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**FINNISH FOLKLORE AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE GREAT
LAKES MINING REGION ORAL HISTORY PROJECT 1972-1978**

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Own Remarks-Subject:

Vivian Hiltunen, SS400 Class - This will be participant observation and I will go on and describe my participants as I am talking. This discussion will be on Christmas gift giving and that will be the subject.

I Christmas gift giving has become modified somewhat in our family relationships. Particularly on my side of the family. For previous years we had exchanged gifts and everyone bought a gift, say a \$4.00 gift for each neice, nephew, sister, brother and mailed them early and they got there. One year my sister came from Nebraska just to surprise us and we didn't know that she was coming. She had mailed all her gifts and they showed up on Christmas Eve. That was part of Christmas too, I suppose. However now in the past years we've made a point of not exchanging gifts even with the neices and nephew's and this has occurred even during the past two years. However in the previous years we eliminated by saying we're not buying for the adults. Then it came, well, the kids will exchange gifts." Then the next year we said, "everybody's families are growing bigger and nobody has the money that they had before so we would exchange gifts just among the cousins." That means that would be among my children and my sister's children and my brother's children. However, this was before my oldest brother had any children at all so it really only included our three families and by the way, some real close friends of ours. We exchanged names with their family. However this year we didn't exchange names with them at all and the only people we included on our gift list were my husband's folks (Tom's folks) and his unmarried brother who lives at home. And my parents, we each chipped in and got a gift with my sister. We spend about \$5.00 for each parent or say we get a gift that is combined, it would be \$10.00 for each family. This year we painted Christmas tree ornaments, or rather my children did and we mailed them for Grandpa and Grandma Hiltunen. However, we didn't do anything for my parents because they haven't put up a Christmas tree for two or three years or so because they figure there are none of the kids around. It's really a sad custom because we've eliminated going to their house on Christmas Eve or Christmas Day, rather, they will come, these are my parents, the Seppanen's, with us kids at our homes. I think it's somewhat depressing in a way because my mother said, "It just doesn't seem the same without a Christmas tree up. I put the ornaments in the windows and on the doors and we get the Christmas cards but it's not quite the same as having a Christmas tree." So this year Christmas giving was a little break in tradition, we called it. We weren't able to go to their house on Christmas Eve as we had planned to bring the Christmas gifts because of the circumstances which I will explain later on. There was a funeral Christmas Eve, and we had made other arrangements with Tom's family and as you know we've got to try and play fair. So anyway I can get back to that also later.

- 1 not putting up a tree
- 2- Didn't ever explain it - it was baby-sitting for a classmate's children. Her father had passed away and I felt it was the most and the least I could do for her - even if it did change our plans somewhat. Why? She would do the same for me, I'm selfish to think of my own pleasures when that occurs to some.

Christmas gifts. My sister and I went together and got my dad car mats for his new pickup and we got my mother, gee, I can't remember, well anyway it was worth \$5.00 from each of us, oh I remember it was a nice couch throw. So I knew I wouldn't be able to get there, ^{Christmas Eve} so my sister went over and brought them over and they thanked us for them on the phone, ^{when} we called them to wish them a Merry Christmas on Christmas morning.

However, let me go back to Tom's family as far as Christmas gift giving goes. We went together, all of us kids, and got them a coffee pot, and a shelf that goes over the toilet stand in the bathroom.

So now Christmas tradition, let me go on to this now.

In previous years we always decided that you have to 'keep the peace' so they say. Okay, Thanksgiving dinner I would have with my family at our home. Tom never minded this. We decided that Christmas day, we had always since we had been married spend it with Tom's folks, Tom's mother at their home, she would fix a turkey and us daughter-in-law's would bring, oh I would bring the pies, Jane would bring something else, ^{for 25¢} because she lived right next door in the trailer next to their home, Charlene would bring a salad, we all would bring something, but she would do the initial work of fixing the turkey and stuffing, but we would always go there. So this year there was a turnabout in it, and I know I was real hurt about it, and I thought, "Well why are they breaking tradition," cause as it happened one of my sister-in-laws called me ~~and she said,~~ (I remember it was a bad day and I had come home from work, I laid down and the phone rang, I guess I must have dozed off for a while because I was crabby,) she said "oh, I got you up from a nap," and I said, "no." That's another thing, it's funny you don't want to be caught saying you're sleeping. You're just not supposed to be sleeping during the day. However, I love to nap. My mother says I was born tired, anyways Jane called, and I wasn't in too good of a mood when she called and she said, "Sally, (this is Tom's mother) isn't feeling too good this year. You know her arthritis is bad and, well, anyways she says I invited them to have Christmas dinner with us. With Donnie and I." Donnie is Tom's brother and Jane is his wife and therefore they would be my brother-in-law and sister-in-law. It was really a letdown and I ^{said} "Oh." I know I wasn't too receptive to the idea and I was thinking, "well why do you want to break tradition like this?" And I also think I was going back to the time when ^{Tom's mother did fix} Christmas dinner, I'm going to take that back we haven't always spent Christmas dinner with Tom's folks, maybe it was two or three years ago, yes, it must be three years ago, because that's when Donnie and Jane moved their trailer in Hiltunen's back yard. They said "Donnie and Jane have invited us over to their house for Christmas dinner, why don't you just come over later in the afternoon?"

I remember I was real hurt about it. But you have to be careful what you say to your husband because that's his family, and you know it's so easy to criticize your own family, but you have to be careful with your in-laws, especially your husbands. Anyways this was at a time when things weren't too good in their house. Tom's dad wasn't too dependable at that time and he was drinking rather heavily at that time and she said well she didn't feel like fixing the turkey dinner and all this, ~~and~~ to me it was just a pile of excuses. So anyway we said, "What time shall we come down and visit, that we'd like to see your Christmas tree and we'd like to bring the kids down there." "Well, come after 4:00 we're going to eat dinner first, ^{with your family} and it was just a big push-off. By that time I said, "I don't feel like going" and Tom says, "we have to go" and I'm the kind, I know how I'd feel if he didn't want to go to see my family so I feel I have to do the ~~return~~ ^{return} to him. So anyway that was the Christmas we went there later in the afternoon. Now this Christmas was, ^{the same thing} and I remember thinking well Jane had promised to fix dinner for them again. I guess I felt a little resentment toward her because I thought you're the one who's started breaking up the tradition, your supporting her. It just didn't sound right to me so I said, "well, I'll call you back." I had the excuse that Tom was ushering for the church the month of December and our calendar wasn't out for what time Christmas Eve services were ^{scheduled} so I said, ~~well~~ "I'll call you back when I talk to Tom about it. But if he has to usher, there's too much of a rush and hassle inbetween and we just won't be there." But actually it was an excuse and I knew this but you see it's so much easier to say this on the phone to somebody else than if she had come to talk to me face to face. It's just easier to put off people that way.

~~Well~~ After I had said that and hung up I thought, "ah you ought to be ashamed of yourself! Maybe she's got a good reason, maybe she doesn't want to have Christmas dinner. I started think, "gee how would I feel in this spot?" and so I thought, "okay, let's just let it ride." I asked Tom, my husband, about it and he started saying, "ya, that's a good idea, there's a football game on Christmas day and wouldn't be kind of nice just to stay home? Not have to rush, you know you get up real early in the morning and Santa Claus comes, the kids are up early and your folks come." (That's a custom we've had, we invite my mother and dad for Christmas breakfast and the reason we fix a big Christmas breakfast is because we knew we would be having a late Christmas dinner. So we invite them for the purpose of giving them breakfast and giving them a chance to see the Christmas toys. At that time my mother would, ^{look} look at the Christmas cards we'd gotten and we would have a chance to visit. You know

we've always had that Christmas breakfast, we've rushed off to Baraga and the kids have had to choose one toy out of all the toys they've gotten to take to Grandma's because there's other grandchildren there and they'll get broken or lost, and hassle rush, rush, rush, and this is the way it seemed to be on Christmas Day. So we ~~decided~~ ^{very concerned} more and more as we talked about it, maybe this was a good idea, maybe your mother doesn't feel like fixing turkey dinner. It is true, she has gotten worse this year because she is arthritic. She has had to use her crutch. So the time came for the actual face-to-face confrontation (about talking about Christmas Eve and Christmas Day) ~~came down~~ to a Friday night when we stopped to see them after we had been shopping.

So we came there and I was thinking this was the night we were going to have to decide something. I wasn't too sure that I wouldn't let a little bitterness show through because of the break in tradition. Tradition is the hardest thing to break and it hadn't been a matter of what, we've been married ten years and I remember, ~~the~~ one year when we hadn't been invited, too; and another thing that I wanted to say about that other former Christmas when we weren't invited there for dinner, I know the kids were getting crabby and I was in a bad mood and I know I was getting crabby and myself I'm the kind of person if I'm in a bad mood you know it. I can't put on for people. I'm not that kind of a person. So anyway we got there about 4:00 in the afternoon and they were just eating and they said, "Do you want to eat?" and we said, "no" because ~~we~~ we had been invited as it turned out to my brother's and his wife's for Christmas dinner, a nice beautiful Christmas turkey dinner she had fixed for us. But it wasn't the same because it wasn't at Miltunen's and it wasn't the dinner that we had always had before and it wasn't the custom of going there, I guess.

They said "Do you want to eat?" and we said "no." But the fact was: it had somewhat broken the circle of Tom's folks and his brother's, ~~he had~~ no sisters, and our families together. We got there about ~~3:00~~ 4:00 and drinks were pouring pretty freely and people were talking pretty loud and smoking in a small trailer and you know how a small trailer is. It got to be around 7:00 and I told Sally I'd really like to go over and see your gifts, I haven't even seen your Christmas tree yet. She said, "wait a while." As it turned out we waited a half an hour and I told Tom we've got to get going, and these kids have been up early. Santa Claus comes during the night and kids will get up at 6:00 or 6:30 in the morning so I said, "we've got to get these kids going home." As it turns out my kids always have colds at Christmas or they're sick or they're under medication and I think everybody's patience gets pretty

thin after that time. So, by this time I ~~told~~ Tom "let's go" and he agreed with things I said, "well I'm just a little bit disgusted myself," and I could tell this by his tone of voice so we just left. Then as we were going out the door Tom's mother said "Oh, you didn't even see our Christmas tree yet. Wait a while, wait a while. I want to help Jane clean up." I knew darn well, I was thinking to my self, I don't know if it was out of disgust or what, jealousy or what, now your saying, ~~well~~ there's no sense in going over there. The kids are tired and waking up ~~dad~~, Tom's father, we always call him Dad. He had already left and gone home to go to sleep because he had a pretty good bag on so why wake him up and aggravate things. So anyway it happened after ~~that~~ ^{the previous Christmas} where there were several occasions ~~where~~ ^{that} she did mention that she felt so bad, I know even this past year during Christmas time she's mentioned that she felt so bad about that Christmas, "It just didn't seem the same that all the family wasn't there." And as a matter of fact it ~~was~~ ^{is} true that Tom's oldest brother didn't even come up to Donnie and Jane's that day, and I really think that that they were disgusted about it. They said, "how are we all going to fit into that trailer?" You figure about 25 or 30 people in there. On a cold winter afternoon with the kids, - no way. Charlene, that's Tom's oldest brother's wife said, "we're just not coming up" and they didn't show up that day, and I know that Sally thought about it afterward. At the time it was a good excuse and I know, that she was kind of in a dither herself over this whole ^{problem} they had there. I know even now this year she has said, "I just hate to break the tradition, it just isn't the same as when we have all the kids." She has told me this in private when there's just her and I, ~~and~~ she says, "well, it would be nice to have all the kids together ~~now~~ because dad isn't drinking now."

So come this year, it came down to the actual confrontation and all these things had been racing through my mind, and I felt well you can't have everything, you've gotta give up a little bit. It's odd, because when Jane told me that on the phone, I was ~~thinking~~ ^{thinking} that we go there Christmas Eve or maybe the Sunday before Christmas. Christmas Eve was Monday and Sunday would have been a weekend day and not a working day, and we could have gone there to visit and see the tree and exchange gifts. It isn't the same as that and there's no excuse. When she told me this, I thought first of all I object to it, it's a break in tradition. No way are you going to do this. But by the time the confrontation came with Tom's mother, and we were visiting them in the evening, that Friday night like I said, ~~and~~ it came down to discussing it, I had somehow accepted the fact that this is how it's going to have to be, and I had balanced it out by saying "okay we've always done things this way. Now they want to break this tradition of Christmas Day."

We're going to have to spend it at home now," and I thought to myself, "ah we are going to spend Christmas day at home which means that I have to fix the turkey. I will have to do the work for the big dinner. I am gonna be tired." Yet I didn't want to say this to myself, I wanted to blame her and say, ~~okay~~ "you just don't want to have it anymore." So I have to try and balance out this dissonance and say, ~~okay~~ "We'll have Christmas dinner at home. It's nice to spend Christmas day at home all day." Therefore balancing out any dissonance I had by saying, ~~okay~~ "We'll go there for Christmas Eve and that visit will be done with, we'll have a nice visit there. We can still have a lunch while we're there. It won't be a big turkey dinner, but so what? Everybody can fix their own turkey dinner at home and besides Charlene, and Dick, that's the oldest sister in-law and ~~brother~~ ^{from} they have five boys and she doesn't particularly care to go out on Christmas day." I know she has told me this outright herself. Of course not in front of Tom's folks but just in a telephone conversation or just between us. So there's another reason, she'd rather stay home on Christmas Day too. "So why don't we do it on Christmas Eve. Let's have this Christmas giving on Christmas Eve.

So I had already gotten these things straight in my head. Well, sure, why not have it Christmas Eve? ~~That~~ The actual conversation I can't be sure how it went anymore ~~but it was to the fact,~~ ^{to what she did} ~~I do~~ remember distinctly we were there in the kitchen and I was kind of leaning on this little bar that separates the kitchen from the livingroom and Tom's mother was loading the dishwasher and she said "Did Jane, (now this is Donnie's wife and they're the couple who lives in Hiltunen's yard) ~~did Jane~~ have a chance to call you that I'd like to have something on Christmas Eve or before that? I really didn't feel up to fixing Christmas dinner. Turkey dinner that is." I said, "ya, she called. ~~I said~~ Tom's ushering in church this month and we don't know what time Christmas services are going to be. We'll find out as soon as the bulletin comes out." ~~I said why not.~~ "Why don't we plan to have it Christmas Eve? We can come down inbetween there ^{before or after church}." She said "Oh fine." Then she started giving her reasons for not wanting to have Christmas dinner. She said she's been so stiff and it's so darn much work that "I just don't think that I'd be able to do it this year. I'm so stiff in the mornings when I get up, it takes me many hours in the morning to get moving it would be late when we could have ^{it}." Then I found myself making excuses for her why she shouldn't be fixing Christmas dinner. I said, "I know, that's true. I ~~said~~ remember ^{when} I had Thanksgiving dinner this year and I know how tired you feel." You have to get up early to get that bird in the oven, get the house cleaned get everything set and no matter how much other people bring there's that initial work of getting done and the hostess who fixes the dinner gets left with the work. ~~Furthermore~~ I know how you feel, I was tired. Here I was rationalizing the fact

that I had had Thanksgiving dinner and that we had had Tom's folks also over with my family because even though it's a tradition that Thanksgiving my family and Christmas with Tom's family, I still don't feel that it's right that I don't invite Tom's folks over. It's up to them if they want to come or not. They haven't in previous years. (As a matter of fact this Thanksgiving was kind of comical because we had thought whose turn is it to buy the turkey. - *Get to that later.*)

So here I was there making excuses, I suppose that's not really a nice term but we were making excuses for each other, why and what we had done in years past. I've done all this work and I want the credit, and I know what it's like, and you try to feel with the person what they are doing and what they are feeling and as it ended up, ^{mutually} we were talking, ~~and I said well~~ why don't we plan to have it Christmas Eve. We can come down here. ~~and~~ I knew before this that there was some friction with Tom's older brother and his wife because she has always felt, I can't be sure exactly what it is. I know when I had talked to her previously about going there on ^{the} Christmas Eve she said, "Oh, we have church and the boys don't really want to go out. And besides I really don't want to go up there, I guess." She was that truthful that she just said she wouldn't care to go up there and she has some reasons that I wouldn't care to go into now. But anyway there was a little bit of dissanance right there. As I was talking to Sally, ^{she} she was loading the dishwasher, Tom's youngest brother, David came in. (He's the one who lives at home) ~~and~~ he says "what, we're not having Christmas dinner? You mean you're not fixing a turkey?" I didn't say anything. ^{you mean} I thought he was talking to his mother and David, being the youngest, is spoiled. I thought maybe he ^{does} have a point. "You're breaking tradition. I mean, we've always had Christmas dinner. This is when everybody comes over here, and he went on and on. I thought for a minute Sally was going to give in and say, "Well, I'll fix Christmas dinner just for you, David." I was surprised that she didn't at this time because she spoils the kid. She calls him "the kid," it's for the kid, this and that. She said ~~well~~ "There is alot of work to it, David." ~~and I said well,~~ ^{agreed} that's true, there is alot of work to it." Here I was on the sidelines agreeing that there is alot of work to it. Tom's mother said something to the effect ~~well~~, "I just can't do it this year David. You know stiff I am and I just think it's to much." David said "Well everybody can bring something." ~~Some~~ (I always bring the pies) "I can bring the pies this year." I felt kind of in a bind ~~because~~ because there I was this third person on the side with Tom's mother, David and I'm kind of

last Christmas Eve service so you can figure there will be a few more people there figuring, "Well, he's not gonna be there again."

Anyway back to Hiltunen's on Christmas Eve, we got there and we were the last ones getting there. We were late getting there because of other circumstances. We got there and everybody was waiting, the kids were waiting and Charlene and Dick were there with their children and Donnie and Jane were there with their one child and I walked in with my beans and it looked like everyone was ready to eat. The kids were saying, "Can we open our gifts?" As I said with Tom's folks we buy a group gift that we can get something more together. However, with his folks they buy for everybody. Like Tom's mother and dad will buy for Tom and I and each of our children and they'll do that for each one of their sons, their wives and the children that they have. And on top of that Tom's unmarried brother David, I swear the only time of the year he shows generosity, I suppose he has Christmas spirit, I don't know. He does always and he has this year go and buy a gift for each one of his neices and nephews. And they're a pretty good sized gift. I mean value wise. I'll be darned if that kid doesn't come through and buy something that these kids really like. I suppose all of us have the kid left in us, where we're part kid. They say a man is always part boy. Like for example this year he bought our Meg who is five years old a close-and-play phonograph. She just loved it. One thing he did screw up on, he forgot to buy the batteries.

However, Santa Claus came to our house that night and left some extra batteries for Meg. Because Santa Claus comes to our house during the night and we don't let them open their presents until Christmas morning except those presents that Tom's folks give or that David will give. Uncle David on the Hiltunen side. Then he gave Craig our eight year old boy a Smash-em-derby. It was something that the kids enjoyed playing with. He just chose real wisely and the gifts were loved by the kids that he buys for them. When we walk in the kids are so anxious, we took off our own coats and put them where we usually do. It was a special occasion but when we go to Tom's folks I can't remember once being told, "Here let me take your coat." We always take off our own coats and boots and kind of throw them.. The entrance way in their home is into dad's office. He's a bookkeeper so we just kind of throw them on a rocking chair or whatever is closest. If the rocking chair is full then in this case we'll throw them on one of the beds. One of the beds in the bedrooms. So everybody says, "let's eat." So she put everything on and she had the table all set. She had a real nice table set with a nice Christmas tablecloth and a nice Christmas candle burning in the middle. Then the kids said, "Oh boy, let's open our presents." Well they were all

kind of half waiting for David, the one who had bought the nice Christmas presents. He wasn't home yet. "Oh that darn kid, where is he?" We had been there the day before on Sunday. We had gone to the funeral home to pay our respects to a fellow who had died from our community. On that day David was leaving to go out to somebody's camp for the night with a couple other guys. This is where he wasn't back from yet. It's odd how people will make remarks. "Where is he?" It was already getting a little bit stormy and of course a mother will worry a little bit more. I can't say that she'll worry more than the father but she says more simply because women show their worry more verbally than men because aren't supposed to show their worry about things. Tom said, "Remember yesterday he wouldn't tell us where he was going or where that camp really was if we had to get in touch with him. He was really evasive about where they were going to go." "Where is this camp in case we have to get in touch with you?" "Well, I don't really know, one of the other guys knows where it is." David stutters a little bit when he speaks. If we had to go and look for him I'm not too sure where we would have found him. One of the brothers made the comment, "We're really going to have to tear into him when he gets home." The sister-in-law's can't say too much. Because it's their house. So they said, "Let's start opening our presents. Charlene and Dick would have to be leaving soon and we would have to be leaving soon." It happened that David's gifts were given first. Whether they were put there last or what. They chose those gifts and were ripping them open and said, "look, look! I got the pictures back yesterday from Christmas with the papers all around and the expression of the kids with the gifts they had chosen. The kids didn't realize that David was gone and finally somebody says, "We gotta thank Uncle Dave for this, where is Uncle Dave?" They started hollaring in midsentence, "Thank you Uncle, where is Uncle Dave?" So here he is missing out on these gifts, that I'm sure he's taken time out to pick the perfect gift for that child. He's missing out on the joy that each kid is receiving from the kind of gift that he chose for them. So they forgot about him. "We said he's not back yet, he went out with the guys." We start eating, we get the men all set up and I fix a plate for Tom, Tom's brother and his dad. I fixed his plate but then he came in and got his own coffee. We brought them in there and it wasn't too much long afterward that David came home grubby as can be, of course, because they had been camping and it's wintertime. Cold and eyes a little bit glossy so you know he's had something to drink. He says "Gee I'm sorry I'm late." This is the kind of expression you get from him. His mother and dad said, "Well where were you? How come you are so late?" This is, either 20 or 21 years old. You have to go into a little background with this kid to understand. He's wrecked two cars in the last six months and he went to work part time first of all for one of these Pettibone subsidiary shops. He worked there part time and this term he gave the excuse, "I had two conflicts with two of my classes, (he was going to Tech) I couldn't get them." Under

a two year associate degree program I guess. Applied technology that's what his field was in. Drafting and this type of course. He couldn't really decide what to do this term. It was really a copout. Why didn't he say "I just don't want to go to school this term." He had transferred from Northern and you could see he was dissatisfied. Which is all right but I really think ^{could} these runabout excuses don't make much sense. ~~He~~ he ~~could~~ been more honest with everybody and said "I don't want to go to school." Brainwashing his mother, I don't know about his father because his father sees alot too. I really feel that anything he says is jumped upon by the father where she makes excuses for the youngest child. So David goes in and changes and cleans up a little bit and he comes into the kitchen and he's apologizing over and over again. He really does feel bad about not getting and he says, "One of the guys cars got stuck and we couldn't get his car started. We had two cars out there and we tried and tried to get it going. We tried and we just couldn't. Finally, somebody else had to give us a ride. Somebody else gave me a ride into Baraga." (Apparently the other two guys lived in L'Anse.) Finally I got tired of hearing this. I suppose I shouldn't have been so catty, but... ~~I~~ ~~was~~. He said, "I'm really sorry I'm late. I missed all this." We said, "ya, you sure did. You should have seen the ~~kids~~ kids. They were really excited with your presents that you ~~gave~~ gave them." He said this, ^{and} I said, "Well maybe you should have started home sooner. Why did you leave until the last minute to get this car started?" Nobody said too much. You don't know if you should be catty or not but I thought well let's cut out this apologizing business because you know darn well David you could have done something about it really. If you had wanted to get started a little earlier.

What really bothered me was the fact that David was coming in half shined up. Or the leftover hangover, I couldn't tell which one because he didn't look too healthy. Anyway he's coming in this shape and we had purposely made a point, the boys had, (Tom's younger brother Donnie, the one I was talking about has been in AA. What did he have. I think it was ten months in at Christmas time. Tom's dad is on the wagon, too.) Tom and Dick had decided too that it was not necessary to have any drinks there at Mom and Dad's at Christmas Eve. We would just have coffee and everyone would have a real nice visit. They know and we know how it is with an alcoholic. That one drink is fatal to them. Here in walks David the result of being, Lord knows how late the night before and who knows what else he was smoking even.

But anyway he comes in this way and I think the older brothers thought, "ya you're really helping the cause alot." I'm sure he

got the result of the cold shoulder. Especially from the boys.

So Christmas Eve then did turn out to be a very, very nice occasion. Tom's mother buys the boys all the same thing. I guess so she doesn't play favorites. I know ~~last~~ year she bought the boys sweater vests with matching ties and each of us girls pajamas and she had knitted each of us a very nice white chook hat. It was something I really delighted in. She has very, very fine taste in choosing gifts. I was real pleased with my gift. She tries to choose the same thing but then she realizes your needs because she chose pajamas with the feet for me because she knows I'm always wearing a sweater and socks on my feet where with the other girls she chose just straight leg pajamas. But she did knit the hats for ~~us~~ and for our Meg ~~time~~ she knit her a little white chook. Very nice and she chose a very nice red ^{pc} pants for her with a red and white top and a little perfume pin that she wears on the front of it and it matches the dress. So she does chose well in the gifts and she tries to chose everything of equal value so that she doesn't show preference one over the other. For each of the boys, it was real cleaver. She had got each of the boys pants and a sweater and shirt to match. Bell bottoms no less with the cuffs. She had knit each one of the boys a chook. Hats for everyone of the grandchildren boys is what I'm talking about. She has more boys than girls. She has two girls and 7 boys for grandchildren. She had made them in the colors of the Lions. There is only one Packer fan so she made them and the boys were delighted and of course Grandma Hiltunen has become the knitter ~~for~~ for the Hiltunen family. Whenever Craig needs a chook, bring ~~to~~ to Grandma's. Like I said she's real careful about not playing one favorite over the other. As far as grandchildren go. (Although some will contradict that, too, I suppose.) But Christmas Eve turned out to be nice. We left from there thinking this is a real nice thing. After we all ate and after Jane and I had put the dishes into the dishwasher and cleared up what we could, put the jello's into the refrigerator we all sat around singing Christmas carols. And what is nicer than that. Just sitting there relaxing. Tom's brother and he play guitars so it's always a family gathering at his folks. Whenever any of us get together one of the boys will pick up the guitar and sing any kind of songs. It was only Christmas songs. I guess we all left there with a good feeling thinking this is a nice idea. This is a new tradition. Old traditions aren't that bad and I guess I was a little bit sorry that I had even thought this is a bad thing. This business of breaking tradition. New traditions can, are, and will be a good thing in the future.

I think I will go back into my notes when I was talking about who do you invite to Thanksgiving dinner. I said before that we made it a custom or tradition in our home that we spent Thanksgiving with my family and Christmas with his family.

Well it so happened that this past Thanksgiving, it's the third year we've been living in this big old farm house and in the communities of Alston and Niskula where we live. We bought the old homestead here and I guess people expect when you have a big house you've got the most room and you should have the social gatherings. I've had so many different opinions on that simply because like I said before I feel I get left with the brunt of the work. And work I do not mind if I have the time to do it. But I just find myself a little bit under pressure in my particular circumstances. Like I said I'm a real deviant from the role of mother and homemaker in our community because this is my third year now at Tech. I have to travel and I have to commute. I've had to tell people, "Gee I'm so busy I can't help you." I've had to drop out of community organizations. I've had to say, "Gee I'm sorry I just can't do it." And even moreso this year because I've begun to work each morning of the week and my time is lessened and lessened and I guess you know for people to understand that you're too busy to do it, how do you tell them really nicely, I'm sorry I don't have the time to do it. Would you mind coming back another day? Without being rude. I just can't see a polite way of saying, "Gee I'm sorry I just can't do it for you." Without hurting somebody's feelings. I've always been the type of person, I suppose I've been raised that way you give somebody a helping hand if you can. You know, help others out.

When I look back now before I started, going to school here, ^{Oh} what a luxury I must have had in time. Even at that time I complained, ^{Oh} I'm so busy I can't do this and that. And yet I was involved, I taught Sunday School and I was involved in community projects. Sure I'll do it, I'll do the running, I will pick it up when I go. People expect you to keep doing this. Even after you've taken on other responsibilities and this is where the deviancy comes in, because I've had to tell people no, I'm sorry I can't do it, ^{and} it's not so bad this year. You know the first year I started going to school, I really felt bad about it. I don't know whether it was me adjusting or whether it was friends adjusting to the fact that I just didn't have the time to do it. I don't know, I suspect, I don't know whether this dissanance was in my mind. I was trying to balance out my own deviancy. Gee you're really not a good mother, you're not really a good community member because you're not participating in all these things. Are you being selfish for yourself because you want to go to school and you want to further your education?

Are you harming your family? Are you making them less dependent on you and you know that's another role of deviancy from the role of mother ~~and~~. The whole family unit, the children and the husband are supposed to be dependent upon a mother. A mother, she holds this whole family, it's a coherency and you read about Women's Lib nowadays and how jobs are supposed to be shared. It's not that way in these small communities here. You know the mother should be home. She should be home when the kids come home from school. She's gotta have homemade bakery, she's gotta have all the washing done and have the house spotless. She's gotta be there to run her kids here and run them there. Wherever they want to go.

You see I was able to do these things, but at that time the mother was the primary role and the father was secondary. The mother was there holding this house together, and when I started going to school all of a sudden this is shattered and you feel like you've become the town deviant. You're an outcast because you're not there, in the centralized role anymore and things have to be shared. The husband has to take over. ^{I was} I was real fortunate, I can say, I always have been. I wasn't afraid to say okay, I'm going to go to school, that I was worried about my children. My mother babysat during the day before my youngest started kindergarten this year, for the other two years. ~~But~~ she would watch my youngest during the day. Craig was in school during the day so he would go off on the school bus, ~~and~~ I could depend upon my husband picking up the kids at my mother's if I wasn't home. Whoever got home first, this is the way we arranged it. ~~He~~ would pick up our children from my mother's and bring them home and start the supper. It was a shared thing in our household and it was a good thing for us, I believe. Healthy is that the reason, healthy, I believe, and a good firm marriage. Because a person, ^{needs} another view of life and ~~to~~ got to see how I could be depressed in the house with these kids all day long and want to get out. ~~Things~~ things have kind of changed. All I can say is it's healthy for a family to have, I believe. I suppose I'm rationalizing again for saying, ^{what} a family can have, it's good for me to go to school because this is something that I really want to do. I really want to complete, ~~and~~ I'm making these excuses for myself but I don't think that I'm selfish that I want to, I really think that's it's good for a husband and wife to be able to share things outside of the home. Common interests. Our children have come to mean more to us. He can understand how I could feel cooped up with these kids and it still makes me appreciate him and my children in our home relationship, much more. Like I said it might be rationalization or what but this is the way I have balanced out my dissenance.

When we first moved into this house, the Miltunen home hadn't been in the ~~house~~ ^{family} for 12 years. Somebody else had owned it.

