 'Pohjalaisten osakuntatalo ylioppilaskodiksi', *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/1913, 158; Y. H., 'Ylioppilaitten asuntokysymys,' *Ylioppilaslehti* 20/1915, 187–189; Petri Lempinen, *Opiskelijalle rakentamassa: Turun ylioppilaskylä haaveesta asuinalueeksi 1959-1980* (Helsinki: Opiskelijajärjestöjen tutkimussäätiö Otus, 2001), 20; Panu Nykänen and Iina Kohonen, *Tupsukansan koti: yli 50 vuotta teekkarikylän historiaa* (Espoo: Teknillisen korkeakoulun ylioppilaskunta, 2003), 18; Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 155, 181 & 279.
[797] KK/Etelä-Pohjalainen Osakunta (EPO):Ba6, pöytäkirjat, 29.4.1913, Liite 50; V. K., 'Pohjalaisten osakuntatalo ylioppilaskodiksi', *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/1913, 158; Y. H., 'Ylioppilaitten asuntokysymys', *Ylioppilaslehti* 20/1915, 187–189.
[798] KK/EPO:Ba6, 29.4.1913, Appendix 50; V. K., 'Pohjalaisten osakuntatalo ylioppilaskodiksi', *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/1913, 158; Y. H., 'Ylioppilaitten asuntokysymys', *Ylioppilaslehti* 20/1915, 187–189; J. R. T., 'Ylioppilaiden asuntokysymys. Pari pikkuparannusta', *Ylioppilaslehti* 25/1915, 234–235.

Own home, own rules![799]

One solution for addressing these problems with student housing was for student organisations called *student nations* (*osakunta*) to offer their members accommodation by building their own houses. Until 1937 it was compulsory for a student of the University to be a member of a nation.[800] The student nations had been formed on the basis of their regions of origin. The idea was that students who had roots (their own or their parents) in a specific region of Finland belonged to the same nation and shared a joint regional heritage and culture. In a new and unfamiliar city and social setting, the student nations brought students together to socialise in familiar company and to support each other.[801] At the end of the 19th century there were seven student nations but by the end of the 1930s, through divisions and splits due to language differences, the number of nations had risen to fifteen (see Appendix 8).

The advocates of student homes argued that through them nations could offer their members cheaper, healthier, more comfortable, more work-inducing, and more peaceful homes with services they otherwise lacked, such as a central kitchen or a restaurant, baths and access to the social facilities of the nation.[802] Yet, the possibility of providing housing for their members constituted only one of the reasons behind the nations' desire to initiate their own building projects. The main motivation was to secure permanent venues for the nation's events and socialising among its members since the (Old) Student House, which had been built in 1870, had become too crowded and could no longer fulfil this purpose.[803] A home of one's own constituted freedom, self-determination, stability and flexibility and it was seen as the prerequisite for the success of associational life.[804] Table 10 lists all the different student buildings that were built as well as student homes that existed before 1939.

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[799] In Finnish: *Oma tupa, oma lupa!* Quote from an article about the building of the Tavastia Nation, constructed in 1931, Talonmies, 'Hiukan kotitaloudesta taikka paremmin ehkä eräästä kotitalosta', *Ylioppilaslehti* 6A/1931, 114.

[800] Besides Helsinki, student nations existed also in the Swedish universities of Uppsala and Lund; see Matti Klinge and Laura Kolbe, *Suomen ylioppilas* (Helsinki: Otava, 1991), 49.

[801] Klinge and Kolbe, 49.

[802] KK/EPO:Ba6, 29.4.1913, Liite 50; V. K., 'Pohjalaisten osakuntatalo ylioppilaskodiksi', *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/1913, 158; Kivinen, *Karjalaisten talo-osakeyhtiö*, 4 & 6–7.

[803] KK/Pohjalainen Osakunta (PO):Ba13, pöytäkirjat, 23.11.1903; 20.11.1903; Jouko Tolvanen, *Karjalainen osakunta 1905-1954: henkilöitä, tapahtumia, toimintaa* (Helsinki: Otava, 1955), 45; Nykänen and Kohonen, *Tupsukansan koti*, 17. Before 1910 the Old Student House was known only as the Student House. The prefix "old" was added when the New Student House, also known as the Nation House, was built in 1910.

[804] Risto Vuorjoki, 'Pohjois-Pohjalainen Osakunta 1907-1931', in *Pohjois-Pohjalainen Osakunta 1907-1932*, ed. Vilho Helanen and et al. (Helsinki: Pohjois-Pohjalainen osakunta, 1932), 102. See also Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 93.

Building/home	built/possible student home	functions/spaces	residents in the student home	services and facilities in the student home
(Old) Student House	1870	festive hall, meeting rooms, restaurant	-	-
Nylands Nation's building	1883 and 1901 (new building)	club rooms for nations, festive halls etc.	-	-
Students of technology	1885 (Yhdistys) & 1903 (Poli)	festive hall, library, restaurant	see Teekkarila	
Students Christian Association	1902 (the home ran only a couple of years)		20	
Evangelical student home	*1904*		*8-15*	*cleaning, meals*
YMCA Building	*1907/ 1909–1913 (student home)*	*association rooms, festive hall, gymnastics hall, baths, hospitz*	*approx. 10*	*cleaning, food could be bought from the hospitz*
Karelia House	1910	rooms for the nation, festive hall, private apartments	the plan was never realised	
New Student House/Domus Academica	1910	clubrooms, restaurant	17	dining room
Ostrobotnia	*1912/1928-> (student home)*	*clubrooms, festive hall, restaurant*	*27-*	*common room, restaurant downstairs, cleaning*
Konvikti (Finland's Church)	*1920*		*14-25*	*meals, cleaning and laundry*
Kalliola (settlement movement)	*1920*		*6-25*	*common room, restaurant in the building*
Awakening student home	*1928*		*12-30*	*meals (1934->), cleaning*
Teekkarila	*1931*	*private apartments, shops, sports, facilities, shooting range*	*48*	*floor phones, common room, sports facilities in the building, breakfast/small meals*
Hämäläis-building	1931	clubrooms, festive hall, meeting hall	no student housing until the 1950s	

Table 10. The different buildings built by student organisations as well as the different student homes during the period from the 1870s to the 1930s.
Those marked in italics are discussed in the chapter.

The first student building project with the aim of also providing student housing was started by the Karelia Nation (see Karelia House in Table 10) but the project ended in bankruptcy before

any housing could be made available to the nation's members.[805] The Ostrobothnia Nation had started collecting money for its home at around the same time as the Karelia Nation and, despite the fact that the nation split into three in 1907–1908, the three new nations continued the building project together. The building, the *Ostrobotnia*, was finished in 1912. During the planning process the Ostrobothnian nations decided that, while the idea of a student home was worth supporting, it was not as important as providing social rooms and facilities for the nations.[806] The plan was that the private apartments located on the upper floors of the building should be designed so that they could easily be converted into a student home in the future.[807]

This plan was carried out by the three nations in September 1928, when the first students moved into the new Ostrobothnia Student Home (*Pohjalainen ylioppilaskoti*). In the beginning there was room for 27 students and only students, who were members of one of the three nations, were eligible to apply for a room. The board also had the right to refuse to accommodate a person they had reason to believe was 'unsuited' to live in the student home.[808] Altogether there were seven two-person rooms, four three-person rooms and one single room in five apartments. Both female and male students were accepted but they had to live in separate apartments.[809] In the beginning, students already living in the home had the right to continue doing so if they wished but from 1931 onwards the board decided that the home should offer more places for first-year students even at the expense of former residents.[810] After adding more rooms to the home in 1929 and 1932, the student home comprised of nine apartments with altogether 27 rooms and 2 kitchens.[811]

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[805] KK/Karjalainen Osakunta (KO):Ca1, pöytäkirjat, 3.3.1909; 'Piirteitä Karjalaisen osakunnan elämästä 1905–1915', *Ylioppilaslehti* 7.3.1915, 79–82; Tolvanen, *Karjalainen osakunta 1905-1954*, 46 & 97–98.
[806] According to Petri Lempinen, students' building projects during this period were characterised by the idea of multifunctionality. The building needed to accommodate different kinds of needs: housing, facilities for the association, library, meetings, restaurant, sports facilities as well as shops for businesses. Housing became a more prominent part of student housing projects during the 1930s, but only after the war, between 1945 and 1952, did it dominate the building projects that student organisations carried out, see Lempinen, *Opiskelijalle rakentamassa*, 10 & 18.
[807] KK/Pohjalaisten osakuntien yhteiset arkistot, Pohjalainen valtuuskunta (PY6):Ca5, pöytäkirjat, 17.4.1910; 24.4.1910; KK/Pohjois-Pohjalainen Osakunta (PPO):Ca1.2, pöytäkirjat, 24.4.1910; KK/EPO:Ba3, pöytäkirjat, 25.4.1910; KK/ Pohjalaisten osakuntien yhteiset arkistot (PY1):Ha1.1, arkkitehtikilpailun ohjelma.
[808] KK/Pohjalaisten osakuntien yhteiset arkistot, Pohjalaisten ylioppilaskoti (PY2):DbI:1, Pohjalaisen ylioppilaskodin ohjesääntö.
[809] KK/PY2:Ca1, johtokunnan pöytäkirjat, 21.8.1928; 3.9.1928.
[810] KK/PY2:Ca2, johtokunnan pöytäkirjat, 11.4.1929; Ca4, johtokunnan pöytäkirjat, 1.4.1931.
[811] KK/PY2:Ca2, johtokunnan pöytäkirjat , 2.9.1929; Kaarlo Koskimies, *Pohjalaisten osakuntatalo 25-vuotias* (Helsinki, 1937), 16.

The student union of the students of technology (*Teknillisen korkeakoulun ylioppilaskunta*, TKY) built a new building, *Teekkarila*, next to its existing building *Poli* in 1931.[812] In addition to student housing, the building housed shops on the ground floor, a shooting range in the basement, apartments rented to outsiders, and a sports hall on the top floor of the building.[813] Student housing consisted of 24 two-person 'boxes', a manager's apartment, a servants' room, a kitchen, and a common room (*seurusteluhuone*).[814] The 'boxes' were only available for male students.[815]

Besides the student organisations, different religious associations and the Church of Finland arranged accommodation for students during the first decades the 20th century. These associations included the YMCA (*NMKY*), the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (*Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys*), the Awakening movement (*Heränäisyys*), and the Settlement movement (*Setlementtiliike*).[816] Despite YMCA circles considering the provision of housing for young men as important, the YMCA building that was finished in 1907 did not include any such housing since economic concerns took priority.[817] The association did for a short period between 1909 and 1913 rent out a few rooms in a separate building to students, who for a monthly fee could have breakfast and dinner delivered from the restaurant of the

[812] The building was also called *Teikkarila*.
[813] Jyrki Helin, *Satavuotias Teknillisen korkeakoulun ylioppilaskunta: TKY:n ja sen edeltäjien historiaa vuosilta 1872-1972* (Teknillinen korkeakoulu, 1972), 73–74; Koponen, *75 vuotta teekkarielämää*, 57; Nykänen and Kohonen, *Tupsukansan koti*, 31.
[814] Rep, 'Polyteikkarikoti', *Tekniikan ylioppilas* 30.10.1930, 2–3; Koponen, *75 vuotta teekkarielämää*, 57–58; Nykänen and Kohonen, *Tupsukansan koti*, 31.
[815] Rep., 'Polyteikkarikoti', *Tekniikan ylioppilas* 2/1930, 2–3; Koponen, *75 vuotta teekkarielämää*, 59. In 1940, a section of the private apartments in the building were converted into rooms meant for female students.
[816] The Settlement Movement's student home was not Christian in the same way as the others, but I have still included it in this section because the movement began in Finland within Church circles. Today the Finnish Federation of Settlement Houses is a religiously and politically independent organization. See http://www.setlementti.fi/setlementtiliitto/, visited 24.5.2014.
[817] HNMKY/The YMCA's first rent agreement, signed 1.10.1907; *Helsingin Nuorten Miesten Kristillisen Yhdistyksen vuosikertomus vuodelta 1907* (Helsinki: Helsingin Nuorten Miesten Kristillinen Yhdistys, 1908), 4; NMKY:n johtokunta, pöytäkirjat, 27.11.1894; 25.1.1895; 19.2.1897; 9.4.1897; 4.5.1897; 6.10.1903, a grant application to the Malm Foundation.; General meeting of the YMCA, minutes 14.3.1894; *Kristliga Föreningen af unge män i Finland : meddelanden om tio års värksamheten i K. F. U. M. Helsingfors 1889-1899* (Helsinki: K.F.U.M., 1900), 28–30 ; 'Helsingin Nuorten Miesten Kr. Yhd:sen Vuosikertomus v:lta 1895–1896', *Kuukauslehti* 8/1896, 34–36; YMCA/a letter in favour of the building project addressed to the members of the city council, dated 5.2.1901; Elä, 'Oma koti', in *N.M.K.Y:n kesätervehdys ystävilleen* (Helsinki: Nuorten Miesten Kristillinen Yhdistys 1903), 26; A. W. K., 'Helsingin N.M.K.Y:n talo', *Kuukauslehti* 11/1906, 173–174. In American cities, the YMCA opened much larger 'hotels' and offered a range of services for young men. See Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*, 156–66.

association's Christian Boarding House (*Kristillinen Matkailijakoti*), commonly referred to as the Hospitz.[818]

A more long-term home, called the *Konvikti*, was run by the Church of Finland in order to make it easier for young men to study to become priests and help solve the continuous problem of the lack of priests around the country.[819] Konvikti had been founded in 1920 and between 1922 and 1938 was located in the YMCA building, where the Church rented out 10 rooms.[820] Already in 1904 *The Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland* had founded a small student home called *Domus* with the aim of supporting those future priests, who shared the beliefs of the evangelical movement and would help to spread the word among the people.[821] Another strand of the Christian revival in Finland, *the Awakening movement*, also had a student home in Helsinki. Already during the 1910s Aarne Roering (1887–1961) had accommodated student members of the movement at his home before the actual student home was founded in 1928, when an apartment was bought with the support of the Awakening circles.[822] Finally, the *Settlement* movement accommodated students as a part of the movement's agenda to have educated people live in working class districts in order to break down class barriers and do volunteer work among the lower classes.[823] All of these four homes started out by providing rooms for 6 to 14 students and after changing locations or acquiring more rooms the total number of residents rose to 14 to 25 students. In all but the Settlement home, the residents were male students of theology, most of whom became priests. The rent usually included the fee for cleaning and meals.[824]

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[818] HNMKY/NMKY:n johtokunta, pöytäkirjat, 26.1.1909; 21.8.1909; Kristillisen Matkailijakodin johtokunta, pöytäkirjat, 21.8.1909.
[819] Antti Kähkönen, *Ylioppilaskoti Konvikti 1920-1980* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston käytännöllisen teologian laitos, Yleinen jaosto, 1983), 11. The Konvikti still offers accommodation for students of theology, see http://konvikti.fi.
[820] By 1920 the discussion about the need for a student home within the Church had been going on for decades. See Kähkönen, 11.
[821] Ylioppilaskodistamme, *Sanansaattaja* 13/1904, 206; Pentti Laasonen, 'Ylioppilaskoti Domuksen 50-vuotistaipaleelta', in *Sanan koulussa: Evankeliumiyhdistyksen ylioppilaskoti Domuksen 50-vuotisjuhlajulkaisu*, ed. Pentti Laasonen (Helsinki: Suomen luterilainen evankeliumiyhdistys, 1954), 7.
[822] M. O. Karttunen, 'Aarne Roering - Heränneiden ylioppilaskodin isäntä', in *Körttikodin kuusi vuosikymmentä: Heränneiden ylioppilaskoti 1928-1988*, ed. Petri Järveläinen (Lapua: Herättäjä-yhdistys r.y., 1988), 5–7.
[823] Ped., 'Ylioppilaat ja Kalliola', *Ylioppilaslehti* 13/1929, 256–257; Viljo Turunen, 'Kalliola ylioppilaitten yhteiskunnallisten harrastusten edistäjänä', *Ylioppilaslehti* 24/1930, 499.
[824] Ylioppilaskodistamme, *Sanansaattaja* 13/1904, 206; Laasonen, 'Ylioppilaskoti Domuksen 50-vuotistaipaleelta', 7 & 10; Kähkönen, *Ylioppilaskoti Konvikti 1920-1980*, 23–28, 57 & 71; Karttunen, 'Aarne Roering', 3–8; Väinö Karhumäki, 'Körttikodissa 1930- ja -40-luvuilla', in *Körttikodin kuusi vuosikymmentä: Heränneiden ylioppilaskoti 1928-1988*, ed. Petri Järveläinen (Lapua: Herättäjä-yhdistys r.y., 1988), 12.

> [Rented rooms] lack a feeling of homeliness and this lack of homeliness tempts student to often seek satisfaction and entertainment outside their dwelling in bars, etc. Left alone in their reading chambers without the supervision and guiding company of older friends or other older persons these young, inexperienced students from the countryside often fall prey to influences that are detrimental and paralyze the desire to study.[825]

Alongside many other organizations founded by people from the middle and upper classes, both the student nations and the Christian associations were especially concerned about the young people, who had moved to Helsinki from other parts of Finland and who had no existing friends or connections in the area.[826] Helsinki was portrayed as a big, busy city—something completely different from the rest of Finland, which at this point was very agrarian—swarming with dangers and temptations that could corrupt the innocent and inexperienced newcomer, who was without the protection, guidance and moral support of a family home. Some of the writings in the newspapers followed the logic of a gateway theory and presented having one drink as leading almost automatically to becoming a drunkard as well as to fornication.[827]

To some extent comments made in men's diaries and memoirs do confirm that students themselves experienced differences between those who were from the city and those who had moved to Helsinki from elsewhere. Both Vieno Sukselainen and V. A. Koskenniemi mentioned how students who came from other parts of the country remained outsiders in Helsinki. Without contacts in the city, one was not likely to make any during one's days as a student—that is, beyond the circle of student friends.[828] According to F. E. Sillanpää (1888–1964), men from the countryside were especially at a disadvantage in the beginning because for them "the leap from one world to the other was much greater."[829] A student, who had gone to high school in Helsinki, already knew all the places and ways of students. As all the new aspects did not overawe them as much as they did a rural boy, who had only recently been introduced to all the

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[825] KK/EPO:Ba6, 29.4.1913, Liite 50. Original: "Niistä puuttuu useimmiten kodikkuuden tunne ja kodikkuuden puute houkuttelee ylioppilaat usein hakemaan tyydytystä ja viihtymystä asuntonsa ulkopuolelta kapakoista y. m. paikoista. Jätettyinä yksinäisiin lukukammioihinsa vailla vanhempien tovereitten tai muitten vanhempian henkilöiden valvontaa ja ohjaavaa seuraa vastaanottavat nuoret kokemattomat maaseudun ylioppilaat usein vahingollisia ja opintohalua lamauttavia vaikutteita. Vailla haitallista merkitystä ei ole sekään, että ylioppilaat syödessään, kuten kaikkein useimmissa tapauksissa on asianlaita, yleisissä ruokapaikoissa kadottavat paljon aikaa kulkemiseen kodin ja ruokapaikan välillä."
[826] K. V. V., 'Ylioppilaskodit', *Kuukauslehti* 4/1899, 60–62; Antikainen, *Suuri sisarpiiri*, 15.
[827] For example, Taisto, 'Ylioppilaskoti ja raittiuskoti pääkaupunkiin', *Uusi Suometar* 9.8.1889, 2; 'Sananen vanhemmille ja muillekin nuorten ystäville', *Hämeen Sanomat* 7.7.1894, 3; 'Ylioppilaskoti', *Uusimaa* 27.2.1901., 1–2. W. U. M., 'Wanha, jalo aate jälleen eloon herätetty' *Kotimaa* 3.3.1906, 1.
[828] KA/V. J. Sukselaisen arkisto/Päiväkirja 5, 11.4.1930; Koskenniemi, *Vuosisadanalun ylioppilas*,57.
[829] Sillanpää, *Poika eli elämäänsä*, 207–8.

new possibilities and freedoms of student life, they usually "found the right balance between work and pleasure" more easily according to Sillanpää.[830]

The nations and especially the Christian associations worried about what might happen if the newcomers were left to take this 'leap' without appropriate guidance. The reason why it was so important to build a *home* for the students instead of just a place where they could live, was because true protection for these young men, and women in some cases, in this liminal phase of their life could only be given in a home and under the educational influence of a community with characteristics similar to those of a family.[831] The home as something stable and familiar was juxtaposed with the unknown, constantly changing city. In a home, students could not only study but their well-being and future abilities to carry out the familial and social responsibilities that were expected of them could be ensured through nurture and education. Pentti Kivinen, who was the key advocate of the Karelia House project, argued that, while freedom was an important characteristic of Finnish student life, there could be too much freedom if it meant a lack of care and concern.[832] In explaining the need for their own building, the YMCA argued that there was no task more important than to care for the "sons" because the way a young man spent the days of his youth determined the course the rest of his life was going to take.[833] Home was seen as the ultimate way of fostering physical, mental and, most importantly, moral health. A homelike environment, in the sense of a family home, was also regarded as the type of setting that the newcomers longed for in a new, unfamiliar and possibly distressing place.

Both the student nations and Christian associations argued that they could provide such a homelike environment.[834] However, the communality and feelings of relatedness were based on different elements. In the nations, the residents shared geographical roots and were brought together by the experience of being far away from their places of origin. As the Karelia Nation and the three Ostrobothnia nations represented students coming from the areas furthest away from Helsinki, advocates of the homes argued that their members felt the most homeless in

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[830] Sillanpää, *Poika eli elämäänsä*, 208.
[831] Taisto, 'Ylioppilaskoti ja raittiuskoti pääkaupunkiin' *Uusi Suometar* 9.8.1889, 2; 'Raittius-yhdistys "Tähden"', *Uusi Suometar* 3.9.1889, 3; Esko, 'Kirje Helsingistä', *Satakunta* 15.10.1889, 1–2; 'Sananen vanhemmille ja muillekin nuorten ystäville', *Hämeen Sanomat* 7.7.1894, 3.
[832] Kivinen, *Karjalaisten talo-osakeyhtiö*, 4 & 6–7.
[833] HNMKY/A letter in favour of the building project addressed to the members of the city council, dated 5.2.1901 and appendix; NMKY:n johtokunta, pöytäkirjat, 6.10.1903, a grant application to the Malm Foundation; K. V. V., 'Ylioppilaskodit', *Kuukauslehti* 4/1899, 60–62.
[834] KK/EPO:Ba3, osakunnan kokouksen pöytäkirja 25.4.1910; Ba6, osakunnan kokouksen pöytäkirja 29.4.1913; H. E. Vegelius, 'Vieläkin ylioppilas-kodista', *Vartija* 5-6/1890, 149–152; K. W. Tamminen, 'Ylioppilaskoti', *Pääsiäinen* 1911, 12-13; Kivinen, *Karjalaisten talo-osakeyhtiö*, 7.

Helsinki and that students' poor living conditions threatened especially their members' wellbeing and future.[835] According to Frans Äimä, who had first suggested raising money for such a venture within the Ostrobothnian circles, Ostrobothnian students needed a joint place where they could come together, since currently they were scattered into small groups with their own meeting places.[836]

> Now it felt like we were on a familiar ground, Ostrobotnia was like a piece of the home province. Among the company of people from Ostrobothnia, as separate from the rest of Helsinki, lived the old Ostrobothnian spirit free and strong.[837]

This is how Risto Vuorjoki in 1932 described the feelings that Ostrobotnia had evoked among the students and people from the area. The nation's own house was seen as providing not only homes for students in the form of housing but a home in a larger sense for the whole community of students and people from Ostrobothnia. Vuorjoki called Ostrobotnia the "headquarters of Ostrobothnians in Helsinki", while the house of the Tavastia Nation (*Hämäläisten talo*) was also described, when it was finished in 1931, as giving "Tavastia a permanent place in the capital."[838] The residents of the student home were seen to be doing their part in creating this characteristically Ostrobothnian atmosphere and in making the nation house a "true home" for a "clan family" (*heimoperhe*) that fostered the spirit and traditions of Ostrobothnia.[839] The nation house was also important in the sense that it represented and promoted the interests of Ostrobothnia in the capital. The home region was one of the scales on which a sense of belonging was built.

The practices of the Ostrobothnian student home supported the family relationships of its inhabitants and the fostering of the students' links to their home region. Unlike privately rented rooms, the inhabitants of the student home only had to pay rent for the periods of 10.9. –10.12.

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[835] Kivinen, *Karjalaisten talo-osakeyhtiö*, 3–4. For example, out of the members of the Northern Ostrobothnia Nation between 1907–1930 78% had stated that their place of home was located in Ostrobothnia whereas 12% came from Helsinki. See Vilho Helanen, *Pohjois-Pohjalainen osakunta, 1907-1932* (Helsinki: Pohjois-Pohjalainen osakunta, 1932), 164.
[836] KK/PO:Ba13, pöytäkirjat, 23.11.1903; 30.11.1903.
[837] Vuorjoki, 'Pohjois-Pohjalainen Osakunta 1907-1931', 102. Original: "Nyt tunnettiin oltavan kotoisella pohjalla, Ostrobotnia oli kuin kappale kotimaakuntaa. Täällä, pohjalaisten keskeisessä seurassa, ikäänkuin erillään Helsingistä ollen, eli vanha pohjalainen henki vapaana ja voimakkaana."
[838] Talonmies, 'Hiukan kotitaloudesta taikka paremmin ehkä eräästä kotitalosta', *Ylioppilaslehti* 6A/1931, 114, original: "hämäläisyys on pian saava vakinaisen asunnon pääkaupungissa"; Vuorjoki, 100. Original: "pohjalaisuuden päämaja Helsinkiin."
[839] V. K., 'Pohjalaisten osakuntatalo ylioppilaskodiksi', *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/1913, 158. Eino B. Lehtinen, 'Pohjalainen Ylioppilaskoti', *Ylioppilaslehti* 8/1928, 115–116; P., 'Omalla Pohjalla. Tosiasioita ja tarinaa Pohjalaisesta Ylioppilaskodista', *Ylioppilaslehti* 24/1929, 454–455.

and 15.1. –15.5. Beyond those days the student paid only for the days that he or she stayed in the home. The rules of the home thus acknowledged that most students wanted to spend their holidays with their parents or relatives and enabled this by not charging rent during these periods.[840]

At the same time, for the nations' representatives the student homes also offered a venue where students could meet people with different interests, worldviews, or perspectives. They saw this diversity as a thing that would enrich the students' lives.[841] The Christian associations for the most part were of the opposite opinion:

> From our side, we would ask to say this: *only with such a Christian programme is the student home to become useful also here, that might even be its only possible form of being*.[842]

This is how the person writing with the penname K.V.V. expressed the opinion of the Helsinki Young Men's Christian Association's monthly magazine, *Kuukauslehti*, in the matter of establishing student homes in Finnish cities. According to K.V.V., student homes could only be successful if they were built as part of institutions that had educational aims and were not just meant to aid students financially. To prevent the homes from becoming breeding grounds for squalor and indecency, the residents had to share the same Christian values as well as be united in striving for a greater good.[843] Furthermore, living in "a good Christian home" with people who shared the same beliefs would prevent the students from losing their faith due to the bad influences and ungodly temptations of the city.[844] Especially within the Awakening and Evangelical movements, parents seem to have been worried that in Helsinki their children would be corrupted and that they would be alienated from God and the movement.[845] The student home was, in turn, presented as a safe haven from the world, where the boys could live with likeminded people.[846] While for the student nations providing a home for people from a

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[840] KK/PY2:Ca1, johtokunnan pöytäkirjat, 25.10.1928.
[841] KK/EPO:Ba6, pöytäkirjat, 29.4.1913, Appendix 50; Pentti Kivinen, 'Karjalaisten koti', *Lukutupa* 11.3.1908, 57–58; K., 'Pohjalaisten osakuntatalo ylioppilaskodiksi', *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/1913, 158; Y. H., 'Ylioppilaitten asuntokysymys', *Ylioppilaslehti* 20/1915, 187–189; Kivinen, *Karjalaisten talo-osakeyhtiö*, 17–21.
[842] K. V. V., 'Ylioppilaskodit', *Kuukauslehti* 4/1899, 60–62. Original: "Omasta puolestamme pyydämme lausua tähän: *ainoastaan tämmöisellä kristillisellä ohjelmalla on ylioppilaskoti meilläkin hyödyksi, jopa on se sen ainoa mahdollinen olemismuoto*."
[843] K. V. V., 'Ylioppilaskodit', *Kuukauslehti* 4/1899, 60–62.
[844] H. E. Wegelius, 'Ylioppilaskodista eli konviktista', *Vartija* 11/1889, 351–356; H. E. Vegelius, 'Vieläkin ylioppilas-kodista', *Vartija* 5–6/1890, 149–152; 'Kertomus Suomen Luterilaisen Evankeliumi-Yhdistyksen toiminnasta vuonna 1903', *Sanansaattaja* 18/1904, 279–280; Laasonen, 'Ylioppilaskoti Domuksen 50-vuotistaipaleelta', 5 & 8; Karttunen, 'Aarne Roering', 6.
[845] K. W. Tamminen, 'Ylioppilaskoti' *Pääsiäinen* 1911, 12–13; Karhumäki, 'Körttikodissa 1930- ja -40-luvuilla', 15.
[846] J. C., 'Ylioppilaskodistamme', *Sanansaattaja* 12/05, 181–182.

specific region had been the main purpose, for the student homes of the different strands of the Awakening movement a homely home was more a means to end than an aim itself. Their main purpose was to ensure that their boys did not stray from the flock as they moved to a new place. The homes' function was to strengthen the religious community by protecting its members as well as to advance its interests by supporting the education of future priests.

