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The Polish Peasant and the Sixth Life Course Principle

Abstract: In life course studies five principles guide social science researchers: (1) the principle of human development and aging, (2) the principle of human agency, (3) the principle of historical time and space, (4) the principle of timing, and (5) the principle of linked lives. We propose a sixth principle: life course tempo explicitly depends on other life course principles especially the external principles of (2), (3), and (5). Tempo changes may have sociological and psychological consequences. To demonstrate the sixth principle at work, we analyze a sample of the peasant letters both to and from America in Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, the pioneer life history study of Polish immigrants in early 20th century. Two types of tempo change in transition into first marriage are evident in the letters, waiting/postponement and haste, which resulted from changed historical time and space and reorganized human agency of the immigrants. Thus, this research is inspired by Thomas and Znaniecki's work on the Polish peasant and Znaniecki's methodology and in turn uses the Polish peasant letters as data.

Keywords: life course, *The Polish Peasant*, William I. Thomas, Florian Znaniecki, life course tempo, historical sociology

Introduction

Individuals may live in linear time and a single space, but they often live their lives in multidimensional time and space. This is especially true when a turning point has occurred. Life course studies can be said to have originated from William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Elder, Johnson, Crosnoe 2003). Enlightened by Thomas and Znaniecki's work, we propose in this study the sixth life course principle, a derivative principle based on the five basic life course principles. We analyze a sample of Polish peasants' letters written both to and from America in the first two decades of the 20th century, an "analytic sample" that is selected to assist the type analytic induction described by Znaniecki (1934).

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The five basic life course principles are essential guidelines for social demographic research (Elder and Johnson 2003): (1) the principle of human development and aging as lifelong processes; (2) the principle of human agency that provides different opportunities and constraints for individual life course construction; (3) the principle of historical time and space in which individual life course is embedded; (4) the principle of timing of life transitions and events; and (5) the principle of linked lives. The first and the fourth principles may be termed “internal principles” because they refer to what happens to a life course itself whereas principles 2, 3, and 5 may be termed “external principles” because they are about outside factors shaping a life course. These factors can be entirely external, as in principles 2 and 3 which describe human agencies and historical time and space as contexts, or they can be partially external as in principle 4, which states the linked nature of one’s life course to another’s or others’ life course(s). The sixth principle builds upon the three external principles by further defining the tempo of the life course in the dimensions of time and space, human agency, and linked lives, especially when changes in them occur.

A turning point, in particular one that resulted from transnational migration, represents a change in one’s historical time and space, and the life course and a reorientation of human agencies. Along these lines, the sixth principle can be best understood in life histories with important turning points. Analyzing a sample of peasants’ letters from Thomas and Znaniecki’s *The Polish Peasant* by focusing on transition to first marriage, we have found that when historical time and space is changed, when human agencies are redefined, and when the linkage between lives is broken, life course transitions (in this case transition to first marriage) depart from the norm course by either slowing down or hastening the tempo. While only one type of life course transition is examined, the general principle should be applicable to other types.

The Sixth Life Course Principle

The life course perspective has helped social scientists in the past several decades to better understand individuals’ social behavior. Elder and Johnson (2003) as well as Elder, Johnson, and Crosnoe (2003) recently summarized five basic principles for life course research that describe the essence of life courses. First, human development and aging are lifelong processes. By taking a long-term perspective, researchers can better understand fundamental (biological, psychological, and social) changes that are developmentally meaningful. Second, individuals live in or with powerful human agencies that contextualize and condition human behavior as well as individual life course construction. Individuals also make choices and compromises that are contingent upon these social and structural constraints. Third, all people live in a certain historical time and space, in which their life courses are embedded and whose imprints they and their life courses bear. The combined historical time and space influence individuals as well as birth cohorts. Fourth, life transitions and events do not occur at random, they take place in certain order, and they happen at certain time intervals. The same events and experiences may affect an individual differently at different

times in one's developmental life course. Finally, individuals do not live their lives independently, but they live in networked and shared relationships. Often their life courses are linked to those of other peoples with whom they share their life space, and their life course transitions in one's life can entail transitions for others.