"Let's have a family reunion!" I thought, "Oh ya, where's the family reunion going to be held?" "Oh, let's have it at the old homesite." When you're with a group of the same family you just don't want to say I don't want to have it here.

Well it ended up we had 80 people, here, of course. Who did the brunt of the work? Everyone brought their own bunch but it's the woman of the house who has to have everything prepared. And when you have a family gathering like that you have to clean a little bit more than scrub the floor and dust the table tops. You have to clean drawers and cupboards and you have to have the spare rooms that you have in order and have everything packed away. You're ironing all done and you're mending all done so everything looks nice and neat.

But anyway Thanksgiving came and we've had Thanksgiving here for two or three years now. I guess I've gotten more comfortable with my family since this third year now. I can't decide if I'm more comfortable or if my family expects less of me. They say well okay, "we'll come over" and I say, "Okay you can come over but my house is a mess and I'm not going to do any extra cleaning. You can all come over and I've got the big kitchen and I'll fix the dinner." It's true, I do have the biggest house and the room to seat that many people in my family. But before this, my youngest sister lives in Oshkosh, Wisconsin and she happened to be coming for Thanksgiving to visit rather than coming Christmas time because you can't always be guaranteed ~~and~~ ~~the~~ road. ^{conditions} It's been a year now that's she's been divorced from her husband and she has one son and she has this boyfriend now. Doug was coming with her this time. Anyway they came Thanksgiving time and I was asking my dad one evening when I went over there! I said ~~what~~ "What are we going to do about Thanksgiving dinner this year?"

First of all, my sister-in-law about a month before had joked, she said ~~what~~ "If we don't go home for Thanksgiving (she's from North Dakota) are you going to have Thanksgiving dinner again this year." I said, "Ya, ya, I sure will." I knew, however, joking it was that I should have this Thanksgiving dinner at my house. I was halfthinking, "ya it's okay—but wait until the time comes." And this year I can't gripe it did work out okay because it was over term break. But in years past it has always been that half inbetween terms and that's the time you should be reading, catching up on things and working on terms papers if you have to turn any term papers in. But this year I didn't even have that as a crutch to fall back on so I asked my dad, ~~what~~ "what are you going to do about Thanksgiving dinner?" "I know that I had to be rude to my dad a few times before he accepted the fact that I can't be everywhere I can't be and everywhere I'd like to. He didn't want to hint to me that I should have

Thanksgiving dinner, he said, "We were just thinking of buying a ham." My mother never fixed, I don't think she's ever fixed a turkey in her life come to think of it. "I think we'll just buy a ham and have dinner here and Bernie and Doug can eat here."

You have to kind of feel each other out. Here's my dad and I feeling each other out, what are we going to do about Thanksgiving dinner. I said, "you know that I'll be on term break. If you want to come and have Thanksgiving turkey dinner, I'll be glad to fix it." Turkey each one chips in and other's bring something like we've done in the past. Furthermore, Barbara, the person I've spoken before about in my other papers, her husband is a long distance truck driver and she didn't think he'd be home for Thanksgiving. I said, "you know Barbara will be eating dinner alone and we'll be eating dinner alone and more than likely Marlene and Ronnie will be going to North Dakota or Minneapolis where her sister lives." (Ronnie is my brother) "They'll be going there and," I said, "what's the sense of everyone eating separate. You know that Bernie and Doug will be coming from Oshkosh. They're not coming until Thanksgiving morning and what's a better chance to get together and visit. They've only got these few days. Like from Thursday and they have to leave back on Sunday to visit this many people." I said I'll be glad to fix the turkey.

Well whose turn is it to buy the turkey this year? So we went on talking about this and that and I said well I can buy it. Not to worry about it. So it was decided then that night that between my Dad and I we would ask Barbara and her family to come, and we'd get a big enough turkey and ask everybody. ~~It~~ it turned out it was my dad's turn to buy the turkey this year.

So here you've got the situation, you've invited people over, buy the turkey and what happend Craig, our son, often visits with his Grandma and Grandpa Miltunen ~~and~~ will get left over there on a Friday, visit with Grandpa and bum around with him. He had come home (and I was kind of glad that my mother and dad were here visiting) he said, "I asked Grandma and Grandpa Miltunen if they wanted to come and have Thanksgiving dinner with us. Is that okay?" I thought now what are you gonna do. It's your house, you're having the dinner, but my dad was buying the turkey, ~~but~~ you have the right to invite somebody else over to eat this turkey with you! It was really a decision. So I told my mother ~~and~~ "We'll have to see what their going to do about it." I didn't tell Craig that was an "awful" thing to go and do. You just don't go ahead and tell kids these kinds of things. ~~That~~ that was nice of you to invite Grandma and Grandpa over. Why don't we see if they are going to Donnie's and Jane's first. I said, "what did Grandma say when you invited her?" You can't tell kids ~~why~~ why did you invite them because as the child is growing up you're trying to teach him ~~and~~; you've got to include everybody. You try not to play favorites with people and even if you

don't think they should be there. It's really hard to ~~teach~~^{teach} a child to learn how to discriminate. Because a child when he's 8 years old only thinks about doing good things. "I'll worry about it, Craig and that was nice of you." So you don't destroy the kids self concept or image etc.

You go about inviting people for your Thanksgiving dinner, your son has invited them over and your father is paying for the turkey and it's your family and yet you don't want to say all right now I can't invite my husbands family over because they are just as important to him as my family is to me.

So Jane called me on the phone one day and she says what are you doing Thanksgiving? I says ~~we're~~^{we're} having my mother and dad over and Bernie will be home and we're all going to meet at my house. I'm going to fix a turkey." She says "you know Craig invited Sally and Norman, (that's Tom's mother and dad,) over to your house for dinner." I said, "ya, gee I don't know what to do. I said here he went and invited them and we really hadn't planned it that way although it's not such a bad idea. Has she said anything to you?" She said, "ya, Craig asked us (Sally told Jane this,) she hasn't called and said whether we're really invited or not. I told Jane that I'm going to have to call her and tell her that they're invited to come if you want to. She says maybe you should so they can decide what they want to do one way or the other. You know we did invite them to come to my mother and dads with us for dinner rather than have them eat alone.

Well I feel that you've got to make this choice. This is really obligating Jane then to go to her mother and dads. It would be the same thing if my mother and dad were having Thanksgiving dinner and we were going to their house. I said okay I want to bring my in-laws along. It's one step removed by saying it's a choice between Jane and I. Saying Jane's got to bring them to her's mother's and that's not proper either. It's more proper for me to have them at our house because it would be direct because it would be Tom's home they were invited to. As it turned out I says "I better call them and find out," and Jane said "It doesn't make any difference because my mother and dad are always glad to have them over." Which is true. Which wouldn't be any problem as far as Norman being exposed to drinks because Jane's dad has also been on the wagon for a while and of course Donnie has, too so that wouldn't be any problem. Here we would serve a glass of wine but we wouldn't have to do that because my mother and dad don't drink either. We can do without it if it's going to benefit someone else from not falling off the wagon.

So I think the ironic thing about it was ^{that} for years and years we've invited Tom's mother and dad to come over and eat dinner. They've always said no and they've gone here and everywhere else. I thought this year I'm not going to invite them over because when I invite people over I want them to come. Other years we've known their not gonna come. The circumstances have allowed us to have more people over. However this year there goes our 8 year old son saying grandma and grandpa do you want to come over for dinner? It's kind of comical I guess when you think of it. We already had a houseful and it's puts us in a bind saying ~~that~~ we should really invite them over. So I told Jane I would call her.

So I called Sally and I said, "Would you like to have Thanksgiving dinner with us?" Craig said he invited you. And she says, "I told dad that Tom and Joan have invited us over there for so many years and we've always turned them down and if they invite us this year we've got to go this year." It's kind of comical that the year ~~the~~ boy invites them they decide they have to go because they did invite us and they would feel hurt etc. We didn't feel hurt and with Finnish families around here you always figure you've got enough to stretch. So we had already planned the menu before Craig had invited Grandma and Grandpa over so how can we rearrange this menu. I know she's gonna want to ask to bring something and she did on the phone she said, "What can I bring?" I said ~~that~~, "How about a tossed salad?" She did bring a nice tossed salad and she said, "Do you want me to bring the dressings, too?" and I said ~~that~~, "If you want to!" I suppose with parents you shouldn't say okay are you going to bring anything? Because you should be respectful and say we'll provide everything because they've provided for you all those years you were growing up. But I get a little bit selfish or defensive or what because I knew that David would be coming with them and we jokingly call him the gormet because ~~that~~ he'd say, "You're eating hamburger, I had steak. I say it a little bit sarcastically but it really it is the way he is. Because he's the kind to look down on ~~the~~ nose if you're eating something less than he but yet if you offer him some he'll take everybody else's share besides his own without thinking ~~that~~ you're leaving somebody else without food. I ~~that~~ let them bring for David. Because I knew that other people would be bringing just as much if not more and sure enough they came and she brought some delicious homemade dressings she'd made. A French and a Thousand Island and she left them with us, of course. And there's another item you know. You bring something to somebody's house and you don't say all right I'm gonna take it home. You say do you want to empty it so I can take my bowl home and you won't have to bother with it,

That's another matter of politeness. When you bring things to dinners you don't say I'm gonna take what's left home. You can take your bowl home but you don't take it unless the hostess says

we've got so much left and we can't eat it, why don't you take it home.- If you think you can eat it at home. It's this matter of owing people money back and forth, how much do I owe you now? Nothing, Are you sure? Ya, I'm sure, Are you sure? Let me offer you something, Well maybe .50 or a dollar depending what the favor was but it's the same matter with food. You know you don't take home what's left over. Like on Christmas Eve, I brought those baked beans, to Tom's folks. I said no I don't want to take them home and really it would have been a bother for me to take them home. But I know I could have used them at home to warm them up or doctor them up to make beans and franks out of them or something. It's a matter of etiquette that you do not take home a baked dish which you've brought especially in somebody's else's house. Unless the hostess is really insistant and you can't say how insistant it depends on the person and you just know when they say I don't want this, you better take it home with you. It's really kind of comical because we got these Thanksgiving pictures back and it's a snide remark, I suppose, and a little bit catty, but there was David in one of the pictures, true to fact like we said, eating on one of the biggest turkey legs. Well for dinners we were always taught the grown-ups first and then the kids next in line. Well not so with David. You see he'll go ahead and say, "I'm going to get one of the turkey legs." We had 20 people here for dinner. By rights that turkey leg should either have gone to my dad, Tom's dad, somebody older than David. You know David was one of the youngest adults there besides the kids but yet he just grabbed it without thinking. And to me I think that's darn poor manners, too. It's a manner of how you treat people at different houses. But I said David doesn't have this sense of mannerism.

Just to give you another example of it: Two weeks ago Sunday, we had gone to early morning church and in the meantime I had boiled eggs to make sandwiches that I was bringing to a baby shower. So he saw that I had them peeled so he said, "How about one of those eggs?" I said "No" and I thought in my mind I knew he was going to ask for one and I thought how am I going to tell him that he can't have one of those eggs. Well, I really need all those eggs, (this was already 10:30) and I've got to be back to church to decorate and I've got to do this and that and I'll boil you one if you want one." So this is the way you rationalize, I'll boil you one if you want one. But I won't give you one of these boiled. I was smashing them and thinking and dividing them up between egg and ~~tomato~~ and just plain egg sandwiches. He said "No, no you don't have to bother, to fix one." But before I would be afraid to tell him no you can't have one.

Like I said before, since I've gone back to school, I've gotten

more frank with people, telling them how I feel and yet to be more tactful so people get the message. Rather than argue with people and rather than hurt people's feelings, I would take the brunt of it and say sure go ahead and have one and go through the trouble of boiling one or two more eggs just because he wanted one. I use that as an example.

I suppose that's another benefit of education and courses like ~~this~~^{this} that make you think. What are your reasons for doing this, how do you feel, how can you tell them tactfully. That you really don't want to give him one of those eggs and he really doesn't need one. He had said in church, I'm going over to your house and we said fine. Tom was still ushering because that was the month of December. I said go ahead over but I warned him, this is another thing that bothers me when my house is a mess. It really, really bothers me.

I guess I can go into the symbols of housekeeping, Is she a good wife, Is she a good mother, Is she a good woman? Because this is also included in housekeeping. I had included that before by saying I love to have people over. But then it means I have to clean. And to me time is of value to me when I'm in school, when I am teaching. And it would be different if, I'll differentiate between teaching is my work and when I talk about going to school I talk about going to Tech. I do work at a school but I'll call that teaching and work, and school will be Tech from now on.

People seem to think that just because I'm home on an afternoon, that means I'm not going to school, I'm not going to work, I have an afternoon free. But I have that afternoon free to visit, socialize, do favors for people; they think I can sit here for hours with coffee which I used to do in the afternoon. Don't get me wrong. I love to coffee with people, I love to visit with people, but, boy, when I've got reading to do especially this term when I've got these two Literature courses, you read and read and read. And most Literature courses it's not easy pleasure reading, it's a have to, you've got to read everything for detail. You don't skip pages. This book you've got to read, you might need this information later on. So time to me is valuable.

It kind of makes me chuckle, I go back and listen to where I left off to make sure the tape was going on and I sit here now with the door closed and cartoons on in the livingroom so we don't get the interference here and it doesn't bother my reading, but the table is so cluttered with things. I think to myself I'd just die if somebody comes over now, my house is such a mess. And yet I can

say it's Saturday, and I haven't had a chance to start cleaning yet. We were shopping and we didn't get back until late last night, which is the truth. These are all truthful statements. I've got a baby gift on the table which has to be wrapped. There is the radio and this little book and questionnaire of Mike's here and the sugar bowl's on the table, kleenex, purse, I was digging for a pen and a pencil in my purse and that's emptied out on top and just different things that I've got to do. And today my coffee cup here which I'm refilling all along, but this business of a house being a mess. I've gotten a little bit less where I say okay my house is a mess, how many reasons have I got to do it, where are you going to put your time, how much time are you going to spend in house cleaning, how much time are you going to spend in reading, how much are you gonna do this and how much are you gonna do that. Saturday morning right now is an ideal time for me to sit down, make this tape; I want to get it into today's mail. I want to do a whole lot of things today but this has got to come first. This has a deadline.

It kind of made me laugh, I thought to myself when we came home last night, well after Dirty Sally was over. I guess it was after 9:00 by the time we got home. Here was a note on the door and Tom said, "aha somebody's been over." And it was a note on the door saying "Bill was here 4:30 p.m., 338-2651." It was written on a paper towel and I thought, my god, because we rarely lock our door. I thought Bill came in and saw this mess, (Bill is Tom's cousin who lives in Minneapolis.) We could see snow machine tracks outside so we knew they came on snow machines and I thought, "My god he saw this mess in this kitchen." There's something that really makes me feel guilty because I ~~made~~ my house in a mess. Because yesterday afternoon I got home about 1:00 from work, after I had cleaned up my mess in school at work there ~~was~~ room (yesterday was game day at school and everything was a mess and by the time I punched in my time card and filled in my work sheet it was late by the time I got home.) So I came home and I had this awful headache and I just know it's from pressure that I get these awful headaches. I haven't cleaned up the sink, breakfast dishes were still sitting there and I thought, "Ah heck, I'll do them all tomorrow morning." I hadn't housecleaned yet. We had to rush to get to Baraga to get to the bank on time and etc. etc. But anyway my first thought was somebody had been in the house, and what are they gonna say about me when I'm gone. Society has put this pressure upon a woman that she's a rotten woman if her house isn't clean. Her house is a mess. ~~Well~~ Oh, there so many different people you could think about that would say, "Ah your house is a mess." But yet I don't like to talk about other people's houses being a mess because I know there are days when I come home, "course I could say okay I have an excuse, people would say, that's another thing let me get into.

My sister was sitting here the other night and we started talking

^{about} my dad ~~was~~ working at this particular house. ~~My~~ My dad isn't one to talk about people's houses being dirty or clean and this and that but he said "I can't believe it, clothes all over that house and dirty and they aren't washed and you can't see the cupboard top if you wanted to, there were dishes piled so high."

B: "Oh we were there once and her house was such a mess. We counted six of those gallon bottles that you buy from the grocery store not the kind you get from the milkman, those were empty and not washed and bread crumbs and everything all over the place." I just kind of sat there taking it all in. I ^{was} had had the tape recorder going of course when they were talking about these. The dirty house, is like I said such a symbol of the woman's status in the community. I thought to myself they could be talking about me. Are people talking about me? Behind my back like this because my social network in this community is—it's really small. Everybody knows each other and word passes ~~word~~ ^{to mouth} mouth very, very quickly. They really discriminate against people like this. Anyway after she got through saying this, "I said well, I said, 'take a look at my house and take a look at this table of mine. I said would you believe I had cleaned it before you came?'" I had really cleared it but it seems to me our kitchen—we walk into our kitchen and it's an old farm house and every thing is thrown on the table and it's all things that have been put on there since last night when we came home. "I had the table cleared when we left for L'Anse."

I told Barbara jokingly, ^{no really} not jokingly, but I did say it in a jokingly manner, meaningfully, "look at my house," I said. "It hasn't had a good cleaning since Pastor ^{AUN}... were here from for supper that evening." And supporting me, I guess, to make me feel better or saying something I want to hear she said, "ya ~~was~~ you have an excuse, you're going to school, and working and you just can't be doing all these things. I suppose this is something that I wanted to hear. ~~I said what else did she say.~~ She said you would never know that she and this other Barb are sister-in-laws by their houses. I said ~~these~~ these two brother's are married to these two girls and you'd ~~know~~ know the difference. Pete is so clean and Dave could care less with the dirty house and clothes all over the floor, wash stacked high and the milk bottles all over and the rugs dirty on the floor. You'd never know they were brothers by their houses, the particularity that they have. In keeping clean houses. I kind of jokingly laughed, and told Barbara am I glad that you keep a clean house because if they think you keep a clean house maybe they would think that I do, too! They would know that we're sisters by that. But yet there was some truth in it because I know I used to go in people's house and think what a mess. But I really think this education has been good to me in this sense because there's things you have to leave and things you have to do you can only do so much yourself. You have to put the responsibility onto somebody else. I have my kids doing much more than I would if I had the time to be home. They've got to do so much more.

* woman's home where my dad was working.

Tom does a whole lot more for me. Although there's one thing about the household duties, he loves to cook but he hates to do the dishes. When I come home from say my Monday night evening class, I know the dishes will be in the sink. Nothing irritates me more. He'll put the dishes soaking in the sink with hot water, but you know by the time I get home that water is cold and there's grease floating on top. I mean you're not doing me a favor by putting the greasy dishes all together in a pan. Put the dirty pan ~~in~~ ^{that} you baked in and then put the glasses and silverware in and trying to get that off, it's murder. So I just tell him leave the dishes and I'll do them myself.—As much as I detest doing dishes. It's not one of my favorite chores *either*.

But anyway this housekeeping symbol I was going to say too, it reminded me of another thing. Let's see what night did Barb and Fran come over.
AN

Well let's go back to this owing favors business. I talked about having the Pastor over and I really cleaned up that night. It was Christmas time and I wanted the house to be really clean and we'd never had them over and I thought well this is a good excuse. I even did my kitchen floor on my hands and knees and waxed it. It gets waxed I think two three times a year—it gets a real good waxing on it. I thought this day the house has to be cleaned up. It's really good, we're getting company and I have this motivation to get this house cleaned up super, super good. For them and yet I said to myself it really does need a good cleaning. This was before we started back after the Christmas break but even then there was so much I could have been doing. Particularly Saturday. Anyway that day it happened it was around 1:00 Barb and Fran had stopped in, they had gone to Bruces Crossing and they stopped here on their way back. She had stopped to buy film and flash cubes for me so she came in and they didn't have the kids with them and I paid her for them. I asked her ~~what~~, "Do you want some lunch? See you've got to invite people and ask them if they want some lunch?" It really aggravated me because they walked in just as I got the rugs down on the floor and I had put some papers on the floor. Then when she walked to the telephone to find out how the kids they walked with boots on my clean floor. Barb noticed that and she said, "Joan just washed this floor, come on Fran step on these papers." So I didn't say anything, but I thought good for you. Maybe she was thinking, I get this work done so seldom, don't ruin her floor right away. I can look at this mess for how long until she gets at it again. But anyway I invited them to eat; ~~and~~ I had leftovers. I had told them I was going to fix this recipe this week and then have Barb and Fran over for a meal. Well, as it turned out I couldn't have them over. Fran was home at this time when I fixed it but their daughter had come down with the chickenpox. I wasn't about to bring any over there, I didn't have the time to go in and they couldn't get over because it was Christmas time and everybody was visiting and we've just had a spring of funerals in our community. It's been a tragic type of a thing. Small communities, everyone knows each other and you somehow have to bring the food when you visit and send a card

and go
 to the funeral home. Don't get me wrong, these are duties and things you should do. But anyway I said, "Would you like some of my sweet and sour pork? I'll ~~bring~~ ^{bring} some up for you. Do you want it served on rice or on bread?" I would have made the rice for them even with as ~~long~~ ^{long} time as I had. They said no they would have it on bread. I was just heating some soup for myself, some Campbell's Chunky Soup. I was going to share it with Craig. Then Barb said, "Fran's hair is so long, why don't you cut it?" I thought oh Barb, it's 1:00 and I have company coming at 5:00, I've got the upstairs to clean yet. I thought to myself, you're so considerate about getting water on my floor, but yet you're asking me to give Fran a haircut now. I don't have time to do it. Of course I didn't say this aloud and thinking this to myself, it just really gets to you. Fran must have noticed this because he said, "ah, it's not too long yet. I'll be home in another week let's wait until then. I thought good for you. He could probably see that I had this harassed look on my face.

So anyway they ate and as they were on their way out ~~there~~, they said, "thanks for the food." They did thank me for the food and Fran said, "ya, that was a nice tasty dish." He and I like all different kind of foods. Tom and Barbara don't care for all different kind of foods but if I make some kind of new recipe I like to make it when Fran is home because I am guaranteed that he'll taste it and it won't go to waste. I said, "I'm sorry that I couldn't bring it over and we couldn't have it together like we had planned," to because I had planned to have them over to eat. They had invited us there for a spaghetti supper one night and I said, "I'll repay you back in this way." They said, "that's all right." Then Fran, I thought was being a little bit sarcastic when he left said, "Well, now you can come over, now that I'm going to be leaving you can go visit Barb." That kind of took me back for a minute. You don't know if a person is kidding or serious. I said, ~~we~~ "We just haven't had the time to come over. ~~we~~ I haven't ^{when} wanted to come when Stephie had those chicken pox." I said, "are you going to be home next time?" It isn't the fact that we didn't want to go over the circumstances don't always allow it. Was it me who had the complex or what but anyway, ~~we~~ "Next time you come home we'll plan to get together and play cards. We usually play pinochle with them. When he comes home we'll spend one evening playing pinochle and having a few drinks. That really bothered me that remark. I thought well, was that really necessary to say that or not. I even brought it up to my sister-in-law, I said I really hadn't wanted to go over there. ~~we~~ I suppose too it had been his birthday and the night of his birthday we didn't go over there either. Because Stephie still had these chickenpox and it's contagious for all these days. Stephie's the ~~two~~ three year old daughter. So why expose my kids to something like that. When it isn't really necessary.

I thought, ya it's easy for you to say, you and Barb can come here without Stephie because you've got older kids at home to stay and babysit. She's kind of their caboos on their family. We can't just leave our five year old and our eight year old here at home. Alone by themselves. I didn't tell him that but I was kind of disgusted about it. So anyway it was from this haircut ~~that~~ from Dec. 30 so it was this week, the middle of January, that Barb called and said, "Fran is home this week, would you have time to ~~do~~ his haircut today?" I talked to her earlier during the day and I ~~says~~ I've got all this studying to do and this stupid headache, ~~and~~ (I get these migrain headaches from tension and I have medication to relieve these.) I said, "Come on, I'd put this off long enough and I can't do it again. I asked her do you want me to come there and do it? I could go there which I would have really preferred because then I wouldn't have to start cleaning the house and I was really uptight about it." I'll call you back."

Now I enjoy their company, but that means I've got to start picking up this house and the time I spend picking up this house and getting these dishes done, I've got to take away from this reading. I've got to get this book read. So there I've got this conflict what am I gonna do. So what do I do is take it out on my family and decide, ~~what~~ ~~if~~ if they hollar too much I'm going to go into the other room and relax. I told Tom, "The meal is ready why don't you serve the kids?" He served the kids and he can tell when I'm uptight. I got over it afterwhile and I thought, "oh I'm going to have to clean up this house." Fran come over. He came early, about 7:00. I thought good they came early, I've ^{got time to} ~~do~~ do my hair and take a bath and all these things for morning. I'll do all these things right now. Well they came over early, around 7:00 with the two girls. Dean had gone to confirmation in Pelkie. So the girls were playing and that ~~was~~ ^{Barb} fine. ~~I~~ I was just finishing my dishes when she came in and I says, "I'll put a new pot of coffee going." You don't serve company old coffee. I put that in a thermos thinking I can drink that myself ~~and~~ I won't serve old coffee to company. Although Fran doesn't drink coffee, Barbara and I will drink the coffee and Tom will have a cup but if there's somebody else who doesn't drink coffee he'll have a drink with them. So I told Fran let's get your hair cut. He looked really tired that day. Well he wanted it super short, and I guess I had another reason why I kind of dreaded giving him a haircut.

I said I think there was another reason why I really didn't want to give him a haircut. Other than having to clean up the house because I was under a time pressure. The night before Tom had wanted a haircut, my husband, and I've been giving him his haircuts and I suppose it's just the mood I was in and I ^{said} "how is this

this haircut?' And I knew he should say good or bad or I want it shorter here and there or longer and that type of thing. But he came back and he said, 'It looks so blunt in the back, such an even line, isn't there some way you can thin that out?' I'm saying it in my tone, but he didn't say it that way, but I thought I gave such a lousy haircut last night to Tom it didn't turn out the way I wanted it to that I just hate to give Fran this haircut. What if his turns out lousy. Well I guess I must have gotten the message to Barbara over the phone because she sat there and she said ~~well~~, 'Fran's hair is so long that if Joanie doesn't get it the way you like it, you can always go to a Barber.' (But in the meantime it'll save you a few steps.)

Okay what was he saving, a few steps or a few bucks or what. Well I thought good old Joanie will give the haircut. If I can save somebody a few pennies, fine. But there's always some way a person is reciprocated and you get your favors back. So as I was cutting his hair, we were sitting in the kitchen with the kids in the livingroom, Barbara says, 'Oh Tom why don't you and I have a game of Scrabble?' There's another thing, Barb likes to play scrabble and that isn't my bag. I don't like to play Scrabble. She'll come over sometime when Fran is gone and play Scrabble with Tom. I'll be doing my homework, or washing dishes or whatever I'm going to be doing here. So she and Tom pull out the Scrabble board and Fran is sitting there and I'm cutting his hair and I don't know whether it was a hint that he's going to have to owe me something for this haircut or did he catch my mood or hinted for a drink or what thought processes were really going on there. He said, 'Oh Barb, I wish I would have brought a six pack of that beer over. To pay for this haircut.' He did say to pay for the haircut. And that beer happened to be Coor's Beer brought from I don't know what state out west.

Phone rang.

That was my sister Barb calling wondering whether we are going to go to L'ense and I said no and I asked her what time the mail went because I already missed the mail that went through Wisula and I'm going to have to catch the mail that goes through Alston so this will go out in today's mail. So this will get to Mike on Monday.

It's comical because here I was sitting here for a couple of hours not dressed of course, still sitting here in my house coat and she (Barb) said, 'I saw Pa going by,' (that's my dad, we call him pa.) 'Saw Pa going by, he must be headed toward your house.' I thought aha I've got to get this kitchen cleaned up it's really a mess. Just what we were talking about. You don't want people to walk in because they are going to get a poor image of you and you get this poor self concept of yourself that you're a lousy housekeeper. Come on Meg, we've gotta get dressed. Grandpa Seppanen's probably coming over. So I hurried upstairs and got on a pair of jeans and a shirt, get her dressed and start clearing off the table and

sure enough my dad walks in. It's so comical because we were just talking about this. So I picked up a few boots and cleared the table off a little bit so he could have a cup of coffee with me and sit down. I guess no matter how much you live with a mess I guess it's this ingrained teaching that 'you've been taught. My mother always said, "Saturday morning get up early and do your work so you've got all the rest of the day to do what you want," and here I am sitting here 10:00 in the morning yet and not a thing done. Not a bed made, not the clothes washer going, the table is a mess. Yet my dad didn't say anything. I cleared the table and he had coffee. Course he was in a rush. He sat long enough to look at a few pictures that had come in the mail yesterday. Then away he went. His purpose was I think to come and invite us to come to sauna. To his house tonight. Now with the cold weather he hasn't been having sauna during the week but when he does he has to make sure we are there. There shoots a couple of hours in the afternoon and like I said before in one of the earlier papers I did last term visits to my mother's are obligatory almost. When I plan to go there for sauna on Saturday afternoon I should plan on spending two-three hours at least there. I just can't go sauna, have a cup of coffee and say I gotta go and rush out of there. The only time I can do this is if I can say okay we're going out, we've got to be somewhere at a certain time. It's almost ~~an~~ unfair, because other times I can use this, I've got to study, I've got to do this, I've got to do that as an excuse. I can use this as an excuse to say my house is dirty, my house is messy, I can't do this because I've got so much to do. But yet I can't use it as an excuse to get away from my mother's on Saturday afternoon because that is a different kind of a visit. Don't ask me why. Just one of those things a person just doesn't do I guess.