These aims were apparent in the everyday routines as well as the material culture of the homes: the residents prayed together with the staff, they had bible study together, and there were religious statues and pictures in the rooms. The residents and the staff formed a family-like community with shared meal times. They celebrated holidays together, developed their own traditions, and gave each other help and support in times of need, like brothers.[847] The decoration of the rooms with their textiles, pictures, plants and decorative items replicated the cosiness and intimacy of a family home. Most of the furniture and items in the Evangelical home had been received as donations from the members of the movement. The home was thus the result of the joint effort of the whole movement. Both the spiritual and the material setting of the home reflected the importance that the students and the home had for the community. The residents of the Christian homes often shared other interests and hobbies such as sports or singing in a choir.[848] The residents of the Konvikti also did volunteer work within the YMCA when the home was situated in the YMCA building. Students living in the Settlement movement's student home also participated in the organisation's work, for example as teachers.[849] These free time activities were healthy, moral and educational, and strengthened the students' morals, unlike the more stereotypical student and bachelor pursuits.

Student rooms

Due to the alleged bad quality of rented rooms on the private market, the Ostrobothnia student home in particular wanted to provide students with housing that was furnished appropriately and hygienically and served their specific domestic needs. The furniture in the Ostrobothnia Home as well as the student rooms of Teekkarila was specifically designed for the homes by

[847] J. C., 'Ylioppilaskodistamme', *Sanansaattaja* 12/05, 181–182; 'Yhdistyksen ylioppilaskoti', *Sanansaattaja* 17/1909, 270–271; Laasonen, 'Ylioppilaskoti Domuksen 50-vuotistaipaleelta', 14–15; Karhumäki, 'Körttikodissa 1930- ja -40-luvuilla', 16.
[848] Kähkönen, *Ylioppilaskoti Konvikti 1920-1980*, 54; Karhumäki, 'Körttikodissa 1930- ja -40-luvuilla', 16.
[849] Ped., 'Ylioppilaat ja Kalliola', *Ylioppilaslehti* 13/1929, 256–257; Kähkönen, *Ylioppilaskoti Konvikti 1920-1980*, 50.

an architect.[850] Students' personal belongings consisted of what they could fit in a suitcase or two and possibly a basket they had their family send after them. The probates of students confirm that most students did not own any basic domestic items let alone furniture.[851] Most students' possessions consisted of their clothes, a watch, books or other types of study material and possibly some other personal items such as cameras, radios, musical instruments or items related to personal hygiene.

Ostrobothnia Student Home[852]	**Teekkarila**[853]	**Student Home of the Lutheran Evangelical Association**[854]
desk, 2-3 chairs 1-2 armchairs book shelf bureau 1-2 mirrors bed and 1-2 sofa beds with mattresses, duvets and pillows nightstand 1-2 coffee tables 1-2 table lamps 2 paintings curtains rugs ceiling lamp water carafe and glasses covers for the bed and sofa beds	small entrance room and washing facilities 2 iron beds bookshelf table 2 chairs 2 armchairs coffee table ceiling lamp	ceramic stove sink with a tap stand for towels washing cupboard rocking chair two tables bureau bookshelf 4 chairs table lamp plant

Table 11. Examples of furnishings in three different student homes in the 1920s and 1930s. The lists for Teekkarila and the home of the Lutheran Evangelical Association do not necessarily include all the domestic items that were provided by the homes as they are based on photos or descriptions of the rooms provided in secondary literature. For example, the curtains and bed covers of a room in Teekkarila were probably provided by the home but this has not been mentioned in the available source material.

[850] KK/PY6:Ca5, pöytäkirjat, 1.2.1928, liite 1; KK/PY2/Bb:2, Undated lists of furniture; KK/PY2/Ea:1, A letter from the Prison Service dated 20.4.1929; P. 'Omalla Pohjalla. Tosiasioita ja tarinaa Pohjalaisesta Ylioppilaskodista', *Ylioppilaslehti* 24/1929, 454–455; Rep., 'Polyteikkarikoti', *Tekniikan ylioppilas* 2/1930, 2–3.
[851] The 1881–1890 period included four students, 1900–1909 three and 1925–1934 23.
[852] KK/PY6:Ca5, pöytäkirjat, 1.2.1928, liite 1; KK/PY2/Bb:2, Undated lists of furniture; KK/PY2/Ea:1, A letter from the Prison Service dated 20.4.1929; P. 'Omalla Pohjalla. Tosiasioita ja tarinaa Pohjalaisesta Ylioppilaskodista', *Ylioppilaslehti* 24/1929, 454–455.
[853] E. A.: T.K.Y:n uutisrakennus valmistuu. *Ylioppilaslehti* 18B/1930, 375; Rep, 'Polyteikkarikoti', *Tekniikan ylioppilas* 30.10.1930, 2–3; Nykänen and Kohonen, *Tupsukansan koti*, 31; Jari Hanski, *Polin suojiin me saavumme taas: Teknillisen korkeakoulun ylioppilaskunta 125 vuotta* (Espoo: Teknillisen Korkeakoulun Ylioppilaskunta, 1997), 131.
[854] List based on a description given by Verner J. Aurola, who lived in the home during the 1920s, see Verner J. Aurola, 'Malminkadun ylioppilaskodissa kolmekymmentä vuotta sitten', in *Sanan koulussa: Evankeliumiyhdistyksen ylioppilaskoti Domuksen 50-vuotisjuhlajulkaisu*, ed. Pentti Laasonen (Helsinki: Suomen luterilainen evankeliumiyhdistys, 1954), 94–95.

In all the student homes, the rooms were furnished and decorated by the management and, as we can see can be seen in Table 11, most if not all student homes had similar sets of furniture reflecting general attitudes and conceptions about the needs of students and young people in general. The main activities students were expected to perform in their rooms included sleeping (beds), studying (tables and desks), reading (armchairs), storing books and other possessions (bookshelf, bureau, chest of drawers), washing, and socializing with the other inhabitants and friends (sofas, chairs, coffee tables). The photographs taken of the Ostrobothnia student home and Teekkarila show all the students in the photographs reading and studying. The photographs were likely set up this way in order to underline that these were *student* homes as well as the homes' appropriateness, but at the same time the photographs emphasize that providing a quiet and a suitable place to study was one of the main functions of the homes.[855] Despite the furniture being purposefully selected for student rooms, as single rooms these spaces required, similar to boxes, flexible forms of domesticity exemplified by the sofa beds used in the Ostrobothnia home or the sharing of work desks in Teekkarila. In the Ostrobothnia Home, even smaller domestic items such as paintings, curtains and other textiles were readily provided, which might have been a way to prevent possible conflicts between roommates but also meant that the inhabitants had fewer possibilities for personalization.

Sailors' homes: A lifebuoy for the nation's sons

A similar set of concerns to the Christian student homes dominated earlier discussions about sailors' homes. Their advocates argued that in order to provide a truly safe haven for sailors and to strengthen their moral shields the homes had to be committed to Christian values and teachings.[856] The Seamen's Mission (*Suomen Merimieslähetysseura*), founded in 1875, had been the pioneer of improving the lives of Finnish sailors abroad.[857] The Mission founded stations where it offered sailors a space for socializing, reading newspapers and literature, writing and receiving letters, and the chance to participate in services and other religious

[855] The University Library (*Yliopiston kirjasto*, the current National Library) had a reading room, which had places for 60 people, but is said to have become crowded from as early as 1912. See Georg Schauman, 'Maamme huomatuimpia kirjastoja. I. Yliopiston kirjasto', *Kirjastolehti* 1/1912, 3–9. The library of the student union opened a reading room for studying only in 1921 and, according to Hanna Kuusi, its 30 to 40 places were full every day. See Hanna Kuusi, *Lainatut, viivatut, tentityt: Ylioppilaskunnan kirjasto/Helsingin yliopiston opiskelijakirjasto 1858-2009* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011), 38.
[856] 'Jyväskylästä ja lähiseuduilta. Kokous merimieskodin perustamista varten Hulliin', *Suomalainen* 13.4.1894, 2; 'Merimieskoti Turkuun', *Rauman Lehti* 4.11.1899, 2; 'Turun merimieskoti', *Turun Sanomat* 22.5.1906, 1; 'Eräs ihmisystävällinen laitos', *Turun Sanomat* 14.1.1909, 2; U. J. P., 'Merimieslähetys ja merimieskodit', *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat* 27.7.1926, 3; Satamalähetys Turussa', *Uusi Aura* 13.4.1910, 5.
[857] Markkola, *Synti ja siveys*, 136.

activities in the Mission's churches.[858] The Mission transferred money to Finland on behalf of the sailors, tried to prevent sailors from visiting bars and brothels, visited sailors in hospitals, and helped sailors in need in different ways.[859]

While the first sailors' homes in Europe had already been founded in the 1830s, the first home in Finland was opened some time in the 1890s in Mariehamn, the capital of Åland.[860] This was followed by one in Turku in 1900 and one in Helsinki was opened in 1907.[861] Abroad, Finnish sailors stayed in local homes, small homes run by private Finnish individuals and in the homes of the Scandinavian Association for Seamen's Homes Abroad (*Foreningen for de skandinaviska Sjomandshjem i fremmede havne*), which were located in all the major ports cities of the Atlantic.[862] The Scandinavian Association was supported by the governments of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. The Association also asked the Finnish government to contribute to the financial support but, instead, a new association was founded in Finland in 1923.[863] This organization was the Finnish Association for Sailors' Homes, *Suomen*

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[858] In 1929 the Finnish Seamen's Mission had stations in London, Hull, Cardiff, Hamburg, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Copenhagen, Melbourne, Sydney, Montreal, and in nine different places in Finland. See *Valtioneuvostolle Merihuoltokomitealta. Komiteamietintö nro 4/1929* (Helsinki: Merimieshuoltokomitea, 1929), 19.

[859] 'Suomalainen merimieslähetys Antwerpenissä', *Kotimaa* 23.9.1907, 3; Juho T-nen, 'Pimeätä ja valoisaa merimiestemme elämästä Antwerpenin satamassa. III', *Aamulehti* 10.12.1913, 6; U. J. P., 'Merimieslähetys ja merimieskodit', *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat* 27.7.1926, 3; 'Merimiesten huoltaminen käytännössä', *Länsi-Savo* 1.9.1927, 1.

[860] 'Merimieskoti Maarianhaminassa', *Sanomia Turusta* 5.4.1884, 2–3; 'Sjömanshemmet i Mariehamn', *Hangö-Bladet* 11.10.1910, 2–3. The first sailors' home was opened in 1835 in London and, for example, the first one in Sweden was opened two years later. See Mikael Brunila, *Sailors Home: kertomus* (Helsinki: Finnish Seamen's Service, 1982), 15. For more about the London home as well as other homes in Britain, see Kennerley, 'British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes'; Press, 'Philanthropy and the British Shipping Industry'.

[861] Axel Söderlund, *Kokki- ja stuerttikoulukysymys Skandinavian maissa ynnä Turun merimieskoti sekä kokki- ja stuerttikoulu* (Turku: Turun kirjapaino ja sanomalehti osakeyhtiö, 1914), 6–12; 'Merimieskodissa Länsi-Rantajadun varrella'**,** *Uusi Suometar* 24.8.1890, 2; 'Merimieskodissa', *Uusi Suometar* 29.10.1893, 3; 'Joulu Helsingissä', *Päivälehti* 28.12.1893, 2; 'Helsingin laivanpäällikköyhdistyksen kokouksesta', *Uusi Suometar* 12.1.1894, 3; 'Merimieskodissa', *Uusi Suometar* 4.1.1895, 3; 'Helsingin merimieskoti', *Uusi Suometar* 3.8.1895, 3; 'Merimieskoti', *Uusi Suometar* 10.6.1903, 4; 'Merimieskoti', *Työmies* 25.6.1907, 2; Brunila, *Sailors Home*, 15. The Turku home was closed already in 1914 due to financial difficulties.

[862] 'Merimieskoti Hulliin', *Raahen Lehti* 26.3.1897, 3. Small homes run by Finnish individuals existed for example in London, Cardiff, and two in Hull. These four were given financial support by the Sailors' Homes Association, KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Pöytäkirjat/Ca:1 Johtokunnan pöytäkirjat, 10.12.1925.

[863] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Pöytäkirjat/Ca:1 Johtokunnan pöytäkirjat, 9.4.1923; Ca:2 Pöytäkirjat, 19.6.1931, liite A/matkaraportti; 12.5.1934; Toisteet/Da:1, Lähetetyt kirjeet, johtokunnalta Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriölle, 17.4.1924; J. H. E., 'Kirje Englannista. III London. Merimieskoti', *Keski-Suomi* 15.10.1889, 1–2; Elisabeth Solvang Koren, 'Between Responsibility and Temptation: Norwegian Seamen and Welfare Ashore 1918-1939', in *The Parallel Worlds of the Seafarer: Ashore, Afloat and Abroad. Papers from the 10th North Sea History Conference*, ed. Richard Gorski and Britta Söderqvist (Gothenburg: Maritime Museum & Aquarium Gothenburg, 2012), 105–7.

Merimieskotiyhdistys, and its aim was to "establish and support Finnish Sailors' Homes in ports at home and abroad, wherever they are needed."[864]

The Association received the majority of its funding from the Ministry of Trade and Industry and once it had opened its own homes—in Hamburg in 1926 and in Antwerp and in Rotterdam in 1927—most of the funding went into supporting these homes.[865] In order to accommodate more men as well as to guarantee the stability of its undertaking, the Association bought its own houses in Antwerp in 1928 and in Rotterdam in 1929.[866] The homes housed bedrooms, which the residents had to share with two to five sailors, a dining hall as well as a communal hall for socializing, reading and shared activities. In the beginning, the Sailors' Homes Association had very much been a satellite of the Seamen's Mission as the three homes were first located in rooms rented from the Mission, both organisations had the same board members and the workers of the local missions participated in the management of the sailors' homes. Even after making a clearer separation between the Mission and the Association's functions, in general the material from the archive of the Association reveals that Christian values were seen as fundamental to the homes.[867]

A piece of the sailor's homeland

Both Alston Kennerley and Judith Fingard have argued that the changes brought about by the adoption of steam ships decreased the need for sailors' homes by reducing the amount of time sailors spent in ports.[868] However, the old-fashioned character of Finnish ships meant that a majority of Finnish sailors worked in the heavy working conditions of sailing ships with comparatively lower wages. Both factors contributed to high numbers of Finnish sailors deserting their Finnish ships in favour of foreign vessels.[869] Kaukiainen states that, at the

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[864] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Toisteet/Da:1 Lähetetyt kirjeet, johtokunnalta Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriölle, 17.4.1924. In Finnish: "perustaa ja tukea suomalaisia merimieskoteja sellaisissa ulkomaiden ja kotimaan satamissa, missä niitä tarvitaan."
[865] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ca:1, 8.11.1926; 23.2.1927.
[866] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ca:2, 5.10.1928; 28.1.1929.
[867] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ca:1, 12.6.1923; Ca:2, 15.10.1931, liite A/valtiovarainvaliokunnalle laadittu selostus yhdistyksen toiminnasta. In 1931 the board members included representatives from the Ministry of Trade and Industry, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Finnish Maritime Administration (Merenkulkuhallitus), and the Union of Sailors and Stokers as well as someone from the Parliament, the Director of the Helsinki Electrical Company who was also a former sailor, and the director of the country's largest ship owner.
[868] Kennerley, 'British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes', 110; Judith Fingard, 'Masters and Friends, Crimps and Abstainers: Agents of Control in the 19th Century Sailortown', *Acadiensis* 8, no. 1 (8 August 1978): 45.
[869] Hinkkanen, 'A Survey of the Mentality of Finnish Merchant Sailors', 302.

beginning of the 20th century, there were more Finnish sailors working on foreign than Finnish ships.[870] This, in turn, meant that there was a perceived need for sailors' homes abroad that were aimed at Finnish sailors. Unlike larger establishments in, for example, London or New York, which provided services for all sailors visiting the port in question, the aim of the Association's three homes abroad was primarily to help and provide affordable accommodation specifically for Finnish sailors.

During the 19th century, sailors' homes were founded in Great Britain and in Australia to counter what were considered the negative effects of crimping and boarding houses as well as the power crimps were seen to hold over sailors.[871] In the case of the Finnish homes, the boarding house owners were seen as the main enemy, but the homes were about providing a safer, more moral and healthier alternative to such establishments, not about labour politics. As with homes in many other countries, safeguarding national interests was central, but this was more a question of protecting newly independent Finland's economic interests and reputation as well as ensuring that its citizens took their social responsibilities seriously.[872]

> Without being able to speak foreign languages, these children of the Finnish clan drift unsafe, looked down upon, oppressed and prone to all kinds of temptations, from harbour to harbour forgetting their most sacred duties towards their families and fatherland in the distant, remote North.[873]

> "A sailor arrives there as he has reached the shore, there he can read his own country's newspapers, there he receives letters from his family, there he writes them himself. There he meets his own citizens and gets to hear from their lips his own mother tongue, after being for months only with foreigners."[874]

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[870] Kaukiainen, *Ulos maailmaan!*, 344.
[871] Kennerley, 'British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes', 11, 78 & 255; G. R. Henning, 'Fourpenny Dark and Sixpenny Red', *Labour History*, no. 46 (1984): 69; Fingard, 'Masters and Friends, Crimps and Abstainers', 37; Martin Daunton, 'Jack Ashore: Seamen in Cardiff before 1914', *Welsh History Review = Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru* 9 (1978): 176–203.
[872] Kennerley, 'British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes', 23; Dennis, 'Seduction on the Waterfront', 175–77.
[873] U. D. Blomberg, 'Suomen merimieslähetyksen merkitys kansallemme', *Kansan Lehti* 2/1895, 12–14. Original: "Taitamattomina vieraista kielistä, ajelehtivat nämät Suomen heimon lapset, turvattomina, ylönkatsottuina, sorrettuina ja alttiina kaikille kiusauksille, satamasta satamaan unohtaen pyhimmät velvollisuutensa omaisiansa ja isänmaatansa kohtaan kaukaisessa, syrjäisessä Pohjolassa."
[874] 'Merimieskoti Turkuun!', *Sanomia Turusta* 27.10.1899, 1. Original: "Niihin saapuu merimies maalle päästyään, niissä saa hän lukea oman maansa sanomalehtiä, niistä saa hän kirjeitä omaisiltaan, niissä kirjottaa hän itse heille. Nissä tapaa hän omia kansalaisiaa ja saa heidän huuliltaan kuulla omaa äidinkieltään, oltuaan kuukausia ainoastaan ulkomaalaisten seurassa."

The idea that not only did a sailor need to be reminded of the importance of his personal family home but also of his connection to his homeland comes across very strongly in writings on sailors' homes. The sailor was to be made to refocus his attention from pleasures and vices to his responsibilities towards his family and nation. This was also an economic problem: if the sailor spent all his money in bars and brothels, then there was none left for his family, which would end up starving and living in misery. It also meant that the money did not benefit the national economy of Finland.[875] In the worst-case scenario, the sailor ended up living on the street as a bum. This meant that he had become a burden on his society and nation, but also that the nation "had lost one of its sons" when a sailor's ties to his homeland were severed.[876] Evoking feelings and connections relating to nationhood, such as talking about nation's lost sons, was, however, also a rhetorical strategy in the national press to stimulate people's interest and support. These men were not just any individuals, they were members of the same nation, the same family. Sailors were presented as deserving the help and support that the Finnish people could give because thanks to sailors people at home were able to enjoy foreign products and through handling the transportation of Finnish exports sailors contributed to the growth of the wealth of the nation.[877]

The emphasis on Finnishness and the connections to the sailors' homeland demonstrates well how feelings of belonging were constructed on different levels or scales at the same time. Moreover, the sailors' homes exemplify how central home was to defining as well as building the nation and its ideal citizens.[878] Strengthening the ties between sailors and their homeland was an aim but also a means to protect, care for and educate the sailors.[879] A *Finnish* sailors' home represented a piece of the sailors' homeland in a strange country similar to how the student nation's own house represented a piece of students' home region in Helsinki.[880] Only people from one's own homeland could truly make one feel at home. Finland was brought to these foreign lands through the use of Finnish language in the form of newspapers, books, speaking in Finnish with the staff and the other residents, sending and receiving letters from

[875] See also Moon, 'Sailorhoods', 239; Hinkkanen, 'Expressions of Longing', 68.
[876] 'Vaikuttava syy', *Suomi* 12.9.1891, 2; U. D. Blomberg, 'Suomen merimieslähetyksen merkitys kansallemme', *Kansan Lehti* 1.1.1895, 12–14; 'Esitelmä, jonka rouva Aina Panelius piti Turussa sinne perustettavan merimieskodin hyväksi toimeenpannussa iltamassa', *Rauman Lehti* 16.11.1899, 1–2; P. G. K., 'Merimieslähetyksestä', *Kansan ystävä* 23.11.1899, 2–3; 'Kirje Saksasta. (U:n A:n kirjeenvaihtajalta.)', *Uusi Aura* 12.4.1906, 3–4; 'Suomalaisten merimiesten lukusali Lontoossa', *Kotimaa* 16.12.1907, 3.
[877] 'Arpajaiset merimieskodin hyväksi,' *Päivälehti* 1.2.1901, 3.
[878] Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack*, 66.
[879] For a similar perspective in the case of Germany, see Dennis, 'Seduction on the Waterfront', 175.
[880] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ha:3 Sekalaisia asiapapereita, hakemus Malmin lahjoitusrahastolle.

home, serving Finnish dishes prepared by a Finnish cook as well as by celebrating national holidays such as Finnish Independence Day or following Finnish traditions at Christmas. At Christmas the residents also received a material reminder of the care the members of the Finnish society felt towards its men at sea: the residents received gifts that had been prepared by the women of a sewing society in Joensuu and also sometimes something small (such as cigarettes or soap) from the homes.[881]

> A sailor cannot have too high demands for his life. In reality he has to give up a lot which is considered the prerequisite of a happy life. - - For him the peaceful shelter of a homelife is often only a memory from his childhood. - - But there are times when he misses a home, a truly good home and dear friends, who from their heart want what is best for him now and for eternity. That is also what the Sailors' Home wants to be.[882]

In addition, the attractiveness of the sailors' homes was built on other domestic comforts that the advocates of the homes considered sailors also deserved and needed. A sailors' home could compensate for the fact that sailors led the restless life of a traveller and had had to give up many of life's comforts.[883] The sailors' home could be seen as an antidote to the conditions and consequences of life on board.[884] Such comforts and elements of homeliness included bedclothes and fresh linen, warmth, flowers, curtains, tablecloths, wallpaper, pictures or paintings on walls, running water, a toilet, a bathroom, or just the fact that there were separate rooms for separate functions.[885] Besides the shared bedrooms, it was seen as essential that the home included at least a dining room and a room for socializing, reading and the writing of letters.[886] The furniture consisted mainly of basic items such as beds, chairs, and tables, but the

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[881] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ca:2, 19.7.1932, liite 1/matkaraportti; Ea:2, Kertomus Antwerpenin Merimieskodin toiminnasta vuonna 1932; Vuosikertomukset 1932–1939 in K. W. Hoppu, *Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys 1942: vuosikertomus ja 20-vuotisvaiheet* (Helsinki: Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys, 1943). Many of the tactics aimed at enhancing the national identity of sailors had already been employed by the Seamen's Mission churches in different port towns, see Hinkkanen, 'Expressions of Longing', 65–67; Hinkkanen, 'Land Amidst the Sea', 186.

[882] 'Turun Merimieskoti ja Kokki- ja stuerttikoulu', *Länsi-Suomi* 18.3.1909, 3. Original: "Merimies ei voi asettaa liian suuria vaatimuksia elämällensä. Hänen täytyy todellisuudessa luopua paljosta, jota pidetään onnellisen elämän ehtona. - - Hänelle on kotielämän rauhallinen maja usein ainoastaan muisto lapsuusvuosilta. - - Mutta löytyy aikoja, jolloin hän kaipaa kotia, todellista hyvää kotia ja rakkaita ystäviä, jotka sydämestänsä tahtovat niin hyvin hänen ajallista kuin ikuistakin hyväänsä. Sellaisena Merimieskoti tahtoo olla."

[883] 'Merimieskoti Turkuun!', *Sanomia Turusta* 27.10.1899, 1; 'Turun merimieskoti', *Turun Sanomat* 22.5.1906, 1; 'Turun Merimieskoti ja Kokki- ja stuerttikoulu', *Länsi-Suomi* 18.3.1909, 3; 'Satamalähetys Turussa', *Turun Sanomat* 24.11.1909, 3. According to Elisabeth Solvang Koren, the Scandinavian Seamen's Homes similarly considered one of the main problems to be the sailors' lack of home and aimed at providing them with a substitute home. See Koren, 'Between Responsibility and Temptation', 106.

[884] See also Quintin Colville, 'Corporate Domesticity and Idealised Masculinity: Royal Naval Officers and Their Shipboard Homes, 1918–39', *Gender & History* 21, no. 3 (2009): 513.

[885] Unfortunately I have only managed to find two photographs of the homes, both published in a newspaper article in 1931 of the newly furnished home in Hamburg, in 'Merimieshuolto', *Helsingin Sanomat* 26.4.1931, 7.