If we take the point of view of how a life course plays out itself, we may consider the first and the fourth principles (i.e., continual, lifelong process with timed transitions) as purely about a life course itself, and we may call them "internal principles." Taking the same view, we may see principles 2, 3, and 5 (i.e., human agencies, historical time and space, and other lives and life courses) as referring to external forces shaping one's life course, and we may call them "external principles." Principle 5 is unique because it is about one's own life course *and* it describes the nature of life courses being linked together. However, to the extent that one's life course is exposed, influenced, and coordinated by other life courses, there are external forces at work. For that reason, we consider principle 5 an external principle.

The sixth life course is about the conditional effects of life course tempo. That is, life course tempo depends on the actual realization of other life course principles including historical time and space, human agency, timing, and linked lives, and life course tempo has important sociological and psychological consequences. We define tempo similar to the way it is used in fertility studies where researchers define it as whether a (first) birth is advanced or delayed for the same cohort of individuals (Bongaarts and Griffith 1998). Tempo differs from timing in that timing uses age as an absolute gauge (e.g., whether a first birth occurs for a woman aged 20) though it may use another event as a gauge with age underlying both events (e.g., whether a first birth occurs prior to completion of university education for a woman aged 21) whereas tempo uses a specific timing as a relative reference point (e.g., whether a first birth occurs sooner or later than its original timing). To use a physics analogy, timing indicates the speed of a moving vehicle; the original timing of a cohort of individuals resembles the constant speed of an automobile. Tempo is acceleration (or deceleration) of the vehicle or what happens to its timing. In other words, tempo describes changes in timing. For individuals in a set life course, while both timing and tempo have demographic, social, and sociological consequences, tempo, more likely than timing, will also have psychological implications. An early transition in the life course (in our terminology, an advanced tempo) may have long-lasting consequences by affecting later transitions (Elder 1998). More generally, early life course experiences (of which tempo is a special form) is shown to have impact on outcomes later in one's life (Crosnoe and Elder 2004). One particular interesting example is the effect of war. For example, Dechter and Elder (2004) studied World War II mobilization and its effects on men's work lives, and found that changed transition into military service had clear implications for postwar work life outcomes. Migration, especially international migration, may work similarly in revising one's life course tempo. Therefore, altered tempo is likely to impact the subsequent life course in the long run and is also likely to influence one's social and psychological state in the more immediate future.

In studying the Polish immigrant peasant to America, Thomas and Znaniecki (1914–1918 [1958]) defined individuals living in two overlapping social groups: the

family-group and the marriage group. Whereas the latter is a more familiar concept, which is akin to today's idea of nuclear family that constitutes one's immediate family, the former is an interesting yet complex idea. A family-group consists of members of one's blood- and law-relatives usually up to fourth degree of separation from the ego. Thus, it may have a variable limit, and its boundary changes, depending on which individual is considered as the ego. It is important for us to remember that for the Polish peasant, the family meant not just people in the marriage group, but everyone in the family-group. The implication of having a family-group is profound: major life course matters, marriages in particular, were not a simple individual's affair, but were within the purview of the parents as well as other members of the family-group (Thomas and Znanięcki 1914–1918 [1958]: 92). Similarly, individuals must take the interests of the family-group into consideration before entering into a marriage (Thomas and Znanięcki 1914–1918 [1958], p. 109). Here, the family-group is a powerful human agency that governs one's individual behavior including life course matters.

This traditional form of the Polish family, however, may not be very robust. It can persist only in a peasant community, and its disintegration can be imminent when resettlement occurs, evidenced by emigration into Polish cities, Germany, or America (Thomas and Znanięcki 1914–1918 [1958]: 98). Therefore, the change of one's historical time and space breaks one's original family-group, and redefines one's human agency because in the place of destination, a different human agency will likely be at work. What this means for one's life course events can be consequential. The joint effect according to the second and the third principles may produce a departure from one's normal path of life course and thus an altered tempo when the old human agency is not functioning any more and when one's old community is replaced by the new.

The point about one's losing the old community is important because one's community can be understood as a form of human agency as well. In the Polish peasant community, community norms govern big decisions such as marriage and taking up an occupation, among other life course transitions (Thomas and Znanięcki 1914–1918 [1958]: 113–114). Without the larger communities as extensions of one's family-group, individuals' life courses are bound to be affected, and the tempo of certainly life courses events such as marriage is likely to bear a direct impact.