I'm going to get back to this haircut business. Fran said he should have brought a six pack over to pay for the haircut. I said, ~~we~~ "We've still got that beer that you gave Tom last week." I had been there earlier last week and he had just come home and he said, ~~we~~ "Here take this back for Tom." Tom was bowling that evening. We still had the Coor's beer in the refrigerator that we hadn't drank yet. I said ~~we~~ "Do you want a drink or do you want to wait until after I cut your hair?" I know Fran isn't much of a beer drinker. He will have one but he does prefer some sort of booze. "Would you prefer booze? A mixed drink?" He said he would prefer that. It's kind of comical ordinarily Tom being the host at home he would get up and fix the drinks. I was cutting Fran's hair, he was sitting there and it was Tom's turn to put a word on the board so he sat here. Barbara got up and fixed ~~the~~ drink for Fran and I. ~~we~~

She said "What do you want in yours?" I said "I don't want one now, but I'll have mine after I'm done haircutting here." I asked her if she wanted one and Barbara isn't ordinarily a drinker. If we have sloe gin, fine, which we were out of now after the Christmas holidays. Or maybe wine with seven-up. Or some kind of sweet mix. But she didn't even fix herself one of those. It's odd, she got up and fixed Fran one and she would have fixed me one, so I said fix one for yourself. She said, "No, no I don't want one. She had my glass ready with ice but still she didn't have her own. So I got done fixing his hair in the meantime and there were a few snide remarks in the meantime, "See, Dad you don't have any hair left. Oh I don't even know that man, who is this man." I'm not too sure of what kind of a haircut he wants. I just don't know, I don't feel that confident in men's style haircuts. I guess the reason I give Tom's his is to figure well, no-there's two reasons. He would ordinarily go to this barber in Mass who gives him such a short short haircut and short haircuts aren't in nowadays. And I could save him that few bucks. He's not the complaining kind, but I did tell him but next time you go someplace else and get your haircut. I'm not gonna touch it, I guess I was just a little bit insulted. That I had given him a haircut that I didn't like or that he had complained about. Next time comes around, you watch, I'll be giving him a haircut again. Simply because I don't want him to have too short of a haircut and I like a little bit of a longer sideburn on him. But anyway this was Fran's way of saying thanks for the haircut and this type of thing. Ordinarily if Barbara had been just sitting here and not playing Scrabble she would have swept up the hair. There was no mention of money exchange for the haircut, no how much do I owe you the only mention was "I should have brought a six pack over to pay for the beer. I said, "Naw, forget it. Oh I remember I said we've got that six pack that you gave us before and Barbara said, "Ya but that was for Tom plowing out the driveway. While Fran was gone on that long trip." I didn't say anything, Tom didn't say anything it just kind of passed over while everybody was exchanging conversation here. You see with people like that there's not the exchange of money, that goes on with close friends.

For example, let's take another, we were talking about haircuts here. New Year's Eve, we were going out. I wanted to have my hair done. I had done it myself, but I wanted to have it combed out and styled. Okay so I tried calling Tom's cousin who is a hair-dresser. She wasn't home so I thought well I'm going to call these other friends of ours, Iris and Charlie. I'd call Iris and ask if she would have time to comb out my hair and she does a nice job of combing out hair. Especially the back I wanted her to comb out. Now that I'm wearing it a little bit curlier. I guess New Year's Eve you want it to be a little more special. "Sure, sure, I'll do

it," she said "Come on over." I said, "What time do you want me to come?" And she said, "Well anytime." I went there around six o'clock and she was in a hurry that night because they were going out snowmobiling so she did it in a hurry but she did a nice job. But the idea was she did my hair and she said, "Do you have any clips or pins with you?" and I said, "No," because I just use roller picks and I don't have any clips or barettes to hold my hair. You can imagine, it's parted in the middle and down so it would be smooth in the front. It would be a feathery, curly kind of look. So she said ~~where~~ "Here I'll use two clips of mine but just return them, okay?" I said, "Okay, but don't spray my hair" because it was real windy and cold out that night. ~~and~~ I said, "I'll spray it when I get home. Just spray it enough so it will stay and then I'll spray it." Actually I didn't want her to spray it and I don't know if she got the message or not because I wasn't satisfied with the way she had done the front. It wasn't quite as high as I would have liked it and yet I didn't want to tell her this because she was a friend and she wasn't a professional. I think if I would have had Judy do it, (this is a hairdresser) I ~~had~~ gone to her house and had her do it, she works in a shop, ~~and also~~ she does work in her home. If I had gone to her to do it I would have been able to say, "Judy, do you mind putting it a little bit higher here?" You see when you're paying for something with money, you can tell somebody I want it different, this way please. When somebody is doing it for nothing, literally for nothing, really you could say, you don't go ahead and tell people that. It's just a crazy kind of a thing that society has. But anyway then about the clips, So anyway I did tell her, "don't spray it completely," and she had done a real nice job on the back. All I could think of was when I get home I'm gonna rat this top a little more so it's just a little bit puffier.

~~So I did take the clips home and I got up from there and she says,~~ "Is this okay now?" I said, "fine," I looked in the mirror and I said, "How much do I owe you, ~~at~~ Iris?" I told Craig go get my purse out of the car, I had left it in the car. In the hurry we were hustling there because it was hustle, hustle. Rush, Rush, this type of thing. She said "No, you don't owe me anything," ~~she said.~~ I said, "Well are you sure?" She said, "No, no." I said, "Okay," I'll just get even with you someday then. I'll do you a favor, ~~she said,~~ "Fine, fine." That was it. The couple they were going snowmobiling with came in the house and I said, "Okay thanks alot Iris and goodbye." Away I went. But then these two clips that, she wanted back. She did say Wanda where are all those clips? (Wanda is her daughter) She said I'm always losing these clips. So I thought she found two clips for me, she needs clips. You just can't go ahead and say okay, if they were just two hairpins, you wouldn't bother to return them, but clips have a little bit more value to them. You have to return them. Well I thought to myself, she wouldn't take any money for doing this hairdo, I didn't feel myself I really owed her anything for it because I repay her by cutting her boys hair. I do two of her boys heads

at one time. I didn't feel I owed it, but it comes down to the fact I didn't want to be cheap. Anyway I came home, took those clips out and if they had ~~been~~ been two special barettes that I couldn't replace I would have said okay. ~~But~~ I was careless with them, intentionally. I just put them in with mine and I thought I'm going to buy Iris a new set of clips. A new card. Which I did the next time I went to L'Anse. It's kind of funny because those clips that I bought actually ~~3~~ ^{were} ~~was~~ ~~for~~ for this baby shower that I talked about earlier that I was making egg salad sandwiches for. We didn't have enough gifts and I ended up putting those clips into the bunch of gifts we gave as prizes and I had to go buy her another set of clips. They were cheaper and I feel bad about that, but she doesn't know what I would have paid for clips and I still feel well I did replace these clips. I still felt that I had to reciprocate somehow by returning these clips she knew that I was happy with her fixing my hair. But this is the way friendships are. ~~You can't~~ ^{With} professionals you can charge, you can get the money from them, ^{but} people come over and say 'gee would you mind trimming my hair,' would you mind doing this, would you mind doing that. *What do you say?!*

Say, for example my sister Barbara wanted a permanent put into her hair. I guess she does realize that I do have this time factor always while school is on. She said, "I'm gonna have Judy, this is the same girl who does ^{the} ~~the~~ work," I'm gonna have Judy put in one of these European permanents ~~in the shop and do it~~. She's gonna put it in. ^{at} ~~I~~ I said, "Gee aren't they expensive, those shop permanents because I really do need one myself, too?" (Before I have my hair trimmed again. With this style hair you almost have to have it curly.) She said, ~~well~~ "They're \$10.00." I said, "Wow I can't afford that!" There again it depends on how much value you place on what you want. If you want something really super bad you'll pay the money for it. Or find the money to pay for it. I said, "Can't Marlene give you one of those Lilt's or something a little bit cheaper?" and she said, "I don't like the way Marlene does permanents." She says, "you used to always give them to me. Didn't you, the ones you had always turned all right didn't they? Ya, Of course I really hate to ask you when you don't have the time." There again it's up to me to say, 'gee Barbara I don't have the time. I'd love to do it, I'm related to you but I don't have the time.' I didn't tell her that, I'm thinking this and she is feeling me out, I know. Do you really have the time to do it, could you make the time, kind of obligating me to make the time to do it for her. I just said, ~~well~~, "I'll be glad to do it if you can wait until term break. Up until then," I said, "things are really closing in on me, I really don't have the time to do it." In my mind I am thinking I've got to make time to do it for her because I'm gonna want one of these Lilt's and Barbara has always put them in for me and she does a real good job and I can't afford the \$10.00 to go ahead and have one of these European magic formula permanents put into my hair. I can't pay the \$10.00 to do it.

I would rather spend my \$10.00 and go to the Talk of the Town and have a good haircut. That's where I would spend my \$10.00 ~~and I would rather put my \$10.00~~ and put the few dollars toward a home permanent. So there again I'm thinking to myself I've got to make time to give her this home permanent and when my time comes time for a permanent Barbara will give me a permanent. And this is the way the little old world goes round and round, owing favors.

I talked earlier in a paper about putting a zipper into a snorkel jacket for Barbara, this same woman. She's the one I talked about who came to town with me the day last term of the final exam and who ^{you} came and cleaned my house that week for me when I had that sore back. I mean I just feel that I do owe Barbara alot of favors. I feel bad when I have to turn her down in alot of things but yet sometimes she wants things done right now and my right ^{now!} now is not her right now and I don't have the time to do it. ^{It's} just really a sad thing but it puts a strain on that kind of friendship and sometimes these bonds are really strained. ~~It's~~ like an elastic that's pulled as tight as you can pull it. Then all of a sudden it's gonna snap, you just feel it's gonna be that way.

So anyway she's been asking me, if I buy a new zipper for Shelly's jacket, would you mind putting a new zipper into the snorkel jacket? She said, "Or should I bring it to Lydia?" (Lydia is a seamstress around here and she shortens and sews, and upholsters and this type of thing. Here again would be the money exchange for Barbara.) She brought that jacket to Lydia and Lydia would put it in and Barbara would say how much do I owe you and Lydia would put a money figure on it, \$1.75, \$2.75 or whatever she charges, I don't have any idea. But yet when she asked me to put this zipper into Shelly's I know I wouldn't charge her any amount of money for it. Then it obligates her further to me. The fact that Joanie put this zipper in for me, I owe her a favor now." I felt that I owed her a favor for helping me clean my house that time when I wasn't feeling good. ~~and~~ It's a chain and each link makes this friendship longer and longer. I suppose it's just this trust and security of the friendship that allows these type of favors to go on and each favor that you do is a link that binds each other closer to each other. It obligates each other, ~~when there is no monetary exchange,~~ It would be so much simpler if there was an economic exchange. ~~So anyway it came down and she said well,~~ (that was two weeks ago today) she said, "I'm gonna bring that jacket of Shelly's over today and would you mind putting that zipper in today?" I said, "Fine would you mind tearing out the old one, that would save me a little bit of time." "No, no, I don't mind at all." So she brought the jacket over, ~~and it~~ was one of these big snorkel jackets with the big snorkel on the front and the zipper came right up to the top.

So I put one side in and it wasn't too bad, cut it off ~~and~~ (The zipper wasn't the exact size so I had to cut it off.) I don't mind doing it for Barb because Barb doesn't like to sew and Shelly doesn't sew that well yet where she could put it in. Well, I thought that evening I'm going to put the other side in. So I basted it in and then I can just go ahead and sew it in with the machine. I thought I'm going to measure this to make sure this is even. So the snaps on the front of this lapel would snap close even. The front of the jacket has the snaps or else it's got these buttons and the loops on them. Well I'll be darned if that one side of the zipper wasn't two and a half to three inches longer on one side. Well if that didn't aggravate me! ~~and~~ I thought I really didn't want to put that zipper in that day and I knew I had to because Shelly needed that jacket and here she was wearing this snowmachine suit for church and I just knew how Shelly felt. (She's a teenager) Thinking to myself why did Barbara wait so long, why did she make me do it now and I have that baby shower the next day and it's just been a hassle. Which I suppose is the story of my life. You'd think I'd be used to it by now. But every little day presents another little different kind of a problem. So anyway I thought, well I'm going to put this zipper away and I'm gonna leave it be, ~~and~~ I called Barbara and I said, well, "did you notice when you ripped that jacket out ~~the~~ ~~was~~ one side longer, than the other?" She said, "no." Then I thought I shouldn't have called her I guess because now she knows I'm complaining about that jacket. I guess I really wanted her to know it was a bugger to put in, that zipper. So I monkeyed with it the next day, ~~and~~ it didn't want to go in. So I ripped the whole thing out and I wanted to make a nice seam so there would be only one seam showing, one on the top side and one on the bottom side. But I had to put the top in first because the top part of the jacket fit fine with the zipper on the top side but it was the orange lining on the inside that was three inches longer, you know ~~that~~ ~~part~~ *the Snorkel* jacket has that bright orange lining. So I had to rebaste that and I knew she was in a hurry and she did apologize in a way. She said, "do you want me to take that jacket to Lydia's? That she'll put it in, ~~and~~ I thought no, once I started this job, I can't give it up and I thought furthermore, you get these self-concepts, I'm a make-do person, I like to sew but I haven't taken lessons and things don't look as well as they should ~~and~~ ~~I haven't taken lessons~~. I guess this is all the idea of what kind of image you want to make in a community and I thought, oh I can't send this to Lydia, She'll think ~~oh~~ look at the lousy job Joanie did, why did she do it this way, oh doesn't she know how to sew! You just don't want these kind of negative things said about you. These negative comments. I thought, well I've got to finish that jacket. So anyway it came to Saturday morning and I didn't have time to monkey with it, Saturday afternoon I looked at it a little bit and as I say every Saturday morning

my dad will come over and say, ~~oh~~ "There's sauna today, do you want to come over?" He doesn't say we have to. He used to say, he'd be mad if we didn't come sauna, but I had a little run in once before when I had to say I've got all these papers to type and there's no way, I've got to stay in all weekend long, I've got this work to do and now he'll invite us over. Not demand that we come over. He'll hint, well sauna's ready, come on if you want. I thought it was real tactful, that Saturday morning he came over and said, "You getting company tonight? do you have any special place to go, I'm having sauna to come." I thought good for you. There at least trying to see things my way and make things a little bit easier. So that Saturday I went sauna and I had to rush home from there to get Shelly's zipper in and I was real sorry about it that I had complained about it.

Well anyway sauna night, In the rules of sauna, you don't go late, you don't keep people waiting for saunas, So Tom had worked late that day and my dad said, "Isn't Tom coming for sauna? You always feel responsible for your husband or perhaps your wife-in a way you keep thinking you want these people to look good in their eyes. There's been so many times I've had to go sauna alone because Tom had stopped at a bar and forgotten himself, or I just didn't know where he is. It said, ~~was~~ Tom said this morning, that if he's not there, don't wait for him, he's gonna be working late at Donnie's shop to make some sheet metal." (He does this moonlighting on the side on Saturdays. He teaches ordinarily during the week.) My dad said, "Is Tom coming?" and I said, "He didn't call so I'll try calling once to see if he's coming otherwise don't keep the sauna going. So I called once and there was no answer and I just put the phone down when it rang and it was Tom calling saying, "Is there still sauna, that I'd like to go sauna yet tonight?" I said, "Ya but we've already gone earlier with the kids." I said, "I was just about ready to come home." I had been there since 3:00 and it was already 6:00 in the evening and I thought well that's long enough and I had this in the back of my mind I have to get that zipper and I've got to get all this other work done and I have this shower tomorrow. Unless I have everything all up to date and things done it bothers me. I don't enjoy myself. Anyway I says ~~was~~, "I've gotta come home. Try to get home and get that zipper in, and I was, so darn mad ~~about it.~~) and I left the kids there to play with the other kids that were there. I told ~~him~~ to wait a minute-all I had to do was baste and sew the other side of the zipper and the lining and you can take this and give it to Shelly. I know she wants this for tomorrow. She can pull the basting thread out herself. So he had this conflict that my dad is waiting sauna and he's getting a little bit upset, there's nobody else, because he's the kind of person whose real prompt. "Don't tell somebody you're gonna be there and then not show up." So Tom waited and he said, "I'll eat." So I said, "Call over there and tell them that you're gonna be late. I'm gonna finish Shelly's jacket." He said, ~~well~~ "I'll just call. I'll have them call when the last one comes out

of the sauna. So they called and said the sauna's empty' and Tom said, "Okay I'll be right there," and I told Tom to wait, it'll only take me ~~one~~ minutes. Well I'll be darned, I'm gonna zip this jacket up so it doesn't fall apart. You know what I did, it still makes me so darn mad. I took that zipper and ran it right off the end of the track because I told you how I had to cut some off because it was too long and I hadn't basted that end. I didn't pinch the two metal prongs together so it wouldn't go beyond that. So that's where Shelly's jacket went and I think Barbara really felt bad about that I had complained and I told Tom to tell Shelly that I'm not gonna send that jacket that I'm gonna try to get that zipper back on. Which Tom did then when he got home. But anyway during the week when I was there and Fran gave us the beer at the same time, ~~I~~ Barbara went into the bedroom and I really felt bad then. I felt bad about complaining about that jacket because she pulled out a wall calendar, you know one of these linen ones you hang on the wall for 1974 and she says, "Why don't you take this calendar. You had so much trouble putting Shelly's zipper in. I really wish you would take something for it." I said, "No, you bought these colors especially for your kitchen." "Ya, ~~but~~ she said, "wouldn't this look nice in your kitchen?" I had to say 'no' and I had to say 'yes, yes.' And it really does, I can look at it here on my wall and it really does look nice. But I know she hadn't bought it forme. She had bought it for herself ~~and she said, I~~ said, "Why don't you keep it Barbara, never mind about Shelly's jacket. She said, "No you take it." She said she had bought it in Iron Mountain for exchange gifts whenever you need an extra gift and on and on. There again now I feel obligated to her because she gave me that calendar.

This is the end of the first two tapes that were given to me to type.

Begin on Tape III Side 1

- I I'm here tonight with Mr. and Mrs. Seppanen, a retired couple from the Alston area and we're going to have just a little conversation here about help exchange. How do people go about hinting for help, who would you help and why. Perhaps we will go into visiting exchange and whatever may come. The voices you will hear will be mine, Mr. Seppanen and Mrs. Seppanen.
- I First of all let's start out by saying how would you describe a good neighbor? A neighbor first of all and if he's good or bad. Say from past experiences or something now.
- R A good neighbor would be one that you could ask a favor of or else one that would accept a favor.
- I Would accept one, okay. For example what kind of favor would you ask of your neighbor?
- R For instance if you wanted a ride to town or something. Or else you want to borrow some tools, small favors.
- I Okay, say you want to give somebody a ride to town, how about if people ask you for a ride to town. Is there a difference between if somebody asks you and you offer. To give them a ride.
- R Oh, I don't know if anybody asks it don't cause me any.....
- I Inconvenience?
- R Ya, inconvenience, throw me out of my way too much
- I How much is too much out of your way?
- R Stay too long in town for instance, or wait too long.
- I You think they should time their business for as long as your business?
- R Yes, roughly, yes.
- I You mean going out of your way mile wise?
- R Well mile wise yes, it don't matter too much. It's the time that matters most.
- I How about then if people offer to give you money for that ride? Would you take it from some people and not from others?
- R No I would treat them all alike. Because if I had to go into town I don't see why they couldn't go on the same ride.
- I Okay, so once you're going you don't mind giving them a ride?
- R Right.

- I How about if you weren't planning to go into town then? They asked you to give a ride.
- R Well, naturally then I would have to charge a little for gasoline.
- I Is it a matter of what kind of business they have in town? Say if it's just to go shopping for any old thing, or if somebody is sick would it be a difference then?
- R It would be different if it was necessary for him to go to the doctor's or something like that, then it would be different.
- I Okay, now you're going to town and you've got room in your car, and you see somebody's got a flat tire, what would you do?
- R Well, if the fellow didn't have no jack, I'd borrow him mine and help him change the tire.
- I You would help him change the tire and not just offer him ^{use of} ~~change~~ the jack.
- R Oh certainly.
- I How about if it was a young kid on the road? A red hot car and long hair, would you stop?
- R Well, naturally I would help him the same as anybody else if he was hungup on the road.
- I Would you stop or slow down and go by him first of all?
- R I probably would size him up.
- I You would size up him and the car. How much trouble he's having?
- R
- I Okay, what do you do if you get out there and you see somebody stuck in the snowbank? Would you stop and help them?
- R Yes, if I could see that my help would be of any use.
- I Okay, say he's stuck in there so bad and there's no way you're going to get him out. What would you do?
- R Well, I'd stop and inquire if he wanted me to relay word someplace where he could get some help.
- I How about if you go and the guy is sitting in there drunk or loaded, what would you do then?
- R I'd be a little upset then. *He also said, "I'd leave him there to sober up."*
- I How about if there's an emergency, an accident on the road, what would you do.

- I Say there's been an accident and you can see there's police there and an ambulance, would you stop?
- R They wouldn't want you to stop there
- R Well, I'd stop but I'd stay my distance. I wouldn't get too close of the ambulance and the police. Interfere with the traffic somehow.
- I Do you think it makes a difference, like we live in a small community where we just about know everybody's car. Say it was a strange car and you saw that there was help there would you just kind of pass them by?
- R If I saw that there was people around there and plenty help then I probably would, yes.
- I Well sometimes you might think it's none of my business, maybe I shouldn't stop. Have you ever run into a situation like that?
- R Well, no,
- R Well, they have to signal for help if they really want it.
- I How about if you yourself had a flat tire. Would you wave somebody down, or would you start walking somewhere?
- R Well, if I was able to I'd fix it myself and not bother anyone.
- I Do you feel this thing that you don't want to bother people sometime unless you have to?
- R Well, it seems that way sometimes, you don't want to bother them, because most people are always going someplace, they got things to do and if you don't actually need any help why bother anybody.
- I Okay, how about you, have there been times, when you've felt well I just can't do this, I should ask for help from somebody else? What kind of favors would you ask help for? Things that you aren't able to do, or if you've been sick or what?
- R Well if you've been sick it would be nice if someone would come along and help you if you aren't able to do the chores yourself.
- I Would you ask for it or would you say they should know better to come over and do it?
- R I wouldn't really ask for it.
- I Would you hint? Is there a way a person can hint around, well I'd like to have this done or that done?
- R Well, I don't know, I'm not much for that.
- I Do you know people who go around, anyone who hints for help? You know they don't want to come out and say okay would you mind coming over today, but go at it in a roundabout way? Can you think of anybody?

- R No, not that I can say offhand.
- I Have you ever been in a situation where people have asked you for help and you really haven't had the time to help or wanted to help and you have done it.
- R Well, sometimes you do run into a situation but you go and see what they want and if you can help you do the best you can. Of course there's a lot of times there's things you can't do nothing with. Fixing something, or going someplace.
- I Have you ever come across that in your line of work where people will say will you come and fix something and you can't really do it
- R Well not that it couldn't be done, the thing is that I never had the time.
- I So that's often the problem, people you'd like to do more but you don't always have the time to do more.
- R That's right
- I Do you ever feel sometimes that you have to impose upon people
- R I don't know,
- I Or would you rather not impose upon people?
- R I'd rather not.
- I Why is that?
- R Well, you just don't feel that you should be asking people for help.
- R Well, if somebody comes to your house and they want to borrow something, like someone came to our house last summer and they wanted to borrow something because their car was stalled, and he asked for a screwdriver, I said I'll let you borrow it and I didn't know who the person was but be sure and bring it back. He said yes and I waited and waited and he didn't come back and tools are so expensive I didn't want to lose it, then one day I was waiting for the mail. It was summertime, so I walked out. I went to the gate to wait for the mailman and here this guy was pushing his car going past our house. So he went as far as a little past our garage and the car stalled again. I hollared to him that he better bring that screwdriver back. He said why should I, I'll bring it when I get my car going. So I said no you better bring it now. So then he gave it to me and I didn't know who he was and he went and kept on pushing that car. Pretty soon the oil man came and I asked him did you see that boy on the road? He said no, he was gone and I thought that's good that I asked him to bring it back.
- I Right.

I Can you think of other times when people have borrowed things from you and they've forgotten. Some people are forgetful and they don't remember to bring things back. Can you think of some instances like that?

R No I don't think I've ever had that trouble.

I How about you, mom, have you ever had anything like that happen?

I Does it bother you when people don't return things? I know that you like to have people be punctual, be there on time. They should try to be there on time.

R Can I tell you about that shopping trip, is that okay?

I Okay, fine.

R Years ago, when we used to go shopping on Friday nights, we had neighbors here and he would ride with us and we were supposed to go to Hancock, that's all. It's 30 miles from here and we told him to come early, he came but he came so late and then on the way going, he stopped at some house up there and asked what they wanted from town and by the time we got to town the stores were closed.

I Closed?

R Ya, closed

I Oh my goodness

I Did he apologize for that or did he say well I'm sorry for keeping you late?

R No, he didn't say nothing. We were so disgusted because we had shopping to do.

by the time you got there it was to late?

R Sure, it was late.

I Did he offer to pay for his ride then?

R No, I don't know.

I Or did you ask him to come?

R Do you remember him?

R Yes, but we were on his ride.

R I thought he came with us.

R No we were on his ride.

R Oh, that's the way it was.

R

I But even then

R But I know it was so disappointing to us.

R He went to his brothers and asked if they needed stuff.

I Right, do you suppose some people are always late. They're the kind of people who are starting a half hour late and will always be a half hour late?

R Well sure.

R Their are some people who are always late.

R They'll never change.

I Right.

I Okay here we are back again with Mr. and Mrs. Seppanen. Okay how do you go about thanking people for things? Say for gifts that you get? Do you feel you have to repay them with a gift?

R Well, naturally, one feels that way that you should repay somehow.

I What does that somehow mean then?

R Someway yes.

I Okay, how can you repay people?

R Do them a favor of somekind. It isn't exactly the same kind of favor but sometimes you can help them if they need help.

R Years ago when people lived on the farm where we lived in Ironwood, well, the farmers when they'd want to build something or put a roof on some building, they would get all the neighbors together and go and help him someday and when somebody else needed it, they would go up there and that way they got all their carpenter work done. Same with haying time, they would come and help each other and they didn't have to use money that way.

I That's right, it isn't always money that has to be used.

R No, and they were poor people and they couldn't afford to.

I Do you think people now a days are saying more well, how much can I give you?

- I Do they want to pay more in money than they do in a helping hand?
- R Well I don't know, it seems in some cases it would be better if you paid somebody or else.
- I Think of something, an example, you don't have to use names but just how about are there some people it's better to say okay I'll give you \$5 bucks for it. Rather than have to owe them a favor for a long time.
- R How about wood sawing, when each farmer would have to have wood sawed for the winter. Then they would go and ask somebody to help them when they brought that wood in and some kids would come along and it was poor time and you would give them a quarter. Some would charge \$2. and \$3. and hour and you thought it was too much. It wasn't a hard job.
- I Can you think of any people that you'd rather give them the money right away for it. When would you give a person money and when would you just exchange a favor?
- R Well it all depends on who you would be dealing with. Sometimes people who are too busy to give you a hand, why it's almost better to pay them with money. Instead of doing them a favor.
- I There's very few now a days that will help .
- I That's right. They would rather probably give you money for it.
- R Right, there are those kind ya,
- I How about money exchange, do you think who should you charge? and how much, like for example, you do some odd jobs on the side. Can you say I'm going to charge this person this much and that person that much? According to what kind of job it is or what?
- R Well, according to what kind of job it and how much can be done. How much you can get done.
- R And how far you travel too.
- R Yes, how far you travel,
- R Well in some cases if there's more than one man working there and the others are going to charge that much if you're doing the same work you might as well charge the same.
- I How about for the family now, like the kids, like you keep a balance sheet of who you owe favors and who you owe favors to and they say parents will give more to their kids. Do you keep track with kids how many favors you owe them?
- R Well, I think paying the grandchildren for any little thing they do, well in some cases you wouldn't happen to have the money and it's some small job, I don't think it's fair that you should pay them for every little thing they do.

I Right.

R That way they demand it and you might not have the money and you need a little favor and they won't come if you don't pay them.

I Right.

R I know when we were children we didn't demand no, they would go help the grandmas and help different people and they would pay you back someday you know.

I Right.

R You'd never never ask for money, if they wanted to pay it was up to them.

I Right.

R It don't seem right that you have to pay for every little thing they do.

I They should do it on their own free will

R If they love their grandparents they should do them favors.

I Right, how about presents, take us for example, we don't accept anything, our kids don't accept anything from you because you are retired and you don't make —

R A whole lot.

I Right, and we don't expect you to do it. But still we want to give you something, Do you find it hard to adjust now that you are retired?

R Yes, I

I Does that bother you that type of thing,

R Yes it sort of does

R You should pay them back hey?

R You should pay them back and the thing is, we have most everything we need.

R Some little things, I don't think it hurts it's just the idea,

R But if they give you something you feel obligated that you should return the favor.

I Do you really think parents should have to do that for their kids that are grown up?

- I I mean after all you've taken care of these kids for all these years. And they want to do something for you. You'll go ahead and you'll send something back not to the parents but to the grandchildren and say okay the kids should do it. I mean oh no we can't take the money from you. Let me give you an example of when Tom came over to plow your driveway. And you gave the kids money.
- R Yes
- I Now you wouldn't have had to do that
- R Well no
- I Because we owe you more favors than you will ever owe us. Simply because you raised us kids. Shouldn't that have been enough to do for us.
- R Well no, it isn't, I don't feel that way about it.
- R Well I think they love the children and as long as the parents don't charge nothing they give the kids a few quarters or whatever they want to give.
- I Right
- R I don't see nothing wrong with that.
- I You shouldn't , the way I feel that parents shouldn't have to pay.
- R We figure for birthdays, the grandchildren we give each one something for their birthday and Christmas.
- I Don't you think it means more to the children to get it at their birthday time and Christmastime?
- R Right, they get so much other stuff they don't even hardly notice that.
- I Okay we had our coffee and while we were having coffee we were discussing the fact that do people help their neighbors as much any more or is it just the fact that people are so independent.
- R Well, the thing is before the neighbors used to work right in the neighborhood. Some were in the woods and they were home for every night. Nowadays, they travel long distance and sometimes they don't come home for a few days. In other words times have changed. Neighbors don't get in touch with each other as much as they used to.
- I Do you suppose the telephone had anything to do with it?
- R Well, the telephone is a big item. You can just call for whatever business you had and years ago if you had business you would just go to your neighbors and talk.

- I And then when you had to go to your neighbors to talk business, you would visit too?
- R Yes, then you had a visit the same time. So in other words there's more contact than there is now.
- I Do you suppose that's good or bad?
- R Well one ways it's good and another it's not so good.
- I How is it good?
- R Your friendship is further away now than it used to be.
- I Right.
- R You don't feel right to go and visit anyone anymore unless you make a call. I always tell my husband it seems so horrible even for your children to call them up and see if their going to be home. Years ago, if we had a chance to go we'd go and we didn't have to ask if their going to be home.
- I And yet, you shouldn't have to do that with your own family.
- R no,
- I People sometime feel that if you call you can save yourself a trip.
- R It seems so formal.
- I We were talking about how young people don't realize that someday they're gonna be old themselves. Can we have you comment on that, what do you think about it?
- R Well I think young people should be nice to the older people because after all they're the ones who came here to live and they should appreciate what the older people have done.
- I Right
- R It has been hard but still they tried to make a go of it.
- I What do you suppose has caused young people not to realize.
- R Well, there are too many things going on I think. And there more or less scattered, they're not so get together like they used to be years ago. Like in the country they used to have the skating rinks there and they used to all get together. The old people would go there also and the young ones would take a liking to some of the old people. And that way they more stuck together. Now a days there's too many cars and snowmobiles and always on the go somewheres.

R They have that drivers training in the school and all the young folks drive. They don't stick around with the older folks anymore.