[886] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Da:1, johtokunta Merimieshuoltokomitealle, 27.1.1928; Ca:2, 19.6.1931, liite A/matkakertomus.

reading room's bookcase, newspaper stand, writing desks and pigeonholes for correspondence reflected the objectives of the home: supporting the educational and moral improvement of the sailors as well as fostering the connections between sailors and their families as well their homeland.[887] The homes' environment contrasted with the accentuated masculine culture of the ships and as such, possibly moderated this culture or at least reminded the sailors of wives and families that might be waiting for them in Finland. On the other hand, some of the items in the homes, such as ashtrays and spittoons, reflected the everyday habits of sailors.[888]

Homes for older men: A refuge in old age

During the 19th and early 20th century, old age was not considered a separate life phase and, instead of a specific numerical age, old age was based on physical changes or a dimunition of capabilities.[889] Besides depending on the help of family members, when reaching old age unmarried men could rely on personal wealth, continue working as long as they could, or seek the help of public poor relief or private charitable institutions.[890] The clearest difference between older single and non-single people was that married or widowed persons were more likely to have family members from whom they could receive support and even upkeep. As older people generally included the wealthiest in society as well as the poorest, a significant differentiating factor between older bachelors was their wealth and the old age it enabled them to have. Thus those who could afford it could choose to retire, whereas those, who had very little wealth, had no choice but to keep on working for as long as they physically could.[891] Wealthier bachelors would also have been more able to pay somebody to care for them if they became ill.[892]

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[887] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ca:2, 22.10.1928.
[888] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ha:3, furniture inventory of the Hamburg home, 5.1.1928.
[889] Kari Pitkänen, 'Johdanto', in *Kunnanvaivaisesta harmaaksi pantteriksi: tutkielmia suomalaisen vanhuuden historiasta*, ed. Riitta Oittinen and Kari Pitkänen (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston talous- ja sosiaalihistorian laitos, 1991), 9 & 12; Marja-Liisa Pökälä, 'Vanhuus ja vanheneminen 1800-luvun suomalaisten elämäkerroissa ja muistelmissa', in *Kunnanvaivaisesta harmaaksi pantteriksi: tutkielmia suomalaisen vanhuuden historiasta*, ed. Riitta Oittinen and Kari Pitkänen (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston talous- ja sosiaalihistorian laitos, 1991), 55; P. Thane, 'Social Histories of Old Age and Aging', *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 98.
[890] Bourdieu and Lionel Kesztenbaum, 'Surviving Old Age in an Ageing World Old People in France, 1820-1940', *Population* 62, no. 2 (30 October 2007): 184.
[891] Thane, 'Social Histories of Old Age and Aging', 93.
[892] See, for example, KA/Helsingin raastuvanoikeus/E Saapuneet asiakirjat/Ec:45 Perukirjat (1890)/9334; 9350; Ec:68 Perukirjat (1905)/14224; Ec:199 (1934)/35489.

	Men 60 & over	Unmarried, %	Married, %	Widowed/divorced, %
1880	559	11.8	67.0	21.3
1900	1484	12.5	67.5	20.1
1930	5522	10.3	69.5	20.1

Table 12. Number of men 60 years old or over living in Helsinki and the proportion of unmarried, married and widowed/divorced men.
At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, a little over 10 per cent of the male population of Helsinki that was 60 years or older was unmarried.

In cases where a person could no longer keep on working and had either not enough wealth or any family to take care of him or her, he or she could seek help from communal poor houses.[893] The 1879 poor law (*vaivaishoitoasetus*) had defined those people who had been weakened by old age as one of the groups which municipalities were obliged to help.[894] Nevertheless, support from the municipality was not a *right* tied to a specific age, and old people were only eligible for poor relief if they were not able to support themselves due to an illness or diminished capabilities.[895] As the authorities wanted poor relief to be considered a final alternative, resorting to it meant giving up one's freedom and submitting oneself to strict control. From the end of the 19th century onwards, institutional placement replaced other forms of poor relief, such as monetary assistance or people going around living in neighbouring houses (*ruotuhoito*). By 1937 the proportion of people living in institutions had risen to 50%.[896] Based on the records of the Helsinki municipal poor house during the year 1910, 29 of the inmates who were 60 years or older were recorded as unmarried.[897] Only a third of the older bachelors were described as being blind, mentally ill or otherwise suffering from a specific sickness, thus suggesting that

[893] Simo Koskinen, 'Vanhusten asema Suomessa 1800-luvulta nykypäivään', in *Vanhuus Suomessa*, ed. Jan-Erik Ruth and Eino Heikkinen (Espoo: Weilin + Göös, 1983), 32–69; Jyrki Paloposki, 'Vaivaistalot ja vanhukset Kannaksella. Vaivaistaloajattelun vastaanotto Kannaksen maalaiskunnissa 1800- ja 1900-luvun vaihteessa', in *Kunnanvaivaisesta harmaaksi pantteriksi*, ed. Riitta Oittinen and Kari Pitkänen (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston talous- ja sosiaalihistorian laitos, 1991), 95.
[894] Paavo Mustala, 'Katsaus sosiaalihuollon kehitykseen Suomessa', in *Kunnalliskodit ja vanhainkodit: 1. Kunnaliskodin suunnitelu ja yleinen hallinto*, ed. Jaakko Päivärinta (Helsinki: Sosiaalihuollon keskusliitto, 1958), 12.
[895] Pitkänen, 'Johdanto', 10. Kari Pitkänen, *Puoli vuosisataa vanhustyötä: Vanhustyön keskusliitto 50 vuotta* (Helsinki: Vanhustyön keskusliitto, 1999), 15.
[896] Urponen, 'Huoltoyhteiskunnasta hyvinvointivaltioon', 180.
[897] Altogether there were 1282 inmates, for shorter or longer stays, listed for the year 1910. Out of those who were 18 years or older, 188 were listed as bachelors and thus those, who were 60 or older, represented 15 % of the unmarried inmates. However, as some of the men had no documented marital status, this number most likely does not represent all the unmarried men who were housed in the home. A majority, 62%, of the men recorded as unmarried were stated to be mentally ill. In principle, the state was responsible for taking care of people with mental health problems, but in practice most of them ended up in the care of municipal authorities and institutions. See for example Jaakkola, Jouko (ed.), *Armeliaisuus, yhteisöapu, sosiaaliturva: suomalaisten sosiaalisen turvan historia* (Helsinki: Sosiaaliturvan Keskusliitto, 1994), 137.

many of them had come there due to old age. They were mostly workers or with equivalent occupations. In 1910, there were altogether 288 unmarried men who were 60 years old or older living in Helsinki, meaning that these 29 inmates of the poor house constituted 10% of the aged bachelor population of Helsinki.[898]

Private homes for the elderly

Representatives of the higher classes did, however, not consider it appropriate that members of the upper classes would have to spend their remaining days at the mercy of poorhouses. As a solution, from the end of the 19th century, they began to establish associations to raise money to build private homes for the elderly.[899] The first homes were built for women (the first opened in Turku in 1888) but soon after initiatives were started for the construction of similar homes for men as well.[900] The first home for elderly men (*ukkokoti/gubbhem*) was opened in Turku in 1908 and one in Helsinki was ready in 1912.[901] The majority of such homes were built for women but, by the 1940s, associations for the development of such homes for men were started or initiatives put forward at least in Tampere, Kuopio, Vaasa, and Viipuri. Homes for both women and men were planned in Hämeenlinna, Kuopio, Jyväskylä, Kajaani and Rauma.[902] According to Kari Pitkänen, altogether about fifty private homes had been built throughout the country by the end of the 1940s.[903]

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[898] *SVT VI:44;1. Väenlasku Helsingissä joulukuun 7 p. 1910: Taululiitteet* (Helsinki: Tilastollinen päätoimisto, 1914), Table IV, pp. 27–28.

[899] Similarly to the student homes, money was raised by collecting a yearly fee from the members of the association as well as organising events and lotteries, although a significant amount of money was received in donations from individuals' wills.

[900] The association for the women's home in turku, *Stiftelsen Hemmet i Åbo*, had been founded in 1886. For other associations for the establishment of homes for specifically women see Appendix 7.

[901] The association for the building of the Turku home, *Gubbhemmet i Åbo - Turun Ukkokoti-yhdistys***,** had been founded in 1892 and in Helsinki *Gubbhemmet i Helsingfors* had been founded in 1905, although according to an article in *Helsingfors Aftonblad*, a sewing society had been founded already in 1893 in order to raise money for an old men's home in Helsinki. See 'En syförening', *Helsingfors Aftonblad* 3.2.1894; 'Gubhemmet i Helsingfors', *Hufvudstadsbladet* 20.3.1905, 4; Erland Colliander, *Turun Ukkokoti-yhdistys 1892-1942* (Turku: Turun Ukkokoti-yhdistys, 1943), 8.

[902] Besides the Turku and Helsinki old men's homes, the ephemera collection at the National Library includes the rules of the following associations founded for the setting up of a home for elderly men: *Tampereen Ukkokotiyhdistys* (Tampere, 1905), *Kuopion vainhainkodin kannattajain yhdistys* (Kuopio, 1913), *Gubbhemmet i Wiborg* (Viipuri, 1915), and *Ålderdomshemmet i Wasa* (Vaasa, 1934). It has not always been possible to confirm whether an actual home was built in the end. In Kuopio, for example, the initial funds were donated in 1913 for a men's home but when the completed building was finally used as an old people's home in 1958, both male and female inhabitants were taken in. For associations for the setting up of homes meant both for women and men see Appendix 7.

[903] Pitkänen, *Puoli vuosisataa vanhustyötä*, 17.

The homes promoted the idea of old age as a specific time period in life with specific needs and anticipated the broader process of retirement in society that would be enabled by the introduction of pensions. Unlike the poor law, the rules of the private homes linked applicants' eligibility to a specific age, either 55 or 60 years.[904] A specific number was an easier criterion to follow than a description of a person's condition in the application process but, at the same time, the rule contributed to defining old age according to numerical age as well as separating old age from illness or a complete lack of capabilities. Even though many of the newspapers presented the homes as a way of helping old people, who could no longer work due to an illness or disability, the rules of many of the homes emphasized that the inhabitants could not have pre-existing conditions or diseases that required extra care or that could potentially disrupt the other inhabitants.[905] The homes were not set up as substitutes for hospitals. The age limit might have been a result of people generally no longer being fully fit anymore by the age of 55 or 60 but not yet in such bad shape that they required more intensive care. The life expectancy for a boy born in Finland in 1900 was about 45 years but if during the first decades of the century a man had made it to 65 years he could on average expect to live for another ten years or more.[906] Furthermore, the limit reflected the fact that having reached this age these people were considered to have worked and served their societies long enough to deserve to spend the rest of their lives in comfort and peace with someone else responsible for the everyday care of their domestic needs. The homes did not question the primary care responsibility of family members but were a result of a belief that people without families also deserved to be cared for.[907]

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[904] KK/Ephemera collection/Hyväntekeväisyys: 1810–1944/*Säännöt "Koti"-yhdistykselle (Hemmet)* (1886, Turku); *Säännöt "Vanhain kodille Wiipurissa"* (1892); *Säännöt Ukkokoti-yhdistykselle Turussa* (1892); *Säännöt Wanhain kodille Mikkelissä* (1897); *Hämeenlinnan vanhusten koti-yhdistyksen säännöt* (1902); *Föreningen Gubbhemmet i Helsingfors* (1905); *Säännöt "Vanhojen Koti"-yhdistykselle Jyväskylä kaupungissa* (1914); *Stadgar för föreningen Gubbhemmet i Wiborg* (1915); *Porin Suomalaisen Vanhainkotiyhdistyksen r.y. Säännöt* (1934); *Rauman vanhainkoti-yhdistyksen r.y. säännöt* (1938); Taina Rintala, *Vanhuskuvat ja vanhustenhuollon muotoutuminen 1850-luvulta 1990-luvulle* (Helsinki: Stakes, 2003), 69.
[905] KK/Ephemera collection/Hyväntekeväisyys: 1810–1944/*Säännöt Ukkokoti-yhdistykselle Turussa* (1921); *Säännöt "Vanhain koti" Yhdistykselle Porissa* (1899); *Säännöt Yhdistykselle "Wanhain koti" Tampereella* (1899); *Stadgar för Föreningen "De Gamlas Hem" i Borgå* (1905); *Stadgar för Föreningen "De gamlas hem" i Kristinestad* (1917); *Säännöt Yhdistykselle De gamlas hem i Uleåborg r.f.* (1921); *Rauman vanhainkoti-yhdistyksen r.y. säännöt* (1938); *Ordningsregler för De Gamlas Hem i Björneborg* (1937), article 1;
[906] Koskinen et al., *Suomen väestö*, 172 & 179.
[907] 'Väl använda pengar', *Åbo Underrättelser* 16.8.1891, 1; 'Gubbhem i Åbo', *Åbo Tidning* 11.10.1891, 2; 'Gubbhemmet i Åbo', *Åbo Underrättelser* 2.4.1893, 1; 'Föreningen Gubbhemmets i Åbo Första Årsberättelse', *Åbo Underrättelser* 30.4.1893, 2; 'Gubbhem i hufvudstaden', *Aftonbladet* 2.5.1893; 'Ett gubbhem i Helsingfors', *Nya Pressen* 17.11.1893, 2; 'Ukkokoti Tampereelle', *Tampereen Sanomat* 16.3.1899, 1–2. It has to be kept in mind that these homes were not aimed only for unmarried men, but anybody, who did not have a family to live with.

This reformulation of old age contained the idea that the most appropriate environment for old people was safe and homely suggesting that the "retirement ethos of old age as a period of rest and disengagement," discussed by Margaret Tennant within the context of New Zealand, was starting to gain some influence in Finland at the beginning of the 20th century.[908] In November 1908, the newspaper *Turun Lehti* reported on the opening of the Turku home and described it as "a safe home for homeless old men."[909] In the rules of the different associations, the word 'unsafe' was mostly used in relation to older women, but, for example, the rules of the Turku Old Men's Home Association stated that the aim was to collect money for the founding of a 'safe place' (*turvapaikka*) for elderly men.[910] One reason why the safety of these elderly people was seen to have been compromised was the fact that they did not have family members that could care for them and offer them a home—the family represented the ultimate place of safety.[911] Furthermore, safety seems to have referred to protection from worries and a hectic urban life as both of the old men's homes were built in more remote parts of the city. The Turku home was located in Parkinmäki, which at the beginning of the century was outside the centre of the city, whereas the Helsinki home was built in Meilahti, in effect countryside in 1912, surrounded by forests, next to an area, where the summer villas of Helsinki's inhabitants were located.

The quietness and fresh air of the rural or semi-rural locations were considered to be healthy as well the best place for old people, who needed to be in a peaceful place to rest out of reach from urban hustle and bustle.[912] Old age marked both a mental as well as physical distancing of oneself from one's working life. Especially the Helsinki home located next to the city's inhabitants' summer villas built on the romanticization of life in the countryside in comparison to modern life in the city with all its ills—similar to suburbanisation or to the garden city movement. Even the home's building was referred to as a "villa" and the name, Fridhäll, referred to peace (frid).

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[908] Margaret Tennant, 'Elderly Indigents and Old Men's Homes, 1880-1920', *The New Zealand Journal of History* 17, no. 1 (1983): 12.
[909] 'Ukkokoti', *Turun Lehti* 3.11.1908, 2. In Finnish: "vanhain kodittomien miesten turvakoti".
[910] KK/Ephemera collection/Hyväntekeväisyys: 1810–1944/*Säännöt "Koti"-yhdistykselle (Hemmet)* (1886, Turku); *Säännöt "Vanhain koti" Yhdistykselle Porissa* (1899); *Säännöt Yhdistykselle "Wanhain koti" Tampereella* (1899); *Säännöt "Vanhojen Koti"-yhdistykselle Jyväskylä kaupungissa* (1914); *Säännöt Yhdistykselle De gamlas hem i Uleåborg r.f.* (1921); Colliander, *Turun Ukkokoti-yhdistys*, 8.
[911] See also Ollila, *Jalo velvollisuus*, 113 & 115.
[912] 'Rakennuskirje Turusta. Ukkokodista', *Rakennustaito* 2/1909, 14; Colliander, *Turun Ukkokoti-yhdistys*, 35.

However, in this case, such a definition of old age was only reserved for and deserved by people from the "civilized classes" or "Estate classes" (*sivistynyt luokka, säätyläisluokka, ståndpersonsklass*) with "bourgeois, society supporting views and way of thinking," that is, members of the middle and upper classes.[913] This class qualification was reflected in several of the requirements the homes stipulated for their potential inhabitants. First of all, the inhabitants could not be wealthy to the extent that they would have been able to care for themselves privately as the homes were meant for people with limited economic means, yet, at the same time, they had to prove to the management of the homes that they had enough resources to cover the fees of the home.[914] The inhabitants could thus not be poor in the sense of those who had to rely on poor relief, but outside the home this sum would not have been enough to provide these people with the kind of life they deserved.

Secondly, many of the rules of the associations stated that the homes were meant for 'respectable' (*kunnioitettava*) women or men, who had lived an impeccable (*nuhteeton, hederlig*) and honourable (*kunniallinen)* life.[915] The potential inhabitants had to have earned the right to a peaceful old age and the help that the homes offered through working hard, maintaining a good reputation, working for the good of society and by helping others, but also through being unassuming. These people were considered respectable because despite being in

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[913] KK/Ephemera collection/Hyväntekeväisyys: 1810–1944/*Säännöt "Vanhain kodille Wiipurissa"* (1892); *Säännöt Ukkokoti-yhdistykselle Turussa* (1892); *Säännöt Wanhain kodille Mikkelissä* (1897); *Hämeenlinnan vanhusten koti-yhdistyksen säännöt* (1902); *Säännöt Yhdistykselle De gamlas hem i Uleåborg r.f.* (1921); *Stadgar för Stiftelsen "Ebenhard och Alma Anderssons hem"* (1934); *Stadgar för stiftelsen "Ålderdomshemmet i Wasa"* (1934); *Tampereen Ukkokotiyhdistyksen Säännöt* (1938); Gubbhemmet i Åbo', *Åbo Underrättelser* 2.4.1893, 1.

[914] In 1908 the yearly fee in Turku was 300 marks, which is about 1200 euros (in 2013 money), and in 1912 in Helsinki it was either 600 or 700 marks, which is about 2300 or 2700 euros respectively. The rules of the Turku home stipulated that an applicant's yearly income could not exceed a thousand marks although exceptions could be made. KK/Ephemera collection/Hyväntekeväisyys: 1810–1944/*Säännöt "Koti"-yhdistykselle (Hemmet)* (1886, Turku); *Säännöt "Vanhain kodille Wiipurissa"* (1892); *Säännöt Ukkokoti-yhdistykselle Turussa* (1892); *Säännöt Wanhain kodille Mikkelissä* (1897); *Säännöt "Vanhain koti" Yhdistykselle Porissa* (1899); *Säännöt Yhdistykselle "Wanhain koti" Tampereella* (1899); *Hämeenlinnan vanhusten koti-yhdistyksen säännöt* (1902); *Föreningen Gubbhemmet i Helsingfors* (1905); *Säännöt "Vanhojen Koti"-yhdistykselle Jyväskylä kaupungissa* (1914); *Stadgar för föreningen Gubbhemmet i Wiborg* (1915); *Porin Suomalaisen Vanhainkotiyhdistyksen r.y. Säännöt* (1934); *Rauman vanhainkoti-yhdistyksen r.y. säännöt* (1938); *Tampereen Ukkokotiyhdistyksen Säännöt* (1938); 'Pikku uutisia', *Helsingin Sanomat* 1.12.1912 10; Colliander, *Turun Ukkokoti-yhdistys*, 10 & 18.

[915] KK/Ephemera collection/Hyväntekeväisyys: 1810–1944/*Säännöt "Koti"-yhdistykselle (Hemmet)* (1886, Turku); *Säännöt "Vanhain kodille Wiipurissa"* (1892); *Säännöt Ukkokoti-yhdistykselle Turussa* (1892); *Säännöt Wanhain kodille Mikkelissä* (1897); *Säännöt "Vanhain koti" Yhdistykselle Porissa* (1899); *Säännöt Yhdistykselle "Wanhain koti" Tampereella* (1899); *Hämeenlinnan vanhusten koti-yhdistyksen säännöt* (1902); *Föreningen Gubbhemmet i Helsingfors* (1905); *Säännöt "Vanhojen Koti"-yhdistykselle Jyväskylä kaupungissa* (1914); *Stadgar för föreningen Gubbhemmet i Wiborg* (1915); *Säännöt Yhdistykselle De gamlas hem i Uleåborg r.f.* (1921); *Stadgar för Föreningen "De gamlas hem i Gamlakarleby stad" r.f.* (1923); *Porin Suomalaisen Vanhainkotiyhdistyksen r.y. Säännöt* (1934); *Rauman vanhainkoti-yhdistyksen r.y. säännöt* (1938); *Tampereen Ukkokotiyhdistyksen Säännöt* (1938).

need of help they had not asked for it and had instead tried to manage with the little they had.[916] In the articles discussing the matter, their lack of personal means was presented as due to unexpected events or circumstances that these people could not have prevented. Thus they could not be held responsible for the situation in which they found themselves and they both needed and deserved to be helped by society and their peers.[917] What mattered was not their current set of circumstances but how they had lived their lives up until this moment. Because of their "upbringing and previous living conditions," it would not have been appropriate for these men and women to end up in a municipal home with actual poor people from the lower classes.[918] Thus it was more the social standing, the right kind of upbringing and values, that made these men and women deserving of a place in the private home more than anything else. Saving them from the municipal poor home was a matter of upholding the existing social hierarchy and keeping the members of different classes separate from each other.[919]

Limiting admission to the homes was not only about who was considered to deserve a place in the home but about ensuring the success of the home. In order to create the right kind of atmosphere and guarantee the smooth co-living of the inhabitants, it was essential that the inhabitants shared the same values, background, manners, lifestyle, and, most importantly, shared the same definition of what made a home a home. The material culture and practices of the homes were in line with the social standing of the residents. The smoking and reading rooms provided spaces for shared gentlemanly activities, which in a private middle or upper-class home would have been served by the gentleman's room. The fact that the staff took care of all the domestic tasks in the old men's homes reflected not only the gender of the inhabitants but also their social background. Even the personal furniture in a resident's room had to meet certain expectations and standards to be regarded as appropriate for the type of establishment the home was considered to be. The rules of the Turku home stated that if the quality of the

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[916] KK/Ephemera collection/Hyväntekeväisyys: 1810–1944/*Rauman vanhainkoti-yhdistyksen r.y. säännöt* (1938); Rintala, *Vanhuskuvat ja vanhustenhuollon muotoutuminen*, 71.
[917] 'Väl använda pengar', *Åbo Underrättelser* 16.8.1891, 1; Gubbhemmet i Åbo', *Åbo Underrättelser* 2.4.1893, 1; 'Gubbhem i hufvudstaden', *Aftonbladet* 2.5.1893, 1–2; 'Ett gubbhem i Helsingfors', *Nya Pressen* 17.11.1893, 2.
[918] KK/Ephemera collection/Hyväntekeväisyys: 1810–1944/*Föreningen Gubbhemmet i Helsingfors* (1905); *Stadgar för föreningen Gubbhemmet i Wiborg* (1915); *Tampereen Ukkokotiyhdistyksen Säännöt* (1938); *Kuopion vanhainkodin kannattajain yhdistyksen r.y. säännöt* (1913). See also Pitkänen, *Puoli vuosisataa vanhustyötä*, 16.
[919] When the Turku home first opened in 1908, successful applicants included a gardener, a goldsmith, two sea captains, a saddle master, a carpenter, two work managers, a first machinist, a general contractor (rakennusmestari), an office worker and a musician. The applications of a rope-maker, a tailor's apprentice, a machinist, a worker, a shoemaker and a fire guard (palovartija) were turned down because "they did not have the level of education that the rules required." See Colliander, *Turun Ukkokoti-yhdistys*, 18.

furniture was deemed 'unacceptable', then the management of the home would provide the furniture.[920]

Retaining control over their own possessions and the possibility for personal homemaking by being allowed to, and even required to, furnish their own rooms was part of the high level of freedom in the homes.[921] The day was structured mainly through meal times that had to be followed by all the residents who were not bedridden or ill. Otherwise the inhabitants were in control of their everyday schedules, could come and go as they pleased and were free to follow their own interests.[922] Freedom was a key part in making the elderly homes true 'homes' in contrast to the municipal homes and underlining it in the rules of the different private homes was a way to clearly differentiate the private homes from the municipal poor homes. In a municipal poor home, the inmates were stripped of their personal freedom by making the head of the poor home their guardian. They had to give up their personal possessions and change into clothes provided by the institution.[923] Life in poor homes was very structured and the inmates had to behave dutifully and humbly, abiding by the strict rules of the institution.[924]

In the private old men's homes, one's own personal room meant more privacy and together with one's own furniture and other domestic items, the rooms allowed for homemaking and expressing one's personality and interests to an extent that was not possible even in, for example, student homes. Due to their older age, these men could have been expected to have higher standards for comfort as well as a more established personal routines that they were not willing to give up.[925] The old men's homes were meant as permanent dwellings for their inhabitants and having one's own material culture was a part of establishing a sense of home

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[920] Colliander, 19.
[921] KK/Ephemera collection/Hyväntekeväisyys: 1810–1944/*Säännöt "Vanhojen Koti"-yhdistykselle Jyväskylä kaupungissa* (1914); *Ordningsreglor i "De Gamlas Hem"* (1892); *Ordningsregler för De Gamlas Hem i Björneborg* (1937), article 3; *Ordningsregler för Föreningen Fylgias hem för ålderstigna fruntimmer* (1908, Wasa), article 2; *Ordningsregler för de gamlars hem* (1929, Wiipuri), article 8; Colliander, 10.
[922] KK/Ephemera collection/Hyväntekeväisyys: 1810–1944/ *Ordningsreglor i "De Gamlas Hem"* (1892), articles 12–14; *Ordningsregler för Gubbhemmet i Helsingfors* (1913), article 1, 7 & 8; *Ordningsregler för De Gamlas Hem i Björneborg* (1937), article 10; *Ordningsregler för de gamlars hem* (1929, Wiipuri), article 3 & 13; *Ordningsregler för Föreningen Fylgias hem för ålderstigna fruntimmer* (1908, Wasa), article 9. Colliander, 10.Colliander, *Turun Ukkokoti-yhdistys*, 10.
[923] Rintala, *Vanhuskuvat ja vanhustenhuollon muotoutuminen*, 70; Urponen, 'Huoltoyhteiskunnasta hyvinvointivaltioon', 179 & 182; Jouko Jaakkola, 'Vaivaistalon aika vuodesta 1886 1910-luvun lopulle', in *Koukkuniemi 1886-1986: sata vuotta laitoshuoltoa Tampereella*, ed. Jouko Jaakkola, Mervi Kaarninen, and Pirjo Markkola (Tampere: Tampereen kaupunki, 1986), 54 & 61. According to Urponen, the inmates were allowed to keep some small possession such as their prayer book or wedding ring.
[924] Jaakkola, 'Vaivaistalon aika', 56.
[925] Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 113.

and stability.[926] Personal possessions also made it possible to establish a continuity between the inhabitant's former and new home life.