Therefore, we view migration, especially transnational migration, as a crucial turning point in one's life. First of all, a new historical time or place resulted from migration signifies a new set of social relations, opportunities, and possibilities. Moreover, the move can also mean a change in one's human agency more than once. In the case of the Polish peasant, the cross-Atlantic migration doubly changed human agencies. The long-distance migration effectively weakened and possibly broke the peasant's original family-group ties, especially when it came to life course decision-making. The transnational migration also transplanted the immigrant to America from the original peasant community to an urban community, where norms could be differently or rapidly changing, even with the presence of other fellow immigrants.

The joint impact of the two external factors, the change of historical time and space and the change in human agency, on the tempo of life course events defines

our sixth life course principle. The historicity of the individual is memorial in that the past experiences and the memories of individual human beings are stored in their individual biological selves (Abbott 2005). That is why habits of the heart do not fade easily. However, when multiple external factors are at work—time and space are altered, human agencies are redefined, and linked lives are broken (or new links are formed)—the individual's repository of life course norms can more easily be modified as well. Simply put, the sixth principle is a *change* principle. That is, an individual's historicity as represented by the totality of social memory, experiences, and norms inculcated, is subject to change brought upon by altered human agency, different historical time and space, and modified linked lives, and it is subject to change more so than by any of these external factors independently. In this sense, the sixth principle is also a principle of joint effects, and it can be particularly useful for explaining turning points such as migration.

In the current study, the changed historical time and space, human agency, and altered networks for these Polish immigrants would mean altered—and more likely than not—delayed tempo especially in term of some primary life events such as first marriage. While we do not have any direct measure of time of first marriage in terms one's age, we do have letters indicating emotional outcomes of such altered life course tempo. Thus, even though we can only surmise how life course tempo might have been changed, we can certainly analyze the outcomes of these supposed changes in the life course tempo of the Polish immigrants, and compare them with their counterparts back in Poland where those changes in the external factors had not occurred. If we are correct about altered life course tempo among the immigrants and its psychological and emotional outcomes, we should be able to see a clear distinction between the immigrants and the non-immigrants when they wrote about transitions to marriage in the letters.

The Sample

The sample we analyzed is taken from the collection of 764 Polish peasant bowing letters. The bowing letter is written by or to a member of the family who is absent for a certain time, with its function as manifesting the persistence of familiar solidarity despite of the separation. There are five types of bowing letters (Thomas and Znanięcki 1914–1918 [1958]: 305–306): ceremonial letters, informing letters, sentimental letters, literary letters, and business letters. Because some of these types such as literary letters and business letters are by definition unlikely to describe life course events, ordinary probability sampling such as cluster sampling would not be very useful as a large number of useless letters would be included in the sample to be content analyzed. We drew an analytic sample, which is purposeful sampling. However, it differs from the more usual purposeful sampling schemes such as convenience sampling and snowball sampling in its power to describe.

Following Znanięcki's (1934) methodological contribution to analytic induction, we define an *analytic sample* as a selection of cases that are capable of making thick

description and deep understanding of certain typical traits and behaviors, thereby allowing analytic induction. The behavior of interest here is one type of life course transition, first marriage. We drew a 45 letter sample of the letters written from America and a 91 letter sample of the letters from Poland by the simple criterion of whether marriages or weddings were described in the letters, regardless of the manner in which they were about described or whose weddings or marriages they were. The two samples were analyzed separately to allow a useful comparison and contrast between the immigrants to America and those who remained in Poland.

The Analyses

From these two analytic samples we conduct two types of analysis. First, we do a simple comparison of the (relative) frequencies of the emotional charged terms used when describing marriages. Second, we carry out an in-depth analysis by thickly describing the changed tempo in first marriage and its emotional and psychological outcomes as presented in the sampled letters.