I How about this energy crisis, do you think that will help? Young people realize they've got to stay home, you talked about the family, people are so busy going here and there and they don't have time to visit, do you think it will bring families closer together?

R No, I don't see where it would do any good at all because their still going so far anyhow, I haven't heard of any change. It would have to tougher than it is. Do you think times are going to get tougher?

End of side one.

Tape III

Side two.

I This is the second side of the tape and we were talking about the energy crisis bringing families together more. They aren't going to be less busy.

R People are still going and doing what they have been doing.

I Do you suppose that my age people don't realize what a depression is or what hard times are.

R Well that's a big thing there because these people haven't seen anything like we have. I saw the day when we moved to live here 37 years ago where we had to scrimp like mad to have a nickel for the grit on Saturday night.

R That's true.
GRIT

R They were tough times and it seems now a days a nickel don't mean nothing for kids.

R We had three children and that ^(from you) man came around and we asked if we couldn't get some clothes for the children and he said no that you had to be 3 years down here before you could get any clothes.

I Any clothes at all.

R Any clothes even, ^(government) they gave a little food, but they just came around once in a while.

R We used to live on \$44.00 a month.

R That's all we'd get.

I Imagine that! \$44.00 a month.

- R Really one was \$20.00 and one was \$23.00, twice a month they'd pay.
- I Imagine that
- R What can you buy with \$44.00
- R Nothing, nothing.
- R So things aren't as bad as they used to be.
- R No
- R Nowhere's near. But as far as now, there's still money around. But if this continues for years then things are going to get tough.
- R They're used to getting around and going places but when we didn't have no cars it didn't bother us. We did more walking.
- R More walking and skiing.
- R We had horses and sleighs and we pulled the kids on sleighs with the neighbors.
- I Do you think people found their own kind of recreation? I remember us kids we'd sleigh ride, we didn't have snow machines and power vehicles.
- R Right, right.
- I We thought nothing of walking to skating and back
- R Well, kids them days learned to fend for themselves.
- I They looked for things to do rather than have things right there.
- R And they enjoyed it when there weren't so many cars, they would just sleigh ride and play. They had more fun than the children now a days.
- I I don't think it hurts anyone at all
- R No,
- I No, it didn't. The kids have too much to get into now a days.
- R That's right.
- I Okay, say for example you do carpentry work, let's not use I because I'm related to you, someother people. They would say gee do you know where I could buy something at a good price? Would you tell this to anybody?

R Like me now I would have to because I do carpenter work and people are always asking and looking for advice. What is the best and where you can get it the cheapest.

I So you would keep a good eye out for a good deal.

R Oh sure, and if you do that you always have work.

I It's an important thing in a community that you're known to be a good neighbor.

R That's right.

I You have to work at it yourself, if you're a good neighbor you give a hand to someone.

R Ya, then people will rely on you.

I A person should be reliable then?

R And honest.

I And honest

R Honest is the most important thing.

I How about people who think they're uppity, people who think they're better than somebody else. Do you bother with people like that? Do you think it's worth your time to try to be friendly with them or?

R No but, you'll go so far to try and be friendly with them, but after you see they don't mean anything you just don't pay any attention, that's all.

R Right,

R Let them go their way and I'll go mine.

R That's right,

I That's right, that's right.

R There's no hard feelings.

I You just don't exchange with them, that's all. You'd rather not.

I Okay, how about when we were talking earlier, you'd give somebody a ride to town if you were going. How about if you were in town and somebody asked you to run an errand for them. I know you'd run it for me, but a different type of errand, say it's really out of your way.

- I Would you tell them no, or I don't have the time or how would you tell them?
- R Well, all depends who it is or if it was a stranger you would know by sight, it would have to be a good thing or that they would have to have a good reason.
- R Almost better if them came along and did it
- R Well if you happened to be in town and they want you to drive to the other end of town or something like that.
- I That's out of your way.
- R That's out of my way. If they were nice about it, why not.
- I Does a person learn by experience, like here I'll give you the money for it or with some people you would say give me the money when I come back and I'll pay for it. Is there some people you would take the money from before to be assured you would get the money?
- R Well, as far as I know, I found people to be honest. Pretty honest. I'm a poor man myself I can't always pay for my bills. I'll have to turn around and look at the people the same way.
- I Ya, that's a good attitude.
- I We talked about small communities and we say that this our community of Alston and Niskula, we've had so many deaths lately. You talk about sympathy cards and who do you send sympathy cards to? Do you just send them to anybody?
- R It used to be years ago if a neighbor would die or anybody around the country here or close neighbors well if somebody dies from our road, we'll collect money for the flowers, and we'll send them from all the neighbors. If it's somebody farther, we just send a card if we don't go to the funeral home.
- I Do you put money in some cards and not money in others?
- R We figure too, if it's somebody that really needs the money then I think it's nice to send it straight to the relatives.
- I So you have to decide if they need it or not, who needs the money and how much.
- R Yes, yes
- I Don't you think that's a custom that people taught each other, like you always taught us to go pay our respects to the funeral home. I can think of younger couples around here who don't go.

- I I don't understand that. Is that something you realize when you get older or what?
- R I suppose, but I don't know, it used to be that everybody would go because you would feel that you weren't doing the right thing if you didn't. It seems like alot of people don't go.
- R You talk about going farther back again, our parents always said when they were born in Finland well if somebody died, they weren't allowed to go to a funeral unless they were invited.
- I Oh really,
- R They had to have an invitation to go to a funeral.
- I To go to a funeral?
- R Yes,
- I Even to pay their respects?
- R Sure
- I This custom they used to have, the body brought to the home. Now you go to a funeral home to pay your respects.
- R In some well-to-do people and somebody had died in the family, these people didn't get an invitation, and they knew them, they felt kind of bad. She really wanted to go, so then the husband told his wife don't feel bad we'll be dying in our house someday too. So they couldn't go unless they were invited.
- I How about, men are always asked to be pallbearers? Do you sometimes say 'no I can't be', or do you usually say yes?
- R If it's a friend, I think that you should say yes.
- R I don't think I've ever —
- R Even a relative, you should almost go.
- R I've never refused and it's one of those things where your going to die yourself someday. But there is alot of people that wouldn't.
- R Right, they won't even go to funerals.
- I Do you think it's alot ~~a~~ matter ^{the} ~~the~~ way you've been raised. Alot of people don't want younger kids to go.
- R I don't think that's right because if somebody should die in their family, they're so mixed up they don't know what happened.

R Can't make out.

R Pa was like that, he said you always help with the newborn and bury the dead.

R That's right.

I Do you think people nowadays have forgotten those basic things, they are things you should remember?

R

I They're neighborly kind of things.

R The young people they just seem like they are drifting. Life is too fast and they don't have time to think of those things. They got so much on the mind with everything else that they have forgotten that's all.

I What do you think, they have a lot of these care facilities and these old-age homes? What do you think about those?

R They're a good thing for people who are still able to take care of themselves and stay in those places. They can go to town. But you take somebody who's down and out and bedridden, that's not a very happy place either.

I Okay then, you were talking about people who can get up and go, like the Maple Manor?

R Ya, the Senior Citizen places.

I You think it's a good thing for them to, ^{be} among their own friends

R Well ya, like those project homes they are a good thing, too, even for widows.

I Those are for married people. Ya, your right there are some widows.

R Ya, they can visit each other. They have their own homes as long as their able to take care of them. Better than if they were in the country all along.

I All by themselves.

R Right.

I A lot of people don't have a family to take care of them, take Lempi

R Yes,

I I know she's in that Medical Care Facility, I don't know if she had a cousin or what?

R She had that one brother, but he died.

I I don't ever remember. She's been at that Medical Care Facility for many years now. She always says this is the best place for me because I can't take care of myself. I always tell her that it's a nice day outside.

R Yes, yes.

I So do you suppose for people like that it is good that they have hospitals like that?

R In that case it's good, yes. I'd say they're good and bad both. Because some of these places they don't treat the old people very good.

R They don't treat the old people very good.

I But some people have a choice, they say they'd rather be in a hospital than be living with a crabby family.

R Much rather.

I That's true. That can happen. You've got a big family in your case, but in alot of cases where there is only one son and his wife doesn't respect the son's parents. Would you want to be placed in a home like that where you would have to depend upon that woman?

R Ya, well that's what I say, you can look at it both ways. If your helpless, your helpless and it's no fun being no place if your helpless.

I I suppose,

R Right

I That's a good statement.

R There's no place like home.

R At that Elders home, there's people that have had nice homes, they go there and they just have little tiny rooms, they don't have nothing there. Just a few remembrances and a few clothes and they have to leave everything go.

I Mr. Seppanen is the haircutter here and I was saying some Sunday

- I mornings, I remember when we grew up, somebody would be coming home for a haircut and Ma would be trying to fix dinner here and he was saying he remembers:
- R Well my older brother used to cut hair and he used to have clippers and combs, and shears and different things. The neighbor kids hairs would get long so I would have to sneak his tools. While he wasn't around and cut these kids hair. This kept on going and going and finally as I got older I bought some tools for myself and every Sunday morning there were a bunch of kids or men hanging around for haircuts. Most of the time somebody would give me a dime, some would give me 15 cents, some had no money at all, some would give me a little bag of tobacco to smoke.
- I Did they always try to repay you some way or another?
- R Oh yes, they would always try to pay somehow but times were tough and there wasn't much money.
- I I suppose they couldn't always repay right away.
- R I know it.
- I There were times when they would repay after right?
- R  I've been cutting hair ever since.
- I For how many years now?
- R I ~~fl~~ couldn't have been no more than 14 or 15. About 50 years.
- R What about the chair?
- R Oh yes, I still have the original barber chair I made.
- I I remember that we'd go round and round and round.
- R I made it so you could swing around like a barber chair. Of course, you couldn't adjust the height of it but I tried to make it about the right height. Of course then I used to have a pillow for shorter guys.
- R You used carpets too.
- I Three pillows for kids
- R Sears and Roebuck catalog too.
- I Like now do you charge a certain amount for a haircut or do you let it go as how much do I owe you?
- R No I never did have a set price, people would give me what they feel like.

I Whatever they felt it was worth.

R Ya, most of them were fairly good, they gave a certain amount.

I

R Two of my brothers used to be barbers. My youngest brother, I taught him to cut hair. When that kind of relieved me a little bit when he'd cut hair.

I It's true, you talk about relieving, you used to always give Tom his haircuts. It wasn't the idea that we didn't like the haircut that you gave, but we thought you've got enough other people coming over and where do you cut the line? ~~that~~ It's not the fact that you should be insulted that we don't come anymore, it's just that we felt we have the money to pay for a haircut. Don't ever feel bad about people having cut the line there.

R

I Would you just as soon not cut hair? I imagine some days your legs are pretty sore where you'd just as soon not cut hair.

R Oh, it don't matter, I still do have a few customers here.

R We still laugh, some would come from Detroit and they'd have long hair and they'd have their kids come here and give a quarter or so and we'd just laugh and laugh. They'd have two quarters in their hand and he'd give the other one back.

I Ya, put it back in their pocket.

R Ya

I Do you think some people will try to get by cheap?

R Ya, cause here they come from the city with long hair to get a haircut.

I But sometimes there were probably times when you were insulted because we didn't come back. It wasn't the fact that we didn't like the haircut, we were saving you wear and tear on your legs. The fact that was a favor you shouldn't have had to do.

I Let's get to sauna business now. We had a little sauna rules, little things about saunas, how about rules when you were growing up with saunas, how did you always have sauna company on Saturday night?

R When I was a kid, very seldom we had anybody come over because

- R We used to have one of these things that didn't have a chimney.
- I The original smoke saunas?
- R
- R A regular smoke sauna, that you'd have to fire up and get the stones hot. When the stones got hot, you let the fire go out and that's when you started sauna.
- I Is that right?
- R Ya, that wouldn't last too long, only about two hours and that's all. So everybody had to be done by that time.
- I Is that why you're ^{always} in a hurry ^{now?}?
- R That's why I been in a rush ever since.
- I You grew up that way. Everybody bathe in two hours.
- R Our sauna was about 300 feet from the house and we'd run bare foot from the sauna, grab our clothes and run into the house.
- I Did you have to carry the water too?
- R Oh sure, we had to heat the water in the house, pour the hot water in the sauna.
- I What happened to that one?
- R Well we started smoking meat and the sauna got too hot and it burnt. Part of the meat went with it. So ever since then there hasn't been a sauna on the old place, on the old farm.
- I What year did you build your sauna here then?
- R That was in, we've had that now ever since you were a baby.
- I I remember jumping rope on the cement in there
- R That was when you were five years old.
- R About 24 years ago.
- I I would remember that, if I'm 29 now I would have been five years old and I would remember jumping rope on the cement in there.
- R When we lived in Ironwood, we had a different kind of sauna with a chimney that the heat and smoke would go out. It had a nice bit like a fireplace. My father would heat the sauna in the afternoon and he went in there to put wood in there and here a skunk had gone in the stove.
- I In the stove?
- R Ya, in the stove. It was a big fireplace so he put the wood in there and lit the fire and he ran out and the skunk came out too.

- R (There was a sewer on the floor where the water ran out)
- I Did you have alot of sauna visitors.?
- R Oh yes,
- I And were you expected to serve them coffee?
- R It's a funny thing too, people would come way from town, the locations up there, many families would come and they would come on Saturday afternoon and we'd have to give them coffee and then again supper and then they would have a good bath and then my mother would serve them coffee again.
- I You can't always be serving people.
- R Why no, and we had a big family ourself. I know one lady came and she had made a switch out of some leaves and you should see the mess it made.
- I Do some people leave messes and they don't clean up after themselves.?
- R Yes, some people are messy. They leave the soap and stuff laying around. They don't bother to put it back in the dish where they got it from.
- I Slop water all over the floor.
- R There were some people who had real sauna's and they'd charge and charge quite a bit. It used to be .35 cents when I was working in town .35 cents for a good bath. They furnish the towels and soap.
- R Well, that's cheap.
- R That was a long time ago and it's gone up so much since then
- I But even now, don't you think a sauna's a good thing. Like I was looking forward to Saturday, we've gonna come here because you can get to visit with everybody. It's a visiting thing.
- R
- I Ordinarily, we might not even see Jimmy and Carol even. Saturday you come over and visit or Ann and Jim, we wouldn't see them as often.
- R Right.
- I I know there's this girl who was in school, her mother and dad live out on the Houghton Canal for the summer. They have a farm and they

I live in town for the winter. She said oh how I love going out Saturdays to the farm because I get to see everybody and visit

R Right.

R Ya, you get to see everybody and talk about different things

I It's more than just taking a bath.

R Ya, everybody knows what's going on.

I Right.

R That's when everybody gets together, sauna time is every Saturday.

I Right.

I How about weddings now, Now that you're retired, you can't go to every wedding. Do you feelinsulted if you don't get a wedding invitation?

R No, I don't. It's the young people now. It seems to me that we've had our run of weddings and bhowers and that.

I You've done your share.

R It seems we've done our share because most of these kids you don't even know.

R You don't even visit their parents and they send you an invitation

R Yes and you don't know the kids in the first place.

R I don't think that's right.

R I don't feel obligated to go.

I Do you suppose there's a time like years ago when you used to go to more? Like Ma would go to these showers or with neighbors you'd bring a baby gift over.

R Oh ya

Begin on Tape IV, Side 1

This is VJH, SS400, Social Awareness Class

I Tonight, right now I'm going to talk about visiting exchange, and it will be participant observation.

It's kind of interesting, here I sit at ten to eleven at night, I've done my dishes, dinner and supper dishes included, chuckling to myself. Here I was caught again dirty dishes in the sink, on the counters, very embarrassing to say the least. Today was the last day I had to finish reading a book for a class, for tomorrow night, and I also knew that I had to make a choice between getting this book read or cleaning up the house. Sure enough I was thinking to myself-and I even told my husband Tom watch somebody come over tonight. I just know it when my house is a mess. Well I finished reading the book. I did have the table cleared off and I had gotten my books ready for tomorrow morning but I hadn't even started to clear the stove or touch the dishes in the sink. There comes a knock on the door and I think that it's Tom and Craig coming home. They had been out plowing driveways tonight. "They're just monkeying around and teasing me." So I run in the other room because I had just gotten the bath water drawn for myself, and I thought I'll run downstairs and pull out the coffee pot plug. Here I am sitting in my housecoat and I thought oh god it's those guys coming. Well when they didn't come in and they just kept knocking I thought it's somebody else coming, I didn't hear the pick-up coming. I ran out to the steps and hollared come in on the pretense that I'm just going upstairs and sure enough it's company coming. It's not even my own family. I said 'hi, come on in, I'll be down in a minute.' So I ran upstairs quick, shoved on some clothes, you see there's a difference. If it were my family coming over, I wouldn't bother putting on say some slacks and a blouse. I would sit there in my housecoat. But the people that came over are people that we don't see often and I was actually surprised to see them here. Without having called first, without knowing that they're coming. They aren't the type of people that just drop in. The fellow bowls with Tom every Wednesday night. I would say maybe they've been here two or three times before. But usually on business. I suppose it might have showed on my face, it just didn't register I thought what are they coming here to visit for. And why? At previous times it had been on school business, I'm still thinking to myself now why did they really come to visit. Well I came down stairs after I had gotten slacks on and a top. They said, 'Is Tom around?' The guy did, Ron is this guy's name. I said, 'No he's out plowing Jackie's driveway.' Jack is another one of the fellows who bowls and I said, 'He should be home soon, would you care to sit down?' "Sure, why not," they said. So they proceeded to take off their boots at the doorway, throw their jackets over the back of the chairs. That was a poor hostess of me not to offer to take their coats I would guess.

But Meg had fallen asleep on the bed and I was trying to get her covered and the light shut off and I had to say excuse me a minute because we live in this old farm house and there's doors between every room and it isn't a place where you can move about freely.

So anyway I told them to sit down and they said, "Well I wanted to talk to Tom about golfing." I thought golfing this time of the year. I thought to myself. That must have registered on my face too because his wife Bev said one of their boys is interested in golfing and Ron would like to know how much membership is at where Tom would have a membership. So we sat there for a minute and that led to something else and something else and I didn't have fresh coffee to offer them although I know that they both do drink coffee so I went to the refrigerator and I said, "How about a beer Ron? Or would you rather have a mixed drink?" He heehawed kind of back and forth and I remembered the last time ~~I~~ was over- maybe the last time Ron does drink brandy I was trying to think. We didn't have brandy in the house. But he said, "No no, I'll have a beer." So I pulled a Bosch out of the refrigerator. I didn't take out any of the Coor's that I had said before on tapes that my brother-in-law had brought from out west. I guess I felt that was given to Tom that beer and if he wanted to serve it to Ron when he got home, fine, but I wasn't going to serve it to him myself. And he did, he did pull out the Coor's beer and they did share that afterward. So I asked, "Bev, what would she care to drink and she said wine if you have any kind of wine and I was going to bring out our blackberry Mogan David wine but we had drank all of that on our snowmobile trip Saturday night. So I fixed her Boone's farm and she said she wanted it served on ice with a little bit of mixwith it and I said sure kind of jokingly with her that what she wants.

So in the meantime we sat around and chewed the rag and Tom came home and you could see that Tom and Ron knew each other that well because "you saw my van out there and you were really running in a hurry and you didn't think Bev was with me. On and on and this kind of badgering that went on so there is a familiarity of grounds. They like to tease each other. It was interesting as we were conversing here different things back and forth. They were talking about a ~~trip~~ ^{snowmobile} they had been on. It was kind of funny because they were talking about one of the wives that had gone along and normally she's a kind of quiet and reserved kind of person and then she had really gotten stoned I guess. They were kind of laughing about it but they weren't making fun of her. This I did notice. They were saying wasn't it nice that she had a nice time, I betcha she was feeling awful today but it wasn't making fun of somebody who had gone out and really gotten loaded. They just thought she ~~deserves~~ ^{deserves}; it's all right if she goes out.

And yet later on, the evening the conversation turned to these neighbors of ~~there~~, it's a young couple and they have a, who by the way, he is my cousin, so we're related in that way and his father who would also be my uncle has this drinking problem and there the drinking when we were talking about drinking, it's a bad thing, a negative type thing. This conversation was going kind of different a round and round type thing. Where alcoholism can be good or bad and yet we were all sitting here with a drink. Tom came home and he had a beer. But I guess it's with moderation or how you use it or to what extent it hurts your family.

Going back to this cousin now, we started talking about them and how he's been on the wagon and how things are so much better.

Bev: He's finally started coming back over our house. He didn't come around for a while after Ron really chewed him out for one little disagreement that had had. It was over drinking too. I guess it had been bothering me because I hadn't said anything to this cousin's wife. She had stopped in one day last fall and she started telling me about her husband's drinking problem and how her kids are picking up these bad habits and sassing their dad. I just said you know sometimes kids block their parents. I did use my own kids as an excuse but I said have you ever said anything like that and sure enough we talked and ~~Joyce~~ said there's help for wives of men who drink. If you really feel that it's bothering you that much that you don't give a darn about it perhaps you should go for help. I guess she got the impression that I was trying to but in too much and she left. I got the impression that she didn't like the idea that. It had bothered me ever since then and the opportunity came up in this conversation as us four people were sitting around the table. I told Bev, Bev is close to Joyce, their neighbors and they see each other a lot. I said to her, "Joyce was here one day last fall and I suppose I said to much." I looked at her as I was saying this, she knew what I was talking about. You know how you just get this feeling. She had kind of an embarrassed look on her face as if to say ya, I know all about it and you're right Joyce was disgusted about it and maybe this is why she hasn't been to visit you. It's just a feeling you get and it's too bad that messages have to be sent second, third, fourth, and fifth hand. But here again I feel bad because I try to be the kind of person where I don't like to give people advice and yet when it comes to something like this I figure there's help for it. I know how Joyce feels because we've gone through this and how alcoholism can if you don't make a go of it cause a lot of problems in a marriage, in a family life and this and that. And there is help for it. I suppose maybe I'm more of an advocate of it for people who have serious drinking problems because we have friends who are in AA and people who have really come a long way with the alcoholic anonymous program. Maybe she thought I was interfering. I don't know. But anyway I thought to myself well they didn't want another drink so I better put on a pot of coffee. So I made the coffee and we sat around and talked for a while and put on a plate of cookies.

I was thinking to myself as the coffee was perking I don't have any coffee bread in the house. All I have are a few of those peanutbutter cookies left, I don't have any crackers, how can I serve cheese without crackers. I was thinking, "Oh you dummy why didn't you make those blueberry muffins earlier when you had the chance!" Because I had taken blueberries that I had picked and I thought I would make some blueberry muffins. How are you going to serve this type of thing. I thought well the guys aren't really to keen on cookies, I put four coffee cups thinking I'm not going to exclude anybody. Ron said, "no thanks I don't think I'll have any coffee", Tom said, "no, too, he didn't want any since Ron isn't having any so Bev and I had the two coffee cups and I thought well the guys aren't going to want any cookies with their beer so I'm going to have to put something salty on. So I poured the rest of the potato chips into a bag into a bowl and I thought now I have to put some cheese on with it. I didn't have crackers so I thought I'm going to serve this separately. I didn't set a fancy table. Bev and I drank our coffee out of mugs and the guys I think they took out a glass for their beer. I just put the cookies and cheese on a melamac saucer type of dish or pie size dishes and chips on the table here. See this kind of evening visit here you don't have to fuss with it. I was going to say to that this dirty housekeeper business really bothers me. I think it reflects on what kind of a mother and wife I am. I still haven't gotten over this hump of me going to work and school and I still can't take care of my house properly the way I should. But I feel people are coming over and looking and criticizing and saying aha I can't wait to leave from there so I can spread the word. Small communities are this way. So I was thinking to myself, okay Joanie you've got to wash that coffee pot for sure so you can make a new pot of coffee. Should you start washing those dishes now? Oh those dishes bug me! They've seen that dirty counter and they must have thought oh that woman hasn't done dishes for days. I put water running, enough to wash that pot and put the dishes soaking and I sat down and had coffee because it wouldn't bother me before to say I've got all these things to do but I don't know if it's this course or what that makes me aware. I know it is after that paper I did last term it makes me wonder what kind of hostess are you, how are you going to serve these people? How would you feel if you went to somebody else's house and they were really puttering around doing their dishes and everything else but sitting down with you.

I guess that is one thing about having company over. I still wonder even why they came. After we saw them out the door and Tom was saying something about the temperature and saw them out and I came and thought I better start doing these dishes. Cleaning up here and getting the table cleared for morning.

I'm still wondering to myself now why did Ron and Bev really come over? To feel us out, that was just an excuse this golfing thing. Maybe they just wanted to come visiting. I'm not too sure of it at all. I suppose one of the reasons will come up. I shouldn't be so suspicious.

In one of the earlier papers I spoke about the snowmobile club, that we had members from the Alston and Nissula although our club house is in the Alston area. It is a large group you could say. I think their membership runs almost to 30 ^{families} which is quite large for an organization in our area. We have been members of it since it began. Although neither one of us, Tom nor I have been there ^{much} this year. We have been active members, both of us have been Treasurer's and I think he ~~was~~ even Vice President for the organization.

Let me go back a few times. The week before on Saturday night they had a meeting and of course they were talking about the yearly trip they go on. They go over night some place further than you can drive on one day and stay over night. This year we'll go to Bruce's Crossing. So one of the women across the table said, 'One of these days before you get to old you should really go out snowmobiling.' I just smiled and said, 'One of these days. But inside I was really mad because I thought, I suppose seething, but yet I thought I'm a deviate, I know I am. I deviate from their rules because it just doesn't turn me on, ~~the~~ snowmobiling just doesn't turn me on. Then you have to ask yourself the question, why doesn't it turn you on?' And it's the same old story from the first years we began to go. It's too cold at times. I'm a person who freezes inside a warm building. Lousy excuse you say, but it's all in my head.

Okay I'll say I don't particularly care to go because I have to ride with Tom, we don't have two machines. It's not as much fun riding in back bumping along as driving, I would imagine.

Another thing it bothers me, I'm really impatient with people when they say their going to go or be someplace at a time. I wish they would be there. Years past they say their going to leave at noon and they don't get going until 1 or 2:00 in the afternoon. To me I'm paying my babysitter for that hour we're wasting there. It's a poor way to feel, I suppose, it should be called leisure. I've even said before in the past I can't afford to pay a babysitter from 11:00 in the morning until 11:00 at night. Some people can but I can't do it. And rather than go along and be an old sour ~~poos~~ and spoil everybody else's time by saying, 'let's go,' I would just as soon stay home. However, there are occasions when this works, Tom will go on trips and I would just as soon stay home and I don't mind him going.

Before, I had to get used to the idea that he can do things independent of me and I can do things independent of him and I can't control his life any more than he can control mine. On certain matters. So I told Tom, you go if you want to go because he enjoys the riding. I have a million things to do on Sunday anyway. Especially since school is on and now that I've begun to work Monday mornings.

Another thing that burned me up about these trips was "oh you can go, sure I can, but I can't lay in on Monday mornings with a headache either. Monday is my long day where I go at morning and I get home at 11:00 at night. I can't afford to spend that time there and I guess it's just a matter of how valuable your time is and where you're going to put the most effort. It's kind of funny because tonight that happened to me, I was thinking I had to put that effort toward that reading, of that book rather than finishing dishes. And the fact that I hadn't read that book meant nothing to the company that came over but the fact that I hadn't done my dishes did show you're kind of a sloppy housekeeper.

Getting back to the snowmobile club. I guess what it amounted to was I told myself on these previous trips, okay Joanie you ~~won't~~ stay home, you'll stay home because you don't want to spoil everybody else's good time. Well the occasion came up this Saturday where Tom's cousin and his wife were here from Minneapolis, and they had hauled their snowmachines and they had been here since Friday night. (They were here while we were gone to L'Anse. I think I mentioned that on one of my tapes, I thought oh God these people come in and see my dirty mess. This is really a hangup with me.) So they called and said, "Do you want to go out snowmachining tonight, that we are going to go with Iris and Charlie (who live in Alston)." Tom answered the phone and asked, "where are you going to go?" Well, they were going out by Twin Lakes to Jake's Bar and try the new trail. The Snow Flyers had built a trail from Alston and it brings you to within a couple miles of Jake's Bar in Winona. And the DNR maintains this trail. It's a nice trail. Right away he said, "See I don't think Joanie is going to want to go." He wanted me to make this decision while he was on the phone and I said, "Why don't we call them back?" He said, "I think the wife is weakening. Well like I said before I had all these excuses why I didn't want to go and I had a migraine on top of it and I thought well I'm going to have to get rid of this some how. Which I did by taking two of the pills the doctor has prescribed for me. But I found all these reasons why I didn't want to go. Then I started thinking to myself, I have to go. I was kind of mad because I was thinking about all these social pressures that a person is under. When you belong to an organization, (group conformity) you have to be active, you have to go along every once in a while so that you're still a functioning member of it, that they don't think "ah you're too good for it," because you don't want to come out. It's so important in

a small community that people don't think badly of you. At least you get a guilty complex about it I suppose. I was thinking to myself, we really should go and here I had a guilty conscience about that because Bill and Shirley have always made a point when they came up to visit his mother and dad in this area to stop over and visit with us or spend one evening with us. We play cards or sit around and gab or we'd go somewhere with them. We'd have a few drinks. But the last few times they've called but they haven't tried to come over and I don't know whether I've been rude to them or what. I feel really bad because I would try to have them over for a meal and I really I suppose too we should reciprocate in some way because we did go there one summer and spend a couple of days with them and they were marvelous host and hostess. We went to many ballgames and they chased us around and Shirley took me shopping and it happened to be our daughter's birthday while we were there and they bought a cake for her and arranged for a babysitter and they wouldn't let us pay a darn cent having their daughter babysit. I just feel obligated to them. Yet I feel bad when we have to tell people we can't do this tonight and we can't go there because we've got company and really to some people who don't realize the work their is in going to school the thing that you have to study is a lousy excuse.

So anyway for this reason I thought to myself we've got to go out on this snowmobile trip. In the meantime I'm cussing because I'm thinking this darn society what it forces people to do. Well, it was one of the choicer nights that we could have chosen to go snowmobiling, the weather was beautiful. It wasn't that cold and we were able to get a babysitter on short notice so I thought to myself for Bill and Shirley we'll go out. As it turned out I took the car down to the club and Tom went cross country to get there faster and I thought to myself don't make a point about being impateint about things. The snowmobile trip itself was okay and I wanted to say one thing about it. One this type of a trip which was on short notice, all of the members around and some had even come in from L'anse there were only couples that went on this. It wasn't a type of thing where the singles went and yet on Sunday when they went to Covington there would have been many men going without their wives but this was a couples trip that the women went on and most poeple in this organization do have two machines where the couples don't have to ride double like us. So I guess there's a class system there or a status system which exists in a small organization. You should have a helmet and (I had to borrow a helmet to wear) You have to have the whole getup and works and have a suit to match your machine and a machine that really goes. As a matter of fact it's kind of a teasing type of a thing where people take their ^{gear} ~~camp~~ along with them. Like Tom has an Arctic Cat and Tom really rubs it in, "the Cat goes here", "the Cat is back." One

of his friends has a Ski-Doo and they all give each other the razing. ~~Tom~~ Tom said the clutch is going on our machine and he was really worried on some of the hills we were going up. He said if this machine klonks out on me now I'm never going to hear the end of it. It was always a matter of boasting and bragging about how great this ~~cat~~ cat is. If it had klonked out on him, it would have been bad news. It would have been so much razing.