Educating citizens

Rhetorically the different organisations might have talked about safe havens and protection but the aim was also to varying degrees to control, 'morally manage' and construct social identities for their residents.[927] The different types 'homes' or the municipal bachelor building were not institutions in the sense of prisons, hospitals, work institutions, or mental institutions, and people stayed in them voluntarily, but with their educational aims they did share some characteristics that were more often associated with institutions than with family homes. The 'homes' provided a good arena for such education or 'moral management' because, once the men were in the home, it was easier to keep them out of trouble and try to instil the right kind of values into them, including what kinds of homes they should set up for their families.[928] In practice, this education, control and encouragement was implemented through the spatial organization, facilities, decoration, material culture, rules, food, and practices of the 'homes'.[929] However, as Hamlett has argued in her analysis of English model lodging houses, the "underlying" aim "was not control per se, but the achievement of disciplined freedom" and "self-improvement."[930]

One way of furthering these educational aims was to encourage and provide material for reading in the communal housing arrangements. The reading rooms of the sailors' homes and the bachelor building were an attempt to encourage the inhabitants to engage with the civilizing hobby of reading and thus to support their self-learning. During the period between the 1870s and the 1930s a "modern reading culture" formed in Finland, meaning that reading developed into an everyday custom and pastime.[931] Reading rooms and halls (or reading cottages (*lukutupa*) as they were often called in Finnish) had been set up since the latter part of the 19th century by private individuals and different types of associations. Reading rooms provided a "favourable environment" for the fostering of the practice to read and especially promoted the

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[926] See also Hockey, 'The Ideal Home', 111.
[927] Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 11, 13, 137 & 145.
[928] Hamlett, 11. See also Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack*, 72; Dennis, 'Seduction on the Waterfront', 192 & 194.
[929] See also Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 70.
[930] Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 137.
[931] Ilkka Mäkinen, 'Lukemisen historiaa', in *Suomen kulttuurihistoria: 3. Oma maa ja maailma*, ed. Anja Kervanto Nevalinna and Laura Kolbe (Helsinki: Tammi, 2003), 310.

reading of newspapers, which played a central role in making reading a regular habit among the lower classes.[932]

> How wonderful it would be if sailors' homes reached such a position where they would be able to lift every sailor up from the gorge of drunkenness and vice and could in their protection lead them to the proper way of life.[933]

Moreover, the reading rooms constituted one example of the alternative pastime activities that the student homes and the YMCA were also trying to offer their residents to counter them spending time in a bar or engaging in other allegedly disreputable activities.[934] Because unmarried men did not have wives, who were otherwise seen as key in providing domestic comforts and making the home an antidote towards the ills and temptations of the outside world, the features of the 'homes' and the bachelor building had to fulfil this role.[935] The organisers of the 'homes' hoped that the comforts of home would make the men feel happy and satisfied and consequently they would no longer seek solace in drinking.[936] An independent, hard-working and responsible citizen of a modern society was abstinent.[937]

The sailors' homes were to be completely free of alcohol: the employees had to be fully committed to abstinence, the residents were not permitted to use alcohol in the homes and drunken sailors were not allowed in.[938] Negative social attitudes towards drinking were part of nationwide temperance movements and attitudes, which resulted in the prohibition of alcohol in Finland from 1919 to 1932. In the case of the bachelor building and the sailors' homes, the different measures that either actively or passively promoted temperance exemplify how the upper classes conceived of an "alcohol question" that applied to the overall "working-class

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[932] Mäkinen, 315–16; Mäkinen, *Nödvändighet af LainaKirjasto*, 48.
[933] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistyksen arkisto/Ha:3, a letter from Daniel Orädd (the priest working for the Mission in Antwerp) to the board, 24.1.1928. Original: " Kuinka ihanaa oliskin, jos merimieskodit pääsisivät siihen asemaa, että ne olisivat tilaisuudessa nostamaan jokaisen merimiehen pois juoppouden ja paheiden kuilusta sekä voisivat suojissaan johtaa heitä kunnollisiin elämäntapoihin."
[934] Sulkunen, *Raittius kansalaisuskontona*, 36.
[935] KA/V. J. Sukselainen/Päiväkirja 8, 24.11.1935; Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 54–56; Juntto, *Asuntokysymys Suomessa*, 118; Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 79.
[936] Sulkunen, *Raittius kansalaisuskontona*, 24.
[937] Sulkunen, 18–19.
[938] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistyksen arkisto/Ea2:Saapuneet kirjeet, Järjestyssäännöt Suomen Merimieskotiyhdistyksen merimieskodille Hampurissa, kohta 7; J. H. E., 'Kirje Englannista. III London. Merimieskoti', *Keski-Suomi* 15.10.1889, 1–2. For example, the Association sent a short questionnaire to some of the homes that applied to become members of it in 1923, and one of the questions was: "Are the master and mistress of the home absolutely abstinent and if they are for how long have they been?" KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistyksen arkisto:Da:1, Sent letters, from the board to Mrs Frida Lackström, 25.1.1924.

question."[939] In the case of sailors, the insecurity of their situation was seen as being heightened due to the large sums of money a sailor carried at the end of a post, the fact of being outside his homeland and away from the influence of his fellow citizens, as well as the sailor-specific drinking culture.

While the bachelor building and the student and sailors' homes aimed to improve the preconditions for current and future moral behaviour of the residents, some men were considered to be beyond improvement and as undeserving of the help offered by the 'homes' due to their preceding 'immoral' behaviour. The sailors' homes certainly did not offer some kind of "last resort" for those who had first made the conscious decision to spend all their money and, as a result, had been left out on the street and needed a place to stay.[940]

Middle-class home ideals

Home was not only a tool but an educational objective in itself since home and family were seen as forces that would keep society together and its improve cohesion. The working classes needed to be made to internalize middle-class ideas and values that treated home and family as the main pillars of an orderly life. But these classes also needed to be educated to practice a proper and healthy kind of family and home life in the first place.[941] The particular constructions of homeliness along with the rules that governed the 'homes' aimed to instill into the men a responsible 'domestic manhood' tied to breadwinning.[942] The spatial organization, material culture, practices and rules of the different 'homes' therefore reflected the same middle-class principles of home and domesticity.[943] These included, first of all, the differentiation of spaces: the organisation of the different 'homes' and the bachelor building into private (bed)rooms, shared spaces (smoking, reading, dining and common rooms), and domestic areas (kitchen, manager's and other employees rooms, serving rooms etc.) allowed for a more rigid differentiation between public and private spaces than would have been possible in a small

[939] Sulkunen, *Raittius kansalaisuskontona*, 35–39.
[940] Press, 'Philanthropy and the British Shipping Industry', 125. According to Sulkunen, preventing people from becoming unable to take care of themselves and their families and ending up having to rely on poor relief was one of the main arguments for the outlawing of alcohol in Finland. See Sulkunen, *Raittius kansalaisuskontona*, 27–29.
[941] Juntto, *Asuntokysymys Suomessa*, 117; Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty*, 22–23 & 30.
[942] Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty*, 30; Dennis, 'Seduction on the Waterfront', 198 & 200.
[943] See also Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 12 & 137.

apartment. This made it possible to extend the principles of the bourgeois apartment onto a larger scale.[944]

Secondly, the rules of the different 'homes' and the bachelor building tried to encourage and instil in their inhabitants behaviour that was responsible and respectful. According to the advocates of student homes, living in a sublet room only fostered carelessness and ignorance but life in a student home, conversely, taught the residents proper manners and the right kind of independent living where one took responsibility for one's surroundings and for oneself. The example of older students would help to guarantee that life in a student home would actually be less wild than if the new students had lived on their own.[945]

Such appropriate behaviour included, first of all, maintaining a regular rhythm. In the student homes this meant getting up by ten in the morning and having their meals at specific times.[946] In the Hamburg sailors' home, the doors of the home closed at 10 pm and the residents had to get out of bed so that the rooms could be cleaned at 9 am.[947] Secondly, everything had to be kept clean and tidy and standards of hygiene upheld. The residents of sailors' homes were not allowed to lie on their beds with their shoes on nor to wash their clothes or smoke in the bedroom.[948] The rules of the Ostrobothnia student home specified that the bathroom had to be left clean after a bath or a shower and that coffee cups had to be cleaned away immediately after use instead of leaving the dirty cups in the bathroom sink.[949] In the bachelor building, spitting on the floor in any of the shared spaces or smoking in the reading room was forbidden.[950] The inhabitants of the Helsinki old men's homes were, in turn, advised not to throw "paper, fruit peel and the suchlike" out of the window or otherwise throw them about.[951]

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[944] Emily Gee, '"Where Shall She Live?"', *Journal of Architectural Conservation* 15, no. 2 (2009): 41.
[945] KK/EPO:Ba6, Southern Ostrobotnia Nation, minutes 29.4.1913, Appendix 50; Pentti Kivinen, 'Karjalaisten koti', *Lukutupa* 11.3.1908, 57–58; K., 'Pohjalaisten osakuntatalo ylioppilaskodiksi', *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/1913, 158; Y. H., 'Ylioppilaitten asuntokysymys', *Ylioppilaslehti* 20/1915, 187–189; Kivinen, *Karjalaisten talo-osakeyhtiö*, 17–21.
[946] KK/PY2:Ca4, johtokunnan kokous 1.4.1931, Pohjalaisen ylioppilaskodin järjestyssäännöt, kohta 1.
[947] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ea2, Järjestyssäännöt Suomen Merimieskotiyhdistyksen merimieskodille Hampurissa, kohta 2 ja 3.
[948] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ea2, Järjestyssäännöt Suomen Merimieskotiyhdistyksen merimieskodille Hampurissa, kohta 4, 6 ja 8.
[949] KK/PY2:Ca4, johtokunnan kokous 1.4.1931, Pohjalaisen ylioppilaskodin järjestyssäännöt, kohta 3.
[950] HKA/Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen hallintolautakunta/Ca:1 Pöytäkirjat 1908-1913, 8.12.1908, a proposal for the rules of the bachelor building, article 6.
[951] KK/Ephemera collection/ Hyväntekeväisyys XX/Ordningsregler för Gubbhemmet i Helsingfors (1913), article 5.

General order had to be upheld by keeping everything in its place and by respecting both the material environment of the home as well as the other residents. The rules of the Helsinki old men's home, the Ostrobothnia student home and the bachelor building stated that the furnishings of the home or building had to be handled carefully and in all four types of establishment damaged property had to be reimbursed.[952] The residents were advised to respect the other residents by avoiding activities that could cause noise or other disturbances, especially at night.[953] The residents of the Helsinki old men's home were not allowed to remove the reading room's newspapers or magazines from the reading room, an example of how the rules fostered respect for others. Order could only be maintained if everybody shared the same understanding of how things worked.[954] The rules of the old men's home and the sailors' home stated that the residents had to "observe a peaceful and dignified conduct" and to behave "in a dignified and respectable manner and abide by the orders of the director of the home", respectively.[955] In the case of the old men's home such an admonition reflected the background knowledge the inhabitants were already expected to possess, whereas the rules of the sailors' home expressed qualities that the upper classes hoped to instil in these workers: regularity, respect, obedience, temperance, and morality.[956]

The Ostrobothnia student home was the only one of the four types of 'homes' to accommodate both male and female residents, but in the decoration and furnishing of its student bedrooms the management followed the gendered middle- and upper-class design principles of the late 19th and early 20th century.[957] The dark colours, green or dark brown, of the men's rooms created an impression of seriousness and resembled the study of a father or a man working from

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[952] KK/Ephemera collection/ Hyväntekeväisyys XX/Ordningsregler för Gubbhemmet i Helsingfors (1913), article 4; KK/PY2:Ca4, johtokunnan kokous 1.4.1931, Pohjalaisen ylioppilaskodin järjestyssäännöt, kohta 4; KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ea2, Järjestyssäännöt Suomen Merimieskotiyhdistyksen merimieskodille Hampurissa, kohta 9; HKA/Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen hallintolautakunta/Ca:1 Pöytäkirjat 1908-1913, 8.12.1908, a proposal for the rules of the bachelor building, article 3.
[953] KK/PY2:Ca4, johtokunnan kokous 1.4.1931, Pohjalaisen ylioppilaskodin järjestyssäännöt, kohta 2; KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ea2, Järjestyssäännöt Suomen Merimieskotiyhdistyksen merimieskodille Hampurissa, kohta 5; HKA/Kunnallisten työväenasuntojen hallintolautakunta/Ca:1 Pöytäkirjat 1908-1913, 8.12.1908, a proposal for the rules of the bachelor building, articles 2, 4 and 5; KK/Ephemera collection/ Hyväntekeväisyys XX/Ordningsregler för Gubbhemmet i Helsingfors (1913), article 1.
[954] KK/Ephemera collection/ Hyväntekeväisyys XX/Ordningsregler för Gubbhemmet i Helsingfors (1913), article 6.
[955] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ea2, Järjestyssäännöt Suomen Merimieskotiyhdistyksen merimieskodille Hampurissa, kohta 12; KK/Ephemera collection/ Hyväntekeväisyys XX/Ordningsregler för Gubbhemmet i Helsingfors (1913), article 1.
[956] Fingard, 'Masters and Friends, Crimps and Abstainers', 38.
[957] Hamlett, 'Dining Room Should Be the Man's Paradise', 576 & 580. See also Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 21.

home by following the classic design principles of a gentleman's room. In contrast, the white furniture and more delicate style of the women's rooms brings to mind a schoolgirl's room. Indeed, according to Marja-Liisa Lehto, the room of the older girls in a family home at the beginning of the century were often decorated with white furniture.[958] By decorating only the men's rooms according to design ideas that sought to create the best possible environment for serious study, these differences in decoration and furniture implied differing expectations towards the nature and purpose of the studies of male students in comparison to female students.[959] Even if these design choices were based on the assumption that men and women would feel most comfortable in such 'masculine' and 'feminine' settings respectively, the result nonetheless upheld and reproduced gender differences and hierarchies. These differences linked to references to the different levels of maturity of the inhabitants. While the men's rooms' design that resembled a gentleman's room could be seen to contribute to the formation of its inhabitants' identity as adult men, the whiteness of the women's rooms referred to the opposite direction on the age spectrum, that is, to girls living in their parental homes and to their accompanying innocence.

Also the division of labour in maintaining and managing the 'homes' replicated the conventional gendered division of labour of middle-class family homes.[960] A female director or matron played a comparable role to the middle-class housewife managing the servants and overseeing the smooth running of the home.[961] Especially in many of the Christian student homes, the matron also acted as a mother or aunt-like figure to the residents, someone who nursed them when they were ill or helped them make the transition from boys to men.[962] Overall women were responsible for all the homemaking aspects of the 'homes' even if the associations were often led by men. For example, Mrs Pettersson and Mrs Nyberg, both wives of board members of the Helsinki old men's home, were given the responsibility of furnishing and decorating the home.[963] Even within the YMCA, which did not have permanent residents, the women's committee was crucial to making the YMCA's rooms appear more like those in a

[958] Lehto, 'Asunnosta kodiksi', 108.
[959] See also Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 21.
[960] Teekkarila and the Christian homes, besides Kalliola, before the Second World War were exclusively for male students. This was partly a result of the fact that only men could become priests. See also Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 141; Hockey, 'The Ideal Home', 111–12.
[961] KK/PY2: DbI:1, Pohjalaisen ylioppilaskodin ohjesääntö.
[962] Laasonen, 'Ylioppilaskoti Domuksen 50-vuotistaipaleelta', 11–12; Aurola, 'Malminkadun ylioppilaskodissa', 98.
[963] 'Ukkokodinyhdistyksen vuosikokous', *Uusi Suometar* 30.4.1912, 6.

family home as well as trying to improve the everyday lives of the associations members. They were also the ones who first suggested that the association should start offering food and housing for young men.[964] Similar to the municipal poor relief sector, women's place within the different organisations was limited to tasks that were considered to be women's responsibility or calling as in society at large. This included the everyday organisation of care and household tasks such cooking, cleaning, and decorating.[965]

Limits of homeliness

Already during the planning process of the Ostrobothnia student home, the hope was expressed that there would develop a true feeling of home among the residents.[966] The aim was to create a home, not a hostel or a block of "boxes", as the term student *home* (ylioppilas*koti*) suggested.[967] Yet, in 1933 the position of the director was terminated because, according to the Ostrobothnia Delegation (*Pohjalainen valtuuskunta*), "the Student Home had not achieved the intended meaning of "home"."[968] The same year, following difficulties in attracting residents, the size of the student home was reduced to seven apartments with 19 rooms and one kitchen, while there had even been discussions about closing the home altogether.[969] The shared spaces and activities such as meal times or the celebration of holidays were meant to bring the residents of the student home together and form a family of friends, but the aim was also not to limit the freedom of the residents. Everyone had the right to go as they pleased and organise their lives as they wished as long as they respected the other residents of the home.[970] This, however, meant that it was difficult to get all the residents to be present at the same time.[971] It was difficult to foster a sense of community among the residents if they all had their own interests, activities and friends outside the home and if the residents kept changing every year. From 1930 onwards, the majority of male residents who moved in stayed only for a half a year or a year, whereas in the beginning most residents had lived in the home for at least two years.[972]

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[964] 'Yhdistyksemme työ-alalta. Uusi yhdistyksen koti', *Kuukauslehti* 2/1895, 7.
[965] Urponen, 'Huoltoyhteiskunnasta hyvinvointivaltioon', 179.
[966] KK/PY6/Ca5, Pohjalaisen valtuuskunnan pöytäkirjat, 9.3.1928, liite 3.
[967] KK/PY2/Ca5, johtokunnan pöytäkirjat, 18.11.1932.
[968] KK/PY6/Ca5, Pohjalaisen valtuuskunnan pöytäkirjat, 4.12.1933. The Ostrobothnia Delegation was the cooperative body of the three Ostrobothnian nations that together owned and managed the Ostrobotnia building.
[969] KK/PY6/Ca5, pöytäkirjat, 18.3.1933, appendix 2g; 11.4.1933; 29.4.1933; Koskimies, *Pohjalaisten osakuntatalo 25-vuotias*, 22.
[970] P., 'Omalla Pohjalla. Tosiasioita ja tarinaa Pohjalaisesta Ylioppilaskodista', *Ylioppilaslehti* 24/1929, 454–455.
[971] KK/PY6:Ca5, Pohjalaisen valtuuskunnan pöytäkirjat, 29.9.1932.
[972] KK/PY2:Ba:2, asukasluettelo 1928–1939.

The previous three chapters have revealed how family and friends, freedom and control, personal routines and personalization as well as food constituted elements which were important for a bachelor in order to feel at home or feel that he belonged. Contrasting these elements of homeliness and domesticity with characteristics of the communal living arrangements exposes the institutional side of the communal housing arrangements and especially how regulation could compromise the residents' "sense of domesticity."[973]

The homeliness, the domestic services organised communally and the requirements these created, while solving some domestic issues, had also created limitations to homeliness. Even though life was not nearly as structured and controlled as in a municipal poor home, the specific meal, cleaning or closing times that the residents had to follow in many of the 'homes' forced everyone to follow the same daily schedule and promoted a life that was regular. Consequently, the rules of the homes reveal the sometimes contradictory nature of such communal homes as a home: On the one hand, their smooth running and the fact that everyone could live comfortably required that all the inhabitants indeed followed the rules and behaved respectfully to each other. However, on the other hand, following the specific rules, practices, and timetables of the 'homes' or always cleaning up after oneself right away, could also be seen to constitute the opposite of the freedoms of home. If home was considered a place where one could be at ease, do things the way one wanted to, follow one's own schedule and routines, the prerequisites of the communal homes would have meant that the homeliness of the place would always have been lacking. The smooth and effective running of the 'homes' thus deemed some activities, which would have been considered appropriate in an individual home, as inappropriate.[974] Together with a lack of opportunities for personalization and privacy and the 'enforced familiarity', the inflexible nature of the homes as well as the lack of control and freedom could have made the homes feel unhomely.[975]

In the case of the Ostrobothnia student home that aimed for a 'disciplined freedom', students, who wanted to fully exploit the possibilities of this experimental phase of their lives and who

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[973] Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 122.
[974] Robinson, 'Architecture of Institution & Home', 140.
[975] Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 129; Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, 24; Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 121–22; Joan Higgins, 'Homes and Institutions', in *Home and Family: Creating the Domestic Sphere*, ed. Graham Allan and Graham Crow (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1989), 164–72; Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 193–94 & 198.

wanted more control over their personal space and time, would not have been interested in what the home offered.[976] When the Ostrobothnia student home opened, most of the applicants had hoped to get a room just for themselves but, instead, they had no control over who they had to share a room with.[977] The student homes were called "homes" precisely in order to differentiate them from the rented 'boxes' of students. Yet, while the word "home" underlined the comfort, family atmosphere and protection provided by the student home, at the same time a 'box' retained a positive connotation of freedom. The attributes that were used to describe the benefits of an association or a nation having its own building (freedom, self-determination, stability and flexibility) could, in turn, be used to describe students' boxes in contrast to the student homes. The logic behind the student homes expected everyone to be the same in terms of needs or situation in life and imagined that a setting, which shared many of the characteristics of a family home, would be appealing to students during their studies. Studenthood coincided with a time when a person developed his adult identity through experimentation and the testing of boundaries—and one's room could play a key role in this identity building. The parameters set and framework provided by the student homes could not fully support such needs but could, on the contrary, actually limit or prevent such endeavours or even homogenize the habits of the residents.[978]

Likewise, the educational aims of the sailors' homes could not demonstrate a too obvious or blatantly aggressive paternalism. Some of the respondents' comments pointed out that the homes needed to be careful to create the right kind of atmosphere in order for the sailors to come to the home in the first place. The sailors needed to feel that they were welcome and respected, that they had not lost their freedom, and that they were understood and not condemned by the workers of the home—or the institution behind it. If the manager of the home or the priest at the Mission did not know how to communicate with the sailors or looked down upon them and "frightened them with the hardships of hell", the sailors preferred to go

[976] Aapola and Kaarninen, 'Näkökulmia suomalaisen nuoruuden', 12–13; Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 137.
[977] KK/PY2:Ca1, johtokunnan pöytäkirjat, 21.8.1928.
[978] Hussey and Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker*, 149–50; Mrs Judith Thomsen, 'Home Experiences in Student Housing: About Institutional Character and Temporary Homes', *Journal of Youth Studies* 10, no. 5 (1 November 2007): 581 & 594; Kenyon, 'A Home from Home', 88; Paul R Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005), 64 & 66; Maximilian Schuh, 'Student Mobilities and Masculinities: The Case of the Empire North of the Alps in the Fifteenth Century', in *Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea*, ed. Marianne O'Doherty and Felicitas Schmieder (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2015), 253.

somewhere else.[979] With regard to Canadian sailors' homes of the 19th century, Fingard has demonstrated that a greater number of sailors preferred the more tolerant atmosphere found in boarding houses compared to sailors' homes.[980] A report from 1936 stated that sailors considered the management at the Finnish Association's homes to be more flexible and understanding of sailors and that was why men preferred to come to the homes.[981] One aspect of this was that the Association evidently listened to the requests made by the residents with regard, for example, to food or to free time activities, in the latter case by purchasing boxing equipment or a pool table.[982]

In 1934, the magazine of the Seamen's Union, *Merimies*, published an article about the Association's sailors' homes. The piece was mostly positive in tone and ended by stating that "[a]lmost without exception all the sailors are grateful that Finnish sailors' homes have been founded in foreign ports and they acknowledge the homes' great social significance."[983] Still, as with the general question of working-class housing, the differences in class perspectives became apparent, even if this happened comparatively quite late in the case of sailors. By the 1940s the tone had changed: at a meeting of the Union's representatives in 1943 an action plan was approved, in which it was stated that the control of the sailors' homes abroad should be transferred from the Association to the state. The new administrative body should have representatives also from sailors' organisations. The Association was described as "completely unfamiliar to sailors."[984] As Duthie has pointed out, support and accommodation for sailors were mainly offered on the terms of donors or managers of homes and the role of the sailors was to humbly accept these paternalistic terms "as the objects of philanthropy."[985] Furthermore, by trying to guide and educate the sailors to behave or to use their money in a certain way, that is, to impose their values on the sailors, the managers and employees of the homes ran the risk

[979] TYKL/K19&20: informant 12; informant 81; Elis Bergroth, 'Sananen Merimiesten elämästä', *Suomen lähetyssanomia* 1:Lisälehti/1881, 6–8.
[980] Fingard, 'Masters and Friends, Crimps and Abstainers', 44.
[981] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ca:3, 30.1.1937, liite/tarkastuskertomus 1936.
[982] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ca:2, 19.6.1931, liite A/matkakertomus; tarkastuskertomus 1935; 'Vuosikertomus 1936', in Hoppu, *Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys 1942*, 10.
[983] K. A., 'Suomalaiset merimieskodit', *Merimies* 12/1934, 5–8.
[984] 'Merimiehet tasa-arvoisiksi muitten kansalaisten kanssa', *Merimies* 11/1943, 3(243)–8(248). Also in Germany, the union newspaper criticised the sailors' missionaries for concentrating on remedying the souls of sailors rather than arguing for the rights of sailors, and, in Britain, especially the temperance aims of Agnes Weston's Rests continued to arouse criticism from "naval men who no longer cared to be 'mothered'." See Dennis, 'Seduction on the Waterfront', 188; Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack*, 92.
[985] Duthie, 'Philanthropy and Evangelism', 167 & 172.

of doing exactly what they criticised crimps or boarding house owners of doing—trying to control the sailors.[986]

Differing definitions of home

Unlike in ideal middle- and upper-class family homes, in communal homes the residents had to share some of the domestic spaces with people they did not know, at least not in the beginning. The definition of what made a home a home therefore differed in regard to whether the focus was on families or on people without families. Since the level and type of homeliness people without the possibility of living in a family home were able to achieve was already compromised due to the lack of a family, homeliness for them was defined in a different, and in some respects opposite, way to (nuclear) families. Communal solutions that were considered inappropriate for families were often considered suitable solutions for single people.[987] Such a difference in definitions of home can be further demonstrated by looking at the role food played both in the communal living arrangements as well as in the definitions of home.

Accommodating single men went hand in hand with providing them with meals. The bachelor building housed a people's diner, while the municipal family apartments on the same site had their own kitchens.[988] The residents of Christian student homes were provided with meals, whereas the students living in the Ostrobothnian home had easy access to the downstairs student restaurant. The residents of Teekkarila were served at least coffee, sandwiches and porridge in the common room.[989] Both the old men's homes and sailors' homes housed dining halls, where all the residents ate their meals together. Nor was food only a matter of the practical organization of meals, but in several instances food was seen as being important in improving the homeliness of a place. For Kivinen, the provision of meals was the fact that most clearly differentiated a home from a boarding house.[990] Both Kivinen and the representatives of the Ostrobothnia Nations claimed that running between their apartment and a diner several times a

[986] Kennerley, 'British Seamen's Missions and Sailors' Homes', 89.
[987] See also Hockey, 'The Ideal Home', 108–9; Lynn F Pearson, *The Architectural and Social History of Cooperative Living* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1988), 56.
[988] Although the people's kitchen was closed already in 1913, when the managing board could not find a new manager for the kitchen and decided to remodel that part of the house into family apartments as there was a constant demand for them. See HKA/Sosiaalilautakunta, Kunnallisten Työväenasuntojen Hallintajaosto/Ca:1, appendices to the minutes for the year 1913, K. B., 'N:o 2 Till Styrelsen för Helsingfors stads allmänna arbeten', 1913, den 9 Oktober.
[989] Rep., 'Polyteikkarikoti', *Tekniikan ylioppilas* 2/1930, 2–3.
[990] Kivinen, *Karjalaisten talo-osakeyhtiö*, 5–6.

day drained the students' energy, time and nerves.[991] Furthermore, members of the Ostrobothnia student home's board were convinced that, if the residents could be encouraged to drink coffee together more often, it would improve the homeliness of the home.[992] The management of the sailors' homes saw the provision of meals as key to differentiating themselves from the other establishments.[993] The serving of Finnish foods, such as sour milk (*piimä*) and rye bread, which were not available on foreign ships, and dishes prepared by a Finnish cook were also considered to be important in attracting Finnish sailors.