Of the letters we examined, two different changes in tempo occurred: waiting/pending/postponement and haste. Either individuals or couples postponed marriage, sometimes indefinitely, or they desired/succeeded in rushing into marriage. Both tempo changes are apparent in the two samples of letters, however, the frequency of each type of tempo change varied by location. In the case of marriages occurring in Poland, individuals or couples were much more likely to postpone marriage, possibly due to unripe conditions for the normal life course transitions. Of the marriages occurring in America, couples were more likely to enter into hasty marriages, possibly due to already delayed tempo or due to no need for kin consent. Within our sample, we compare the percentage of Polish letters that contain "postponed" marriages to the percentage of American letters with "postponed" marriages. Of marriages discussed in Polish letters, 22% were "postponed." Of those discussed in American letters, 16% were "postponed." In regard to hasty marriages, only 2% of the Polish sample contained "haste," while 16% of the American letters contained mentions of "hasty" marriages.

Within each type of tempo change, there were numerous factors which influenced an individual or couple's decision to change the timing of their entrance into marriage. In the case of postponed marriages, either an individual was not satisfied with the potential mates, s/he did not want to enter into the institution of marriage, the couple was concerned about having ample funds to cover the cost of the marriage, or the potential husband did not feel he could support his wife, or there were issues revolving around family consent or other family-based issues. In sum, all these are indications that the normal conditions are not yet right. In the case of marriages that occurred more quickly than usual, again, money played a role. In this case, one or both members of the couple may have been paying high room and board, and wanted to move out. Another reason for the apparent haste in the American (hereafter "American" refers to Polish-American immigrant) marriages was that the couple did not have to wait for

Figure 1

Tempo Changes by Location of Marriage

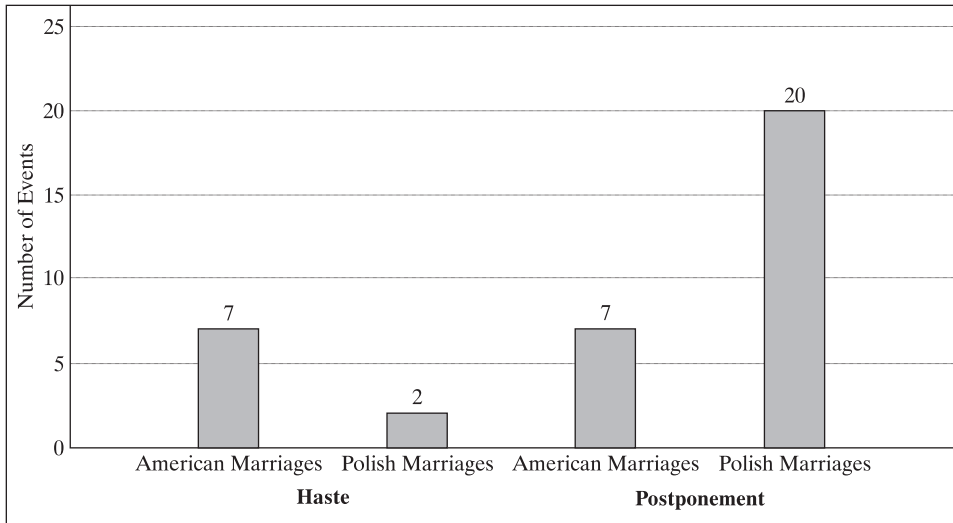
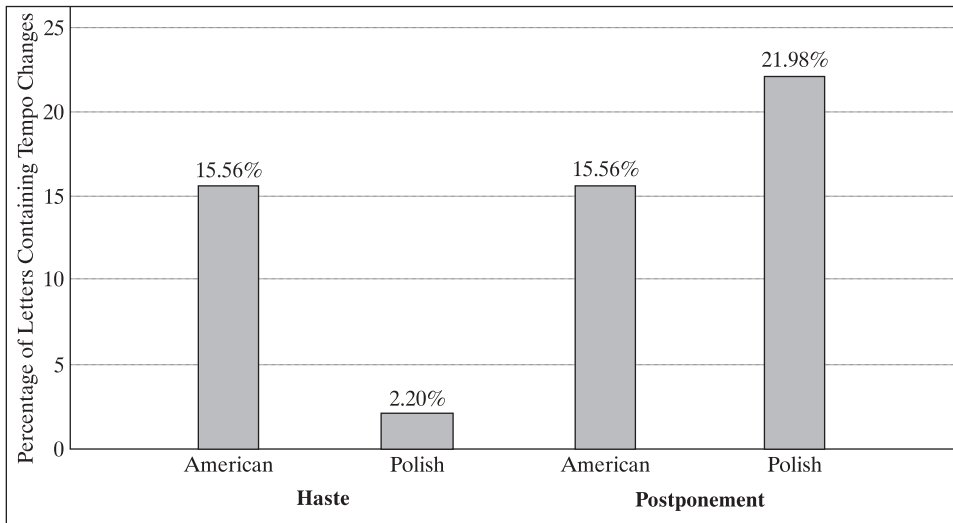