We had a kitty when we got to the bar over there. First everybody threw in a dollar then another and then it was trying to get everybody to go home from there. ~~and~~ They said, 'ah let's get going and this is one of the reasons I don't like to go on a trip like that because when I want to go home, I'd like to go home. When you get a group of people together you're always going to get one person who says 'one more drink, one more drink.' So finally somebody said the money from the kitty was gone and 'let's get going.' (we'd been there for a couple of hours and it was midnight.) Somebody started putting on their suit and I'll be darned what a motivation type thing it was. Everybody says okay, it's time to get going. Except when we were ahead on the way going back some of the crew got left behind and Tom and I headed on home by ourselves cross country. This snowmobile club will go out camping and there's another status thing about the snowmobile club. Before it used to be you had to have a snowmobile, then a second snowmachine, then you had to have all the equipment that went with it, a helmet, with a shield, all the boots and jazz and matching suits, and now it's gotten where this club plans to go camping on weekends and what kind of camper do you have, or a tent. Anything you go in is fine. Really I think it was a great step in our even getting a camper. I'm not to keen on that yet either, but I guess I'm keener on that than I am on snowmachining. I really don't think there should be this pressure in society, or in a small community life.

There's also other pressure in this club. I've gone on my snowmobile trip for the evening and I can say okay, they can get off my back. I guess it's a relief for me. And yet this annual overnight trip that they make I feel like I should go to that also. One thing that bothered me one year when we went before. I can always justify by not going and spending two days by saying I'll go along but I'll drive the car instead of riding the snowmachine. That way I can take the instruments for the music that Tom and Charlie provide in the evening. These guys are given a yearly membership, they don't have to pay their dues because they play free at dances and other parties and yet I sometimes wonder if it would be easier to pay that \$10.00 annual membership dues than to be under this type of obligation. I think Tom feels that way sometime too.

What really bothered me about that Bruce Crossing trip was-I suppose it's a matter of prestige when you look at it. We got there, we got rooms that didn't have any water in them, no bathroom. All they had was the heat and a bed in it. It bothered me because I guess it was rank. Members who had just come into the club, they got the prime rooms and they didn't worry about this and that. They put us people who had been in the club for many years in these rooms that had next to nothing in them and it really bothered me. ~~and~~ I said at the last meeting we had whenever they acquire rooms make sure they have accommodations that are equal for everybody. Because I just don't think it's a matter of fairness, and I think they were trying to pull rank a little bit, too. But it really bothers me and I can imagine how anybody else would have felt about it. *Saw grapes. Much?*

VJH-SS400 Class *Begin Tape II, Side 2*

This tape will be an assortment of little notes that I've made as I've been puttering around. ~~and~~ There will be favors, money exchange, economic exchange, borrowing, pet peeves, that I've had or other people have had or I've spoken about. So perhaps it will just be a hodge podge of different things that I've noticed. I guess social awareness that I've noticed after I've taken this class and ~~I've jotted down.~~

The first I have listed is under bargaining for favors. I have ^{this} sister-in-law. I'm sure I have Marlene written down in one of my other papers with a little bit of background on her. Anyway I have stated before that she is a girl from North Dakota who my brother married. ~~and~~ She has always found it so hard to understand why people in this area, not necessarily in this area, but with my family particularly give away things without asking money for them or bargaining for them. She can't understand how if some of my daughter's clothes are too small for her that I will pass them on to Stephie and not charge a dollar or fifty cents for them. Yet she will go ahead and say I'll buy this from you and how much do you want and this and that. I suppose it's just a matter of upbringing and however you feel for it. Whether you should pay for things or not and I suppose it gives a person a better feeling. It depends how you feel. I suppose she feels ~~that~~ ^{better} if she pays for it. ~~It is mine I paid for it, it is acceptable to me whereas me I feel guilty, paying for things that other people can use and I could give away. It's just a matter of background and how you've been raised I would suppose.~~

Anyway I'll give you one instance about bargaining for favors. My mother had given me some cupcake-muffin tins. They were real old; they were ~~the~~ the ones that dad had out in the old woodshed. *Mac-* She said the kids wanted something to play with and she said let the kids take these home and play with them. This was a year ago.

Well I said, "Okay, let the kids have them outside." And really this tin meant nothing to me. Until she ~~came into~~ ^{came into} the house and you can always tell by the glint in her eye and she said, "What are you doing with that old muffin tin outside? What do you plan on doing with it?" She's very tactful that Marlene. She won't say, "I want that." She'll say, "What are you doing with it?" I said, "Why, what are you going to do with it?" in that kind of a tone. She said, "Oh I'd love to have that old muffin tin, I want to put it on my wall." She has an old worn out wooden spoon and she has a bread board they used ~~for baking~~ ^{the flat bread} in the oven. (The bread on the hot surface then you'd scoop it up with this paddle shaped board.) Anyway she said, "I want to hang that up," and I ~~was~~ ^{was} all of a sudden this old cupcake tin pan became something of value to me. ~~So~~ I says, "I'll give that to you but you remember that old cradle we got from Tom's grandma's?" She says, "Ya," I says, "If you refinish that for me you can have that cupcake tin." "Oh fine fine," she loves to antique and she does a beautiful, marvelous job. She said, "Okay fine I'll do it!" But it was kind of funny because she said after she got done doing it, "Boy I don't think it was worth it," because it did involve more work. I did pay her for the materials, the varnish. The idea was the labor involved in doing it. She does a beautiful job on it.

Another thing with Marlene once we're talking about her. Monetary exchange. She is a Shaklee dealer in this area and whenever I buy a product from her I know that she charges me the full price so that she can make a profit on it. So last week, I buy greeting cards in bulk and I get them at cost to me so my sister, Barbara who I also have a little bit of background on in one of the other papers, she said, "See would you order me some sympathy cards and some recipe cards?" and I said, ~~sure~~ "Sure." Marlene heard us talk about it and she said, "Why don't you order me some?" I said, "Fine I'll order you some, too," and I wanted some odds and ends of different cards. So I was thinking to myself I'll order these cards at cost. But the catalog price they list showing the person looking at it I wouldn't have any qualms about saying I'm going to charge Marlene the full price. Like say for example the cards cost \$1.50 my cost would be \$1.00 I'll charge her the \$1.50 for it simply because this is what terms we are on. And yet today my sister, Barbara, came to pick up her cards and she does million of favors for me. It kind of reminds me of this diagram that you put on the board where so many favors will go to person 2 from person 1. You don't wait for a one-to-one response type of thing. It's a diffuse exchange. And yet I wouldn't think of making a profit on the cards I sold to Barbara. It's just a relationship that a person has. And Marlene has found it so hard ~~to let~~ ^{to let} her husband, and my brother, ~~and~~ Ronnie's always giving money away, "I just can't understand how he is always giving money away." So you see it's a matter, ~~of~~ ^{of} how you've been raised.

Another thing, talking about babysitting. Barbara and Marlene will exchange babysitting. "Okay, you owe one day of babysitting and I'll owe another day of babysitting." I remember when I first started school and I was having trouble getting babysitters, ~~my~~ mother was gone or there were different occasions. I was going every day of the week and our baby wasn't in school then yet. She'd say, "Bring Meg over for the afternoon, Tommy's real bored, ~~and~~ bring her over." She's real conscious about her kids having playmates and being exposed to other children. ^{or} Although her kids are hellions, let me tell you. They just are ~~Speak~~ raised and have a hard time adjusting. The first time I went to pay her she said, "No no you can't pay me for that. No way." So there was just no money exchange but we've kind of gotten out of that. Of course, I'm not able to offer to babysit too often but she feels free to call on me. Like she called the other morning and she said, "What are you planning on going today? I have to run to L'Anse, and if I'm not back in time would you mind taking Timmy home with you from school?" This type of thing doesn't bother me because these kids are bigger and I don't mind babysitting for her. I don't feel it's an obligation except if I have a paper due that I have to type. I don't like to say okay you owe me one day of babysitting and I owe you another. I wish people could call. Like we have these other friends and we don't know them to well, not as close as a brother-sister type of relationship but she'll feel free and I'm real glad she does. She'll say, "I have to go to the doctors today, is it all right if Timmy comes off the bus." "Sure it's all right, ~~and~~ I will feel free to call on her to do the same thing. And there's no money exchange.

Take for example-Timmy was over from the bus one day and I guess I was making the same fudge I was talking about earlier. It was supposed to go to Florence's, it was the first batch I had made. Craig had invited him to come over that day. Well the boys didn't have any fudge and I couldn't very well say, the fudge was hot yet when it was time for him to be going home. This is what I've said; I don't care for turn visiting because I don't always have the time to return ~~visiting~~ visiting. Anyway the last few times she had been a little bit cool toward me and she doesn't always tell you to come over. ^{this time} She said, "When you bring Timmy home why don't you come in for a cup of coffee?" Well I could hardly not go ~~After~~ After so many times you've got to make time and alternative choices. I guess it's what we were talking about last week in class if you have to maximize or minimize the ~~cost~~ cost. ^{What} What is this going to cost you, and what is that going to cost you in the line of friendship. So I did bring a plate of fudge ~~on~~ that day when I ~~was~~. But it's funny the next time I did babysit for her she asked, "Would you mind if Timmy came off the bus, I have to go to the doctors?" I said, "No." And when she came to pick him up she did bring a plate of tarts which is a real nice thing and really they were more valuable to us than if she had offered money, ^{which} I wouldn't have taken, ~~and~~ She knew that when she brought the tarts and ~~she~~ she didn't say that but she was thinking now we won't refuse these because any homemade bakery is a luxury.

Just a minute, another interesting thing, you heard me say just a minute. It was my husband calling, are we going to pick up Craig?

Babysitting is another thing. We had exchanged kids this afternoon. My sister had come over to pick up the cards that I had ordered for her, and I said that I didn't charge her the full price for them. I mean I charged her my cost, I didn't make any profit on them. She has an older boy who is much older than our Craig but anyway it's a boy to play with and ~~she~~ Craig asked if he could go there to play and I said, "fine and why don't you leave Stephie here to play with Meg?" I offered this time for her to stay but I remember one day she said, "Stephie likes to go places" and of course naturally, like any kid likes to play with other kids and this one day she said, "I want to stay here." She says this most of the time, "On do we have to go home already?" Anyway Barbara said, "why don't you ask Auntie Joanie if you can stay here." That was one of the days that I just didn't have the time to be fixing supper or waiting on kids. I guess it was just extra company and I had other things on my mind and how can you turn down a child who asks you. It makes it kind of embarrassing with this type of thing and I was a little bit disgusted with it, I guess, and that's even minor.

I'll go back to babysitting and how you do it for relatives more. Last summer my sister went with her husband on what I guess was a two week trip to Seattle, Washington. Like I said before, he's a long distance truckdriver. She said she really wanted to go with them and I know they haven't had a vacation and my mother and dad are really getting to old and I feel that when there is all us kids around we shouldn't obligate them for any length of time, although if I have to have my kids go there for a weekend they are really really great if we have to be gone somewhere for many many hours or some distance away. I would rather ask my mother and dad to babysit and they'll say don't come get the kids in the middle of the night. "If you're going to be after midnight come and get them in the morning. ~~Da can bring them to Sunday School, just come get them in the morning.~~ They are really wonderful for things like that but for any length of time, I don't think it's right and I have the room now to have ^{extra} kids and maybe it's my way of saying I can pay back my mother and dad for something and maybe my sister, too. She's quick to temper and complain about things but you can't beat her as far as a sister goes. So she said she was going with her husband last summer and I said, "fine why don't you have the kids come here?" but I would have preferred not to have had the youngest one come because I knew it would have been a constant friction between her youngest one and my youngest one. There's about a year and a half to two years difference in age and when they both get tired they get cranky and hard to live with. I was afraid that she would get lonesome for her mother. But anyway I did offer and I didn't say don't ~~she~~ she said, "fine but I think we'll take Stephie with us on the trip." So that worked out fine. However we did make some economic arrangement. I

didn't want to be paid fifty cents an hour for every hour her kids were here. But she did offer money for the food and I did accept it for that, and she said ~~when~~, "well call ~~me~~ every so often where we are and do you mind if we call collect and I'll pick up the bill when we come home?" I said "Fine" ~~and~~ I didn't worry about that. (If some other people had said that they would pay after they called collect, I can think of one friend in particular who said she would call collect ~~and~~ ^{and I never did get the money for the bills}) With ~~Barb~~ she is real quick to repay bills or any money that she owes. But I did take the money in that instance for food that it would cost to feed these kids and for any ~~Dean~~ ^{Dean would need for} going camping that time. How do you place a value on how much time you are ~~good~~ to these kids? These are your neices and nephews and there are some people you don't mind doing these things for.

Then we had one of my ~~nieces~~ ^{usually} from Detroit who stayed at my mother's, which would be her grandma's. It happened that she was coming up here to vacation the same time that Dean and Shelly would be staying at my house so I said, "Why don't you have Diane come here and stay. Then she'll be closer to Barb and Fran's kids?" Barb and Fran live close to my mother and dad, they can ride their bikes but it's like 4 or 5 miles from Wisnula to Alston so I said why don't you have Diane stay here. There will be more for them to do. I really think I offered because of that reason but to also because when we were at Michigan State. I can think back now how awful we were. We'd free load off of Ruth and Bill two/three weekends a month. We just had the one ~~but~~ but they had to feed us. And when I think of the work now myself of having company after a long summer, I'm glad to go camping and get away because if we are home people come over, ~~and~~ I love having people but I don't think you yourself know the work of having overnight company until you have to do the work. Bedding, clean the house, fix the meals, I think sometimes I get real tired of it ~~and~~ when next summer comes around I'll say, "Sure come on over" because we love having company and that is one time of the year when I can enjoy having company ~~over~~. Diane did come that time too and we had a great time. I really think it's a way of me telling Ruth and Bill "well thanks for letting us freeload off of you." They were just wonderful and when I think if anybody did that to me now I'd really say they're leeches. Some people are and some people aren't. You've got to be real careful about that too.

It's a curious thing when you have people over what you will serve them? I said before ~~Christmas~~ ^{Christmas} I was talking about Christmas visits. The week before Christmas we were invited to a house party. We got an invitation in the mail. Usually the parties we are invited to are by phone but this came in the mail and I guess we were one of the select few that were invited. And first thing we asked, ~~well~~ "What can we bring?" Because the kind of parties we've

always had everybody brings their own bottle to drink, their own mix and usually you bring some kind of a snack or chip in on the food. Well in this case-granted the people do have the money but I just feel so odd about going into somebody's house without bringing anything, but they said "No, no, don't bring anything. The drinks are on us and so are the snacks." They didn't monkey with any food. They did have a nice selection of snacks but still I didn't go empty handed. It's like a guy bringing a six pack of beer to a friend's house or something like this. Unless you're specially invited and then you still ask. It's a matter of courtesy. It's just something in this area. I guess you don't want to be known as cheap or freeloader off somebody. I did bring two boxes of snacks but it in no way made up for the amount of drinks we would drink if we were sitting in a bar or something. It was an interesting type of party where they said to Tom "bring your guitar along." He'll entertain a little bit at parties. As it turned out he brought it there. (He borrowed his brother's guitar to bring there.) They had tapes playing; the party was held in their basement. And then when it got time to go home, there were a few couples left and they said "Oh we didn't even hear you sing yet tonight." The host was kind of embarrassed. "Here we told you to bring your guitar and we didn't hear your singing." Here's a different type of a thing, too, where you talk about a good hostess and a bad hostess. Really it was a source of amazement that this couple even had any kind of a gathering at their house because she's a newcomer to the area. She was Eldborn, I guess. But she was an "outsider" so to say. But everybody thought she was stuck up until you get to know her. ~~But~~ she's actually shy. She won't answer the phone if her husband isn't home during the daytime and yet you talk to her and she's real frank and she's one of these people who have these unhappy ~~faces~~ but beautiful if she smiles.

Anyway we went to this party and ^{Host} (he) greeted us at the door and showed us where to put our coats and our boots and got us a drink and she just sat down all the while. It's really a curious type of thing because I know it's just the way they are. I know a person would just give her credit but she didn't say ~~when~~ when we were leaving, she didn't come and see you to the door; she just said "Oh your weldome." To me to be a good host and hostess, both of you should see people to the door. (Perhaps our self concepts or our preconceived ideas of what a good host and hostess should be?)

Now that we are talking about winter and Christmas time I think I'll go on to make a little bit comparisons about serving drinks there. They served everykind of drink there. They'll serve most any kind of drink there. I guess then we went to Tom's folks Christmas Eve and no drinks were served simply because two of Tom's family were trying to beat the alcoholic problem and it was easier that we all chose it wasn't worth it to tempt them with this type of thing because they are not that secure in ~~thata~~ kicking the habit so to say.

One Saturday night ~~before~~ ^{before} New Years, I can remember it because the 31st was the last day that Pastor Nelson was here and you might be familiar with Pastor Nelson, ~~As~~ ^{As} a matter of fact he said he was taping an interview session the night before ~~there's~~ ^{then came the} something about people like that, they are in a class all their own. You think gee how familiar do you get with a pastor. This is some idea you have when you've been raised. He seems like a good joe, he'll take a drink and then you go this further step and you don't really invite them into your home. He comes and calls and you're receptive enough and you offer them a cup of coffee, but when he comes to call you wonder 'which committee do you want me to be on?' or 'what have I done now?' Well we knew that they were going to be leaving our parish and I thought it's an obligation that I have ~~to~~ ^{to} invite Pastor and Ann over. I kept putting it off and finally on Christmas Eve I asked them, ~~I said~~ ^{I said} "this is such a late date of asking but ~~we~~ ^{we} would like to have you over to eat. Would you have some evening you could come?" I asked Pastor and he said, "Well you'll have to talk to Ann, she's been taking care of all of that, she knows which is what and that." She said ~~"I think Saturday night would be good, but I'll have to call you for sure on that."~~ ^{"I think Saturday night would be good, but I'll have to call you for sure on that."} It was kind of a relief that I had asked them and I had this guilt feeling that they wouldn't come. They had asked us earlier in this Christmas season to go out carolling. They had called us and they had so many couples and it just happened to be a weekend and a Sunday evening where we just couldn't go, and I kept thinking they're going to remember this and they won't want to come to our house because we didn't accept their invitation. (We didn't show up at their invitation.) So she called back and said ~~they~~ ^{they} would be glad to come. ~~We~~ ^{We} were talking about serving drinks, ~~and~~ ^{and} they came over as scheduled and I fixed a dinner for them and I thought well I will put the meat in the oven, (I had pork chops) and they could still have time to bake while they had a drink. So I know, as a matter of fact I can make a comparison. On Christmas day, we had had Tom's cousin over and his aunt. We didn't take out the bottle of scotch because we don't ordinarily keep this in the house. We had bought it ~~because~~ ^{because} my cousin and her husband were to come over ~~and they had always~~ ^{and they had always}. They were supposed to come Christmas time and they weren't able to make it. So I thought to myself, we'll save this scotch for some special occasion because it's a little bit more expensive. And we also had two bottles of champagne that we had gotten for a good deal, ~~and~~ ^{and} you know you save something like that for a special occasion. So we asked them, "What would they like to drink?" and he said, "Ann would like something with sweet in it" and Tom said, "Why don't we crack out that champagne?" I said, "On that's a fine idea. I'll have some myself." (Champagne ~~in the bottle~~ ^{in the bottle} will knock me down on my rear so fast but there were other people to drink it) In the meantime, I said, "Pastor would you like some scotch?" and he said, "Ya."

Ya, scotch on the rocks." "Or would you rather have champagne?" No I'd rather have my scotch." He drank the scotch. Like I said we did take out that scotch and champagne and yet we never would have thought of serving it to these other people that had come over. A spur of the minute thing. Was it just the occasion, the fact that we were trying to make an impression on them because they were leaving, hope that they would come back and visit us again some time. That's the way people are in society, I suppose.

Then there became a conflict. Tom's aunt and uncle, recently retired and moved up here from Detroit. They have a daughter who was visiting ~~with them~~ too and ~~they~~ they had called up earlier in the evening and asked, "Are you going to be home this evening?" and I says, "Yes we're going to be home." I must have sounded hesitant on the phone because she said, "Do you have something planned?" I said, "No, not really, ~~the~~ Pastor and Ann are coming over, ~~with us having them over~~ for dinner, but why don't you come over anyway?" "We just want to come over and visit. Carla's home now and she's got to be back tomorrow and she'd like to come over tonight," ~~and I said~~ I said, "Why don't you come?" She asked what time we were eating and I told her — but as it turned out we didn't eat at that time. If Pastor and Ann had been on time we would have been done eating by the time they came ~~and I said~~ *Lina said*, "It's up to you. You're more than welcome to come." She didn't say either way. I told Tom, "Your aunt and uncle called to come over." And he said, ~~and~~ "you didn't tell them not to come," ~~and~~ I said, "Of course not." Well anyway they showed up as we were having our before-dinner drink there and you could see that Lina, Tom's aunt was really embarrassed. She kept apologizing, "Oh I'm sorry that we came at this time, it was a bad time to come. We just thought we would come and visit for a while and then we will have to go. But you go ahead and eat your supper." "In the meantime, I went in the kitchen to check the baked potatoes, luckily I had served something like that and I turned the oven down low. Adults you can always postpone by having another drink, but kids get hungry. The kids started to say they were hungry and snack on a cracker or a piece of bread and I said, "Gee why don't we feed the kids, we can always eat a little bit later." I was polite because I know how kids get hungry and I asked Carla whether she wanted ~~to feed her boys~~ ~~if she wanted~~ to feed her boys. She said no they had been fed before they came. You know kids, they keep saying "I'm hungry, I'm hungry, I want something to eat, too." We fed ours and I cleared the table and I ~~said~~ Ann ~~said~~ "Are you hungry?" She said, "I'm not really too hungry!" Anyway it got a little bit later, ~~and I says~~ They started saying they had to go and I said, "Oh ~~see~~ why don't you sit down and eat with us, because I did have quite a few pork chops. There would be enough for one for each. I did figure for two for each of the adults so that would have covered the three extra people. So I set ~~the~~ table and I said, "Why don't you sit down and eat with us?" I cleared the kids plates and once I had set the table they said, "Okay fine, we won't eat much, ~~though~~ we really ate before

*Aunt +
Uncle*

we left home.⁴ And here's another thing, you know, if I've eaten before I've left home I'm still hungry if I see some other good food on the table. Somebody else's food and somebody else's cooking ~~is~~ always better than your own. They sat down and ate with us and they were really embarrassed that they had interrupted our visit. ~~They were really embarrassed that they had interrupted our visit.~~ You should try to make people feel comfortable. And yet you can't help but think they are going to feel uncomfortable because you interrupted on some dinner plans.

It's something to note that people you have, ^{new} for different occasions. It seems when you have a special occasion, for instance, in our house I'll take out and make sure you have a table cloth on the table, make sure I have my good dishes, I'll serve on glass dishes, I won't serve on Melemac, I'll take out my good silver and serve on that. Make sure when you serve coffee you have a cup and a saucer, you serve matching glasses. You put food in bowls. ~~and~~ This is the same thing we did when I had my mother and dad over for Christmas dinner. But yet they stopped over one evening to visit and I was just fixing supper here at home and I served them in everyday fashion. Our plain old dishes, pots on the table, just like we would eat at home. You see it's the occasion that calls for special type silverware, special table setting. That is when you're serving someone with whom you are real familiar.

End tape IV, side 2

Begin Tape 5, Side 1

Here we are today, myself, VJH, with another young woman from the Alston-Nissula area. We'll just start out by asking and responding back and forth. The voices that you hear will be mine and this other young woman's. I'll be the I and she'll be the response.

I called her on the phone to find out whether she would consent to me interviewing her and taping this and she said, "Sure come on over." So I hopped in the car and came over. She chuckled, and said "Here you are talking about clean houses and I haven't even done my dishes!" I had mentioned on the phone that I would like to talk about housecleaning and people's houses, whether a woman is a good woman, or a good housekeeper. How do you measure whether she's good or bad, or pet peeves you have about people, ideas about cleaning.

I How do you describe a mother, who is a mother?

R Well, a mother is a homemaker who has a family, (some don't have families) and who keeps house, literally, a married person you would have to say.

I Okay take my instance now where I'm a part-time mother, work part-time and go to school fulltime. Could you make a distinction between my type of being a mother?

R You're a working mother and ~~the~~ stay-at-home mother.

I Okay, what else is a good mother

R You can tell a good mother by the way her children behave.

I Could you?

R I think so. Children reflect their parents. In speech, in their mannerisms and the way they dress, also. You don't have to be dressed richly, but clean. I always feel that a person can at least afford a bar of soap or to clean their clothes.

I Right, they don't have to be new.

R Right.

I Okay, now that we are on this cleaning thing, how about a clean house now. Is she a good wife and mother if she keeps a clean house.?

R ^{How} would you describe a clean house? I don't want a house so clean that you can't eat and live in it. I want a house to have a lived in feeling, but I don't want a house that's so filthy that there's breadcrumbs under the table. That type of thing.

I How would you describe your house then?

R Medocore, although I am quite fussy, I yell about 'take your shoes off, brush your feet and hang up your clothes.' I'm very strict about children hanging up their clothes. I don't like things laying all over. I have a thing about magazines, newspapers, etc. I don't like to throw things away until I've seen everything. But I don't like clothes hanging around, that type of thing.

Okay

R Talking about housekeeping and cleaning in general, I think it's the environment. If you've been raised in a clean home, well then you're going to keep up the same way.

Right.

R You haven't got any choice because you're used to seeing things that way. I know some people and they've been raised in homes like that and their homes are just like their mother's homes.

I And they are the same people who've complained and said, 'she's a lousy housekeeper.'

R 'When I get married things are gonna be different.' You never had to clean at home anyway so you don't bother.

I Right, okay can you give examples of these now?

R Well a person's basement, they have a laundry chute and their clothes go down into the basement, but in the meantime their dogs are kept in the basement. And of course the dogs go bathroom in the basement and they are among the laundry. Not only, they keep their canned goods there, their children's skates, etc. Their snowmobile suits, also. The kids run up and down the basement steps stocking feet and they go from the bottom floor to the top floor, socks are filthy. That's the way they have been raised.

I Is it any excuse for a woman to be like that, do you suppose?

R No, but they were raised that way so they don't know any better.

I It doesn't bother them.

R It doesn't bother them. But then sometimes they go the extreme opposite. They were so tired of growing up in that type of home that when they grow up they will be a clean fanatic.

I Do people have excuses, 'Oh gee my house is a mess?'

R They use children, babies, too, in the house. Of course other people have babies and their houses are spotless. I have 2 friends who have six boys and ~~the~~ house ~~is~~ so clean you could probably eat off the floor if you wanted to. And one of them is very active socially, the other one isn't. But she belongs to several organizations and her house is so clean.

I Do her children help her? Is it still a big thing to get your children to help you to work?

- R I think it's half the struggle if kids could learn to hang up their coats and wipe their feet when they come in. Not necessarily take their shoes off.
- I Can you give examples of these things, like you were talking about this one woman you know who's house is a mess ordinarily, and she cleans up the last minute.
- R Oh, she keeps her house in such an uproar. She never does her normal spring cleaning, like other people do. If her sister comes to visit her, she panics and she tears her whole house apart. She'll start washing drapes and while she's doing this she'll decide her cupboards need to be cleaned. Then if she cleaned her dining room table she'd never be able to find anything anyway. It's a drop off for anyone who walks through the room because they will be able to find it when they need it. She panics and then of course everybody is supposed to help her clean up. And if she's called to attend a meeting or visit somebody else, oh she doesn't have time, she has to clean her house. Most women even if they were expecting company, they could take an hour out of their day to attend some function. This lady she does this big frenzy late into the night and then in the meantime she decides she'll have to bake and everything is upside down and then when her company comes she still isn't done cleaning and she tells them she didn't have time. And then she has one of her headaches which I think is just from panicking.
- I Is she known for ~~a~~ headaches?
- R I think it's just part of (function) she's never going to change if she lives to be 95. That's the way I feel about it.
- I Okay how about this other instance you were telling me about where this couple went to visit and this little boy piped up with the comment.
- R Oh, the friends of mine went to visit another home. And the friends who did the visiting were quite clean people. Their house was known to be quite clean. Just as they were preparing to leave their son put his hands on his hips and said he had been in every room in this house and it was an absolute mess. Of course they wanted to slide under the carpet. With all the dust under there I don't know if they would have. I guess the home was quite messy, but lived in. I don't even think this woman was embarrassed about the way she keeps house.
- I How about this other woman who had gone there to work on those church books that time.
- R Oh, we were doing that church work, and their cat. I'm in horrors if I meet cats to start with. We were having coffee and cookies and the cat jumped from the railing to the dining room table. It was just standing in the middle of the table sniffing the cookies and coffee, and she wasn't the least bit concerned. She pushed it off and of course it jumped back several times.

I Does it bother her though? Like some people come over and they are really embarassed about it.

R In fact you call her a day ahead of time and tell her you are coming to visit her.

I And she makes no effort?

R No, in fact, it doesn't even bother her to clean up her house and she doesn't make an attempt to clean up.

I Is her mother like that?

R The girl's mother is the same way. That's why I've come to the conclusion that it is the environment.

I She was raised that way.

R We had been raised to always clean. Every Saturday we had a ritual whether we had anything going on, we had to clean or else.

I Do it in the morning.

R We weren't clean clean, but...

I A comfortable type of clean.

R We had a weekly cleaning and our mother had this thing about washing the drapes all the time.

I Washing thoses dishes every spring, remember?

R Ya, ya. I still do that and I don't even use my dishes and they have to be washed ~~by hand~~.

I Say, don't you think it was a large part that she made us do it?

R I think so, ya.

I We're talking about the same mother now and this type of thing.

R You know you go to homes where the children don't have any kind of chores. I know people, the one friend I spoke of who had six children, she's a real fanatic but she doesn't allow her children to help her because she doesn't think they can do it well enough.

I Right.

R They are boys, but they could be doing dishes because I know other boys who do the dishes. They haven't been taught to work so whether they'll be fanatic or not who knows.

Okay you were talking here that if you call this lady in her frenzy of cleaning and she says no I don't have time to go out and help somebody. How do you determine which meeting is important?