The combination of meal provision with accommodation links the different forms of communal living with the history of central kitchen buildings, which were apartment blocks with a central kitchen located in the basement or ground floor. In the kitchen the staff prepared meals for the residents of the building and the meals were transported to the apartments using small food lifts. The staff also washed the dishes after the meal. These types of buildings or systems were also built in the United States, Denmark, Sweden, the UK, Germany and Austria from the end of the 19th century onwards. In Finland about 30 central kitchen buildings were built in Helsinki, Turku and Tampere in the 1910s and 1920s. Through rationalising and applying cooperative principles, the system was presented as saving the residents money, time and effort as well as making it possible to live without a servant while at the same time keeping up class standards.[994]

While, for example, the representatives of the Martha organisation (*Marttaliitto*) opposed the idea of families living in central kitchen buildings, even they considered it to be an appropriate solution for single women. In 1922, leading figures from the organisation even built a central kitchen building that was meant specifically for unmarried middle-class women with white-collar jobs.[995] Similar buildings aimed at single men were not built in Finland, but the other communal arrangements discussed here can be considered to adhere to many of the same principles as the central kitchen buildings.[996] The programmes for the architecture competitions

[991] KK/EPO:Ba6, osakunnan kokous 29.4.1913, liite 50; V. K., 'Pohjalaisten osakuntatalo ylioppilaskodiksi', *Ylioppilaslehti* 14/1913, 158; Kivinen, *Karjalaisten talo-osakeyhtiö*, 5–6.
[992] KK/PY2:Ca5, johtokunnan kokous 24.11.1932.
[993] KA/Suomen merimieskotiyhdistys/Ca2, johtokunnan kokous 14.4.1934, liite A/kirje Rotterdamin kodin johtajalta johtokunnalle; 9.1.1935, liite A/tarkastuskertomus 1934;/Ha3**,** kirje Daniel Oräddilta johtokunnalle 24.1.1928; Ea1, kirje Kankkoselta yhdistykselle 24.2.1928; kirje Lindroosilta Bergmanille/johtokunnalle 13.10.1928.
[994] Nevalainen, 'Rationalisoitua säädynmukaisuutta'.
[995] Nevalainen, 'Rationalisoitua säädynmukaisuutta', 143–46.
[996] Over 80 bachelors in the 1930 census lived in a central kitchen building but, unfortunately, there is no way of knowing whether the kitchen had influenced their decision to choose that particular apartment building

of both the Karelia House and the Ostrobotnia stated that the building should have a central kitchen, and thus preceded the bulk of central kitchen buildings.[997] Articles published in *Ylioppilaslehti* confirm that the food lifts were actually built but it is unclear whether the residents of the Ostrobothnia Student Home ever used the system.[998]

In contrast to family homes, in the case of single people, the provision of food prepared in a central kitchen as a part of a communal housing arrangement was seen to offer them several benefits and to increase the homeliness of their living arrangements. Since single people lived outside a family setting, the central kitchen was not perceived as a threat to the homeliness of their homes but rather as a solution to their housing and household management problems by providing them with services, freedoms and comfort that otherwise would have been beyond their means. Especially in the case of men, a central kitchen or meal provision service offered a solution to the problems that men encountered with regard to meals. Communal services could never be as good as a wife but at least they were an improvement to outsourced domesticity since they decreased the need for everyday domestic mobility by enabling men to enjoy their meals at home.

> He saw himself living again in some dismal box or the mediocre room of a boarding house waiting for his sloppily repaired underwear from the laundry and his suit from the ironing service in order to go and eat food made industrially and from who-knows-what-kind of ingredients and to drink suspicious coffee.[999]

Yet, while communal arrangements could solve some of the domestic issues faced by singles, they could not fully address all the aspects related to the role food played in meanings of home. Part of what constituted a home included people's personal tastes and routines concerning food as well as the ability to control what, when and how you ate. In the case of men and adult masculinity, key to this control was having a wife at home cooking the food for them according

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[997] KK/PY1:Ha1.1, arkkitehtuurikilpailun ohjelma; 'Karjalaisten Talo-Osakeyhtiön pohjapiirustusten luonnoskilpailun ohjelma', *Uusi Suometar* 15.8.1907, 4.

[998] 'Pohjalainen ylioppilaskotihanke', *Ylioppilaslehti* 19.2.1921, 48–49; Eino B. Lehtinen, 'Pohjalainen Ylioppilaskoti', *Ylioppilaslehti* 8/1928, 115–116; P., 'Omalla Pohjalla. Tosiasioita ja tarinaa Pohjalaisesta Ylioppilaskodista', *Ylioppilaslehti* 24/1929, 454–455. At least in 1929 the lifts were not in use and most residents ate in the restaurant downstairs. The rules of the student home from 1931 nonetheless state that the entrance to the food lift had to be kept clean but then the next year the Ostrobothnia Delegation decided to install gas cookers in the apartments so that those who wanted to could cook for themselves. See KK/PY2:DbI:1, ylioppilaskodin ohjesääntö; KK/PY2:Ca:4, johtokunnan kokous 1.4.1931; KK/PY6:Ca5, Pohjalaisen valtuuskunnan kokous 29.9.1932.

[999] Keijo, 'Sellaisetkaan kurssit eivät olisi haitaksi', *Liikeapulainen* 16.12.1932, 576-578. Original: "Hän näki itsensä asumassa jälleen jossakin kolkossa boksissa tai täysihoitolan tusinahuoneessa odottamassa pesulaitoksesta huolimattomasti korjattuja alusvaatteitaan ja silityslaitoksesta pukuaan päästäkseen syömään tehdasmaisesti ja ties minkälaisista aineksista valmistettua ruokaa ja juomaan epäilyttävää kahvia."

to their preferences and schedules. Despite ensuring that a single person no longer had to leave his home to eat, in the communal housing arrangements the meal time, menus and taste of the food were still decided by someone else and designed to cater for the needs and tastes of a large group of people. The issue of personal tastes and routines or the need for control over food thus remained unsolved. The relationship between food and home and how the suitable solutions were evaluated differently in the case of families and single people further demonstrates that the ideal and true home was imagined as a family home. Home was thus defined very differently, not only based on class but also with regard to a person's marital status. While the definitions of a family and home narrowed, people without families were centralised into separate communal establishments or 'homes'.

These different aspects, which could be considered to have diminished the homeliness and attractiveness of communal homes, meant that the homes were better suited to function as guesthouses accommodating people during shorter stays. Such a change seems to have taken place with the old men's home in Helsinki, which according to a magazine article had at least been partly converted into a guesthouse (*täysihoitola*) in 1920.[1000] In the 1930 census, about a half of the inhabitants of the home were women and a third of the male inhabitants were under 60 years old.[1001] Yet, the better success of the Turku old men's home demonstrates that the inhabitants could indeed settle into the home and thrive there. By the 1940s one man had lived in the Turku home for 32 years.[1002] A magazine article published in the 1930s presented a picture of the inhabitants of the Turku home as enjoying their days as pensioners and still leading active lives.[1003] Mr. Österholm, one of the inhabitants, gave the following answer when a journalist asked him if the days sometimes felt long and monotonous:

> Not at all. The time passes by quickly here – you do not even notice and the morning has turned into evening – especially during the summer, when you can move about outside more. There is always something to see in the park and in the garden – books in the library, radios, newspapers – and then these neighbours. Time is well spent here – and if one gets a bit bored, it is not a long way to the city centre from here…[1004]

[1000] 'Rauhankallion pensionaatti', *Suomen Kuvalehti* 30.10.1920, 987.
[1001] KA/Hgin väestönlasku 1930, He:445, huoneistokortit, Laitosluettelo: Pension, Fridhäll (Gubbhemmet)
[1002] Colliander, *Turun Ukkokoti-yhdistys*, 35.
[1003] HAKO, 'Vanhojen herrojen hotelli', *Seura* 7/1939, 10–11.
[1004] HAKO, 'Vanhojen herrojen hotelli', *Seura* 7/1939, 10–11. Original: "Eikö mitä. Nopeastihan täällä aika kuluu – ei huomaakaan, kun aamu illaksi muuttuu – varsinkin kesällä, kun voi liikkua enemmän ulkosalla. Puistossa ja puutarhassa on aina jotakin kapsehtimista – kirjastossa kirjoja, radiot, sanomalehdet – ja sitten nämä naapurit. Kyllä täällä aika hyvin kuluu – ja jos pitkäksi tuppaa käymään, niin eihän tästä ole pitkä matka kaupungille…"

The institutional aspects of the homes should not be exaggerated nor should institutionality and homeliness be set as opposites in a way that entrenches the idea of home as being a solely positive place and an institution solely a negative one. Not all the inhabitants necessarily considered the limitations discussed above to be problematic. They would have seen the 'homes' as an improvement compared to other alternatives and found a comfortable existence there. The limitations of student and sailors' homes would have been mitigated by the fact people lived in these homes only temporarily, while the more permanent forms, the bachelor building and the old men's homes, actually provided important opportunities for personal homemaking. As Hamlett has pointed out, such spaces and places need to be considered as their own domestic worlds "with their own particular social and material rituals", not only in contrast to a family home.[1005] These buildings, which for the respective organisations represented stability, freedom and continuity, could also offer those qualities to the inhabitants. Not everyone sought to live alone as that was considered to be an "unsafe alternative in a society, where support and safety was found in other people."[1006] Especially the old men's homes provided the men with meals, spaces in which to socialise with other men or the chance to retire to the privacy of one's own room, that is, they allowed the men to find a balance between enjoying domestic comforts in solitude and socialising with one's peers.[1007]

[1005] Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 7.
[1006] Ollila, *Jalo velvollisuus*, 113–15.
[1007] Milne-Smith, *London Clubland*.

6. Epilogue: Who Deserves a Home

People (family, friends, occupational community), freedom and control, possibilities for personalisation, work, shared practices, food, continuity provided by personal routines and material culture—these are some of the elements which made a home or a sense of belonging for Finnish bachelors in around 1900. Although bachelors have remained mostly invisible in previous research on ideas about and experiences of home and domesticity, this thesis has demonstrated that in researching home and everyday life marital status, life stage and age are as critical as considerations of class and gender. By combining quantitative analysis of census records and probates with qualitative analysis of oral history sources, ego documents and the archives of different types of organisations, I have analysed bachelors' different living arrangements, everyday domestic practices, ownership and access to domestic material culture as well as meanings of home in Finland from the 1880s to the 1930s.

The original idea for this research stemmed from a finding of my previous research on central kitchen buildings in inter-war Finland, namely that what constituted a 'good' home was defined differently for single people than it was for nuclear families. A more detailed analysis of the position of bachelors in Finnish society revealed that within the context of the middle-class ideologies of family and home, bachelors were invisible. In fact, they were placed outside of definitions of home or marked as not deserving a home. The possibility that even middle-class bachelors, not to mention their working-class counterparts, would want to enjoy domestic comforts or homeliness was not considered to be important since bachelorhood was considered to be only a temporary and often mobile life phase. When homeliness was taken into account in the context of single people, as for example, with communal living arrangements, home and homeliness were defined differently for them than they were for (nuclear) families.

In order to see beyond these normative middle-class definitions and ideals of home, I developed an open approach to the meanings and practices of home and domesticity by combining tools from several fields: critical geography of home, recent social and cultural history approaches to practices and material culture, microhistory, approaches to mobility, as well as tools from gender history and critical studies on men and masculinities. My primary focus was on the different domestic practices and strategies that bachelors employed and developed according to the different freedoms and limitations connected to the specific context of a bachelor (see Table 13 for a summary).

	Families	Boxes	Mobility	Communal homes
Housing/ household relationships	- parental homes - homes of siblings or other relatives - joint sibling households - heading a family household	- renters (or boarders) with their own room alone or shared - heads of households with 1-2 room apartment	- employees (and short-term lodgers)	- resident of a 'home' (~boarder) - renter in municipal housing
Limitations/ problems	- care etc. responsibilities as a burden/limiting - parental/family control - family power hierarchies, possible tensions - definition of families narrowing down	- limited amount of space - furnished rooms: furnishings etc. decided by someone else - assumed temporariness - lack of domestic capacity and capital, (lack of economic resources)	- mobility - away from family members/home for extended periods of time - lack of personal space - makeshift housing - control of the employer, economic and social structures - bachelor assumption	- institutional control/ rules and structures of the home -> paternalism, limited freedom and control - lack of or restricted possibilities for personalization
Freedom/ opportunities	- benefitting from pooled economic, material culture and domestic resources - emotional importance of family members - care (especially in old age)	- privacy - control over one's own space - freedom to do what one wants	- freedom from settling down/mobility as desirable - work community/culture - flexibility	- higher standard of living, safety, care - communality
Forms of domesticity/ domestic strategies	- family dom. = gendered division of labour & caring for each other, shared practices and traditions	- flexible/ temporal domesticity - outsourced domesticity - bachelor clustering - postable dom.	- portable - flexible/temporal - communal (A) = solidarity, culture, routines, shared material culture and activities	- communal (B) = shared spaces, rules etc. - educational - nationalistic - religious
Food	- female family members - servants	- bought services (landlady or diner etc.)	- cooks hired by employer - cooking oneself - outsourced	- communal dining/central kitchens
Gender	- gaining adult masculinity through family responsibilities - men as carers - gendered domestic work	- bachelor/ homosocial masculinity but also continuities - domestic comforts vs. domestic work	- occupation specific masculinity - criticising assumptions about 'bachelor culture' - contradictions	- masculinities as the focus of control/education - future masculinities

Table 13. A summary of the elements of domesticity and everyday life analysed in the thesis.

Central to the approach was a focus on home-making as an interplay between conforming, reworking and resistance. The open approach enabled me to explore home, belonging and domesticity on different scales and led me to consider the relationality of many elements of domesticity and homeliness, such as privacy. The approach made it possible to take into account the different levels of mobility that characterised the lives of many bachelors and to examine feelings of belonging as not always being tied to a specific place.

> A bachelor builds his nest on the top floor of human houses and the main decoration and cushion in the nest are cigarette stubs, matches, pipe stems and such waste from nutrients. He does not spend much time in his nest and usually he secretly sneaks out in the evening. There he meets a group of friends and they spend the whole night doing strange and mysterious things. - - Sometimes bachelors drink a liquid, which they really like. When it is enthusiastically consumed, they lose their natural shyness, which is replaced by boldness and extreme talkativeness. In these cases it happens sometimes that bachelors turn into four-legged creatures; but because these are exceptions we can with certainty decide they belong to the two-legged.[1008]

Through this approach, I demonstrated that bachelorhood was not just about the popular images of irresponsible freedom to drink, gallivant, and stay out all night. In fact, singleness did not necessarily mean living alone or being homeless, and homes, domestic comforts and family responsibilities did matter to bachelors. Unlike in the quotation above on the habits of a 'bachelor species', the freedoms of bachelorhood did not produce the attitude that home or domestic comforts were somehow unimportant to bachelors. Bachelors strove to improve their housing situations, they invested in furnishings and other domestic items, and they experienced feelings of homelessness or they complained about a lack of domestic comforts.

Chapter 2 demonstrated how for bachelors, family and the family home constituted the primary context for their lives and was important to them emotionally, socially and practically. In terms of gender, remaining unmarried did not mean that one did not attain male adulthood, but that through practices of taking responsibility, acting as the head of the household, providing and caring for others, a bachelor could also gain the status of an adult man. Furthermore, both unmarried and married men had similar domestic needs, as exemplified by the discussions

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[1008] Pyrkijä, 'Armirus sankarius', *Itä-Karjala* 4.7.1902, 3. Original: "Poikamies rakentaa pesänsä ihmisten talojen yläkertaan ja on pesän pääasiallisimpana sisustuksena ja pehmikkeinä paperossin tumpit, tulitikun pätkät, piipunperä y. m. ravintoaineiden jätteet. Hän ei viihdy paljon pesässään ja lähteekin tavallisesti iltasilla salaa hiipien ulos. Siellä kohtaa hän joukon tovereita ja ihmeellisissä ja salaperäisissä toimissa kuluu heiltä yö. - - Joskus juovat poikamiehet eräänlaista nestettä, josta he hyvin paljon pitävät. Kun sitä ahkerasti nautitaan, katoaa heistä luontainen arkuutensa ja sijaan tulee uhkarohkeus ja erinomainen puheliaisuus. Tämmöisissä tapauksissa sattuu joskus, että poikamiehet muuttuvat nelijalkaisiksi; mutta kun nämät ovat poikkeuksia, voimme sentään varmuudella päättää heidän kuuluvan kaksijalkaisiin."

about the so-called gentleman's room or the fact that a bachelor's relationship with home focused on domestic comforts instead of everyday domestic work.

Moving beyond the marginalization of bachelors in relation to home has also meant criticising the use of such terms as 'bachelor culture' or 'bachelor lifestyle' as analytical categories. Instead I argue in favour of a more nuanced understanding of bachelors and how they lived their lives. Single men were not a homogenous group in terms of domestic capacities or domestic material culture. No bachelor domestic lifestyle that would have encompassed all single men can be extracted from the sources. I have argued that the housing circumstances as well as the domestic material objects that a bachelor either owned himself or to which he had access to, greatly influenced the kinds of domestic practices and strategies he was able to pursue or was forced to employ in his everyday life. These circumstances in turn depended on his wealth, class or social status, occupation, age, geographical origin and level of mobility as well as family and other social networks.

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, many bachelors in different stages of their lives enjoyed and benefitted from the care and support of family members, from the upholding of existing domestic practices or, in a new environment, from the help family members could provide in adopting new everyday practices. Beyond these examples of family-based domesticity, the concepts of flexible/temporal, portable, communal, outsourced and postable domesticity were formulated to stretch our understanding of domesticity beyond a normative family home. They also describe the different strategies developed and used by bachelors according to the freedoms and limitations of their situations:

Flexible/temporal domesticity refers to how spaces or domestic items were used for different functions and how practices were adapted as well as needs and desires accommodated according to level of mobility and spatial, material and economic realities. Such strategies allowed bachelors living in boxes, ships or, for example, logging cabins to make do with less.

Portable domesticity reflects how portable domestic items allowed bachelors to enjoy domestic comforts, to uphold at least a certain degree of personal privacy, to maintain a link to home, and to engage in domestic practices in the context of a mobile life, irrespective of their location. The term also exposes the limitations imposed by the need for portability.

Communal domesticity describes how upholding certain aspects of domesticity required that members of the community followed the same rules and shared practices. Through communal domesticity and cooperation bachelors, or men in general, could achieve a higher level of domestic comforts. Yet, the difference between communal domesticity exercised in the communal 'homes' and among, for example, sailors was in whether the rules governing this domesticity were imposed from above or were a part of the culture of the community. As participation and performance of shared everyday practices, communal domesticity could especially contribute to the development and upholding of a sense of belonging.

Outsourced domesticity highlights the extent to which bachelors both could as well as had to take advantage of domestic services outsides their homes or dwellings. Their housing situations as well as lack of domestic capacity and capital created such needs but, on the other hand, bachelors enjoyed domesticity in different homosocial environments outside their dwellings.

Postable domesticity was a strategy through which families could extend both emotional as well as practical care for their sons, who had been separated from their families. Postable domesticity underlines how certain aspects of domesticity, such as linen, were especially problematic for bachelors and how the work done by female family members was crucial.

These different forms of domesticity underline the degree to which domesticity was not always tied to a dwelling nor to a specific place. Stability could be created through other means than physically staying in one place. All of these forms of domesticity connected to different levels of mobility: global, internal, intra-city and everyday micro-mobility. As everyday performances many of them contributed to a bachelor's sense of stability, safety, familiarity and belonging. My case study on sailors especially demonstrates how these different forms of domesticity could be linked together. Several of these strategies also reveal the ways in which bachelors addressed the problems caused by the gendered character of domestic work.

Besides the social and cultural history of the domestic lives of bachelors, this thesis has contributed to the history of ships as domestic spaces as well as the early history of institutions that provided philanthropic welfare services in the forms of student homes, old men's homes and sailors' homes, which until now have not received much attention from historians. This thesis has built on previous work in exploring the multiple forms that family households could take and the multi-faceted importance of these relations in people's lives. Researching the

history of family beyond the nuclear family is important as it continues to question popular and normative narratives prevalent in our societies today. There are certain aspects which I have only briefly been able to touch upon and for which more research is needed, for example, on the opinions, experiences, and feelings of the inhabitants of the different types of communal homes, the role of religion in these endeavours, or the personal experiences and feelings of bachelors in older age.

Also bachelors deserve their own home – or at least a 'cave'

Despite the variety of attitudes and opinions that problematized the relationship between home and singles in early-20th-century Finland, more writings started to appear in public about how, for example, unmarried people could make their living spaces more comfortable and homey. According to Kirsi Saarikangas, the need to design different types of housing for different types of groups, including unmarried women and men, was raised in discussions in the interwar period but, in practice, the idea of the nuclear family constituted the 'cornerstone' for the planning of dwellings.[1009] Some of the voices, which argued in favour of seeing single status as a form of lifestyle with its own needs, can, nonetheless, be located in contemporary periodicals. Already in 1905 the magazine *Kotitaide*, which focused on interior design, published drawings of furniture designed for an older bachelor's home and stated that also those, who lived alone, could feel the need for more pleasant furnishings and decorations than those provided by their "food madams."[1010] In 1931, the magazine of the Lotta Svärd women's organisation presented a design for a working woman's box designed by architect Salme Setälä. The following year a magazine called *Domus*, which covered art as well as interior and decorative design, published an article 'Miten itsensä elättävä nainen sisustaa kotinsa minimikustannuksin?' (How does a woman who supports herself design her home with minimum cost?).[1011] A furniture exhibition held in Helsinki in September 1937 included examples of both unmarried men and women's apartments.[1012] The same year, a magazine called *Mies* (Man) published an article entitled

[1009] Saarikangas, *Asunnon muodonmuutoksia*, 278–79.
[1010] *Kotitaide* 1.9.1905, 38–39.
[1011] Salme Setälä, 'Virkanaisen "boksi"', *Lotta-Svärd* 16/1931, 263–264; 'Miten itsensä elättävä nainen sisustaa kotinsa minimikustannuksin?', Domus 2/1932, 41–43.
[1012] Despite my efforts I have not managed to find a photograph or even a description of what the possible design of the oldboy's room at the exhibition looked like. The exhibition catalogue included photographs from all the rooms that were included in a competition in which the public could vote for their favourite design, but, unlike the working woman's box, the oldboy's apartment does not seem to have been among the candidates. See *Huonekalumessut. Luettelo* (1937).

‘Nykyaikainen poikamiehen luola’ (A Modern Bachelor’s Cave) written by furniture designer Birger Hahl.[1013]

The apartment presented in *Mies* consisted of a hallway, a bathroom, a small kitchen cupboard (*keittokomero*), a bedroom, and a living room. The woman’s apartment introduced in *Domus* was, in turn, a studio with a small kitchen cupboard, hallway and a washroom, which does not appear to have had a shower or a bath. Both plans reflected design trends of the time, characterized by rationalization and functionalism, but, more interestingly, both apartments had been designed specifically for single people. Before, small apartments had just been made from whatever had been left over in the corners, basements and attics of buildings, or a room separated from a bigger apartment. Both plans represented a new kind of single living and openly advocated it as a legitimate lifestyle, which deserved and needed its own housing and decorative solutions—a home instead of a temporary ‘box’. One of the most important aspects of the *Mies* article is that it deals with a bachelor's apartment as something worth investing time and money in, as something key to making a specific type of man out of its inhabitant. The words and descriptions used in the article about the bachelor apartment are the opposite of those that had been used to describe unmarried men’s dwellings in newspapers and magazines at the turn of the century: “all the possible comfort and sensuality”, “beautiful”, “the mark of excellent homeliness”, “neat” or “colours blending beautifully.”[1014] The bachelor inhabiting the “cave” had accepted that he might never get married and that had been even more of a reason to make sure that his new apartment suited him in every way. These two apartment plans contrast starkly with the temporariness of many of the bachelor living arrangements discussed in this thesis. Such developments can be seen as counter to the one that sought to separate people without nuclear families into communal forms of housing.

From the title of the article to the location of the imagined apartment in newly-built Töölö, its author Hahl underlined its modernity, which differentiated it from everything old, conservative and antique. Both articles emphasized how the designs concentrated on the basic needs of the inhabitant and how practical all the furniture and other design features were since they could be used for different functions, altered, or easily moved. Flexible domesticity had become smart ‘modern’ design instead of a necessity forced on by circumstances. At the same time, however,

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[1013] Birger Hahl, 'Nykyaikainen poikamiehen luola', *Mies* 2/1937, 14–15 & 21.
[1014] Original: ”kaikella mahdollisella mukavuudella ja aistikkuudella”, ”kauniin”, ”erinomaisen kodikkuuden leiman”, ”sopusuhtainen”, värisointuja, jotka niin kauniisti sulautuvat toisiinsa.”

in the bachelor's apartment this flexibility no longer applied to the bed, whereas the woman's apartment still relied on a sofabed. The clearest change in regard to the bachelor box was that in the 'cave' there was a clearer separation between work and home. The desk was no longer a central part of the functions of a home anymore: it was preferable to be able to hide paperwork behind the lid of the writing bureau.

By encouraging men to buy themselves a new identity and lifestyle through the purchase of a new apartment and completely new furniture, the article on the bachelor apartment was in line with new consumption and marketing trends of the time, which recognised single men as a particular group of consumers.[1015]

> A TRUE "bachelor" shirt! Especially among bachelors has the ATLAS-silk shirt been received with great joy. It does not crease or get shabby easily and washing it is so painless, that in an emergency you can do it yourself, spread it onto a clean cloth to dry and press a little with an iron. Try it![1016]
>
> Furniture that even "she" will approve! Now you prefer to "live in a box", but you will one day set up your own home. Thus, when you buy furniture to decorate your "box", buy the kind, which "she" swill approve of in the future -[1017]

Especially during the 1930s, adverts promoting and articles reporting on different kinds of new products and services aimed at bachelors or single people started to appear in magazines. The adverts of furniture companies such as Asko or Artek wanted to promote the 'box' as a space that was also worth decorating—even if this decoration should take into account future domestic needs and desires (as with the quotation about "her approval" above).[1018] A bachelor's personal consumption and decorative choices transformed his "unfamiliar box" into a home.[1019] With the aid of consumer goods a real home was now also within the reach of many single people. Several of the goods advertised to singles or reported on were inventions that aimed to address the domestic problems that the lack of a wife, housekeeper, or kitchen created for a

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[1015] See also Bill Osgerby, 'The Bachelor Pad as Cultural Icon: Masculinity, Consumption and Interior Design in American Men's Magazines, 1930-65', *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 1 (2005): 110.
[1016] Ad of Suomen Trikoo, *Ylioppilaslehti* 9/1937, 198. Original: "OIKEA "poikamiehen" paita! Erikoisesti poikamiesten piireissä on ATLAS-silkkipaita vastaanotettu suurella ihastuksella. Se ei nim. rypisty eikä nuhraannu helposti ja sen pesu on niin kivutonta, että sen voi hätätilassa itsekin huilauttaa puhtaaksi, levittää puhtaalle liinalle kuivumaan ja painella vähän silitysraudalla. Koettakaapa!"
[1017] Ad of Asko, *Ylioppilaslehti* 24/1934, 453. Original: ""Huonekaluja, jotka "hänkin" tulee hyväksymään! Nyt olette "boksikannalla", mutta perustattehan joskus omankin kodin. Siksipä, kun hankitte "boksinne" somisteeksi huonekaluja, ostakaa semmoisia, jotka "hänkin" joskus tulevaisuudessa hyväksyy –"
[1018] Ad of Asko, *Ylioppilaslehti* 9/1936; ad of Asko, *RUK* 36/1937; ad of Artek, *Teekkari* 24.7.1939.
[1019] Ad of Asko, *Eeva* 6/1938.

single man. Such products ranged from trousers with permanent creases and shirts that were easy to take care of (see first quotation above) to armchairs with pressing machines, electric coffee machines or ready-made meals prepared by industrial kitchens.[1020] Probates for the 1925–1934 period do include new domestic technologies such as telephones, electrical appliances, vacuum cleaners and shaving machines, indicating that bachelors were willing to adopt new consumer products that addressed their domestic needs better than older solutions. The sample does not, however, allow us to estimate the extent to which bachelors adopted the new consumer products advertised specifically to them. To what extent did the changes implied by the article become a reality in the 1940s, 50s and beyond, remains for future research to pursue.