Figure 2

Relative Frequency Distribution of Tempo Changes



family consent, and did not have to participate in many of the customs associated with marriage. In this case, the letters were usually written after the matrimony, informing the family-group that the marriage occurred. In order to understand the dynamics of each of these tempo changes, we will examine both examples of postponement and haste in each country.

As stated earlier, postponement was much more common in Polish marriages than it was in American marriages. We see examples of all four reasons for postponement: a lack of satisfaction with the potential spouse, a person's reluctance to get married, associated marriage costs, and family issues, including lack of consent. When a member of the couple was not satisfied with their choices for spouses, they often postponed their weddings, and eventually cancelled. One young woman wrote (Letter 11):

I, Bronislawa, I could marry if I want to take the first man, but I won't marry just anybody. Szymanski's son wants to marry me, and perhaps it would be well for me, because he will take me to Warsaw, to [set up] a shop or restaurant. But I don't want him, for he is crippled. I have another who turns my head, but only when he comes back from the army. If Michalina marries, I will also marry. But I am not in a hurry to get married. Did I merit with God nobody more than him [the cripple]?

This letter is representative of numerous other letters. In most cases, women are writing about their discontent with potential spouses, mostly due to some physical defect or lack of money.

While some young women have potential suitors and would actually prefer another, other young people express discontent with the institution of marriage itself and do not want to enter into it. After one young woman suffers from an illness, the village is abuzz with gossip that she has consumption. She writes (Letter 715):

I only laugh at it and say, let them blame me, so that no boy will want to marry me. I should be very glad, for I don't want anybody to call on me or court me.

Other women talk about the burden of caring for a husband and family, stating that they prefer to remain single in the face of having to assume the responsibilities associated with marriage. Another young woman explains that she would rather be single than make a poor match. She writes (Letter 184):

The man [probably, type of man] whom I could marry and even, if necessary, eat my bread in the sweat of my brow, is not in a hurry to marry me, while the kind not worth looking at obtrudes himself on me. And my character is such that instead of marrying and suffering woe I prefer to remain a maiden further. During my whole life I have been the prey of bad fortune, and so my life is being spent!

In this case, the woman rejects societal pressures to marry in favor of the life as a spinster. Clearly, she has some negative views of marriage.

The final two reasons for waiting or postponement in Polish marriages come from outside sources: the cost of supporting a family, and issues associated with the larger family-group. In the case of monetary issues, the family is often involved. In one example, a man is waiting for his future father-in-law to finish building before he will give the couple permission to marry. The young man writes (Letter 172):

But you know the Młodziejewski will give 6 morgs to Zych and 12 to Andzia. Only it is said that he does not want her to get married before he builds [new farm-buildings]. So I will now speak with him; if he is willing to get her married in autumn, then I will wait, but if perhaps only in 2 years, then I will go for this time to you (a family member in America).

In another example of family members influencing financial issues that result in the postponement of a marriage also involves land. A young woman's family does not

allow her to marry unless the young man's father agrees to will him a certain amount of land. A relative writes (Letter 672):

And Jozek Hejmej [son of Hejmej] was to marry in Gostwice, in the house of [the daughter of] the former mayor Plata; the wedding was to be on Wednesday before the end of the carnival. But it got spoiled because they could not come to an understanding, for Hejmej refused to will [to his son] the whole polrolek [ancient division of land; literally "half a field;" now it means a farm of a certain size].

This letter also implies that the young man is marrying into a higher social class, therefore the family of the young woman wants to make sure her lifestyle will be preserved in the future through the acquiring of additional land. This is just one of the issues involving family that can cause a wedding to be postponed.