- I Will you go if people call you just for any old thing? How do you decide what's more important to do?
- R I do so many things and I have obligations to so many different organizations. So they will call me at anytime to serve at anyone's funeral. I would go.
- I Do you think a funeral is something that is important?
- R Very important, yes, people don't plan to die see. As LCW we are called on to serve at these, sometimes it does interfere in my schedule, but I still go.
- I You make allowances for stuff like that?
- R Definitely. Because we are obligated. I feel that if you belong to an organization like that you should serve it fully. Otherwise drop out.
- I How do you feel about that some people don't go the funeral home to pay respects? Do you think most people in our community do go?
- R Most people here do go and I myself find myself feeling that I should for the family. Even if I didn't know the person real well then I go for the family.
- I We've had so many deaths in our community in the last two months. And two of the fathers that died were fathers of close friends of ours. Don't you think you try and do something for these friends, you didn't know the father so well but for the friends?
- R Yes I did and I feel that I would want those people to do the same type of thing for me.
- I You would do this type of favor; I'll babysit, I'll bake, I'll run for you and pick up anything for you and when you do that you don't expect anything in return.
- R Definitely not. I would never ~~do~~ because this is your way of showing them that you care for them.
- I It's a way of caring, right?
- R Right. No, you wouldn't expect never anything in return for this type of thing.
- I Okay we can call that help exchange then. Can you think of other kinds of favors you would do for people and you would say okay maybe in the future you can repay the favor?
- R I feel if you carpool with people.
- I Carpool?
- R We've had alot of meetings and we often carpool to these. We do take turns and I feel sometimes annoyed because I often give people rides and these same people never bother to see if I have a ride. I guess they assume so that I have a car and don't need a ride. There are times when I wouldn't mind riding with someone.

I But they don't call you up?

R They don't bother to call me, ~~No~~. I am annoyed then, it's a pet peeve to me. Whether I have a right to feel this way or not.

I Have you ever told them that you want a ride?

R They're very close friends of mine that ask me. There are several friends that we do exchange rides with and we take turns.

I Oh you would feel free to say, "Can I ride with you?" ?

R Oh I have a friend that if we have to attend church in another town I never would hesitate to ask her, "Would you mind picking me up?" And if she says they aren't going or it's a bother.

I We were talking about carpool and types of exchanges and you were saying there are some people you wouldn't mind giving a ride to and you would say "I don't expect them to give me a ride in exchange because they would repay me in some other way."

R And I don't just say family that I would automatically give my family a ride because my sisters-I would go out of my way to pick them up and I wouldn't expect them to pay me back at all or my father or one of my brothers. But the other brother I wouldn't go out of my way for him because he's the type of person that if you asked him to sharpen your skates, (we're the type of family that exchanges favors) but if you ask him he'll say "fifty cents." Which is very irritating. Because maybe you've done something for him and you feel that maybe this is one little thing he can do for you. Each one of ^{us} does something in a certain way. Like you can cut hair. You always gave me haircuts.

I Right.

R Of course I made your pie dough.

I Right.

R That type of things.

I It's exchange.

R It's understood exchange.

I Right.

I And it might be the type of exchange where you would give me four favors before I would give you one back.

R I wouldn't even think this is the fifth time I've helped Joan and you know she hasn't even given me a ride to L⁴anse.

I Right.

R I wouldn't even be counting them in my head because I would say, "Well it's just one of those things." And yet, my brother, Jim-I wouldn't do these things for.

I I often think of that time when we used that stapler when we were putting up that ceiling in that shed in Baraga in that trailer. We used that stapler and Tom borrowed it and went back for him and Tom plowed Jimmy's driveway and you know Jimmy's driveway.

R How long and circular it is.

I Tom plowed that out and just out of a matter of courtesty Tom said "how much do I owe you?" He said, "How many staples did you use?" and Tom had to pay him for that many staples and he probably did \$5.00 worth of work and we had to pay him fifty cents or something. It was ridiculous.

R Ya,

I But you said there's some people and it includes relatives that you'd say, I'm going to get my last dime.

R My husband is much like me, he doesn't concern himself either. His family is very, very different. They look for evens. For instance Christmas trees. We went to get a tree and he has a lot of trees and he said you owe me \$5.00, his own son. And if I had even ten trees and they took even one I would say go ahead and take it. I hate to put a price on anything. I think that's why I bring things to rummage sales, I feel embarassed to sell them.

I Me, too.

R My sister-in-law would have a garage sale and be mad because I didn't come and buy anything because her daughter would make fun of anything my daughter would wear to school that was hers.

I That's true.

R I would just as soon give things away as well as sell them. I don't like to put a price on clothes, etc.

I And yet like this other sister-in-law of yours, she's generous in other ways.

R Surprisingly so.

I She's generacious in some ways but then she is forgetful. Tell about the nightgown.

- R Oh, my daughter ^{got} had three robes at Christmas time. Well she (sister-in-law) happened to be over and she said, "What are you ever going to do with all those robes?" I didn't know if we could exchange them or what. Well she said one will fit her daughter and we happened to know the price and it was \$5.00. Well fine, she took it and she never did pay the \$5.00.
- I Did she tell you that she would pay \$5.00?
- R She mentioned that she would give us the \$5.00. There Shelly was left without a Christmas present because she took the robe and never did give me the \$5.00 and yet to this day owes me the \$5.00
- I You never forget stuff like that, do you?
- R No, I don't. She has a very bad habit, she'll call you and say, "Will you pick something up for me?" Yet you could do the same thing and I wouldn't even ask you for the money.
- I Right.
- R Then when I came home if you didn't have it then you'd remember in a week or two time, well I owe you some money and I'll pay you for that.
- I Don't you think that you and I would remind each other?
- R How can you remind a sister-in-law that's touchy?
- I Don't you think it's harder to deal with in-laws than you're own immediate family. Even harder than a friend because you would tell a friend.
- R Right
- I That's true
- R Right, I think I would tell a friend. A sister-in-law is touchy, you can't tell her, she get's real annoyed especially when you mention money to her. So she has a bad habit of asking you to pick up stuff for her and not paying for it.
- I Not paying for it?
- R Never paying it
- T Is there a way of getting around this by saying, 'you don't have any money.' Well there's times when I had to say, 'See I don't have any money, do you have the money for it?'
- R I'd tell her direct, 'Well I'll stop over and pick up the money.'

- R I don't even say do you have the money, I say, "I'll stop and pick up the money because I'm going right by your house!" We've gone together on shower gifts, you go together and buy a larger gift. One person will buy it and then she will have to go and collect the money. I used to do this and now if she's in on it, I'll mention to the other person you get the money from her. I'm not gonna stuck with it and I have gotten stuck with it.
- I How about the term "gettin' left holding the bag"? Does that describe it?
- R Exactly.
- R We went together for a gift for someone who was moving away out of town and we bought a knife set.
- I Did you ever get paid for that?
- R Never. So off hand I could literally say she owes me \$20.00. But if I owed her a dollar she'd be sure and remind me and I'm sure I don't owe her one because she would have told me by now.
- I That's true and yet some people will just plain forget, don't you think?
- R She isn't one of those people who just forget and I've come to the conclusion that I don't want people like that for friends because she just uses people.
- I Right. Because I often think of our sister-in-law, the one who lives here. She's good about this.
- R She does forget though.
- I Right she does forget. She owes me for one thing that I would never remind her, something that happened years ago and if I told her you know she'd be so darn embarassed now, wouldn't she?
- R Right, but you should have told her right then
- I I didn't think about then, I was busy at the time and she would be embarassed.
- R Would she?
- I Well her husband would, because he wouldn't take anything unless he pays for it immediately. He's so generous.
- R He's the very opposite of the other brother we mentioned.
- I Ya.
- R In fact, she gets you mad because he's always wanting to do something for you.

- R He's very generous with his money, that type of thing.
- I Right.
- R There you can't say environment with money because they, ^(brothers) were both raised in the same house.
- I But don't you think with her it's the way she's been raised.
- R You mean the sister-in-law?
- I Our sister-in-law, our brother's wife.
- R Oh ya, she was raised in a home where you pay for everything.
- I Right
- R They count their money, though, I think they live on a very tight budget.
- I Well for example if I were to say I have an extra jacket of Criag's and she'll say, "Well it's good yet, I'll buy it for Timmy."
- R She has a habit of buying things
- I Yet if I have something small I'll pass it to Stephie and I don't expect anything else because you do other things.
- R And even if I didn't you would still send them over, wouldn't you?
- I Right. It's a big hang-up. Tom gets so upset. Remember when we were first married "Why are you exchanging things and giving things away?"
- R Mine is just the opposite because he gives everything away and I get mad at him sometime. He comes home with this Coors beer and he gave it to the brother-in-law. I mentioned the sister-in-law- he gave him 3 cases of beer, gave it to him.
- I To him.
- R To him and I figure it's \$6.00 a case so I figure that's \$18.00. I think it's because they get along very well and my other brother-in-law is very funny about taking money. Although Fran does take it.
- I This man that you're talking about. Tom plays guitar and he uses his amplifier. Charlie will come for a haircut and he still says he's going to give him a six pack of beer ~~and~~ the haircut besides.

R You just can't repay him

I No, there's no way of repaying him.

I So last spring when Tom did that tutoring. Remember for one of their sons. Well he wouldn't take any money for that because he says he owes that to Charlie. Iris tried paying him. Charlie wouldn't because he said Iris hired him.— You and Iris have to settle. So you know what they ended up giving us, that Coleman lamp, that one they didn't use in their camper because they had another one.

R They still had to pay.

I They still had to pay, right. How do you get around something like that? You just don't. If Tom did a favor he wouldn't keep track of it, right?

R I don't think Tom keeps track of favors. Do you think so?

I Well sometimes men will though.

R I don't think they actually do but they always do each other favors and they feel obligated. They want to pay them somehow. They can't pay with money and yet I'm complaining because Fran gave all this beer, but I think my complaint was I was annoyed with the sister-in-law so I was annoyed that he gave it to him. It didn't matter to me that he was giving it to him, but yet I probably would go and do the same thing. If I had a chance.

I Right. How about this idea we give bakery away? We'll bake something and if I have something fresh I'll bring some to you. You know if you bake those good orange cookies or those fruit cookies. You always bring a few of them over, and yet I've yet to come home with anything from my in-laws. My mother-in-law just doesn't send.. She's made bread and she's never, never sent anything.

R ^(Mother) Mine is different. If she makes bread and she doesn't want the whole loaf she'll split it in half and give us a half of the loaf of bread. I often even go visit a friend and bring fresh baked goods.

I If you've made them you figure well I'll bring a little bit to her.

R Just even a little dish full.

R I think it's a thing that our mother has taught us. It's a habit.

I Generosity, but don't you think sometimes that is a form of paying for something that you can't pay for with money. Like you said there are some things you just can't pay for with money.

R No, because what I bring to you I just want to share what I've baked That's all.

I But sometimes for example Tom went and plowed Pa's driveway out. And he was going to pay him for plowing his driveway. I mean that's out rageous but he figures he should for us kids. So Tom said no way are you paying me for that . Well he ended up giving fifty cents each to the kids. Then he said, 'Ma give them a loaf of bread.' So see that was given in place of money, I'm sure that bread was. For the favor of plowing out his driveway.

R I don't know why they take anything at all then. But you can't refuse, they are insulted if you do.

I Oh, that's for sure. You can't refuse the food part, right. You can refuse but you can't refuse food or coffee if they say come have a cup of coffee.

R Exactly

I There's a difference.

R You can't refuse it.

R Exactly because they'll say you don't like my baking or my coffee, isn't that good enough?

I Okay, the same place you were talking about the basement

R Oh that place, you don't get a cup of coffee when you are visiting there. I have been there in an instance when they have been having a beer. She and a visiting friend were having a beer. She knows I don't drink beer but instead of offering me something else she made a snide, 'Well you said you don't drink beer so I guess you don't get anything to drink.' She didn't even offer me a cup of coffee or tea. I'm not real fond of alcoholic beverages but we do keep them on hand and if other people like a drink, we serve them one. I still keep coffee or tea for other people who don't drink. It's very seldom you go there that she'll make coffee special for you. If she happened to have made a pot of coffee or morning coffee left she'll offer it to you.

I *A fellow* has been working there and he said she keeps warming it and warming it all day and by the end of the day it's lousy coffee. His wife was teasing him and said why don't you take a thermos of coffee with you, but you don't take coffee into another person's house.

R Well the person we're talking about, I know her mother and she's the same way. She warms up her morning coffee. She's just been born into that environment. It's the way you've been raised, you don't know any better. You were talking about different manners.

- R We visited a couple a week ago. I feel that if the wife is home it's her duty to go to the door and accept people's clothes. We went there and the woman sat at the table playing cards and we stood there with our wet boots and there was no place to put our wraps, no closet or anything, We were standing there until the husband finally got up and said, "oh your coats." He takes them and brings them into the livingroom and when we leave we have to go and get our own wraps. The husband doesn't even get up to give us our wraps.
- I Do you think this is a case. Okay we'll go to Ma's tomorrow and take off our own coats.
- R It's different. Now when you come, I don't take your coat. But when people come to your home and they are guests. I even take my mother's and father's coats, I always take their coats. I don't expect them to hang up their coats.
- I Right.
- R People who visit your home very often, you're familiar with them and they take care of themselves. But these people we don't visit very often.'
- I You thought that was a poor hostess?
- R Yes, but like this other one-they just throw their coats on the dining room table so that you can find it on the way out.
- R Well I know Fran, I don't know if it's from living with me for 15 years or what but he used to be very bad about leaving his underclothes on the floor. He would just walk over them. The clothes hamper was right there and he could have reached and put them in. Now we weren't raised that way, but it's the way he was raised.
- I Okay now we got into talking about poor coffee and dinner and who do you invite over for dinner first of all?
- R First of all for dinner, it's usually family to start with.
- I Family.
- R Right, then my husband's friends. My husband has met many friends and if he says he wants to invite them over for lunch or for dinner I never hesitate to have them because I never treat them any differently than my family.
- I Do you panic when they last minute say, "I'm bringing somebody home for supper?"
- R No.
- I Why is that?

- R I'm going to treat them the same way as my family and whatever we're having to eat will have to be good enough. Sometimes when we won't have enough then I would get excited because then I hadn't allowed enough. Although then I just would throw something else in. We once had company on a Sunday when we had just come from church. Well I threw in a ring of bologan and threw in some chili. They were so excited with the food and dishes were just cluttered all over the place. These people I know have a lovely home and it was my husband's cousin. They were so excited that they were still talking when they left how much they enjoyed it. That was an occasion when my house was a mess, but I couldn't help it. I couldn't do dishes because I didn't have water. But we entertained these people just as royally as if they had been invited a week ahead of time and as if the house was clean.
- I Don't you think the atmosphere makes alot of difference? Who do you suppose sets the atmosphere?
- R The hostess should. She should set it because if she is uptight when the guests arrive or if things haven't been going well, even if things haven't been going well, I think you should put on a good face. Because people can't do anything about your temperment.
- I No. How about in your case where your husband is eager?
- R In fact, he's over eager, because he's always wanting company.
- I He likes to have company?
- R Oh, he enjoys it.
- I How about in families where one of them is an old grouch^{and} the woman would like to have company. Do you suppose that kind of stifles alot of entertainment that a couple would do.
- R I would think so. We have visited homes, of course we haven't had a meal with the people, but we visited a home a friend of my husband and we walked in and the man said they were glad to see us. My husband no matter what time of the day, he's generally glad to see the people. He doesn't feel that you should make appointments with your friends. But he asked them if he had something for a drink, "well I don't know." This type of thing. It leaves you with the attitude that I don't care if I visit there again. If they don't come over, that's okay too.
- When you leave from somewhere and people will tell you come again - have you made up your mind already whether you're going to come again? Definitely made up your mind.
- R Oh definitely, of course with my sister-in-law, I get so annoyed with her. I say over and over again, it's the last time I'm going there.

I Right.

R But society forces us to visit relatives

I Right.

R Well they say, you can chose your friends and not your relatives. Well the less you see of some people the better because you get so annoyed with their habits. Their ~~book~~ keeping and if she has different guests over, (we talked about this before) she'll treat me nicely if I come alone but if her friends are there, not her husband's friends, her friends, she treats her or me like well- 'well, you better stop talking we were having a good time without you.' She's the one who doesn't give me a beer or a drink because they are talking I can't even have a glass of water.

I They'll tell you to sit down.?

R I feel that most people who come into my home-we've had the Pastor and his wife and if you would drop in when they were there I would be just as glad to see you too.

I I have dropped in when they were over

R I would just make some more coffee or whatever we were having and sit down.

I Sit down and include everyone.

R Right, everyone is included. I think the host and hostess set the tempo of the evening.

I How about if they have awful kids?

R The guests or what?

I Either way. I'll give you an example, you go to visit somewhere and you've taken your kids and these people have kids, too. The mother where you are visiting doesn't discipline these kids and they just drive you up a wall. Do you cut your visit short?

R Definitely, because you go away mad and you when leave there you say if I go to visit there again it will be without my kids. If I don't take my kids then it isn't too bad because if her kids are tearing up the house, it's her problem.

I Right. How about if their kids come here, would you tell their kids to behave.?

R I have because I have a friend who comes over and her kids were just terrible, they were climbing on my bookcase etc.

R I finally had to ask them, "don't you do it again"

I Don't you think you would leave your kids home so there wouldn't be any arguments with the parents?

R You like ^{their} ~~your~~ company but they just don't take care of their kids.

Is that the mother's fault there, too?

R Sometimes mothers and fathers because fathers spoil their children, too. The father should discipline, also.

I Right.

R Of course, the mother has a ^{role} ~~range~~ on the discipline I think if she's stays home.

I Do you think so?

R I think so

I Is it back to things ^{king} what is a good mother?

R It comes back to the mother because it's up to the mother.

I Are there excuses a person can have for bad housekeeping. Like myself I can say I didn't have time to clean my house because I've been going to school.

I Okay here we are back to the things of a good mother and I don't always have time to do my housework because I am going to school. I also work. Okay what kind of category do you put me in if I'm not a real homemaker yet I like to bake and do things like this?

R Well, you can distinguish between working mothers because they have an excuse.

I Although do you think it's too much of an excuse sometimes?

R Well, they can use that for an excuse, but you like to keep your house clean and you do clean once a week. There are people who have careers like you who are seeking your career and you do work. They shouldn't be a slave to their housework. There's women and I mentioned this one who has six boys and she won't let them do anything because she's such a slave to her house. I like a clean house.

I But you feel free to go.

R I feel free to because if my house isn't clean when I leave I know it will be there when I get back.

- R We were talking about messy houses and dirty houses.
- I There's a difference between a messy house and a dirty house.
- R A messy house is one that has been lived in. Newspapers and magazines. People are living in this house, but a dirty house like I mentioned before-last weeks supper is still underneath the dining room table. That type of thing. They shouldn't have to feel guilty that they didn't get their housework done.
- I Don't you think this is what society says that in order to be a good mother you should have the house spotless.
- R Yes, I found that out last week when a woman offered to babysit for another's children and she had a clean comfortable home. I mean this is really a hangup with me.
- I It bothers me.
- R It's your environment throughout, you were taught to keep the house clean.
- I Right. If you can.
- R If you had been raised ^{like} ~~by~~ this sister-in-law I was talking about. She worked and it didn't bother her that her house was messy. Now that she is home and does have the time to clean her house she still isn't any cleaner. You know if you were home you would keep your house clean.
- I I think this is the thing that bothers me is I have to determine how much time I'm going to spend studying. I have to put first things first.
- R You learn how to clean your oven every day and keep the drawers straightened out. You just do a general housekeeping.
- I Right.
- R Even with a home like mine I feel guilty when I don't get all these things done. You get a guilt complex after a while.
- I It's pressure, what if somebody comes over and my house is a mess?
- R Exactly, although if you dropped in and I hadn't cleaned, I wouldn't care.
- I Right and the same thing with me, if you came over to my house, it ~~it~~ wouldn't bother me.
- R You would apologize for it

- R Now it could have been my husband and I stopping by and it wouldn't have made any difference, you wouldn't even have apologized would you?
- I No, well I've gotten to the point where I don't really apologize for my messy house because enough people know that I'm working.
- R And you also go to school
- I Right. And I only have so much time in one day and when it's quiet I have to read.
- R People do though, they set a standard, if your house is clean you're a good mother. It doesn't matter if your kids are chasing around the neighborhood, or using drugs.
- I Right.
- R Who knows all the things your kids are doing but if your house is clean, you're a good mother. People tend to set that as a standard, I think.
- I How about if a woman goes to a bar by herself?
- R We've been raised that that is definitely wrong. All of society, not just our community, but no self respecting woman just goes and sits in a bar by herself. She just doesn't.
- I And why doesn't she?
- R Well because people will say, what kind of mother is she sitting in a bar? By herself.
- I What if she says she's going out to relax
- R You don't have to relax in a bar, you have to do something else
- I Can a woman honestly leave the house if she and her husband have had an argument and go down to the local pub and have a beer?
- R She's not supposed to, no. She's not a good mother if she does.
- I Right.
- R It all falls back to society, I guess, that's why woman's liberation is coming. If they want to go into a bar that's okay and no one should think anything different of them.
- I So they would be the gossip of the town, too?
- R We know of a person who is, of course it's her daily thing. For me it's washing dishes and she sits in a bar.

- I Right.
- R Three times a day.
- I That's different, too, when it gets to that point
- R Right, but I mean if a person just felt like getting out and letting it all hang out so to speak. You just want to get away from your kids. You couldn't go and sit in a bar.
- I Right. Okay, I want to get onto something else here about sickness and injury. It says here when a member of the household is sick or injured the others are often in need of help. If the woman is sick the family will need someone to cook the meals and do the woman's work. Who would you call to do it? Would you call and ask someone to come in and do it?
- R I would call you and ask you to come. Or my mother. I wouldn't ask my friends to come unless they volunteered to come.
- I Some friends might volunteer to come over and do the work.
- R Well if they have the time. I wouldn't expect them to come. I would expect my family to come first, I think. They should know that I needed some help.
- I Like for instance the day you came over and did that cleaning for me. I wouldn't call you and ask you to come over and do my cleaning with my sore back.
- R I'm that way though I like to help people if I know that they need some help.
- I And yet you know that I wouldn't call you
- R Oh, you wouldn't ask me to come
- I No because I felt my cleaning could go for a week if it didn't get done, I'd do what I can and that would be it.
- R Right. But I'm that type if there are people who need help I don't mind helping. I don't mind pitching in. Then going back to favors, they would probably never come and do that cleaning in my house. But they would do something else for me and I don't even assume it I just do it. Although I wouldn't just go and clean anybody's house. The other sister-in-law I spoke of I just wouldn't go to her house. Although I have when she's been sick.
- I Have you?

- R Oh, yes I have. One of her children was in the hospital and I went.
- I Oh, right. I was with you that time
- R Ya, we've gone there and cleaned
- I Here's another thing when I went and had my hair cut at the hairdresser's for Christmas, it was so dirty the day before and I was too ashamed to go there with dirty hair so I washed it, and then they washed it again when I got there. But she, ^{sister-in-law} said, "I was so embarrassed when they went into my messy bedroom." Is a bedroom something that you shouldn't go into, your bedroom, the man and woman's?
- R In the bedroom, I never go into my other sister-in-law's bedroom. I never do. I think it's a private room, although in your house I'll go in there to find a comb or perfume or anything.
- I Right
- R I just feel that it's another part of your house
- I I would go into yours, too
- R If I'm looking for something I would just go right in although wouldn't do that in other people's homes.
- I Well, my mother's house I would go right in her bedroom
- R If I was looking for something I would but that is sort of a private room.
- I Right
- R Even for children I don't even let my children go in. Even for cleaning you just don't go into other people's bedrooms.
- I Right.
- R Maybe to draw the bed covers and that's all.
- I Have you ever been at somebody's house and been embarrassed to ask them can you use the bathroom?
- R No, I don't hesitate to ask them to use the bathroom.
- I Now you've lived away when Fran was in the service and you didn't have relatives around. Have you ever been laid up where you had to call someone to come in and help? Or did you have that close friends who would call on you and see how you are?
- R Well I had friends who would call me and if they found out I wasn't feeling well they would, ^{come} right in and done the work.

- I Well, we've talking about giving a ride and that kind of brings us to; who would you give a ride into town?
You said somebody called here today and asked you if you wanted to go to L'Anse, right?
- R Yes. Well I would call her again to go with me to L'Anse. My pet peeve if someone wants a ride to Houghton or Hancock, and they've gotta be home at a certain time. We go Houghton and Hancock shopping say once a month, if that often, and we plan it a big shopping day. We don't want someone on a ride that has to be home in two hours. Those type people I would rather didn't come on a ride with me. I tell people if they want to come on a ride with me well I don't want to be back until such and such a time and if it's not convenient, just don't come along. And if I'm driving I feel that I can set the pace.
- I Right, that's if you're in a hurry
- R If I go with someone else and I know they are in a hurry I do try to hurry to fit their schedule because I am on their ride. I would hurry and try not to be a nuisance to them. I know of a friend who has taken someone else, she insisted that she ride along with them and they told them when they left that they have a limited time and they have to be back, she made them sit in the car for an hour while she was shopping in Penney's. It was an inconvenienceto them for that while.
- Well, they probably wouldn't ask her again.
- R I don't think they would ~~even~~ ^{ask me} mention it again. In fact I have this sister-in-law and she ~~happened~~ ^{asked me} to pick up an item for her and I spent money on a phone call, "was it the right item?" I was late for a dinner. My husband had made plans to go out to dinner all week because I was going to be home at 6:00, I got home at quarter after seven and I was late and I had to stop at the sister-in-law's where ~~she~~ was to bring the stroller that I had purchased and when I walked in the door ~~she~~ she said, "Oh no that's not what I wanted!" That was the last time, and I said to my husband, "If you dare to even mention that we are going shopping, I'm not buying her one more thing."
- I But there's a difference then of going to L'Anse than going to Houghton?
- R Oh definitely because to L'Anse anyone could ride because we don't do general shopping. It's where we do our banking and go to the doctor's.
- I But to Houghton, it's a pleasure trip.
- R Ya it's a pleasure
- I You are gone all day.
- R Yes, and I don't want anyone telling me they have to be home at a certain time, then they ~~just~~ ^{said} say they can't go.

- I How about if you give people a ride and they don't buy you coffee?
- R I feel hurt.
- I How about if they offer money, would you take money if they offered you money?
- R No, if they hadn't had the sense to offer to buy me lunch or a cup of coffee I would say, "don't bother." I wouldn't take money for the ride then. I would say no. I think it's a bad thing to accept.
- I I don't know if it's a bad thing; it's just a custom
- R
- I That people have around here. Is there a difference if a person called and asked could they have a ride with you, or if you invited them?
- R That would be different, yes. If you had to go out of your way to pick them up and bring their kids someplace to a babysitter, you are doing them actually a real favor by having them come along with you.
- I You would take money from them then for gas?
- R I would then, if they said if you're going to town, I'll share expenses I would say okay.
- I Okay we were talking about accepting money or coffee if you were going to town, I think you were talking about this friend of yours.
- R Well she and I when we go - if she drives I buy the coffee or the lunch and if I drive she does the same thing, and yet there's times when we know each other well enough and we talk about our finances and if I know that she has to buy a certain item and she doesn't have the money, I'll buy my own lunch and she'll buy her own. We think of each other enough that we tell each other if we can buy lunch. She'll say, "See I'd like to buy your lunch today but I don't have any money." Well we're so frank with each other that it doesn't matter.
- I How about when somebody offers to buy you lunch, do they offer before you chose off the menu because if somebody else is going to buy your lunch you're not going to be real extravagant.
- R Yes, in fact I buy as little as I can because I don't want to put that other person out.
- I Okay, there's a difference there, too?
- R

- R Sometime you really appreciate somebody buying you lunch because you know that they have a limited income.
- I You ought to know when to accept lunch and when not then?
- R Right.
- I When to accept money from somebody and when not to?
- R I think you have to know the people.
- I Do you think it's a matter of pride with some people?
- R Yes, we know people like that.
- I People who you know can't afford it, but you take something from them anyway.
- R Right because they would be insulted. I have taken money from people when I really didn't want to but in order to save that person's pride I've taken it. They would have been insulted. Probably lost their friendship then.
- I Can you think of an instance? Something you can describe offhand.
- R Not right offhand.
- I Okay let's just go on and we can come back to that? Okay they had a thing here about babysitting, who do you babysit for? Like I know that you have our sister-in-law that you exchange babysitting ~~with~~. Yet I have never kept track if I owe you a babysitting favor or if you owe me one.
- R I don't hesitate to ask you, "Do you mind if my kids come over?" Although now my children have gotten older and I don't need a babysitter. And then when I had meetings and I belonged to a lot of things I hired a babysitter. Where I know some people they are constantly dropping their kids off, they just don't bother with a babysitter. Which I think isn't fair to their friends either.
- I Do you think that some friends will take advantage of others?
- R Oh definitely, they'll go out when they don't need to go out.
- I Or else they'll go out when they don't need to go out
- R
- I How about this one instance you were talking about where this one woman we were talking we know, she's kind hearted, and we know she'll babysit for anybody. She'd asked to have her boy babysat over there and the mother was gone. You want to tell about that instance, they were playing outside behind the garage?

- R Oh sure, she had called early in the morning and she wasn't going to be at home when her child came off of the school bus so she called a friend and said "Do you mind if my son comes to your house off the bus?" "Will you be home today?" "Oh definitely," she said, and when she went to pick him up there the children were outside by themselves and the kid said, "Our mother is gone to L'Anse." Here she had left these two children unattended.
- I How old were the children?
- R Five year old boys unattended. With no qualms she just assumed they could take care of themselves. I don't think that's fair either. Of course, I guess you would say that next time you wouldn't ask that person to babysit for you.
- I Are there some people you would pay for babysitting and others you wouldn't?
- R None of my friends I would pay because I would probably babysit for them, but if I had a babysitter I would pay. Friends I wouldn't pay, I don't think so.
- I How about relatives?
- R Although I have a habit of bringing them something if I have gone downtown. I'll bring a dish towel or just some little souvenir.
- I To show that you appreciate it
- R Right to show that, and I know that she would never take the money.
- I Right there, because you know that she wouldn't take the money again?
- R Not everytime do I bring her something. I know the last time she babysat I brought her a bag of doughnuts. Bakery and she would have never accepted money, she would have said "Well I'll bring my kids over." I wanted to show my appreciation because I was gone a little longer. I think if I'm gone for an hour I say thank you and I don't bother to bring a gift, but if I'm gone for the day, they had to give them lunch and tend to them.
- I Another thing; do you bring the food over for lunch or is that expected?
- R Some people you do and some people you don't. You would be highly insulted if I brought food over.
- I Right
- R Unless the child is needing some special food.
- Ya dietetic food or something like that.