Yet, we should not exaggerate the alleged break with the past that the article claimed the bachelor apartment represented. The apartment's plan entailed both old and new elements, reflecting how everyday phenomena often combine significant elements of continuity with small changes. In terms of domestic functions, the bachelor apartment accommodated mostly the same ones as did the 'boxes' we have examined: sleeping, storing items such as clothes and books, washing and taking care of one's appearances, reading, listening to the radio, socializing and hosting guests, smoking, drinking, and taking care of paperwork. All in all, the functions of the main room of the "cave" hardly differed from those of the traditional gentleman's room. The plan for the single woman's apartment included a separate picture and description of the kitchen cupboard and mentioned the iron, sewing equipment as well as the cleaning cupboard. In line with gendered expectations it was important that a woman's apartment was designed to support the smooth and rational organisation of domestic work. In contrast, in the plan for the bachelor apartment most focus was given to relaxation and entertainment that could be enjoyed either alone or with company. The sofa and the armchairs were arranged in front of a fireplace, there was a separate table with four chairs for "small improvised tea-dinners" as well as a radio, a smoking table and a bar cart. This emphasis on domestic comfort, as opposed to domestic work remained as crucial as regards to the relationship between home and bachelors—as it did with men in general. The domestic practices of bachelors did not question the gendered character of domestic work. Both the ways in which unmarried men organised their households and meals as well as the designs for single people's housing—whether communal or private in

[1020] Ad of Suomen Trikoo, *Ylioppilaslehti* 9/1937, 198; 'Näppärä nojatuoli,' *Toveritar* 1.5.1934; Nippartiina, 'Herkut pöytiin', *Suomen Kuvalehti* 23.7.1938; 'Uudet rengaspuvut. Mitä myyjän tulee muistaa rengaspukuja esitellessään', *Myyntitietoja/OTK:n tiedonantoja myymälänhoitajille* 3/1938; Kaarlo Suomalainen, 'Sähkö kotitalouden palveluksessa', *Teollisuusteknikko* 2/1938.

character—upheld normative domestic gender roles. This meant that married men (marital status) and bachelors with female relatives (family) or servants (wealth) could enjoy control over domestic comforts (such as meal times) associated with adult masculinity, whereas bachelors who had to rely on outsourced domesticity or communal arrangements had less of this kind of control.

Hahl underlined how sophisticated, modern and respectable the man's apartment is, yet, at the same time, he called it a "cave" —why was that? The image of unsophistication that the term 'cave' evoked was not necessarily a reference to the possible negative effects of the lack of a woman's touch. Quite the contrary, it could be seen as a positive thing as it gave the unmarried man the freedom to express his bachelor identity through the design and features of his apartment and accommodate a level of masculine comfort that he desired.[1021] Just as with a 'box', calling the apartment a cave instead of a home emphasized that the space constituted both a site as well as a symbol of a specifically *bachelor* domesticity.

But what exactly was this 'bachelor domesticity' and can we say that something like it existed as a concept? Such a form of domesticity would describe especially the domestic environment of bachelors, who lived alone or with other bachelors. More importantly, it should not be placed as the opposite of a family home, or of those elements described as the 'feminine' aspects of home. Rather it was an empowering variation, a form of domesticity which accommodated a bachelor's desires and needs. Similar to gentleman's clubs, naval officers' quarters or other institutions, boxes and caves can be viewed as domestic spaces in their own right. They were spaces in which the domestic comforts and activities that mattered the most to a bachelor were placed centre stage.[1022] This could have meant a home centred around work, homosocial hospitality, smoking in every room or something completely different. Furthermore, a bachelor's everyday needs and routines inevitably took him outside his physical home thus extending the space of the domestic.

[1021] George Wagner, 'The Lair of the Bachelor', in *Architecture and Feminism*, ed. Debra Coleman, Elisabeth Danze, and Carol Henderson (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 196 & 199; Elisabeth Fraterrigo, *Playboy and the Making of the Good Life in Modern America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 84. The writer of the article probably adopted the term 'cave' from Swedish in which a bachelor's apartment was not called a 'box' but an *ungkarl's lya*, meaning bachelor's cave.
[1022] Milne-Smith, 'A Flight to Domesticity?', 798; Colville, 'Corporate Domesticity and Idealised Masculinity', 499–500; Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution*, 7. See also Gorman-Murray, 'Masculinity and the Home', 373.

Overall, I believe that domestic flexibility was precisely typically bachelor in two senses of the word: On the one hand, a bachelor had to flexibly *adapt* to temporary circumstances, varying degrees of mobility and the accompanying assumptions. Yet, on the other hand, because a bachelor did not have to accommodate familial needs or he never had to be at home, he was *allowed* to flexibly take advantage of these freedoms. The 'modern' functionalist flexibility employed in the bachelor 'cave' would only have been available to bachelors with enough wealth, whereas others would have had to rely on the variety of flexible domesticities explored in this thesis.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Maps of Kruununhaka and Etu-Töölö

Appendix 2. Census samples 1900 and 1930

The census records belong to the part of the archive of *Tilastollinen päätoimisto* (from 1971 Tilastokeskus, Statistics Finland) held at the National Archive, which includes archive material from censuses conducted in Finnish cities every ten years between 1870 and 1930. The material for each city is organized according to boroughs.[1023] I chose the year 1900 because it was the first year out of the censuses between 1880 and 1930 in which the archive included the apartment cards filled individually for each apartment. 1930, in turn, provided enough temporal distance from 1900 to make a comparison, while the material from 1910 is not included in the archive and for the 1920 census the apartment cards exist only for some areas of Helsinki.

In 1900, the inhabitants had to fill out a form stating, for example, the size of the apartment or the house, number of rooms used for housing, as well as listing all the inhabitants living in the apartment or house, their relationship to the head of the household (wife, son, daughter, father, servant, etc.) and mark which people belonged to the same household. Both censuses differentiated between those living in the same apartment/house and those belonging to the same household, that is, those who "ate the same food." In addition to the form, each inhabitant had to fill out an individual card stating their name, gender, time and place of birth, marital status, religion, profession or job, language abilities, whether they could read and write, and if they were mentally or physically ill.

In 1930, there was one form for each apartment, which on the front page asked the inhabitants to fill out information about who the head of the apartment or house was, whether they owned or rented the apartment, and details about the apartment/house (such as the number of rooms, or different types of amenities from kitchen cupboards to plumbing and central heating). All the inhabitants of the apartment or house had to be listed in a table inside the form, including the following information about each person: full name, position within the household (head of household, wife, son, daughter, father, mother, brother, sister, servant, boarder, travelling) or

[1023] For more information see: http://wiki.narc.fi/portti/index.php/Tilastollinen_päätoimisto

relationship to the head of the household (renter, boarder), gender, marital status (unmarried, married, widowed, divorced), date and place of birth, current place of residence and when the person had moved to that place, profession or job, current employer, main language, religion, whether the person could read or write, level of schooling, and citizenship (if not Finnish).

For both years, I collected the name of each unmarried man, their relationship to the head of the household, the place and the year they were born in, their profession or job title, a list of the other inhabitants, the number of people living in the apartment/house, the number of rooms in the apartment/house, and the address. I also noted down whether the unmarried man in question formed his own household or was part of larger household together with the other inhabitants but, as I will explain below, this information is not without its problems.

In the text, I have used the English word lodger to refer to the terms *asukki* in Finnish and *inneboende* in Swedish and the word boarder to refer to the terms *täysihoitolainen* and *inackordent*. The instructions on the 1930 form specified that a renter was "a person who rents his/her own room or shares it with another person, who is not a member of the family" and that a lodger was "a person who shares a room with one of the members of the family or who rents a place to sleep." The form did not specify any definition for the term boarder but boarders were seen to belong to the same household as the head of the household as they received not only board but also meals. The form specified that renters and lodgers who did not receive meals from the head of the household formed their own household(s) and should have thus been separated from the other household(s) with a blank row and a clear line. However, people filling out the forms did not always abide by this rule or mark out the possible different households very clearly. It is therefore sometimes difficult to determine who belonged to the same household and who did not. For example, renters or lodgers might have been separated from the family but not necessarily marked separately from each other thus making it uncertain whether they all shared a household together or not. Generally, I have used the terms used in the forms by the inhabitants themselves and thus, even if a person was marked as a lodger but not separated from the rest of the household, I have taken them to be a lodger who slept within the same space as at least some of the family members but did not receive meals.

The forms for the 1900 census did not provide similarly specified instructions about the different terms and thus there is a lot more variation between the terms used to describe boarders, lodgers and renters. Such terms include for example *luona asuva* (living with),

ruuassa oleva (meals provided), *asuva* or *boende* (living), or *kortteerimies* (quarters man), which have been categorized as either boarders, lodgers or renters depending on whether they were marked to belong to the same household as the head of the household and whether or not they might have had their own room. However, in some cases it has been not possible to determine whether someone was living as a lodger or a renter. Furthermore, as the authorities in 1900 checked that the markings about who belonged to same household were correct, I have, unlike in the case of the 1930 census, made some adjustments to the terms used by the inhabitants themselves.[1024] First of all, I have categorized some of the men described as renters as lodgers if they lived in a one-room apartment together with other people therefore making it impossible for them to have had their own room. Secondly, I have changed some renters into boarders if, based on either the markings of the inhabitants themselves or the corrections made by the authorities, they belonged to the same household as the rest of the family. These adjustments were made in order for the terms used for both 1900 and 1930 to be as similar as possible and making comparison easier. Yet, it has to be kept in mind that we cannot be a hundred per cent sure that the terms used reflected fully the actual living arrangement of all the bachelors in all their complexity, that everyone filling out the forms used and understood the terms in a similar way or, as already mentioned, thst the markings followed the intended logic of the form.

Examples of forms used in the 1900 census:

[1024] *SVT VI:35. Väenlasku Helsingissä, Turussa, Tampereella ja Wiipurissa joulukuun 5 päivänä 1900* (Helsinki: Tilastollinen päätoimisto, 1904), 13.

Litt. D.

Väenlaskupiiri N:o _____

Väenlasku _____ **5 p. joulukuuta 1900.**

Asuntokortti.

kuuluva **Kaupunginosa N:o** _____

Laskukirjeeseen N:o _____ **ja** **Kortteli N:o** _____ **Nimi** _____

Laskukirjelistaan N:o _____ **Talo N:o** _____ **kadun varrella**

1. Oletteko sen talon omistaja, jossa asutte? (Vastaus: olen, en): _____

2. Kuinka monta lämmityslaitoksilla varustettua huonetta (kyökki niihin luettuna) on kiinteistönomistajan tai -hoitajan Teille suorastaan vuokraamassa koko asunnossa? Vastaus: _____

Muist. a. Huoneihin ei lueta alkooveja, käytäviä, eteisiä, kylpyhuoneita, komeroita y. m. sell., vaikka niillä olisi lämmityslaitoksiakin.

Muist. b. Kysymykseen vastaa myös kiinteistön omistaja (tai hoitaja) oman asuntonsa puolesta.

3 a. Kuinka monta kohdassa 2 mainituista huoneista käytetään yksinomaan tai osittain asuinhuoneiksi (kyökki niihin luettuna)? Vastaus: _____

Muist. Ks. muist. kohtaan 2.

b. Kuinka monta kohdassa 2 mainituista huoneista käytetään yksinomaan muihin kuin asumustarkotuksiin? Vastaus: _____

Muist. Ks. muist. kohtaan 2.

4. Missä kerroksessa asuinhuoneet ovat? (Vastaus: maa- eli kellarikerrassa, 1:sessä, 2:sessa j. n. e., vintti-): _____

5. Kuinka suuri on vuokra kiinteistönomistajan tai -hoitajan Teille suorastaan vuokraamasta koko asunnosta? Vastaus vuodelta: _____ markkaa, taikka kuukaudelta: _____ _____ markkaa.

Muist. Talonomistajat (tai -hoitajat) ja virkataloissa asuvat ilmottavat vuokran arvion mukaan.

Figure 27. Front of the census form asking information about the house/apartment.

Luettelo

kaikista henkilöistä asunnossa.

Muist. Henkilöt järjestetään talouskunnittain, huomioon ottamalla että jokainen talouskunta erotetaan edellisestä yhden rivin välikkeellä ja selvällä viivalla.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Henkilökortin juokseva numero.	Sukunimi.	Ristimänimi.	Suhde talouskunnan päämieheen [1].	Väenlasku-alueen rajain					
				sisäpuolella oleva				ulkopuolella oleva, vaikka alueella asuva. [4]	
				ja siellä asuva. [2]		vaikka siellä ei asuva. [3]			
				Mp.	Vp.	Mp.	Vp.	Mp.	Vp.

Figure 28. Back of the census form: list of all the inhabitants of the house/apartment divided into households.

Väenlasku _____ **5 p:nä joulukuuta 1900.**

Henkilökortti.

kuuluva **Kaupunginosa N:o** ____

Kortteli N:o ____

Laskukirjeesen N:o _____ **ja** **Nimi** _____

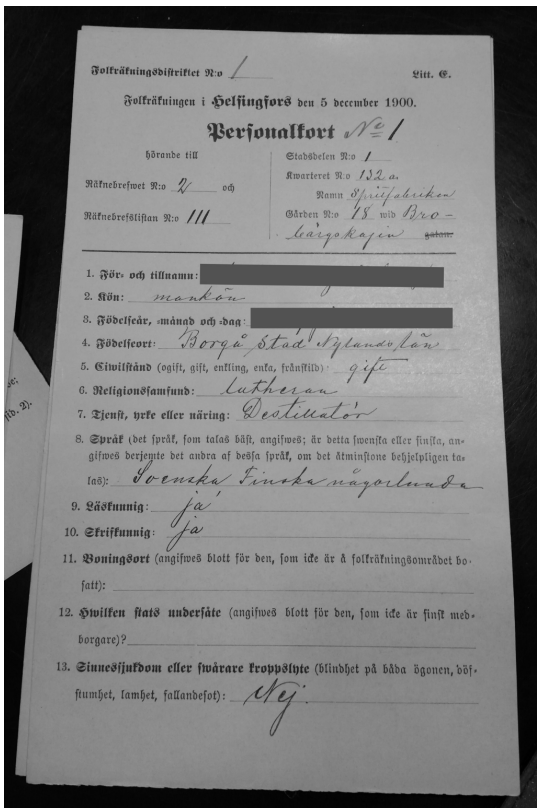
Talo N:o ____

Laskukirjelistaan N:o _____ _____**kadun varrella.**

1. **Ristimä- ja sukunimi:** _____
2. **Sukupuoli:** _____
3. **Syntymävuosi, -kuukausi ja -päivä:** _____
4. **Syntymäseutu:** _____
5. **Siviilisääty** (naimaton, nainut, leski, erotettu): _____
6. **Uskontokunta:** _____
7. **Virka, ammatti tai elinkeino:** _____

8. **Kieli** (se kieli, jota paraiten puhuu, ilmotetaan; jos tämä on suomi tai ruotsi, ilmotetaan samalla toinenkin näistä kielistä, jos sitä ainakin auttavasti puhuu): _____
9. **Lukutaitoinen:** _____
10. **Kirjotustaitoinen:** _____
11. **Asuinpaikka** (ainoastaan sen ilmotettava, joka ei ole väenlaskualueella asuva): ____
12. **Minkä valtion alamainen** (ilmotettava ainoastaan sen, joka ei ole Suomen alamainen)? ____
13. **Mielenvika tai pahempi ruumiinvika** (sokea molemmilta silmiltään, kuuromykkä, rampa, kaatuvatautinen): _____

Figure 29. Census cards filled out by each inhabitant personally (person card).



Folkräkningsdistriktet N:o 1 Litt. C.

Folkräkningen i **Helsingfors** den 5 december 1900.

Personalkort N:o 1

hörande till Stadsdelen N:o 1

Räknebrefvet N:o 2 och Kvarteret N:o 132 a.

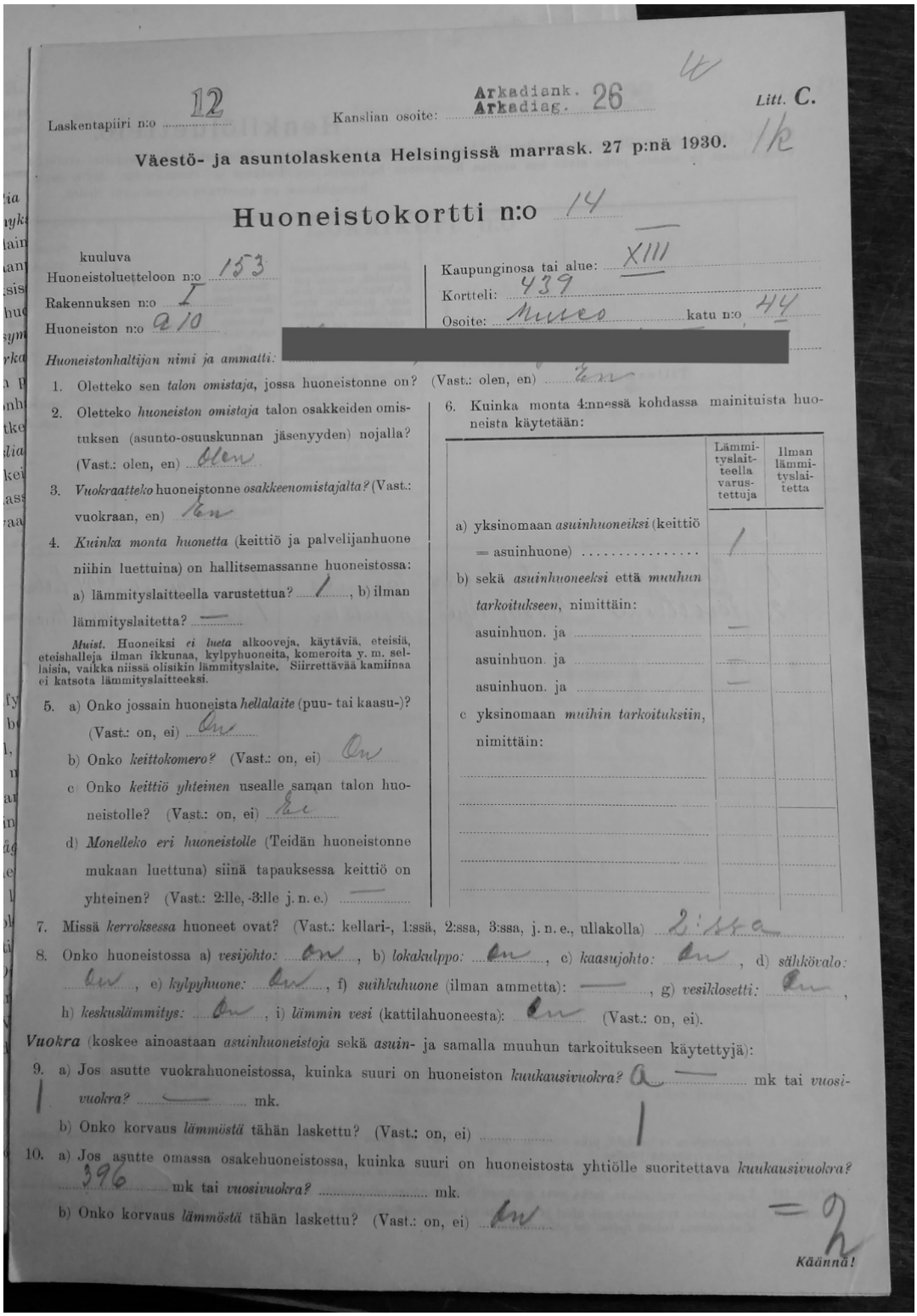
Räknebreffästan N:o 111 Namn Spritfabriken

Gården N:o 18 vid Bro-
[illegible]gatan

1. För- och tillnamn: [redacted]
2. Kön: man
3. Födelseår, -månad och -dag: [redacted]
4. Födelseort: Borgå Stad Nylands län
5. Civilstånd (ogift, gift, enkling, enka, frånskild): gift
6. Religionssamfund: lutheran
7. Tjenst, yrke eller näring: Destillatör
8. Språk (det språk, som talas bäst, angifwes; är detta swenska eller finska, angifwes derjemte det andra af dessa språk, om det åtminstone behjelpligen talas): Svenska Finska majorlunda
9. Läskunnig: ja
10. Skriftkunnig: ja
11. Boningsort (angifwes blott för den, som icke är å folkräkningsområdet bosatt):
12. Hwilken stats undersåte (angifwes blott för den, som icke är finsk medborgare)?
13. Sinnessjukdom eller swårare kroppslyte (blindhet på båda ögonen, döfstumhet, lamhet, fallandesot): Nej.

Figure 30. An example of a person card.

Examples of forms used in the 1930 census:



Laskentapiiri n:o 12 Kanslian osoite: Arkadiank. / Arkadiag. 26 Litt. C.

Väestö- ja asuntolaskenta Helsingissä marrask. 27 p:nä 1930.

Huoneistokortti n:o 14

kuuluva Huoneistoluetteloon n:o 153
Rakennuksen n:o 1
Huoneiston n:o 210

Kaupunginosa tai alue: XIII
Kortteli: 439
Osoite: Museo katu n:o 44

Huoneistonhaltijan nimi ja ammatti: [redacted]

1. Oletteko sen *talon omistaja*, jossa huoneistonne on? (Vast.: olen, en) en
2. Oletteko *huoneiston omistaja* talon osakkeiden omistuksen (asunto-osuuskunnan jäsenyyden) nojalla? (Vast.: olen, en) olen
3. *Vuokraatteko* huoneistonne *osakkeenomistajalta?* (Vast.: vuokraan, en) en
4. *Kuinka monta huonetta* (keittiö ja palvelijanhuone niihin luettuina) on hallitsemassanne huoneistossa: a) lämmityslaitteella varustettua? 1, b) ilman lämmityslaitetta? —

Muist. Huoneiksi *ei lueta* alkooveja, käytäviä, eteisiä, eteishalleja ilman ikkunaa, kylpyhuoneita, komeroita y. m. sellaisia, vaikka niissä olisikin lämmityslaite. Siirrettävää kamiinaa ei katsota lämmityslaitteeksi.

5. a) Onko jossain huoneista *hellalaite* (puu- tai kaasu-)? (Vast.: on, ei) on
   b) Onko *keittokomero?* (Vast.: on, ei) on
   c) Onko *keittiö yhteinen* usealle saman talon huoneistolle? (Vast.: on, ei) ei
   d) *Monelleko eri huoneistolle* (Teidän huoneistonne mukaan luettuna) siinä tapauksessa keittiö on yhteinen? (Vast.: 2:lle, -3:lle j. n. e.) —

6. Kuinka monta 4:nnessä kohdassa mainituista huoneista käytetään:

	Lämmityslaitteella varustettuja	Ilman lämmityslaitetta
a) yksinomaan *asuinhuoneiksi* (keittiö = asuinhuone)	1	
b) sekä *asuinhuoneeksi* että *muuhun tarkoitukseen*, nimittäin:		
asuinhuon. ja	—	
asuinhuon. ja	—	
asuinhuon. ja	—	
c yksinomaan *muihin tarkoituksiin*, nimittäin:		

7. Missä *kerroksessa* huoneet ovat? (Vast.: kellari-, 1:ssä, 2:ssa, 3:ssa, j. n. e., ullakolla) 2:ssa
8. Onko huoneistossa a) *vesijohto:* on, b) *lokakulppo:* on, c) *kaasujohto:* on, d) *sähkövalo:* on, e) *kylpyhuone:* on, f) *suihkuhuone* (ilman ammetta): —, g) *vesiklosetti:* on, h) *keskuslämmitys:* on, i) *lämmin vesi* (kattilahuoneesta): on (Vast.: on, ei).

Vuokra (koskee ainoastaan *asuinhuoneistoja* sekä *asuin-* ja samalla muuhun tarkoitukseen käytettyjä):

9. a) Jos asutte vuokrahuoneistossa, kuinka suuri on huoneiston *kuukausivuokra?* — mk tai *vuosivuokra?* — mk.
   b) Onko korvaus *lämmöstä* tähän laskettu? (Vast.: on, ei)
10. a) Jos asutte omassa osakehuoneistossa, kuinka suuri on huoneistosta yhtiölle suoritettava *kuukausivuokra?* 396 mk tai *vuosivuokra?* mk.
    b) Onko korvaus *lämmöstä* tähän laskettu? (Vast.: on, ei) on

Käännä!

Figure 31. An example of an apartment card.

Laskentapiiri
Räknedistrikt n:o _____ Kanslian osoite:
Kansliets adress: _____ *Litt. C.*

Väestö- ja asuntolaskenta **marrask. 27 p:nä**
Folk- och bostadsräkningen i **den 27 november 1930.**

Huoneistokortti
Lokalkort n:o _____

kuuluva } hörande till }
Huoneistoluetteloon n:o } Lokallistan n:o }
Rakennuksen n:o } Byggnaden n:o }
Huoneiston n:o } Lokal n:o } _____
Huoneistonhaltijan nimi ja ammatti } *Lokalinnehavarens namn och yrke* } _____

Kaupunginosa tai alue } Stadsdel eller område } _____
Kortteli } Kvarter } _____
Osoite } Adress } _____ katu n:o } gatan n:o } _____

1. Oletteko sen *talon omistaja*, jossa huoneistonne on? (Vast.: olen, en) }
   Är Ni *ägare* till den *gård*, där Eder lokal är? (Svar: ja, nej) }
2. Oletteko *huoneiston omistaja* talon osakkeiden omistuksen (asunto-osuuskunnan jäsenyyden) nojalla?
   Är Ni *ägare* till *lokalen* på grund av aktieägarskap (medlemskap i bostadsandelslag) i gården?
   (Vast.: olen, en) } _____
   (Svar: ja, nej) }
3. *Vuokraatteko* huoneistonne *osakkeenomistajalta?*
   (Vast.: vuokraan, en) }
   Hyr Ni lokalen av *aktieägare?* (Svar: ja, nej) } _____
4. *Kuinka monta huonetta* (keittiö ja palvelijanhuone niihin luettuina) on hallitsemassanne huoneistossa:
   Huru många rum (inberäknat kök och tjänarinnerum) finnes i den av Eder innehavda lokalen:
   a) lämmityslaitteella varustettua? _____, b) ilman lämmityslaitetta? _____
   a) försedda med värmeapparat? _____, b) utan värmeapparat?

Muist. Huoneiksi *ei lueta* alkooveja, käytäviä, eteisiä, eteishalleja ilman ikkunaa, kylpyhuoneita, komeroita y. m. sellaisia, vaikka niissä olisikin lämmityslaite. Siirrettävää kamiinaa ei katsota lämmityslaitteeksi.

Anm. Såsom rum anses *icke* alkov, korridor, tambur, hall utan fönster, badrum, skrubb o. dyl., även om de äro försedda med värmeapparat. Flyttbar kamin anses icke som värmeapparat.

5. a) Onko jossain huoneista *hellalaite* (puu- tai kaasu-)? (Vast.: on, ei) _____
   Finnes i något av rummen (ved- eller gas-) *spis?* (Svar: ja, nej) _____
   b) Onko *keittokomero?* (Vast.: on, ei) }
   Finnes *kokvrå?* (Svar: ja, nej) } _____
   c) Onko *keittiö yhteinen* usealle saman talon huoneistolle? (Vast.: on, ei) _____
   Har lokalen *gemensamt kök* med annan lokal i gården? (Svar: ja, nej) _____
   d) *Monelleko eri huoneistolle* (Teidän huoneistonne mukaan luettuna) siinä tapauksessa keittiö on yhteinen? (Vast.: 2:lle, 3:lle j. n. e.) _____
   För *huru många lokaler* (Eder lokal medräknad) är i så fall köket gemensamt? (Svar: för 2, 3 etc.)
6. Kuinka monta 4:nnessä kohdassa mainituista huoneista käytetään:
   Huru många av de under punkt 4 angivna rummen användas:

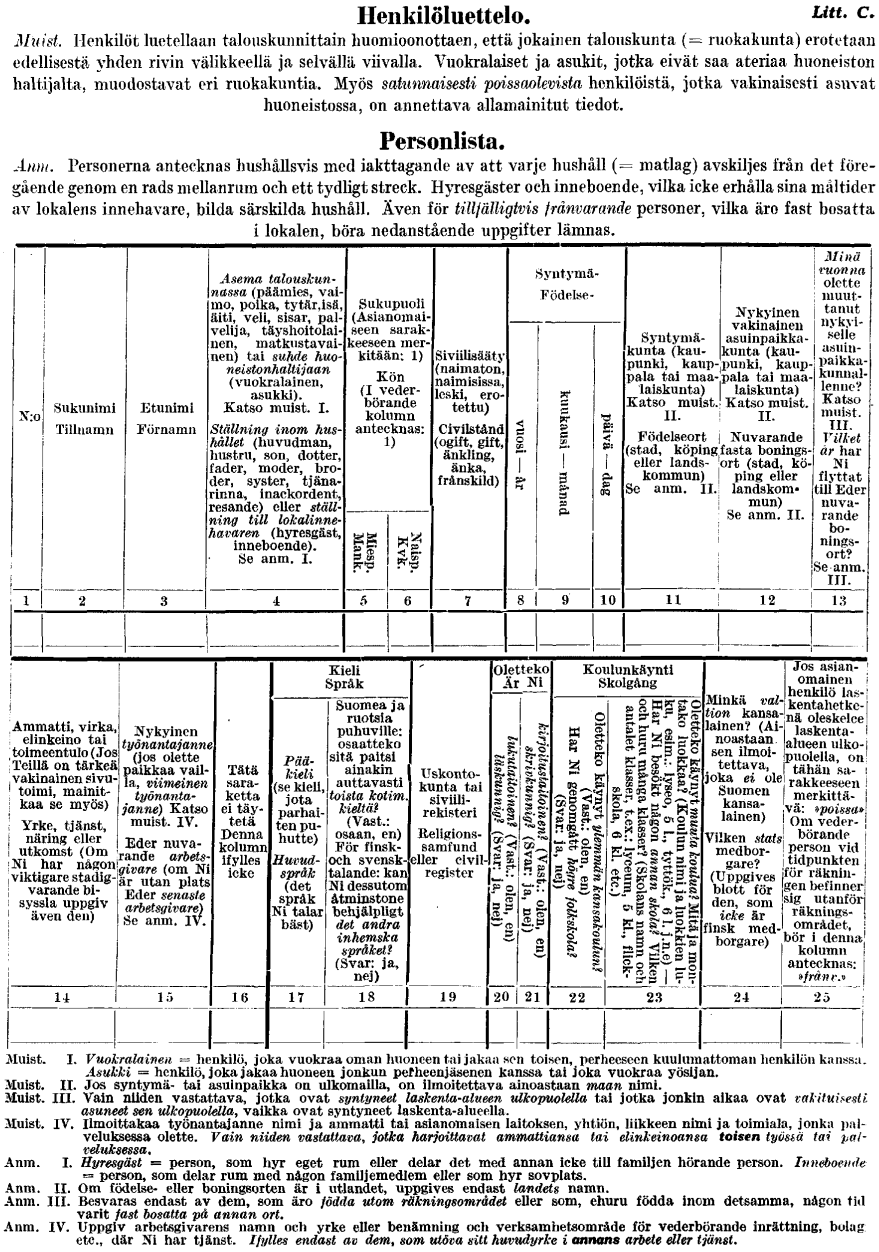
	Lämmityslaitteella varustettuja Försedda med värmeapparat	Ilman lämmityslaitetta Utan värmeapparat
a) yksinomaan *asuinhuoneiksi* (keittiö = asuinhuone)		
a) uteslutande som *boningsrum* (kök = boningsrum)		
b) sekä *asuinhuoneeksi* että *muuhun tarkoitukseen*, nimittäin:		
b) både som *boningsrum* och för *något annat ändamål:*		
asuinhuon. ja såsom boningsrum och		
asuinhuon. ja såsom boningsrum och		
asuinhuon. ja såsom boningsrum och		
c) yksinomaan *muihin tarkoituksiin*, nimittäin:		
c) uteslutande för *andra ändamål*, nämligen:		
_____		
_____		

7. Missä *kerroksessa* huoneet ovat? (Vast.: kellari-, 1:ssä, 2:ssa, 3:ssa, j. n. e., ullakolla) _____
   I vilken *våning* äro rummen belägna? (Svar: källar-, 1:sta, 2:ndra, 3:dje, o. s. v., på vinden)
8. Onko huoneistossa a) *vesijohto:* _____, b) *lokakulppo:* _____, c) *kaasujohto:* _____, d) *sähkövalo:* _____, e) *kylpyhuone:* _____, f) *suihkuhuone* (ilman ammetta): _____, g) *vesiklosetti:* _____, h) *keskuslämmitys:* _____, i) *lämmin vesi* (kattilahuoneesta): _____ (Vast.: on, ei).
   Finnes i lokalen a) *vattenledning:* _____, b) *avhällningsbäcken:* _____, c) *gasledning:* _____, d) *elektriskt ljus:* _____, e) *badrum:* _____, f) *duschrum* (utan badkar): _____, g) *vattenklosett:* _____, h) *centralvärme:* _____, i) *varmt vatten* (från pannrum): _____ (Svar: ja, nej).

Vuokra (koskee ainoastaan *asuinhuoneistoja* sekä *asuin-* ja samalla muuhun tarkoitukseen käytettyjä):
Hyra (gäller endast *bostadslokaler* samt lokaler, som samtidigt användas till *bostad* och för annat ändamål):

9. a) Jos asutte vuokrahuoneistossa, kuinka suuri on huoneiston *kuukausivuokra?* _____ mk tai *vuosivuokra?* _____ mk.
   Om Ni bebor hyreslokal, huru stor är lokalens *månadshyra?* _____ mk eller *årshyra?* _____ mk.
   b) Onko korvaus *lämmöstä* tähän laskettu? (Vast.: on, ei) }
   Ingår häri ersättning för *värme?* (Svar: ja, nej) } _____

Figure 32. Front page of the census form asking about general information about the apartment.



Henkilöluettelo. **Litt. C.**

Muist. Henkilöt luetellaan talouskunnittain huomioonottaen, että jokainen talouskunta (= ruokakunta) erotetaan edellisestä yhden rivin välikkeellä ja selvällä viivalla. Vuokralaiset ja asukit, jotka eivät saa ateriaa huoneiston haltijalta, muodostavat eri ruokakuntia. Myös *satunnaisesti poissaolevista* henkilöistä, jotka vakinaisesti asuvat huoneistossa, on annettava allamainitut tiedot.

Personlista.

Anm. Personerna antecknas hushållsvis med iakttagande av att varje hushåll (= matlag) avskiljes från det föregående genom en rads mellanrum och ett tydligt streck. Hyresgäster och inneboende, vilka icke erhålla sina måltider av lokalens innehavare, bilda särskilda hushåll. Även för *tillfälligtvis frånvarande* personer, vilka äro fast bosatta i lokalen, böra nedanstående uppgifter lämnas.

N:o	Sukunimi Tillnamn	Etunimi Förnamn	*Asema talouskunnassa* (päämies, vaimo, poika, tytär, isä, äiti, veli, sisar, palvelija, täyshoitolainen, matkustavainen) tai *suhde huoneistonhaltijaan* (vuokralainen, asukki). Katso muist. I. *Ställning inom hushållet* (huvudman, hustru, son, dotter, fader, moder, broder, syster, tjänarinna, inackordent, resande) eller *ställning till lokalinnehavaren* (hyresgäst, inneboende). Se anm. I.	Sukupuoli (Asianomaiseen sarakkeeseen merkitään: 1) Kön (I vederbörande kolumn antecknas: 1) Miesp. Mank.	Naisp. Kvk.	Siviilisääty (naimaton, naimisissa, leski, erotettu) Civilstånd (ogift, gift, änkling, änka, frånskild)	Syntymä- Födelse- vuosi — år	kuukausi — månad	päivä — dag	Syntymäkunta (kaupunki, kauppala tai maalaiskunta) Katso muist. II. Födelseort (stad, köping eller landskommun) Se anm. II.	Nykyinen vakinainen asuinpaikkakunta (kaupunki, kauppala tai maalaiskunta) Katso muist. II. Nuvarande fasta boningsort (stad, köping eller landskommun) Se anm. II.	*Minä vuonna* olette muuttanut nykyiselle asuinpaikkakunnallenne? Katso muist. III. *Vilket år* har Ni flyttat till Eder nuvarande boningsort? Se anm. III.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

Ammatti, virka, elinkeino tai toimeentulo (Jos Teillä on tärkeä vakinainen sivutoimi, mainitkaa se myös) Yrke, tjänst, näring eller utkomst (Om Ni har någon viktigare stadigvarande bisyssla uppgiv även den)	Nykyinen *työnantajanne* (jos olette paikkaa vailla, *viimeinen työnantajanne*) Katso muist. IV. Eder nuvarande *arbetsgivare* (om Ni är utan plats Eder *senaste arbetsgivare*) Se anm. IV.	Tätä saraketta ei täytetä Denna kolumn ifylles icke	Kieli Språk *Pääkieli* (se kieli, jota parhaiten puhutte) *Huvudspråk* (det språk Ni talar bäst)	Suomea ja ruotsia puhuville: osaatteko sitä paitsi ainakin auttavasti *toista kotim. kieltä?* (Vast.: osaan, en) För finsk- och svensktalande: kan Ni dessutom åtminstone behjälpligt *det andra inhemska språket?* (Svar: ja, nej)	Uskontokunta tai siviilirekisteri Religionssamfund eller civilregister	Oletteko Är Ni *lukutaitoinen?* (Vast.: olen, en) *läskunnig?* (Svar: ja, nej)	*kirjoitustaitoinen?* (Vast.: olen, en) *skrivkunnig?* (Svar: ja, nej)	Koulunkäynti Skolgång Oletteko käynyt *ylemmän kansakoulun?* (Vast.: olen, en) Har Ni genomgått *högre folkskola?* (Svar: ja, nej)	Oletteko käynyt *muuta koulua?* Mitä ja montako luokkaa? (Koulun nimi ja luokkien luku, esim.: lyseo, 5 l., tyttök., 6 l. j.n.e) — Har Ni besökt någon *annan skola?* Vilken och huru många klasser? (Skolans namn och antalet klasser, t.ex.: lyceum, 5 kl., flickskola, 6 kl. etc.)	Minkä *valtion* kansalainen? (Ainoastaan sen ilmoitettava, joka *ei* ole Suomen kansalainen) Vilken *stats* medborgare? (Uppgives blott för den, som *icke* är finsk medborgare)	Jos asianomainen henkilö laskentahetkenä oleskelee laskenta-alueen ulkopuolella, on tähän sarakkeeseen merkittävä: »*poissa*» Om vederbörande person vid tidpunkten för räkningen befinner sig utanför räkningsområdet, bör i denna kolumn antecknas: »*frånv.*»
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25

Muist. I. *Vuokralainen* = henkilö, joka vuokraa oman huoneen tai jakaa sen toisen, perheeseen kuulumattoman henkilön kanssa. *Asukki* = henkilö, joka jakaa huoneen jonkun perheenjäsenen kanssa tai joka vuokraa yösijan.
Muist. II. Jos syntymä- tai asuinpaikka on ulkomailla, on ilmoitettava ainoastaan *maan* nimi.
Muist. III. Vain niiden vastattava, jotka ovat *syntyneet laskenta-alueen ulkopuolella* tai jotka jonkin aikaa ovat *vakituisesti asuneet sen ulkopuolella*, vaikka ovat syntyneet laskenta-alueella.
Muist. IV. Ilmoittakaa työnantajanne nimi ja ammatti tai asianomaisen laitoksen, yhtiön, liikkeen nimi ja toimiala, jonka palveluksessa olette. *Vain niiden vastattava, jotka harjoittavat ammattiansa tai elinkeinoansa* ***toisen*** *työssä tai palveluksessa.*
Anm. I. *Hyresgäst* = person, som hyr eget rum eller delar det med annan icke till familjen hörande person. *Inneboende* = person, som delar rum med någon familjemedlem eller som hyr sovplats.
Anm. II. Om födelse- eller boningsorten är i utlandet, uppgives endast *landets* namn.
Anm. III. Besvaras endast av dem, som äro *födda utom räkningsområdet* eller som, ehuru födda inom detsamma, någon tid varit *fast bosatta på annan ort.*
Anm. IV. Uppgiv arbetsgivarens namn och yrke eller benämning och verksamhetsområde för vederbörande inrättning, bolag etc., där Ni har tjänst. *Ifylles endast av dem, som utöva sitt huvudyrke i* ***annans*** *arbete eller tjänst.*

Figure 33. Inside of the census form asking about the personal information for each inhabitant.

Appendix 3. Probate samples

The 1734 law stated that a probate had to be drawn up within three months of the death of the deceased yet it could also take up to several years before a probate was submitted to the court. This means that not all the deceased in the samples died within the chose time periods but, as I am here not concerned with specific years but more with example periods, this does not constitute a problem for my research.

The law did not stipulate in what form the probate had to be drawn up but a widely shared standard was established already during the 18th century.[1025] In the first part of the probate it was usually stated who had drawn up the probate, the name and profession of the deceased (and sometimes if he was unmarried), the date of his death, his inheritors and the possible guardians of underage inheritors or the agents of inheritors, who could not personally be at the drawing up of the probate. Sometimes a testament or other instructions left by the deceased were included either before or after the list of assets.

The items listed in a probate were usually arranged according to the types of use as well as the material that the items were mainly made out of.[1026] Thus common categories included (depending on the probate, categories could all be listed separately or in different kinds of combinations):

- real estate
- cash, assets etc.
- gold, silver, copper, nickel, messing, brass and other different types of metals (sometimes several listed under a joint heading)
- furniture
- rugs, curtains, mirrors, lamps, other textiles (separately or together with furniture or also often in miscellaneous)
- glassware and porcelain
- cookware
- clothes, bedclothes, linen
- books
- pictures/paintings, artworks, photographs, collections etc.
- farm animals and farm-related items
- items made from wood
- different types of work tools
- workplace furniture (for example the interior of a shop) and inventory
- miscellaneous
- certain and uncertain receivables
- debts and payments (including funeral costs and the cost of drawing up the probate)

If the estate included only a limited amount of possessions, all the items might have been listed together without any division into categories. In some cases, not all the items listed under a specific heading logically belonged to that category. The accuracy with which individual items were listed or the detail with which they were described varied between probates. Some included a lot of description and listed even the smallest and cheapest items separately, whereas

[1025] Markkanen, *Perukirja tutkimuslähteenä*, 40.
[1026] Giorgio Riello calls this way of organising items in a probate "a 'logical' or 'German' model", see Riello, '"Things Seen and Unseen", 134.

in other probates items were lumped together into categories such as ‘kitchen items’ or ‘bed clothes’. Most probates would have had ‘miscellaneous’ or ‘small miscellaneous items’ listed at the end referring to items with low value. We can only guess what would have been included in such a category and it would have varied between probates. Food and other perishable goods were almost always omitted from the probate—with the exception of shop inventories and a few examples listing wines and other alcoholic beverages.

What differentiates the used group of Finnish probates from, for example, most English probates is that these probates included both the real estate as well as the debts of the deceased. This makes an overall estimate of the deceased's wealth possible. According to the law, in cities, the probate had to be drawn up by two “honest men” appointed by the city. Yet the family of the deceased or whoever presented the estate would have been responsible for presenting it in its entirety and not leaving any possessions or assets unaccounted for. Erkki Markkanen has estimated that people willingly hiding property or goods does not constitute a problem in terms of the reliability of the document.[1027]

The probate had to be drawn up in the location where the deceased had lived in at the time of his or her death.[1028] However, in some cases it is unclear whether Helsinki had been the deceased's last place of residence—for example, he could have been registered in Helsinki but actually lived more or less permanently somewhere else. I have therefore decided not to included such probates in the samples. In addition, probates of men, who had been declared dead or who had died abroad so that it is unclear whether they had permanently lived in Helsinki, have been left out.[1029] A separate probate had to be drawn up for all the different cities or municipalities in which the deceased owned property. As a result, some of the probates actually include two to three probates if the deceased owned another estate in another location besides Helsinki. This could be, for example, an estate or a part of one that the deceased had inherited. I have, however, focused here only on the probates concerning property in Helsinki—except when calculating the overall wealth of the deceased.

[1027] Markkanen, *Perukirja tutkimuslähteenä*, 62.
[1028] Markkanen, *Perukirja tutkimuslähteenä*, 55.
[1029] I have also not included probates, where there are some pieces of information which have let me to doubt whether the deceased was unmarried, or, in cases where the same person has two probates, I have included the one which had a full and more detailed list of material possessions.

The probates do not tell us much about where and with whom the deceased had lived with. In order to try and at least partly overcome this limitation I have checked the housing information of a small amount of the deceased from population registers (*henkikirjat*), which were drawn up every year and included a list of the inhabitants of every building. Finnish population or census records are not available in a digitized and searchable format. For the two earlier periods, the population registers have been digitised and available online but they cannot be searched with, for example, people's names. Thus the only way to check information from them is if we have an address for the person in question. Addresses of the deceased are, however, almost only mentioned during the third period. Based on these addresses as well as the possible property that a deceased owned, I was able to find information about who the deceased had lived with in 132 cases. For the two earlier periods, only a few addresses were available. The population registers, however, list all the inhabitants of one building together and do not indicate which people lived in the same apartment. Only a wife and small children are listed after a husband or a servant after their employer. Otherwise we can only deduce that people with the same last name would most likely have lived in the same household. This means that the population registers do not actually tell us whether a person lived by himself or possibly as a renter, lodger or boarder.

	Under 20, %	20–29, %	30–39, %	40–49, %	50–59, %	60–69, %	70-, %	Average age
1881–90	1	29	22	15	9	17	7	42.86
1900–09	-	13	20	24	16	14	14	48.09
1925–34	0	21	20	19	17	15	9	45.59

Table 14. The distribution of age at death within the probate samples for each period.

	I	II	III	IV
1881–90	0-441	453-1 939	1 955-10 500	10 870-1 733 000
1900–09	0-727	734-5 825	5 891-37 660	37 910-2 911 000
1925–34	0-447	448-1 751	1 752-9 192	9852 -3 086 000
		MEDIAN		
1881–90	193-207	930	4 046-4 050	31 840 -34 520
1900–09	157	2 810	13 340	107 100
1925–34	220-225	886-891	3 626-3 686	23 590-24 330
		AVERAGE		
1881–90	186	1 054	5 064	89 123
1900–09	229	2 982	16 644	236 877
1925–34	208	965	4 233	90 585

Table 15. The deceased divided into quartiles based on the gross wealth of their whole estate. The first part of the table shows the ranges of the quartiles, the second part the median sum of each quartile, and the third part the average sum of each quartile. All sums are in Finnish marks.[1030]

[1030] In order to account for inflation etc. in comparison, all the actual sums have been converted to the value in 1900 by using the Bank of Finland Museum's online money value converter, see http://apps.rahamuseo.fi/rahanarvolaskin#ENG.

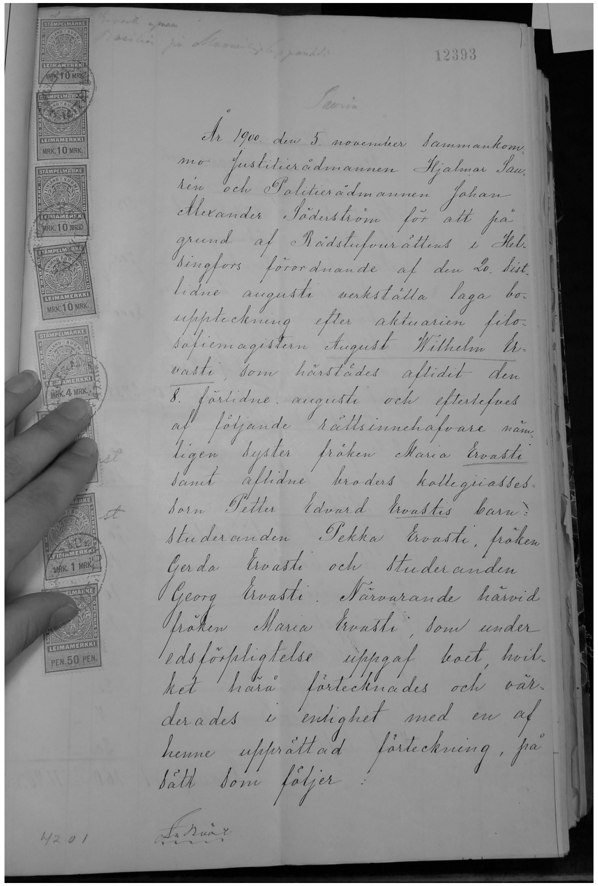


Figure 34. The first page of probate number 12393 belonging to actuary August Wilhelm Ervasti (1845–1900) and drawn up on the 5th of November 1900.

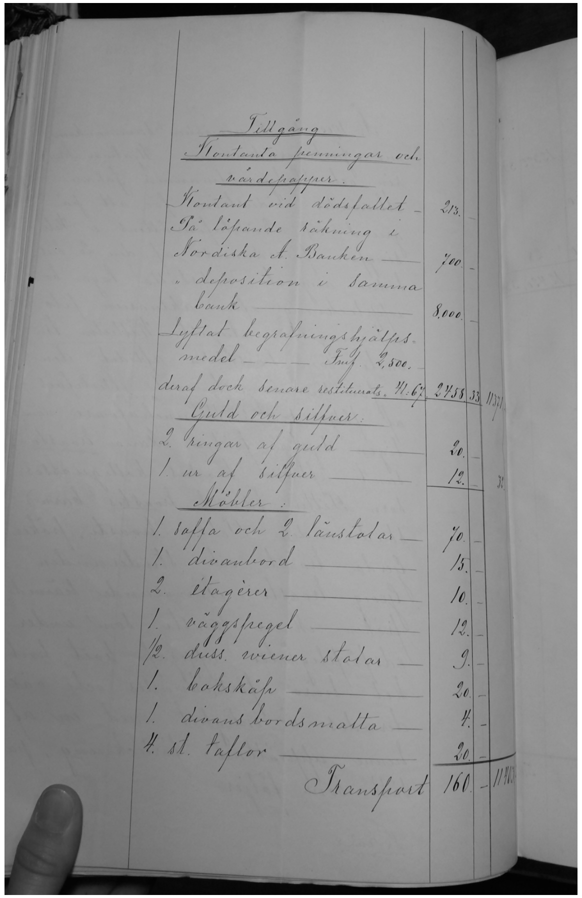


Figure 35. The second page of probate number 12393.

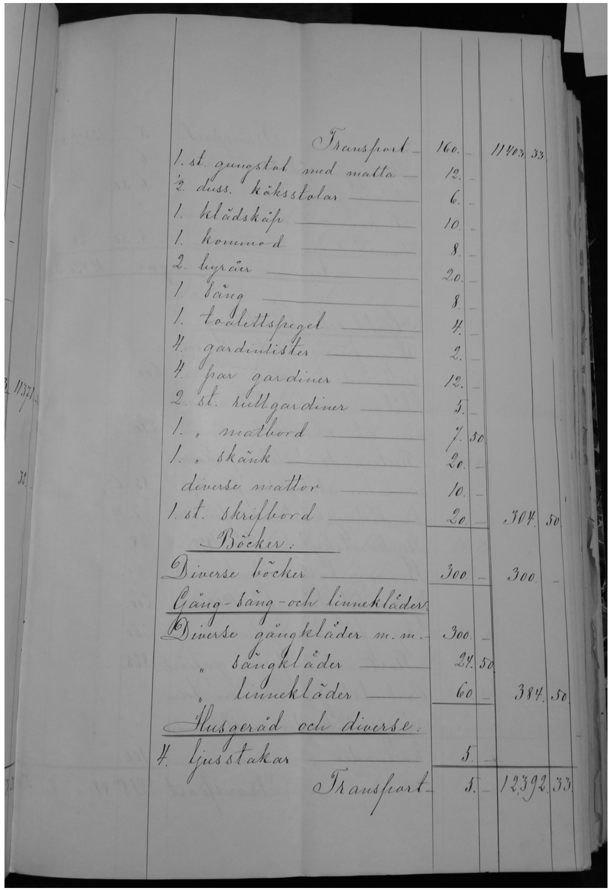


Figure 36. The third page of probate number 12393.

Appendix 4. Basic domestic capacities

For furniture, I have looked at whether a probate included a bed, any kind of table, any kind of piece of furniture used for sitting (chair, sofa, rocking chair, etc.), as well as any kind of furniture used for storage (wardrobe, chiffonier, étagère, chest, chest of drawers, etc.). For cooking utensils, the probate had to include some kind of item that could be used to cook food and not only to serve it. As not all the probates were very specific about such items and often used words such as "cookware", I have included terms that could be interpreted to refer to some kind of dish and I have thus not included terms generally referring to household items (included: diverse kokkärl/kökskärl eller -saker, keittiöastioita/kalustoa/kaluja, köksatiraljer, köksutensilier, kupari/keitto/talousastioita; not included: husgerad, husgeradssaker/effekter/artiklar, talouskaluja/tavaraa, kopper- or other metal saker/arbete). In terms of tableware, I was interested in whether the probates included any type of plate or bowl, any type of vessel used for drinking (glass or cup), and any type of cutlery. In addition, I have included terms that referred generally to glass and porcelain or eating (included: (diverse) glas o porslin(er), diverse matkärl, ett parti glas, (sekalaista) porsliinia ja lasia, porslin(er), ruoka- ja kahviastiat, ruokakalustoa).