- R And to my mothers I never would. Some people they would expect you to bring soup or whatever they were going to eat. Right, I wouldn't do it myself. I would be insulted if people sent food. I know you sent a can of tuna over with Craig because he's so crazy about tuna that he eats a whole canful himself.
- I Right, then sometimes, too, if you're going early in the morning, might bring milk.
- R I often feel like bringing milk because some children drink alot of milk, and I feel if you have alot of milk on hand, why not bring it over.
- I Right.
- R I think it's kind of understood that you don't bring anything, you just bring your children over.
- I Right.
- R I feel that if I have asked you and you can't, you really can't
- I It isn't because I don't want to I have a good reason.
- R You have a good reason, and I've never been insulted when you can't babysit. Although I've know that I've babysit for these people 100 times and everytime I ask them there's such an excuse. They are doing something all the time and I've quit asking them. And in the same manner I've quit babysitting for them.
- I Right, when one doesn't get repayment.
- R Well not repayment, but one get's tired of being taken advantage
- I Okay,
- R They aren't even your friends anymore they are just using you for a dropoff.
- I Okay how about, do you mind going to somebody elses house to babysit or would you rather have them in your own home?
- R Depending who it is. If it were ... kids I'd just as soon have them tear their own house apart. I've done that. We lived away from here in Nebraska and we had friends that their children would just dismantle everything and I would just as soon have them in their house. Quite possibly the mother didn't care if the house was up side down. I used to get frustrated if they came over to my house. So I would offer to go to their house.
- I Do you think people are insulted with babysitting, if they get company and they want to go out somewhere. And they want to pay a babysitter. Is it up to you to pay for their babysitter, or are they going to pay?

R Now that would depend who it was again.

I Would you pay double,?

R Now that would depend who it was again. If I had company from out of-town and we had made arrangements for one night while they were hereto go to the show, I would make arrangements for the babysitter.

I You would pay for the babysitter?

R I would if they were out-of-town guests spending the weekend in my home.

I Would you pay extra for their kids?

R I would tell my babysitter that there would be extra kids in my home, and I would probably offer her something extra. My babysitter wouldn't take it, that's the kind of babysitter I have. But I would offer her ^{pay}. Now if these people lived in our own community, and we had made plans for the weekend to do two things, then I would expect her to pay her share if we had to pool the kids together. But if these people were guests in your home I would just take over. We had visited friends and they just took over and had refused and were insulted when we offered to pay.

I Right, right.

R So I distinguish there between out-of-town guests and local.

I Okay, take for example now when the kids get old enough to babysit. Like now I'll have your two kids babysit because they are old enough. And yet I wouldn't want them to babysit for nothing. There's a difference there again. You say you wouldn't take anything from me. Yet, I wouldn't pay you anything yourself, yet I want to pay them something because they are earning.

R I don't think I would say to my children now you're going to babysit.

I At what age do you decide that?

R I would say around 12.

I Because there has been times when I've said, "Would you mind staying five ten or fifteen minutes."

R That's different. But when you call and say, "Well we're going out for the evening, I think the children should be paid."

I That's the way it should be

R Although my own children don't get paid but then I don't expect them to babysit constantly. We don't go out that often and I would assume they would do it.

I That's one of their chores they should do when they are at home

- I Okay, here's an interesting thing too, keeping one's eyes open for a good deal. For example, you knew after I had my haircut that I needed those rollers. So you were in Kingsford at that shopping center there and you saw all those rollers. And you had already bought me a birthday present but you said that "will be an extra one because you need those rollers."
- R Right
- I So you were keeping your eye out for a good deal, right?
- R Well the fact is this friend of mine is remodeling her kitchen and I saw this nice old fashioned spoon and I had to get ~~them~~ for her for her kitchen. It's just friendship. You just want to give somebody else something.
- I Right.
- R Right, like my friend will see clothes for my kids and she'll buy them.
- I Okay, she'll pick them up and then you'll pay for them?
- R Sometimes I'll pay for them and other times she'll say, "Don't bother paying for them."
- I But when she does buy these, you don't give her the money beforehand?
- R No, she buys it on her own.
- I If she sees it she'll say "geethat's a good deal and I know Barbara would like it, right?"
- R Right
- And you said sometime's she'll take the mney for it and sometimes she won't?
- R Yes, if it's a dollar or two item she won't even take it. I'm the same way. If I've picked up a good deal for someone I'll say, "ah forget it."
- I How about if they say, "no no" "I want to pay for it!" What would you do then?
- R Just not let them pay for it, I guess. I'd try not to. I would say you can pay me back some other way.
- I Do you expect them to repay you right away?
- R No, in fact, I would probably forget about it.
- I Does a person really forget?

- R With certain people you forget and with other people you never forget.
- I You mentioned before they had made a habit of not repaying.
- R Yes, I was mentioning this one. She always wants us to pick up things and then she doesn't every pay. We're leary of those kind of people and I wouldn't look out for a good deal for her because I figure, well, I won't get paid for it. She'll ask me to keep an eye out for things. She asked me and my husband to pick up a mixer for her that she wanted. Well that's okay for herto ask that, but would he ever get paid for it?
- I Right and that's a bigger item there.
- R Right, for her to just assume that he would pick it up for
- I Okay now let's get into borrowing things. Kinds of items that they have are reading material, books,.....
- R I'm a great borrower of books. I have a friend who is very gracious about lending me her books. If she has a brand new book she hasn't even opened yet. I'll just read it and bring it back. I guess she knows though that I'll return it.
- I In good shape?
- R Yes, when I give a book to someone to read I expect they give it back to me or else call me and tell me that they would like to pass it on
- I So you know where it is?
- R I didn't get it back for a long time and when I finally did get it back the covers were off so I decided that person wouldn't get my books again. I have another friend who has moved into the area and she and I exchange books. In fact I went there another day and she had a brand new Reader's Digest Condensed Volume and she said, "Well you read faster than I do so I know you'll bring it back."
- I Is the woman the same one who cuts your hair and says never mind paying me for cutting your hair; I'll just bring my baby over for you to mind?
- R Yes, I babysat for her on Monday and I offered to. She didn't ask me. She mentioned that she was going for her doctor's appointment and I said "Why don't I babysit?" And she didn't hem and haw around, she said, "Okay, fine."
- I She was the one who was ~~home~~ ^{AT MY HOUSE} right before I came, ^{line} and I said, "It would really be nice if you could leave your little girl here but we go up to L'Anse early in the afternoon."
- R She wasn't insulted
- I No, and I don't think she was insulted because I told her.

I She would have been more insulted if I had said, "Sure I'll babysit," and then I said I had to stay home and, ^{be a} martyr about it.

R I think a person should be frank, although I've been real frank with this one sister-in-law of mine and she still brought her baby over. And then it inconvenienced me because my husband called who is a truckdriver and he was a hundred miles from here and he wanted me to come and spend the night and I had the baby. I told her I was expecting my husband to call and she still brought the baby and it didn't make any difference to her. And I was really put out.

I A person should consider. She should think.

R Although, she has babysat for my kids and she wouldn't mind at all if they came. She's real eager to have kids over. Does she watch them though? That was always my question.

I This is what worries me, like I can be sure that when my kids come here that they won't go without hats and they will be fed and they will go to sleep at a proper hour. And another thing we were talking about babysitting, we're going overnight on the ninth and you've already offered to take my kids and I'd rather leave them here for that weekend than bring them to Ma's even.

R Why it is?

I Maybe because you have children. We used to bring our kids to Ma's and now that you and I can exchange it's easier. And with Ma, they won't take money.

R Like dad remodeling the bathroom, I think I gave him \$25.00 and he said it's paid for. He doesn't want money. I think I made him a pot of chili and he said, "wow," he really likes chili.

R He just won't take money

I Right. And the babysitting is between Ma and I, and I'd like to give her the money because she doesn't have any source of income.

R Right..

I And I know that Ma doesn't spend it foolishly and I know she gives some to church even.

R There's a difference when you would offer money.

I Ya, like if we go someplace for a Saturday night, no way will she take money. And then try to get those kids in the middle of the night and they say don't get those kids in the middle of the night; it's cold.

R Ya, that's why we feel we can do, ^{this} with each other.

I Right.

R Because we're the same age and we can understand.

I Right, and I think the kids make a difference too

R Right.

Okay, kitchen equipment have you ever borrowed anything like that?

R Just books mostly. Clothes and shoes from you I think I borrowed. Although I wouldn't hesitate to borrow shoes from you. I wouldn't borrow from friends though and I don't think I ever have.

I I had that one sister-in-law and she used to borrow clothes and never return them and one day I guess we dropped the hint enough that now she returns everything real quickly.

Okay what about sending gifts?

I Is it always proper to send a thank you card?

R I think if you are there and you brought the gift and she thanks you in person then she doesn't have to send one. But if she gets it and you have sent the gift then she should send one. You expect one and you have a right to say you expect it.

I Right.

R But you shouldn't expect one if you were thanked in person.

I I sometimes think how foolish it is when they have thanked you in person and then they send you a card in the mail a few days later. It's a waste of money.

R You shouldn't have to

I If I've sent a sympathy card without money I don't expect it to be answered.

R Right, I sent a gift to some people, my husband and son had stayed with some people out on the road. I sent her a gift which happened to be a cookbook. Well when they came home they mentioned her delicious cooking and I'm wondering now was she insulted by that cookbook. After I sent it to her. I never received a thank you.

I What kind was it?

R It was a cookbook that the local people had published and I thought it would be a nice gift.

I Did you write in there that they had enjoyed the cooking?

- R I said in there that they especially enjoyed the lasagna that had made.
- I Then she shouldn't be insulted.
- R Well she never acknowledged it and I'm wondering am I right in thinking that she should have sent me a thankyou. And we didn't even recieve a Christmas card from her this year. For the first time and now I'm really wondering, was she insulted?
- I Well when you think of it, when somebody's been over and you've done them a favor and they've sent you something in return, do you have to write?
- R Yes, I think you should. I had sent a coffee warmer to a friend and she wrote back and said the weekend after I had been there they had more company and they used it for the whole weekend. I was so excited that I had picked a good gift and she really liked it. And then she wrote that would we please come again. That type of thing should be acknowledged. Now I am wondering although I did speak to her husband on the phone. He called here one day and was just as friendly as could be.
- I Maybe it didn't occur to her.
- R She might have thought I was reciprocating by sending a gift and that was enough.
- I Okay now we've been to Detroit and you've been there too and ~~visited~~ ^{visited} at June's and Don's. Do you send them a note after you get home?
- R We had an evening with them so I sent them a card and told them I had a good time.
- I Right.
- R Some other people might not do it, they thank you personally so you really shouldn't have to.
- I Okay, what is the difference between a mobile home and somebody who puts up a wooden type home?
- R None, I think everyone is just as proud of the house they move into.
- I Did you have a housewarming when you moved in?
- R No, I think it was inconvenient when we moved in. I don't think we would have invited anyone but the family anyway if we did. I think though that that's going out.

- I Talking about customs in the community, we have exchange gifts at Christmas parties. How do you go about saying, I really don't like this gift? You can't say that you don't like it.
- R That's a matter of tact. Of course if I went to a party and I brought my gift and I wouldn't know who was going to receive it and they made some snide remark I would be insulted.
- I Right, so that's a chance you take when you bring exchange gifts?
- R Yes. I know of a lady who comes to all the parties and she won't bring an exchange gift because she says she doesn't like what she gets. She's very honest, she doesn't bring one so she doesn't take one. She says she usually gets things that she doesn't need. She's frank and tactful enough not to bring anything and then make a remark
- I So it doesn't bother you?
- R To me it doesn't matter, sometimes I get things I need and sometimes I don't. Well I would never say, "Who brought this?" and it would probably be the person next to me.
- I Right.
- R That's tact.
- I Right.
- R That's manners and tact. Regardless if I could never use it, instead of saying something not so nice I would just make no comment.
- I Do you think people are in classes?
- R I think so here they are, yes
- I Money bracket classes?
- R We know people who are, but yet, though, if you know them money doesn't make any difference to you. We know of a family in this area who are known to have more money and compete with each other for money. We know the people, and when I'm with them I don't think they are any better off than I am.
- I No.
- R I think ~~they~~ ^{they'll} make comments but I don't think they are any better off.
- I Right.
- R And as far as people they aren't any different
- I No. Don't you think you associate with people in your own class?

- R Yes, in fact you were talking about people money-wise and we were talking about many of my friends are people who like to read, play scrabble anddo crossword puzzles,
- I That's intellectual, isn't it?
- R Right and you're drawn to people and you say, "Oh you like to play scrabble" and yet you find yourself drawn to people because they like to do the kinds of things you like to yourself, do. I think it's more than money, because I don't pick friends for money.
- I But don't you think money speaks sometimes?
- R Oh it definitely does and we know it does. Although we don't have friends that show their money, do you?
- I No, but I was thinking about this family who does have money and yet they are known to have less intelligence than people have that don't have money. They have the prestige and the power but not the schooling.
- R You take a family that had the mnnney and education, we would compare themto the other one forgetting that they don't have the education.
- I Right.
- R Money does speak
- I People overlook the fact that you don't have an education because you have money. Money is powerful.
- R It does speak, it gets you a job and everything. More than your education does. It's who you know and not what you know.
- R I think of these ladies in the LOW and they are so annoyed if we even throw something off a plate if they've only eaten half a roll. It's wasteful. If someone had eaten off of it, they would cut a part of it off and savethe rest. They are annoyed with us.
- I But they have lived through times whenit's been harder.
- R Right. Because we are wasteful. They aren't stingy though
- I Could you still call them ~~them~~ goodhearted?
- R Oh, definitely, they have a right to be annoyed with us because we are so wasteful. But stingy people, ya I know a stingy person.
- I Okay, tell me.
- R Well I mentioned before about the Christmas tree.

- R They are so stingy, everything has a price on it. If you would ask them for a ride or something that was sitting in their yard, an old discarded desk that they had no just intention of selling until you would mention.
- I It meant nothing to them until you wanted it.²
- R Right. And then of course the price is sky high and you don't even touch it. Everything is money.
- I Okay, do you know someone who is good hearted? How would you describe somebody who is goodhearted?
- R Someone who goes out of their way for everybody. *Judy*. for example. In fact she's so good hearted I'm mad^d at her because she doesn't think of herself.
- I Right,
- R They are always thinking of someone else. They don't neglect their family. But you ask them to do something or go somewhere or clean someone's basement, for example, the pastor's basement had to be cleaned and she came and helped. She didn't say, 'I don't have time; I have to do my own house.'
- I Right. Okay we were talking about someone always willing to give a hand. Okay now, greedy?
- R I don't know, I can't think of anyone.
- I Do you think that term would apply more to kids? Or what do you call grownups who are greedy?
- R Selfish and they want everything for themselves.
- I Tight?[?]
- R Ya, they're are tight people. They are tight because they are greedy.
- I Do you know some people who count every penny and make sure you get every cent back.
- R Oh you're talking about when you owe somebody money right.²
- I Ya

- R Like I had a friend pick me up some stockings and she would have owed me four cents; I wouldn't have bothered to get that four cents back. I would distinguish this, that if another person did this to me all the time, I would make sure and get my four cents back.
- I Even for this amount?
- R Well I don't know what the word is for myself, but I would treat people the way they treat me. Although you treat people equally but in that case you wouldn't.
- I And there are some people that you wouldn't bother to send the change back.
- R But in that case you would
- I Like for example those reunion pictures. One girl kept asking, "Well when are they going to be in the paper and when are we going to get these pictures?" Like I was expected to pay for them. Well I was just a little bit insulted when I heard through the grapevine that I was supposed to pay for these and I wasn't supposed to. These were just things that I was having done and I would have given them to them for nothing. So I mailed them to her and now with my birthday card she sent a dollar in the card saying, "Sorry I haven't sent it sooner." And yet those pictures that I sent her probably wouldn't have cost her a dollar only thirty cents or something.
- R But you just kept the money anyway?
- I I wouldn't bother to send the change back. You wonder. Then another girl wrote and said, "Thanks for sending the pictures, how much do I owe you? We'll see you Christmas time." I saw her Christmas time and she didn't make any offers for those pictures. So which is worse?
- R I don't know
- I You and I would give each other the change, but if it's a penny or two either way forget it. But we make a point to give each other the change.
- R Yes, somehow we do it.
- I I mean we try to give the amount and if it's twelve cents fine, give the twelve cents. You might need twelve cents some time.
- R Right, with our sister-in-law, I always make sure and give her every penny because she makes sure and gets every penny. If you owe her 17 cents, you have to give her 17 cents.
- I Right. But it doesn't hurt your relationship with her?
- R No, in fact, it's a joke already

R I don't mind telling her if she asks how much does she owe me, I tell her right to the penny,

I Right.

R Sometimes for you, if you had got me something and it was 29 cents and I gave you a quarter that would suffice.

Right.

R But if it was her, you would say 29 cents and you got your 29 cents.

I Right.

R It's just a matter of people, too.

I I think so. How about spongers, people who sponge or are leechers?

R Do you know people who are spongers and leechers?

I Yes, how about people who drop in at meal time?

R I don't think I know any who do?

I Don't you?

R I don't have anybody who drops in on me like that.

I Never?

R No, I don't ever remember, no.

I Okay, how about an honest man, can you give me an example of somebody who is an honest man?

R Whose ~~is~~ very honest and, ^{whom} I admire?

I Right.

R Just offhand and one that I would have to know quite well, hey?

I Right.

R I'm trying to think of someone who I've had an experience with.

I Well let's put it this way without getting into so many characteristics. Someone you know who wouldn't screw you or take advantage of you.

R Oh yes, this same man we talked about before.

I You mean the one your husband gave this beer to?

R Oh yes, he would never take advantage of you.

- R I know his wife would, but he just wouldn't. I was annoyed when my husband did give him that and yet I didn't stop to think that this man would never outdo you anything. He would go out of his way to help you, I think. Very honest. In fact you would admire him for his honesty.
- I Is he always willing to work?
- R Yes, and he's very honest. If he doesn't ^{want to} do something, he'll tell you to.
- I He's gotten more so that way.
- R But he would never cheat you, never.
- I Okay we're going to wrap up this tape, you were saying you are going get your Tupperware today from this girl who had a Tupperware party. ~~_____~~. I didn't get a card ~~_____~~ but I know a phone call is acceptable, too. She said she was having a Tupperware party and you're welcome to come if you like. And I thought to myself, why did she invite me to her party? Because I don't really know her that well and yet she's a young person, just gotten married and starting out so you feel maybe you should go to her party. So anyway I told her, "Well gee I have plans that night, I will be up at Tech and I won't be back." She was kind of embarrassed and she said, "Anytime you're driving through from town stop in for coffee." I said, "Fine. Thanks for calling" and good-bye. But I didn't offer to order anything from her. If somebody closer had called and said I'm having a party tonight, I would have said well I have school tonight but I'll place an order. Right?
- R I think you do that with your friends, although I did go to that party because simply I needed some Tupperware.
- I Well isn't it a polite way of saying you can't be at everyone's. How do you decide whose party you will go to?
- R I myself invite close friends. I don't pick on people I don't know and in fact I hesitate and ask myself, do I know her?
- R I was invited to her wedding and I did go and I know her aunt and I was real surprised when I was invited to her party and yet you have to give her credit for trying.
- I Right and I was glad she called but.....
- R She wasn't insulted.
- I But still if somebody else had called I would have said, "Why don't you order me this or that or drop off a catalog and I'll look at the catalog."
- R How do you distinguish?
- I Yes, how do you determine?
- R If it's your friends you feel like you owe them something and you didn't really know her that well.

- I Does it maintain a friendship when you go?
- R It must because I think some people are insulted if you don't come, although I mentioned before we started taping that I have a friend who is a Tupperware dealer. She has invited me to them by phone, by card.
- I These are in her home?
- R In her home, she would have her own parties. She's invited me to ride with her twice when she has gone to parties. She likes to have me along for the company and enjoys my company, I imagine that is why she invited me and twice I've had to tell her no there. Yet she was just over last week and she doesn't seem to have any hard feelings. I think if she knows you well enough and she knows you're not trying to put her off, she'll come back and ask you again.
- I So you can talk ^ha person in the face or not?
- R Right. You can tell who your friends are, and, of course, I've known her since I was a young girl. She knows I wouldn't put her off by saying I'm going someplace else or doing something else. I did have that experience when we moved to Nebraska and everybody could have said well I'm not going to invite her because she's new. But there again it's a different thing because no one has any relatives.
- I And don't you think it was your circle of Air Force friends?
- R That started it off?
- I Yes,
- R Well, I didn't know anybody when I first went there.
- I Who did you get to meet first then?
- R Who did I get to meet?
- R Air Force people.
- I Air force people?
- R Although we knew lots of other people. The friends that we write to now, they were all civilians. I got to know them through bowling and neighbors and through other people.
- I That's true.
- R Right.'
- So how do you decide which party you are going to go to?
- R Sometimes I feel obligated to go
- I It's an obligation?

I It's an obligation.

R Right. I feel obligated. Especailly if they've booked a party from my party then I feel I really have to go and I do go. Although I do use Tupperware and I did need Tupperware from that last party I went to.

I Do you feel sorry for some people, is that why you go sometimes?

R I've never done that because most people that have invited me have been people my own age. Like this girl, I did need some Tupperware and I wanted to go.

I Do you stop to think, well, how would you feel if you had a party and they didn't show up then?

R Yes, in fact I've had people that I've gone to their party and booked one from them and they didn't even bother to come to mine or order something. There is something about a stigma I suppose.

I Where you should repay someone?

R I think so

VJH for SS400 Class

Isolated Participant Observations

These are things that I've noticed this week and particularly today I've been socially conscious of the different types of exchanges that have taken place.

Let me begin by describing the mood first of all let me say we've had our son home from school with the flu, this is the third day now and if you know what it's like to have somebody home sick. Your mind is there and it should be on schoolwork. I've got so much catching up to do. I am trying to Virginia Wolf's a writer's diary which is her diary which she's written for maybe a period of ten years and they apart from one another and they are hard to follow because she has so many different names in them. Anyway it's this conflict I guess that's going on in my mind I've got to get this book read and I've got to do this and do that and it's a situation where I've got to find out which costs I want to maximize and which one's I want to minimize. Anyway I decided today I have to spend this time reading this book.

The phone had rang I don't know how many times, finally, it was about 4:30 and it rang again and I thought damn I am never going to get this book read if I have to keep answering this phone. I picked up the phone and I didn't recognize the voice and it says hi are you awfully busy? It's just like I was saying in class on Tuesday I did this very same thing to my girlfriend. Called her up and said gee are you busy and she was hemming and hawing to me trying to feel me out to see if I was coming over or not. She knew my voice so that was a little bit different than this situation but it was the same it was me thinking at this end of the line now gee that sounds like the neighbor's voice. Should I tell her am I busy or not or how do I politely say it and I kind of hemmed and hawed and thought I can't recognize that voice. It doesn't sound like Ollie and yet it's somebody else's. So I finally ended up saying "Well not really I've been trying to read a book this afternoon." I kind of set a goal of a hundred pages a day that I should read for this. So she said, "well anyway if you're not too busy you're invited to come over tomorrow night for a birthday cake. Then it dawned on me, my sister-in-law. My brother Jim's wife. I think I have an outline of her an interview and a sheet on her on the project that I did for last term. You can refer to her attitude. She is the sister-in-law who we would say is a deviate from our family system. Anyway I was real surprised for her to call and say she was having a birthday cake. It just floored me right there, the fact that she's doing this because this is the first time in ten years that she has ever invited us there for coffee even. She's always said come over, you owe us a visit but to fix a birthday cake I just can't believe. I don't know if it's me being socially aware of these things after these two courses or whether I just don't know what it is. It made me feel bad then because she said no she didn't say, she just asked and I said gee I would love to go because I really would love to go there for the occasion. I had to say well Criag has been home with the flu for the last few days and if he's better we'll come but if he's not I sure wouldn't want to spread the germ to their children.

They have two young boys and she said "sure fine I've been trying to keep them protected which is all right too because you just don't go spreading flu germs like this. It's just hitting everybody so extensively. So then I had to tell her if we weren't there that we did want to come. That I was really glad that she had invited us there. I had to assure her that if we didn't show up Friday night it was because Craig wasn't better from the flu. But I did wish her a happy birthday although I did mail her card yesterday and she should have gotten it in today's mail. I bet she hadn't even gotten it yet because Jim would pick it up after work and there mailbox is quite a distance from their house. I bet any money because certainly she would have said thanks for the birthday card. So I hung from that and the phone rang a little bit later and it was my girlfriend Mary Lou calling and I believe I also have a short biography on her. She asked do you plan on going to Christian Education meeting tomorrow at the Pelkie Parish Center. Pastor Peter wants to meet with all the people on the committee and the Sunday School teachers. So I said "ya," and I had to hesitate here for another reason because my sister had called and said if you're going I'll ride with you. There's this ride business again and I didn't really mind because she had driven the last time to Pelkie and I didn't owe her a ride as far as that went. Here's Mary Lou offering me a ride and she said "I'll pick you up as I'm going by" I had to tell her that Barbara needs a ride too. She said I had planned to pick up 3 other women and there wouldn't be the room but this other lady Lillian is going and maybe we can just take 2 cars over there. I said fine. Because the way we arranged it before it would really screw up the car pools if we well there we get into car pools which is another choice subject for a lot of people. But anyway I got the message across to her and that I would love to ride with her if I'm able to go to the meeting. Then I had to call her back and ask her would she mind telling Lillian that Barbara needs a ride here's a case of people needing rides. If it had been myself driving or another one of the girls that we are going to pick up she would ask would you mind giving me a ride. But she said she wouldn't call Lillian and ask her for a ride she said she would just wait for Lillian to call and ask her to ride.

Talking about rides, let me regress a little bit from today. Last Sunday afternoon we had decided to take our children up to see the snow statues. There at Tech. For two reasons. We feel that it's something they should see. They were looking forward to it and for selfish reasons I suppose because this coming weekend we are supposed to go on this snowmobile trip to Bruce's Crossing. With the snow machine, Tom will take the machine and drive up there and come back Sunday night and I will take the car and stay overnight. I won't ride on the snow machine all the way. I thought we should take those kids out to see the snow statues and take them out. It's a treat for them and we take them out to Colonel Sanders and have hot chocolate along the way and it's kind of an all day Sunday affair. But because we will be gone so long next weekend it's not really fair and I have this guilt feeling about kids not getting equal time.

Anyway once we decided to take the children up to see the snow statues the weather turned a bit nice in the afternoon. It was nice but it was cold but not stormy like it had been earlier in the week before the weekend. So I asked Tom do you think we should take Barb's kids Dean and Shelly who are 12 and 13 now. He said sure why not. We had discussed it earlier whether we should ask Barbara and Stephinie who is Dean and Shelly's younger sister along. But the problem was we had a Ford Torino and you can't fit too many people in that car. You just can't fit three adults, well Dean would almost be an adult because he's such a big kid already, you can't fit that many people in the car. It isn't safe to go. So we thought we would ask the two older ones to go. So we decided that would be the decision. Even though we knew Stephe would be put out because she's so close to our Meg's age. I called overthere and asked Dean "What you doing?" Nothing, I said "are you busy this afternoon?" "NO" "So I said how would you like to go and see the snow statues?" Fine so he asked Shelly if she wanted to go and then inquired with his mother if it was all right to go and a whail came up inthe back ground. I want to, itwas Stephe the 3 year old and I says I had really considered taking her along because it would be something that she would enjoy but then I thought would she walk all that distance or would she gettired? That's quite a distance to walk around campus with a little girl like that, well I guess she's four. So I said well we'll take her along if you trust her to come with us and I know she'll behave with us. I'm not afraid about taking her because I don't let kids take that much control over me. So I talked to Barbara on the phone and she said fine and then she says well why don't wego with my car? Barbara has a big car and we could all fit into hercar. I said well that wasn't the idea, it's really up to you. I don't think Tom will mind if you want to. She said okay fine we'll be there but I'll have to get some gas, I only have a half a tank of gas and you know how big cars burn gas like it's going out of style. She said it's Sunday but I can stop at Sleaf's Grocery Store, I believe I mentioned it in my Community thing about Nissula. I said fine Tom will pick up the two kids, shelly and Dean because he thought only the two older ones were coming with us so watch for him and have them ready.

So I hung up and I thought to myself. This is what Tom had said earlier in the day when we had discussed it that should we take all the kids along or what he said why don't you ask Barbara to take hers but you just don't ask people to take cars. If they offer, fine so the more I thought about it I says well don't bother we've got some gas in a tank although we've been hoarding it thinking that we might run short. I'm sure that Tom will give you some gas forthe car and that will be payment for the ride there. So she came and we did give her the gas but she didoffer many times she says well "now what do I owe you for the gas?" I suppose I shouldn't really have said well let's give her gas but what else can you do and Tom said well that's okay he says forget it, forget it.

That's payment for taking us for the ride there and Barbara was in kind of a funny mode when we came back. She likes to play Scrabble and hates to lose but she sure was comical when we came back that night. We chuckled over it. Here was a case of exchanging taking place. It was a ride for the gas and there was no money exchanged. We came home and she said would you have time to give Dean a haircut. Dean is her boy. I thought to myself, his hair isn't really that long but I'm going to have to give him that haircut because if I don't she'll keep asking for it and asking for it and I may as well do it and get it out of the way right now. Yet there was no money offer for Dean's haircut. I don't know why there should be a difference in cutting his hair and cutting his dad's hair. I mentioned earlier in a tape where they should bring a six pack of this Coor's beer over because of the haircut we were giving but anyway I said that's okay I'll give Dean a haircut. She's the kind now that she knows that I have all this studying to do and she'll say go ahead and do your work that Tom and I will play Scrabble it won't bother me not a bit. They can tell you to go and do it but just another different story, you just can't concentrate.

Let's get back to the car exchange from today's experiences. So we had Carol calling, Mary Lou calling, then later Tom came home and said well I'm going for a ride on the snow machine. He had been home all week long because all the schools have been closed in our area because of the flu. I'm going to go our snow machine riding so pretty soon the phone rang and again it's a strange voice. Gee I thought I don't recognize this voice at all. Well she did say, "this is Marsha calling, and these are the people to whom we rent the land and they have a trailer on it out on M-38 there and I thought now something's wrong. She had been here yesterday to pay their personal property tax and pay their rent on the land and I thought oh now did we screw up on something and she's got some complaint. Then I could hear guitar music in the back and she says Tom's here and I says "oh" and she says "guess what they're doing?" She says "guess what he and Joe who is her husband are doing. I says drinking beer I suppose. She says "ya" why don't you come on down" Well there again so seldom does she invite us to come over as a couple. Her husband is very quiet and I kept telling myself I really want to go and I don't think just then I told her that I had all this studying todo. I've got books that I've got to really hit hard and I'm going to have to skim or do something with them. I told her gee I can't come out now, Craig's had the flu and I can't haul him out down there. He didn't eat supper here. I was keeping Tom's warm for him because he didn't eat any yet. I said may I talk to Tom please. Tom says okay fine I'll be right on home and it wasn't he must have left right away. He walked in the house when he came home he said it wasn't my idea to call and tell you to come down. I had my helmet on and was going out the door. Of course this we don't know if I can't believe. Anyway it was Joe's idea to call. He had half a bag on and he said call Joanie and tell her to come down with the kids.