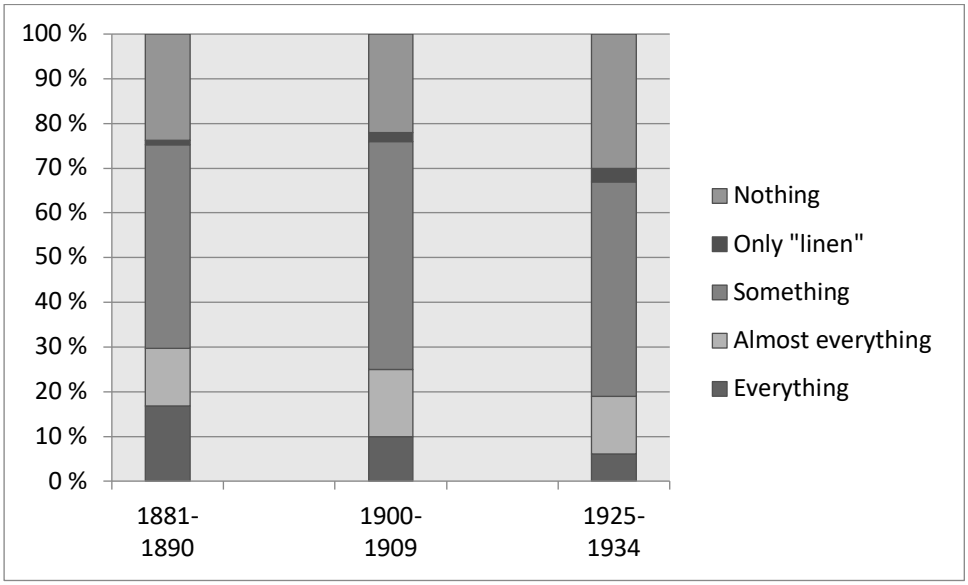


Chart 10. Proportions of probates according to how many items of the different basic capacities they included.
"Everything" refers to a probate that had a bed, a table, seating, storage, at least one cooking utensil, a plate, a drinking vessel and cutlery, as well as full sets of bedclothes, bed linen and towels. "Almost everything" refers to probates that included at least one item in all of the four categories, but lacked one or a few items from a complete set. "Something" refers to those probates that had one or more items from the different categories but were lacking in others. "Only "linen"" refers to cases, in which the only reference to the basic capacities was the mention of "linen" but in which we cannot be sure if this referred only to underwear or also included bed linen. Finally, "Nothing" refers to those probates, which did not include any of the items defined here as basic capacities.

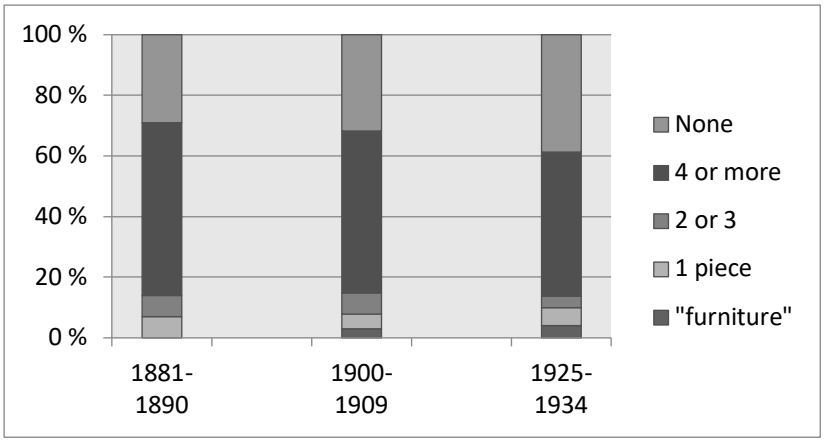


Chart 11. Number of pieces of furniture listed in each of the probate samples.
"Furniture" refers to those probates that did not specify number or type of furniture.

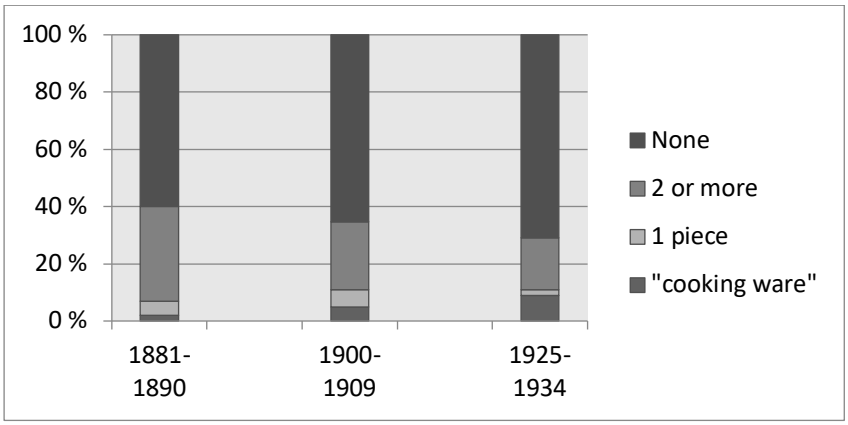


Chart 12. Number of cooking utensils owned.
"Cooking ware" refers to those probates that did not specify number or type of cooking ware.

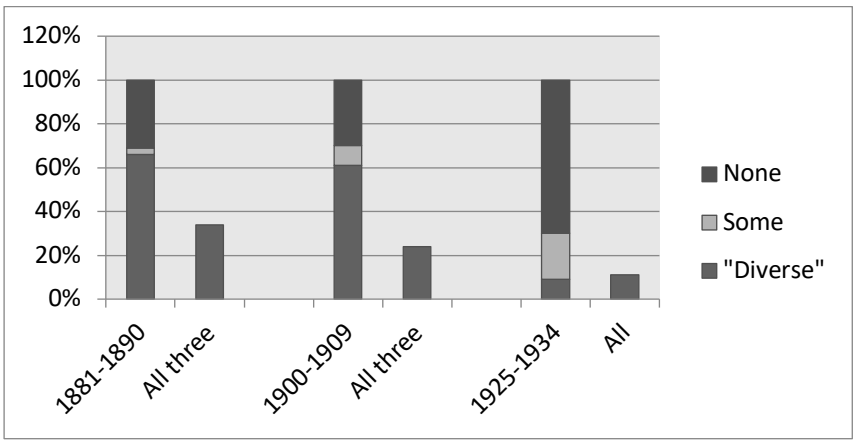


Chart 13. Percentages of probates that listed items for eating and drinking.
"Diverse" refers to those probates that did not specify the number or type of tableware.

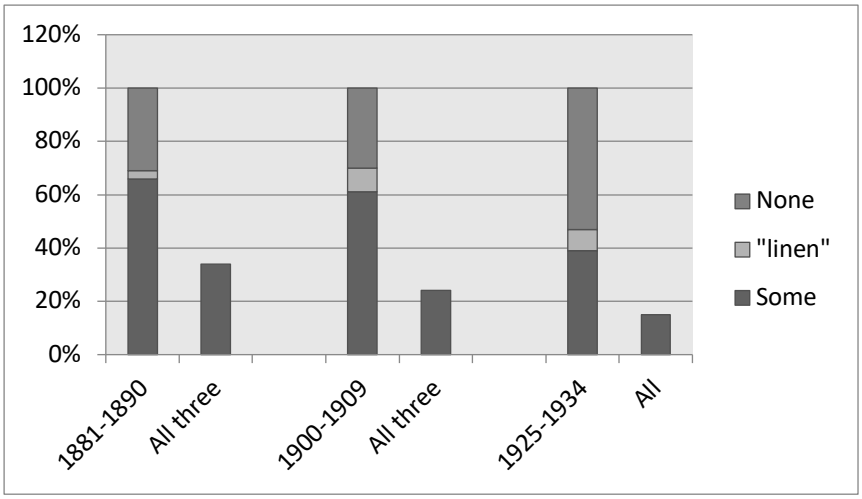


Chart 14. Number of bedclothes, bed linen or towels owned.
"Linen" refers to those probates that did not specify whether the linen included underwear or bed linen or both.

Appendix 5. Decorative items

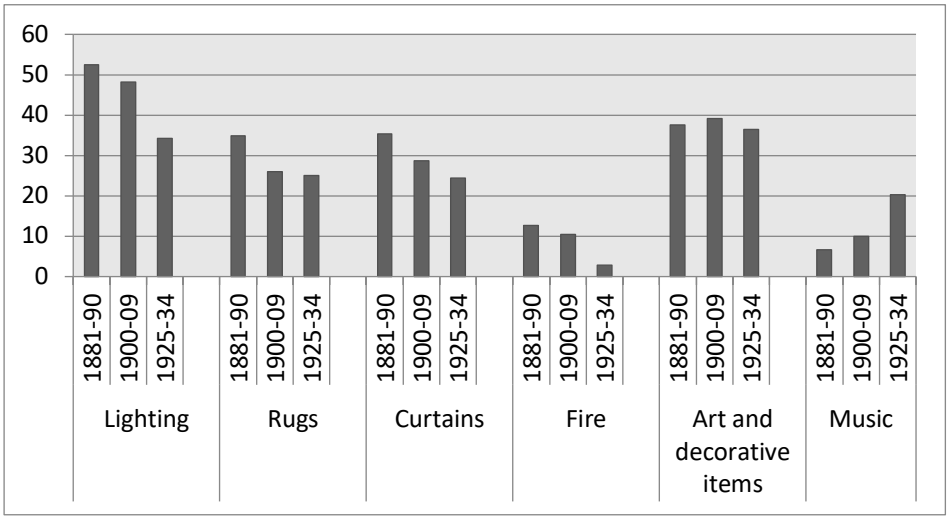


Chart 15. The proportion of probates that included items used for lighting, rugs, curtains, items for taking care of a fire, art and decorative items, and musical instruments, radios or gramophones.

Appendix 6. Hospitality

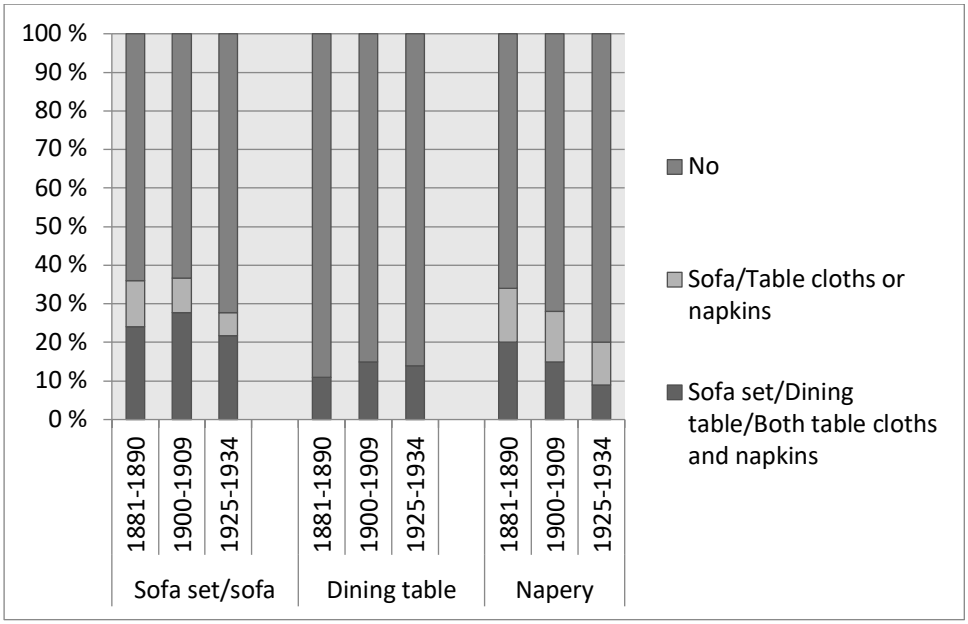


Chart 16. Percentages of probates that listed a sofa set or sofas, a dining table, and napery (table cloths and napkins).

In order to consider the capacities the bachelors during the three periods had for different forms of hospitality, I have examined the percentages of probates listing a sofa set or a sofa, a dining table, table cloths and napkins, dinnerware sets or plates, coffee or tea ware sets or cups, as well as different types of serving ware. In terms of the sofa sets, I have defined a set very loosely and included not just probates that stated explicitly that a specific group of furniture was a set but also probates that listed a sofa together with armchairs or other types of chairs and possibly a coffee or other type of table. To be included in the 'dinner table' category, a probate had to state that a table was indeed a dinner table and thus no other types of tables were included in this category. Dinnerware set or coffee and tea ware set refer to sets that were explicitly named as such in the probates. However, as not all probates necessarily used such a term or as owning a set was not a prerequisite for having the capacity to host a dinner, I have also included the percentage of probates that listed several dinner plates and several cups for drinking tea or coffee. In addition, a coffee or a tea ware set did not necessarily include cups, so this adds another level of uncertainty to interpretations that can be made.

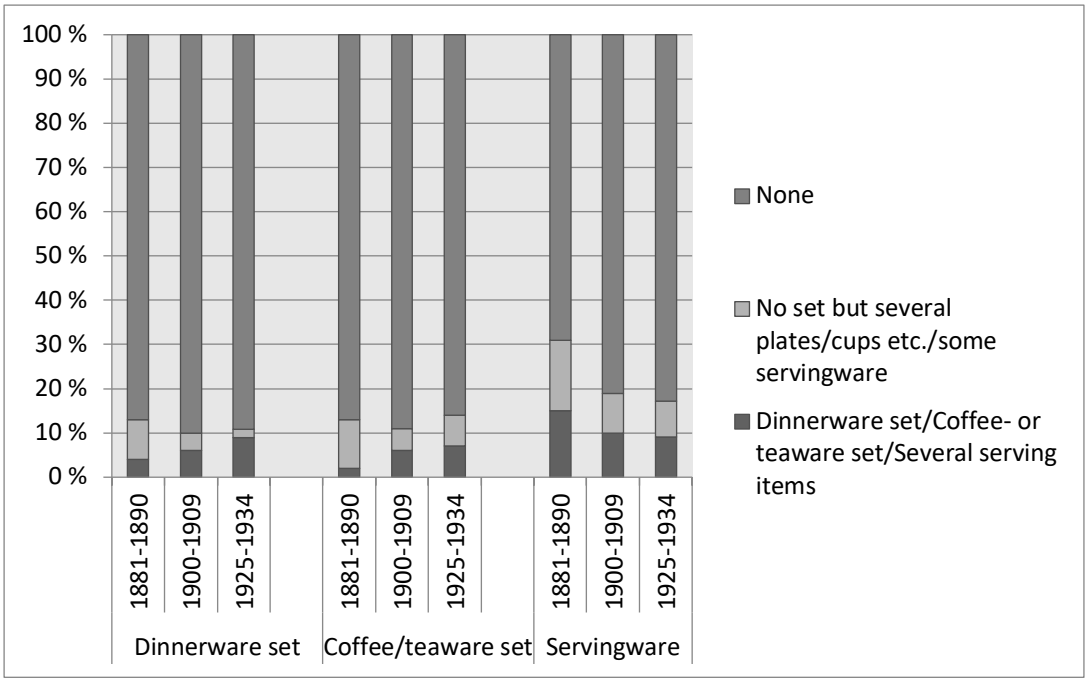


Chart 17. Percentages of probates that listed dinnerware sets or plates, coffee- or tea ware sets or -cups and serving ware.

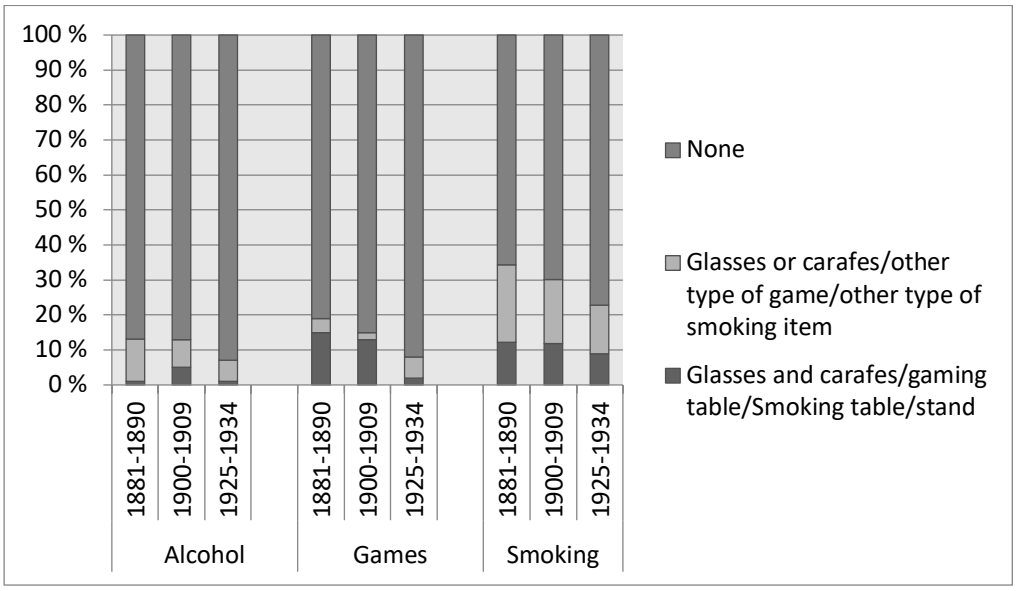


Chart 18. Percentages of probates that listed alcohol related items (carafes, glasses, etc.), gaming tables or other types of games, and smoking tables, stands or other items related to smoking.

Appendix 7. Private old people's homes

Name of organisation	Location	Founded	Target group	Home opened
Stiftelsen Hemmet i Åbo	Turku	1886	women	1888
De Gamlas Vänner	Helsinki	1889	women	De Gamlas Hem, 1892
Vanhain koti Wiipurissa	Viipuri	1892	women, educated classes	1910/1911?
Gubbhemmet i Åbo / Turun Ukkokoti-yhdistys	**Turku**	**1892**	**men, upper classes**	**1908**
De gamlas hem i Uleåborg	Oulu	1896/ 1897	women, educated classes	1906?
Wanhain koti Mikkelissä	Mikkeli	1897	women, educated classes	?
Vanhain koti -yhdistys Porissa	Pori	1898	women	1902
Wanhain koti Tampereella/De Gamlas Hem	Tampere	1898	women	1905
Fylgias hem för ålderstigna fruntimmer	Vaasa	1898	women	1898
Hämeenlinnan vanhusten koti	Hämeen-linna	1902	persons mainly from the upper classes	?
Gubbhemmet i Helsingfors	**Helsinki**	**1905**	**men, upper classes**	**1912**
Tampereen Ukkokotiyhdistys	**Tampere**	**1905**	**men**	**-**
De Gamlas Hem i Borgå	Porvoo	1896?	women	?
De gamlas vänner	Kuopio	1906?	both women and men	?
Kuopion vainhainkodin kannattajain yhd.	**Kuopio**	**1913**	**orig. testament: men, but inhabitants both**	**1958**
Vanhojen koti -yhdistys	**Jyväskylä**	**1914?**	**both**	**?**
Gubbhemmet i Wiborg	**Viipuri**	**1915**	**men**	**?**
De Gamlas Hem	Kristiinan kaupunki	1915	women	?
Vanhain ystävät	Kajaani	1920	both women and men	?
De gamlas hem i gamlakarleby stad	Kokkola	1907?	Swedish speaking	?
Ebenhard och Alma Andersson hem	Kotka	1924?	women, upper classes	?
Carl och Carolinas Skyddshem	Vaasa	1926	Swedish speaking widows and daughters from craftsmen families	1926
Ålderdomshemmet i Wasa	**Vaasa**	**1934**	**men, Swedish, merchant and upper classes**	**?**
Porin suomalainen vanhainkotiyhdistys	Pori	1934	women	1951/1960
Helsingin suomalainen vanhainkoti yhdistys	Helsinki	1936	both women and men	?
Rauman vanhainkotiyhd.	Rauma	1938	both women and men	1955

Table 16. A selection of associations founded for the construction of homes for elderly women, men or both before the 1940s and the possible homes opened.
The main source for the information presented in the table has been the National Library's ephemera collection related to charities and philanthropy, see KK/Pienpainatekokoelma VII, Hyväntekeväisyys: 1810-1999.

Appendix 8. Student nations

Appendix 9. Oral history sources

In this thesis I use oral history sources formed by interviews but most of my oral history sources consist of texts which respondents themselves have written about their personal experiences, memories and meanings related to a specific theme. Finnish oral history research typically uses not only interviews but also written material which is produced and collected in the context of questionnaires, collections and writing competitions instigated by archives, universities and museum authorities.[1031] The collection of written material is based on the idea that anyone can participate and write in response to the theme and/or questions outlined in the questionnaire or collection call.[1032] Even though the collection calls are open to everyone, in practice not only does a respondent have to be able to write in order to participate, but they have to experience participating as meaningful.

My sources include written oral history material from three different archives: the Finnish Literature Society's Archive Materials on Traditional and Contemporary Culture (*perinteen ja nykykulttuurin aineistot*, previously *Kansanrunousarkisto*), the Labour Memory Data Commission's collections (*Työväen Muistitietotoimikunta*, a part of the Labour Archive), and the ethnology collections (*TYKL-kokoelma*) of The Archives of History, Culture and Arts Studies (*Historian, kulttuurin ja taiteiden tutkimuksen arkisto*) at the University of Turku. The Finnish Literature Society has collected material since the 19th century, its collections include material collected through a wide range of theme based collecting campaigns and writing competitions, and it has an established network of respondents.[1033] University of Turku's Department of Ethnology's earliest questionnaires were conducted during the 1950s and the Labour Memory Data Commission has collected "memory and narrative data" since the 1960s using both interviews and collections.[1034]

[1031] Outi Fingerroos and Riina Haanpää, 'Fundamental Issues in Finnish Oral History Studies', *Oral History* 40, no. 2 (2012): 82; Kirsi-Maria Hytönen, 'Hardworking Women: Nostalgia and Women's Memories of Paid Work in Finland in the 1940s', *Oral History* 41, no. 2 (2013): 89.
[1032] Matilainen, 'Oral History Data in Gambling Studies', 160; Hytönen, 'Hardworking Women', 89.
[1033] https://www.finlit.fi/fi/arkisto-ja-kirjastopalvelut/kokoelmat-ja-tiedonlahteet/perinteen-ja-nykykulttuurin-arkistoaineistot, visited 17.1.2018.
[1034] http://www.tyark.fi/uk/muistitieto.htm, visited 17.1.2018; http://www.utu.fi/fi/yksikot/hum/yksikot/hktl/palvelut/arkistot/kultut-arkisto/kokoelmat/Sivut/home.aspx, visited 17.1.2018.

Written oral history material is always elicited or solicited—it is not a question of collecting existing material even if the word collection (*keruu*) is often used—and several elements of the collection process influence the quality of the writings produced by the respondents. The theme or the topic of the collection or questionnaire is defined by the organiser, and the possible scholars involved, and the focus, aims, phrasing and possible questions presented in the collection or questionnaire brochure guide the respondent.[1035] In some cases (as often in the TYKL questionnaires), a fairly long and detailed list of questions is included, other times only a short introduction and a few questions. The questionnaire focusing on life as a sailor, for example, included twelve separate entities of questions or suggestions of topics to discuss. It was, however, also stated that it was not necessary to answer all the questions included and that the respondents did not have to focus only on the topics listed.[1036]

In addition, the respondents' writings have been influenced by the fact that the material is archived for research purposes as well as their view of the organisers: what they, for example, think the organiser might be interested in or what they consider to be appropriate information. The brochure for the sailor questionnaire, for example, stated that the responses will be stored in the archive of the Department of Ethnology and that only researchers will have access to the material.[1037] Therefore, even though there is no interviewer present, in his or her mind a respondent addresses his or her oral history writing to someone.[1038] On the other hand, compared to an interview, the respondent is more free to choose their perspective and the topics they write about.[1039] The oral history sources used in this thesis have not been created for the purposes of my research and I have not been able to participate in the drawing up of the instructions or questions of the calls. A part from the questionnaire on sailors, I have used only a small part of the responses of different collections or questionnaires, which have all had as their main focus something else than bachelorhood.

[1035] Jaakko Suominen, 'Mediasta kysymässä: Radiota, televisiota, puhelinta ja tietokonetta käsittelevät keruukutsut aineistona', in *Tekstien rajoilla: Monitieteisiä näkökulmia kirjoitettuihin aineistoihin*, ed. Sami Lakomäki, Pauliina Latvala, and Kirsi Laurén (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011), 236–37; Hynninen, 'Elämää kerroksittain: Arkistokirjoittamisen kontekstualisointi', 265; Jyrki Pöysä, 'Kilpakirjoitukset muistitietotutkimuksessa', in *Muistitietotutkimus: metodologisia kysymyksiä*, ed. Outi Fingerroos et al. (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2006), 224 & 230; Pöysä, *Jätkän synty*, 46; Hytönen, *Ei elämääni lomia mahtunut*, 13:46; Laurén, 'Kirjoitetun kokemuksen kiehtovuus', 430.
[1036] TYKL/kys/19&20: Questionnaire brochure.
[1037] TYKL/kys/19&20: Questionnaire brochure.
[1038] Hytönen, *Ei elämääni lomia mahtunut*, 13:46–48; Hynninen, 'Elämää kerroksittain: Arkistokirjoittamisen kontekstualisointi', 268; Pöysä, *Jätkän synty*, 49.
[1039] Pöysä, 'Kilpakirjoitukset muistitietotutkimuksessa', 230.

Often the "best" writings are awarded (cash or goods) prizes.[1040] While awards and rewards can motivate people to participate, the competition element can also limit the number or type of people who feel that they are able to produce a good enough text. The organisers of the sailor questionnaire felt it necessary to specify that "only the *information content* of the response, not the style, language or layout" would be considered when deciding on the prizes.[1041]

In the oral history sources used in this thesis, the respondents are writing (or sometimes talking) about past events, experiences and feelings, which often took places decades before. Lived life, the process of remembering and re-remembering and, for example, social and cultural influences therefore influence a respondent's recollections. Despite varying levels and degrees of inaccuracy, these recollections can, nevertheless, be telling or informative on a more general level.[1042] In using the oral history material as a source, I am not interested in the accuracy of details but in descriptions of everyday life and home – besides what is being said, this includes paying attention to how it is said as well as what is being mentioned and what is not. Respondents can also mix their own memories with the experiences of others or, for example, stereotypes, stories or other types of folklore.[1043] This does not necessarily pose a problem especially when the focus of the research is on the everyday lives of bachelors in different contexts generally and, for example, on sailor culture in relation to which stereotypes or stories can be equally revealing. Moreover, especially in the responses to the sailor questionnaire, similar descriptions can be found in a number of responses and the information gained from the oral history sources has also been compared with results from other types of sources.

[1040] Matilainen, 'Oral History Data in Gambling Studies', 154; Riitta Matilainen and Pauliina Raento, 'Learning to Gamble in Changing Sociocultural Contexts: Experiences of Finnish Casual Gamblers', *International Gambling Studies* 14, no. 3 (2 September 2014): 434, https://doi.org/10.1080/14459795.2014.923484.
[1041] TYKL/kys/19&20: Questionnaire brochure. Original: "Vastauksia palkittaessa otetaan huomioon vain vastauksen *asiasisältö* eikä niiden tyyliä, kielenkäyttöä, ulkoasua."
[1042] Pöysä, *Jätkän synty*, 50–51; Hytönen, *Ei elämääni lomia mahtunut*, 13:27; Laurén, 'Kirjoitetun kokemuksen kiehtovuus', 426; Fingerroos and Haanpää, 'Fundamental Issues in Finnish Oral History Studies', 86; Hilkka Helsti, 'Hedelmällisen tiedon jäljillä - teemakirjoitukset tutkimuksen lähteinä', in *Polkuja etnologian menetelmiin*, ed. Pirjo Korkiakangas, Pia Olsson, and Helena Ruotsala (Helsinki: Ethnos ry, 2005), 154; Hynninen, 'Elämää kerroksittain: Arkistokirjoittamisen kontekstualisointi', 279.
[1043] Pöysä, 'Kilpakirjoitukset muistitietotutkimuksessa', 225; Pöysä, *Jätkän synty*, 50; Hytönen, *Ei elämääni lomia mahtunut*, 13:29.

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