Any other time I probably would have gone down and had a drink with them and visited with them for a while. We used to be able to sit down and visit with them but there was a time when they were late with their rent and we had to remind them not to be late and you know when you have an economic exchange like that it really puts a strain on friendship. Anyway we would have gone down today but were just going to have to make it some other time as far as that goes.

So in the meantime the phone rang again and it was people we haven't talked to in so long and it turned out it was my cousin Chipper calling and he says "hello is Tom home?" and I can hardly tell his voice from his dads. No he'll be home in probably a half an hour and he says and I says do you want him to call or can I take a message for him and he said "no I was wondering if Tom would want to go out riding for a while?" I says "well he's not even back from the trip he went on this afternoon he's been gone all day but I'll have him call you back when he gets home. Fine fine he said. Oh then he said is school definitely closed tomorrow? Alston will be closed because L'anse is closed. I said "ya for the students they are, I've got to go in and punch in my time I guess". In order to get paid for it but the students don't have to go. So I said "fine I'll have him call you back." I didn't really want Tom to go out snowmobiling tonight not because of Chipper, not the people he was with because I've got all this studying and extra work to do and for me to be jumping up and down it just breaks the train of thought completely. It's been a long time coming with me where I can say I'll have him call you back and have him make up his own mind. I guess Chipper started taking out his machine and he noticed he had a broken spring in the back so he called Tom because they both have arctic cat's snowmobile. So Chipper said would come down and replace the spring. I was surprised what he said over the phone, I'll go down by the garage and look for it as soon as I finish rinsing the dishes. He was kind of chuckling over the phone because it's really been a crazy thing in this house with Women's Lib and Women's Rights. The exchange taking place between husband and wife. He had been home all week and he was really razzing me the other morning he said" boy this is pure Women's Lib. You women go off to work and school and the guys will stay home." Craig had been home of course with the flu. Boy this is the life he was telling me. Then tonight he was saying ah I wouldn't want to be a mother. I would rather go out and work. He was complaining that he was feeling so sitch in the morning until he can go out and ride that snow machine. I said ya you just have the housewife blues and you get out and do this and that. Anyway Chipper did come over and get the spring and Tom went and helped him put it on. Here's also the case of where I'm sure I could say for certain that Tom wouldn't charge him a single cent for that spring that Chipper took. Even though Tom would have had to pay for it if he went somewhere else to buy it for the simple reason Tom and Chipper exchange favors. Chipper is a mechanic and he works in one of these machinery shops. These subsidiaries of Petibone. And he does mechanic work on the sideline and whenever we've had car trouble or need overhauling help you can call Chipper and he'll come on down and he won't take a cent. There's no way you can pay him except for if he has to buy parts, he'll take the money for that but he won't take any money for the labor that he puts in to it.

So any chance that Tom has to repay him he'll do it so I know with this opportunity he didn't even think twice and I didn't even give him any dirty looks that gee you shouldn't be going out tonight. Well, they were back in short order but there was a reason for that because they had decided they were going to go out snow machining to my other's cousins so we'll what happens when they come back.

Anyway the first time when Chip sat down here he said I asked him how Joyce was feeling and have they had the flu and that we had had the flu. He said why don't you come with us and visit? While Tom and I put this spring in, it won't be for long. There was another occasion. Here's a couple that we never visit together. I'll see Joyce and Tom will see Chipper and never visit as married couples and it's really foolish because we're even related. There again I thought how do you refuse. I don't have the time to go and I want to but I was able to use Craig's flu as an excuse. I said gee I don't really think I want to give that flu to your kids, that Craig isn't feeling that well yet and I just don't want to take him out yet. Ya, that's true, I've had it many times. I think it was Joyce's way of saying come on over because there had been kind of a strain between us because I remember once she was complainign about Chipper's drinking problem and she didn't know what to do about it and this and that and I used to be the same way until I learned that you cannot control a drinker all you can do is control your own self and your own thoughts and I just mentioned to her, I said if you want help there's aid available. There's AA, there's your pastor, and every type of thing and I knew she was peeved when she left here. She hasn't invited me over since then and I really felt bad and here again I couldn't go over there because of Craig and the flu and this is the same thing that will happen tomorrow night, we won't be able to go to Carol's birthday party because Craig has the flu. What does a person do in an instance like that you would really want to go because it would really strengthen the friendship bonds and it's really a trying type of situation.

I was going to say another thing about owing Chipper favors, Tom would never charge him and the same thing now Tom will often take a run over to Chipper's and it's quite a ride out of our way really it's about 5 miles but of course it's on Tom's way to work so he'll stop on his way and plow Chipper out. He would never think of charging Chipper anything for snowplowing his driveway. It would just never even cross his mind there again. And yet this pickup plowing is really a strange type of thing. There's one family that hires him out for the whole year. \$25.00 a year he gets paid so he will go plow him out after storms. He'll plow my mother and dad out for nothing, he'll plow my sister Barbara out for nothing he'll go to Chipper's and plow him out and wouldn't think of taking any money from him and yet he'll go to somebody we don't know as well and accept the money from him which is a bad thing because this guy will call only when his driveway is so bad that he can't get out and really it's more work for Tom. It's not even worth the money he pays him.

He said I'll just call you when I really need it and really I think Tom is doing him more of a favor than money could even repay. Oh he also goes to the church and plows them out. But that's for free he doesn't expect payment for that. He did go to Jackie and Judy's. You remember Judy was the one who would do my hair and he would take money from Jackie because these fellows have an exchange of talents that they can charge money for Tom will charge money for plowing out his driveway and Jack will charge money for fixing radios and amplifiers and this type of stuff. Judy would charge for hair styling or combing out your hair and I'd be glad to pay her for that.

This pickup I haveto say one more thing, I read in one of those papers I don't remember which one where a person gets caught up in this type of thing. There was this one fellow and one evening it was kind of a stormy night and there was aknock at the door about ten o'clock at night and in stumbled his fellow loaded tothe fills and he could hardly walk and he says "I need help gettingout of the ditch, Ihit the ditch I must have fallen asleep, I don't know what happened. He had come from the village bar and just gotten past our house. Would you mind pulling me out? You know it's illegal to pull somebody out of the ;ditch especially if there is property damage. Well as it happened this fellow knocked down one of the state highway signs. But there was a catch, this fellow was one of my relatives, what do you do, you can't turn down relatives. Tom said okay, he'd try to get him out and getthe winch on thepickup and try to get him out of there. Well it was really a pain in the neck but he couldn't get him out, it took him all night and finally he had to end up gettinghis sonout of bed and his son said let the SOB sit there. I'm disgusted with him going out drinking and getting in the ditch. We were holding our breaths wishing it would snow more in the morning to cover up these tracks because we didn't want to get caught. And the bad thing is that I've been advocating in this area that we need a speed limit through Nissula. And we don't have anything, all we have is a sign that says Nissula reduce speed. So what sign did this fellowhit, Nissula reduce speed. So I'm in a bind I want to call them and say all right we don't have anything posted here but I can'tbecause we had been illegal in pulling this fellow out of the ditch. It's ironic really. Just caught in this help exchange type of thing where you help somebody out and you hurt yourself in the longrun. It's really bad news.

You talk about people being higher up in power and the more people you know in law, this would also apply here, I remember my brother-in-law, he hit some guard rails and put hiscar in the ditch. So here again they had hit some posts, there weren't many of them but enough to damage them and they were I don't know if they were state or county property, which they would be.

So of course they were worried about the legal technicalities there of this so even now I feel it wouldn't have hurt the kid to pay a ticket. A fine on this because sometimes being fined is the only way to know. It's really amazing because I was listening to the fellows discuss this and they were saying who do we know where we can say we'll just pay for the damage. Who would have seen him and it's really a hush hush type of thing and don't tell anybody but everybody knows. Small communities are bad this way because you're so bound to one another. You've got to help one another. You've got to help one another and you can't squeal on anybody even if you think you're right.

We had a drug program at our PTO meeting this Monday night. And as it turned out the State Police the fellow who is working with drug abuse in the drug abuse program what it amounts to is our hands are tied. We can arrest somebody with drugs with possession of it or a user of it but it doesn't go through in court. The fellow pays a fine and they let him out on his own and he said the only way that you can do anything about it is for society to frown upon it. Let this fellow know that he's such a deviate from the community that you don't want him in the community and he eventually will get the message and leave. There you can see the force of society, just let this fellow know that he is uncomfortable in this atmosphere and he'll move on somewhere else. Which is really a bad thing because all you're doing is moving him from this little society to another little society. It can cause problems.

I've got a note here, people who are cheap in car pools. Before this year, I would travel in car pools while I was going to school there at Tech. We would take turns driving and I guess I was just a little naive because I believe in the honesty of people. And finally after being screwed just a few too many times, I had gotten really hardnosed about it. A couple of the terms last year I was able to fit my schedule on a three day Monday, Wednesday, Friday basis. I would go all day long on those days so I could cut down on babysitting and car. So as it turned out I was traveling with two other girls. We figured we would split the parking costs because they charge to park on campus so we would split it between us. As it turned out one of the girls who didn't know this particular other girl could be cheap and I got stung by her just a few too manytimes. I really think she was really tight and I'm starting to look out for myself. Anyway she paid the whole initial fee which was \$21.00. I asked who did I owe to and she said well she paid the fee and it was \$21.00 for all three of us and I said "well that would be \$7.00 a piece. I thought \$7.00 a piece. I said now wait Carol that's not fair, I only use that three days a week. I'm not paying \$7.00. You and Mary are using that parking lot two more days than I am parking your car there. She didn't say too much. But I thought darn it, I hate to be cheap and tell people but it just got to the point of you drive, you drive, and the money never came across when they said they would pay me. Finally it came to this point where I had to say thisand she told me too and it was sheer ignorance on my part not to be aware of these things. It was after that she said would you mind meeting me at your house, it would be like about 3 miles. She said " Bob doesn't really want to get up 5 minutes earlier to warm the car before we leave and could you possibly come to our house.

Really I think it was the fact that Bob thought he was spending too much money on gas. Or Carol was to run us up here. So it got to the point where I just got my own ride to the county line. That's another thing. It really binds friendship's I guess but yet it put us on a clearer understanding because even when it came down to cups of coffee we exchanged dimes. It strengthens and yet it weakens a friendship. This money bit it really works out hard, but anyway how it turned out was Mary got left holding the bag on the three of us and I thought Mary I'm not going to sympathize with you because next term you'll just know that much better and then I asked for a schedule and said let's set a schedule of whos's going to drive when. This was the spring term then when we took on a fourth driver. So then they started figuring that I'm gonna drive every fourth day. Because there were four of us driving. Like I said you start to get a little bit tight and it's really a dirty shame I suppose. I think myself it's too bad that people have to get this way with oneanother. But I says "hey I'm only going 3 days a week, you people are going 5 days a week why am I driving every 4th day?" No way I'm not taking my turn. I'll drive once a week because I'm going three times a week or whenever it came up that I would have to drive twice a week sometimes. But anyway Mary finally made out a schedule of who would drive when and what days and it really worked out fine and I think it put us all on a relationship. We didn't have to exchange money for the rides. The only money exchange we had was when we had to buy the slot card to put into the new parking lot that Tech has put in there. To make sure that the student pays and Tech doesn't get screwed I guess.

Talking about mney again. I dontremember which one of those papers where it says how can you set a price on a hand made present. My sister-in-law-had on a nice hat that I really liked, a winter hat on when she came to my mothers for sauna. I asked her where did she buy a nice hat like that because I had been looking for one like that for myself. She said that she didn't buy it, her sister made it for her. Terry her name is. We were talking about hinting and complaining and I guess I did hint around long enough where she says "well do you want me to ask her to make you one" I don't remember the exact words. I said I'll be glad to pay her for it or buy the yarn, why don't you find out the cost. She said "fine the next time Iwrite I'll ask her. So I never heard anything more from her and it was about a month later when Carol called and asked are you going to go to sauna at my mother's. I'll bring it there, that the hat came today and I'll bring it there with me. I said fine, thank goodness so she brought it there. I tried to nail her down on a price, I said well how muchdid the yarn cost? She said the yarn didn't cost anything, it was left over yarn. That she had made from other hats. Well how much do you think it cost and she said well I relly don't know. I was wishing there that I had just bought a hat outright because now I'm wondering what kind of gift am I going to give to Terry for making that hat.

How do you determine how much her time is worth, how much labor she put into this hat. Then I was trying to determine should I mail a gift to her, should I get her address or should I leave it at Carols but the hat didn't come directly to me, it came to carols and Carol was the middle man between she and I. In fact I have bought a gift now and I wouldn't feel too bad to bring it to Carols to give to Terry whenever they see her. She lives out of Greenbay somewhere not too far where she would get home sometime. Maybe once every two months or so. But I was really in this awful position where I didn't know what to buy for her. And a person doesn't want to buy anything to stingy because then you look cheap and you don't want to buy anything to extravagant because then they will feel embarrassed into having to accept this gift. Having to determine what is the right amount you are going to spend on a gift so that it's a way of saying thank you very much for the favor you have done.

I mentioned earlier in a paper that we've had a lot of funerals in our area lately, this particular woman who lost her husband is the postmistress also here and she's really having a rough rough time of getting herself back together. The woman who substitutes for her was in there for a long period of time, longer than she has ever had to substitute for her before. Here again a small community thinking you're a strong willed person, snap out of it. I guess what I'm getting at is how long do you sympathize with people who are in grief or have lost husbands. Or wives, or close friends. It just doesn't seem fair somehow because. Well this substitute woman was getting impatient, she had other things to do and yet how do you turn down a person when they say I really can't come into work today. As a matter of fact you should feel people out and say is that right and in this type of a situation you just don't do it. You remember I stopped at the postoffice there one day from work. This substitute lady was in there and I said oh I see you are working again today? As a matter of conversation and maybe I was fishing around and seeing really how this postmistress was doing. I don't know maybe I was being nosy. She said ya, I hadn't really expected to work today and I got the tone that I'm getting pretty tired of this that she's got to start getting herself together again. She had been getting professional help for it and the Pastor was calling on her. I could note a tone in her voice that said well that you can sympathize so long with people and they've got to get their heads together and get back to work and face the outside world. No matter how much and how hard it is. You know you live in small communities and you are supposed to be good friends and here there are these fingers coming in interweaving into the mind saying well you've had long enough to grieve. I guess people don't realize what it is to grieve until it hits home. It's really a hard thing to get out of.

Let's talk about borrowing things. No let's finish up these rides I talked about this car pool business and I considered it a bad experience and I'm still a little bit bitter about it but I guess I'm a little wiser about car pools. I remember once when we were first married, I had this real good friend that lived next door.

I wanted to go to South Range to have a permanent and as it turned out her husband and my husband bowl on the same team so she says well I'll give you a ride. So I told her I had to stop and buy this permanent first. So we ran into Houghton and into Newberrys and they were open on a Monday night and this was about ten years ago and it's still vivid in my mind. I told her I have to pick up something for Ann for putting this permanent in my hair and I don't remember I think it was panty hose. You take friends for granted, this is what happened. Nancy isn't the kind to complain, she just figures if you're that ignorant let her be. She overlooked alot of things, Nancy's just good hearted. I guess one of the good friends that I have yet, that I could go there today and feel comfortable and I haven't seen her for six months.

So we got to Ann's and she put the permanent in my hair and I said well here's for doing the permanent and Ann says oh fine thanks. Nancy said something to the effect well where's my gift, I gave you a ride all the way to South Range and what do I get for it. All of a sudden in a way it dawned on me, stupid. It took somebody like that to have to tell you. It just comes these instances where you realize you've been taken these people for granted for so long it's about time you start giving some favors back in return. You have to be so conscious in friendships.

Talking about borrowing books. I don't care to borrow books because when I borrow a book I like to return it in good shape. Especially text books, I don't like to borrow them because I like to write in my books. To mark them up, I like to put notes. To know where I am. I remember my sister-in-law getting real perturbed because she had borrowed some books to them a long time ago and it ended up that her friend brought them back and said gee Charlene aren't these your books because they have your name in them. The person to whom she was borrowing them was selling them at a rummage sale would you believe. It just burnt her up to no extent. I had to borrow a geometry book the first year I was at Tech there. The course didn't require that much so one of the other girls, Theresa, I think I did a biography on her. So I borrowed the book from her and I used it all season and I knew darn well she would never take any money for the rent of that book. So I brought the book back and said here's a little present for her and it cost a dollar or a little bit over a dollar. Something personal that she could use and she could hardly turn down and she said "gee thanks" They were a pair of sock type booties things. These colored fuzzy things that you wear on over your feet. Fine she said I'm going to put them on today because she was cold and it was wintertime. That was in Spring term. It has kind of put us on this exchange basis. It wasn't the amount of money that I spent on the gift but I wanted her to know that I appreciated her loaning this book to me.

This idea of bringing a gift for a house warming is another interesting item. As a matter of fact it involves visiting one of my mother's friends that we've known for years. The daughter and I played together, Ida called one night and said are you going to be home? I had just gotten home for something and she called and I said yes I'm going to be home but I kind of hemmed and hawed. She thought maybe she would come over and visit because she had never seen our house. Here I was the house a mess. So when people tell you they are coming over to see your house, you better have it in shape and I says "well, I had just gotten home from Tech. It was a Tuesday afternoon. She said well how about if I come some other night and I said fine. I said " why don't you come on Wednesday night, that is when Tom bowls and we would have a chance to visit. So she came and it's an oldfinnish custom you never go to someone's house the first time empty handed. She came with four assorted plastic dishes with covers on them. I think of her every day because I keep two in the bedroom and two in the bathroom upstairs. They are just lovely items and I thanked her kindly for them. I know every time that when I go by there I have to make a point of visiting Ida because she's always made a point to drop in and visit with us. It was a lovely visit.

I'm going to go into one other thing here but I don't know what category I'm going to put it in. Tom plays guitar with Art Moilainen. Who used to run Art's Bar. On the Rousseau Road towards mass. Anyway he's retired and still does playing on the side. Art plays the accordion and he provided the music there. This is the reason Tom and Art would get together. After the ball games Tom would haul out his guitar and we'd have a real nice time. Whoop de do time, drunken time, lots of hangovers after those ball games. For all of us and wives were included to go to those ballgames and they always serviced a nice dinner. Tom and Art don't get together too often but it is also important for the men to get along. Tom and Art will play sometime out at the Timbers. And there's been opportunities for me to go and I really haven't wanted to go because for me to sit in a bar by myself, there's this woman thing for me I just feel uncomfortable. Unless I can go with somebody else there. Millie usually goes but I don't know for sure but anyway, I told Tom this one time find out if Millie is going the next time because I should really go. Here again is this obligation you have. You've got to figure well is the cause greater to lose my friendship with Art and Millie or is it greater to say I have to stay home and study. There has to be a give somewhere because I don't have time to stay home and do everything. Anyway I felt that I had regused them so many times that in order to fulfill my obligation of friendship to them and to further insure that Tom gets the playing jobs with Art, I should really go along. It's this obligatory thing that society places on us.

And I do enjoy Millie's company, it's not that I begrudge going it's just that they go in the afternoon and you don't get home until late got to pay a babysitter, get up Monday morning and it's awful if you've been out the night before. To me it's a hassle, I'm the kind that plans ahead and you think where am I going to put my time. What am I going to do in the time I have, I can't do everything.

Anyway when we were there that afternoon, Millie started discussing about friends and it was a gossip I guess about this one particular woman who made a habit of frequenting the bar. She liked her independent, she left her kids alone a lot to bowl, seldom going out with her husband, and it turned out that she was pregnant and now she's tied down with two small babies. The woman told me it's almost as if the good Lord planned it, because now maybe she'll settle down and society has all these little rules where they say you deserve it and you're going to get caught one of these days. Something about that women just aren't supposed to do this type of thing. But we were talking about friendships and she said you feel badly if you lose them or gain them and she says oh how many friendships you think are friends and they aren't, you'd be surprised how many people walk into the bar and just because we owned the bar and were the owners there, thought they could get a free drink. They would really put on the dog to impress us, hi Art, hi Millie how are you doing like they really knew them well, but she says now that Art is retired they don't come around, and you find out in a hurry. People try to impress. Pull out the bank roll, talk big, come from the city, I'm me, who in the heck are you, you see so much of this in the summertime, people kids who have lived here and grown up here, they go to the city and they come back, big big cars showing off. I suppose this is showing off, home town country boy showing off that he's done well in the city and he's come back with symbols of wealth of what. Has a car, trailer, camper, boat and comes winter time, and has a snowmobile, maybe takes a long extended vacation. In a small society people just sometimes laugh at them or ignore them. Really in our town it's what you are basically, what kind of person you are, what wealth you have isn't that big of a factor. It's basically if you are an honest person, how willing you are to help no matter what kind of talent you have. It's as basic as that I'm sure in this area.

Talking about resentment, I've got a title here on how to notes. Resentment is really so close to hate. It's close to complaining I would suppose. Resentment is a bad bad thing I think sometimes. And a person doesn't forget these things. Resentment is so hard to lose, you don't just put it on the shelf and leave it there. It gathers dust but it sure is blown off in a hurry when there is let me give you an example, there's so many things I could say. One I remember vividly as could be. People tell me it's grinds my cork I remember when they did this five years ago. I don't know

if I mentioned before that Meg had emphantigo that she picked up in school that goes around. It was this fall and it was my fault and I really felt bad about it, I took her to the doctor's, the emphantigo wasn't my fault because that can happen to anybody, took her to the doctor's and he gave salve and said clean it off real well with soap and water and put this salve on it. Well after two three days it just didn't seem to be clearing up and I was frantic and thought well I've got to try some kind of antiseptic. Something stronger on it to make sure that after I cleaned it off the germs are gone from it. Because it's the type of pussy thing that has to work it's way out. So foolishly I put a strong chemical antiseptic and it gave her a chemical burn on her face. I felt so awful and you'd never believe the distortion of this child's face. Just overnight she got such a deep infection on that by her nose and under her chin. You would never know that these two small spots that were there, they just spread like wildfire. As a matter of fact she couldn't even drink from a straw and I thought what have I done to this poor child. So I had to take her back to the doctor's. Monday I had taken her the first time and I took her back on Wednesday I hated to take her back that doctor would think oh, you're an awful mother. I really had this guilt complex about being a lousy mother. Here was this doctor frowning at me thinking what mother would do this to her child and it was here I was actually trying to clean the face up so it would be better. So it would heal and she wouldn't be left with this emphantigo spreading from place to place. I run through this role conflict constantly. I really felt guilty. If I hadn't been working, that day, it was a Tuesday afternoon and I had to rush off to Tech, if I had been home with her I would have looked at this more carefully, I would have listened to her when she said oh it stings, I wouldn't have done this. It's just amazing, if anybody ever has burns just within a matter of hours her face was all puffy, don't wait. So feeling so badly about this I cried so many times and the scars are still red now. And that happened in September and this is February.

Anyway talking about resentment it's because I felt guilty about what I did but didn't do purposely, that I had put this solution on her face, but Tom's mother will tell me, have you had her face checked, what has the doctor said about it. Why isn't the redness going away. Finally I had to take her in and he said don't expect those scars to fade for at least a year. They don't need any solution on them, just let them be now, she's probably going to have one little scar on the raised portion. So we stopped at Tom's folks and I could just hear them because they are the kind you know I don't know is it always mother-in-law type of thing where you worry what they are going to say, just grinds you the wrong way some of the hints they give because if my mother had said these things, it wouldn't bother me but my mother-in-law say this type of criticism it's getting to me but the first time she said it well I can agree with you. When in doubt use soap and water, that's the best thing.

I remember when the kid meaning David had it, when in doubt use soap and water. Okay fine, yes, I agreed with her. I didn't say anything more but I have heard that same statement when in doubt use soap and water. Especially every time we go there and if she says that one more time I'm just going to say, I don't know what I'm going to say but I'm sure it will be something sarcastic. You don't keep reminding a person about something they feel badly enough about already. It should be a forgive and forget type of thing.

Talking about gift exchange, there was a paper that I read last week in the Library, I can't remember who wrote it now but anyway who do you reciprocate for. My youngest sister Bernie who is the divorcee and has one son. The present time she's a little bit more financially stable but at the time of the separation she wasn't and I would try to send her as much cash as we had extra so she could buy a few extra things, buy groceries. We helped her out with the initial fee for getting the divorce proceedings started. I would never want repayment of that money, as a matter of fact I wouldn't even be able to tell you how much we've given her. Or how much money we've sent for her son saying indirectly use this money to buy him something that you don't have the money to buy. I don't expect her to buy me a birthday present but yet I love to give her one. Because Bernie needs it. It's this type of an exchange that goes on with us. I wouldn't want a darn thing and I wouldn't expect a thing for my kids if she sends a card that's plenty. Because she doesn't have the resources to reciprocate in the same way. I just don't begrudge anything she does. It was strange this fall because they were here for Thanksgiving. Bernie and Richie, she has a boyfriend now. We think he's a nice fellow but she's being very cautious about getting into this matter of marriage now again. Anyway this year I was a little bit smarter and went ahead and got her Christmas presents early. Her's wouldn't have too bad to send but his was a bulletin board and I thought I will give this to him now. And I had gotten Doug who is Bernie's boyfriend a present too. Now why, you ask yourself, I didn't owe him anything really. Why did I get him a Christmas present. I guess because I don't want him to feel left out. I know it's more because of the wonderful things and he is so good to Bernie and this is the only way I can think of telling him thanks for being so good to her because she had such a lousy life before. I mean he's understanding with her, good with her son. It's just been my way of saying that he's been so gracious, when we've gone to visit there, he leaves his car for her and she runs us all over town. Shop here shop there, run here run there. I just wanted to get him something. It was a token of my thanks for treating Bernie in such a swell manner because Bernie is so close to me. Anyway when I brought the presents there it was on Sunday and I says there's your Christmas presents in the porch. I wondered why they didn't put them in the trunk.

I told them put them in the trunk before you leave so they don't have to be hauled up stairs. I was going to throw them in the back seat of their car but their car was locked because I had gone there so early in the morning. They were staying at my mother's and dad's. They didn't bring them and didn't bring them and she says, "I don't remember what the remark was and I said why don't you have Doug put them in the car. She kind of hesitated and I says "I don't expect anything in return" and we can have this kind of exchange understanding. I said there's something for Doug in there and I don't want you to feel you have to send us anything as a matter of fact I don't want anything. I won't accept anything. She looked kind of relieved and says "we just haven't had the money to buy for everybody. I'm really glad. And it came out right in the open right there. She wrote and thanked us for the presents. Here's one person from whom I wouldn't expect a thing. Because she isn't in a position to even reciprocate. She did say well maybe I can repay you someday. I said when we told her we didn't want any Christmas presents from them, she said well maybe I can repay you someday and I says "repay, baloney, look here you babysat on Saturday night because we were going out to a party and she came here and babysat with our kids, wouldn't take any money for it. So that was her way of accepting money that I would have paid a babysitter and do for us to be on the even keel.

Talking about embarrassment over a dirty house, I said how I constantly think you don't want people to come over, I said for two reasons, either my house is dirty or I have all this studying to do. You could just die of embarrassment, one Sunday we were just eating dinner and a couple came over, Art and Millie to pick up Tom to go for a ride they were going out to the Timbers. Art got up and looked out of the kitchen window and all the kids were snowmobiling. I thought I could die because I know that window sill is dusty. Being an old house, you know how flies will come out when the sun is hot on the window. There were two dead flies on the sill and afterward I thought oh embarrassment.

Christmas time we had some company, Tom's cousins that we had invited over. One of the kids was playing with Silly Putty. One of the company's kids. That darn thing bounced because you know how silly putty bounces all over the place, it's really super bounce, harder than a rubber ball to catch, we couldn't find it. I said we should really find it because if you don't it will dry up. We started looking around and I said oh god don't look on my dirty floor because I hadn't swept from dinner that day and I knew that underneath my refrigerator and washer because you don't clean there every day it was a mess. I said oh the dust here. Lucy who was Tom's cousin said boy I didn't know you had such a dirty house. Boy I'm really surprised. I didn't know how much of that was really meaning to be true or if she was rubbing in or what because Lucy isn't too much of a housekeeper.

I think I'm bad and I think she's even worse than I am. She could care less. I don't think that we've ever stopped in there house in Marquette that it's been cleaned up. Of course maybe we've always stopped in on odd hours too. Course I have called before and said we were stopping in and she hasn't even bothered to clean it up. You see if you call ahead of time then you obligated to at leave have it a little cleaned up.

Talking about social money exchange. I had an odd experience when I went to the Dentist there last month. I had lost a filling out of one of my back teeth and I thought I have to go in and I didn't particularly care for this man. His mannerisms and I was disappointed in the work he did. I was in a bind, I didn't want to run to Houghton for this one filling, it was a service exchange. The other two dentists in L'anse aren't taking on new patients. So I thought I'm going to have to go back to this man. I called for an appointment and he said fine come on in next Wednesday. So I went in and thought to myself I'm just going to have this one filling put in. That if I don't like his mannerisms any better than before I thought forget it. And furthermore I thought his costs were too high. I couldn't believe it, and he said he had cleaned my teeth, and I can't even say they were cleaned. So I went this time and he put in the one filling and I asked him whether he would have time to clean them and he said fine. I don't know if he's changed or if he had been in a bad mood, somebody said he had alot of bills to pay that time, I guess knowing this, maybe I just assumed the hint was a little wrong, I don't know. I had just heard earlier in the week, we were talking about him and his mannerisms, about being a lousy Dentist, especially with children I guess too.

I went there that day knowing that this guy was threatened, or he's been behind on the rent on the building where his office is and he had left his practice in White Pine because he couldn't pay for it there. You don't know how much is rumow and how much is truth. So he had done the work and we were walking out of the room where he had done the actual drilling and he says "let's see now where did you leave your purse, do you have your purse with you now? I said ya, I had put it underneath my coat. His nurse or receptionist was there and I told her that I had left it there. But I've been thinking was that a hint for my topay for this now, that he wanted his money right away. I had already made up my mind before I went there that I was not going to pay this bill right away. I was going to wait until I was billed for it simply because the last time I had been there he had charged something like \$40.00 for a few x-rays he had done and I thought the price was too too high. I was really sorry that I had paid that \$40.00 right away. This time he's going to wait for his money. I guess it made me feel better and I'm sure he doesn't know the difference whether I paid the money for that or not right away. He wasn't knowing my reason.