Of those weddings pending because of family issues, the letters fall into two types: those with weddings postponed while the couple waits for family members to return from America, or those where the family will not give consent. Because the family-group is present in Poland, there are not many examples of weddings postponed due to lack of consent, with the exception of the examples given above with regards to money. In one particular case, a young woman wants her family to be at the wedding, and is further postponed when the father of her fiancé passes away. She writes to her brother (Letter 119):

Perhaps you will come just for my wedding. You would cause me a great joy, or to have 3 brothers and to have none at the wedding, this is something very painful. My wedding was to be in August, but the father of my betrothed died, so our affairs got crossed, but we hope that our intentions will be fulfilled and the wedding will be in autumn.

In America, there are fewer marriages that appear to be pending or postponed. Of those that are postponed, it is usually due to costs associated with marrying, dissatisfaction with the potential spouse, or dissatisfaction with the institution of marriage. One young man laments that work in America is unstable, therefore creating conditions non-conducive to marrying. He writes (Letter 390):

But I am tired of walking about unmarried. Although I could give my wife enough to live, still I fear lest poverty should look me in the eyes. Were it not for the money I have put in my brother's house, which he bought, I could do nothing during a year and live with my wife like a lord. But now I postpone it for a longer time.

The same young man writes in his next letter that he feels insecure financially. He feels it is necessary to secure a household to support his wife before marrying.

Another reason for postponing marriage in America is due to a lack of satisfaction with available spouses. One young man expresses dismay at the lack of availability of a Polish girl to marry. He says he has an opportunity to marry, but since the girl is not from Poland, he is not likely to marry her.

As in the Polish sample, dissatisfaction with the institution of marriage is evident for young women. One such woman responds to her family (Letter 448):

You ask about that young man, what happened. Nothing happened, only it is so that I did not wish to marry him, because I don't wish to marry at all; I will live alone through this my life to the end.

The role of the family in postponement in America is not found in this sample. In Poland, family issues were much more likely to play a role in the postponement of marriages.

The second form of tempo change is a hasty entry into marriage. This change is evident in both samples, but at a much higher rate in the American sample. In America, without the influence of familial and community pressures, young people were much more likely to get married quicker and sometimes without family consent. Family members in Poland would find out about the weddings through third parties or in letters from the married couple. One letter from Poland reads (Letter 254):

Now, dear brother, I inform you the Nog from Siedliszowice came here to us and wanted mother to make a marriage-festival, saying that you had married her sister there in America.

The family is unsure if the wedding occurred, and if it did, they were not consulted at all. This is a sharp departure from weddings in Poland, where consulting family members is a necessity. Another letter from a young woman reads (Letter 475):

Now, dear parents, I beg you heartily, don't be angry with me for marrying—so hastily and a man from so far a country and for not even writing to you about it.

In this example, the woman enters into what appears to be an exogamous marriage, quickly and without parental consent. This is an ideal example of how a change in time and space causes a change in the life course event.

Hasty marriages in America also occurred with family consent. One series of letters follows a young couple's requests for parental consent. After they decide to marry, the husband-to-be writes (Letter 468):

So we beg you very much, speak among yourselves and to auntie and uncles also. We ask for a speedy answer.

The couple wants their families to approve, but are also more hasty in their marriage. They do not give reasons for their desire to marry quickly, but it appears that once the couple decided to become engaged, they did not want to endure a long courting period.

Haste in the speed of Polish weddings was extremely rare in our sample, occurring in only 2% of the letters in the sample. Both occurrences were related to monetary issues. In one example, the groom uses his financial status to entice the bride to marry quicker. In the other example, the bride writes (Letter 120):

Evidently, as to my years it would not be anything important, but my betrothed is almost obliged to marry, for his mother cannot work heavily any more, and his sister does not want to, but intends to go away as an apprentice.

In this case, the groom wishes to replace the dwindling female labor force in his household by marrying. This did not appear to be a trend in American marriages.

To examine the psychological effects of the change in tempo of the entrance into marriage on the family-group, we examined letters which expressed worry or anxiety

about a potential marriage. The majority of letters express worry on the part of parents whose children are in America. They are either pressuring their child to get married, or are expressing concern about a potential mate. The following is an excerpt from a letter from a mother in Poland to her daughter in America (Letter 279):

Write us about this bachelor, whence is he, what is his name? Is it the same, from the province of Lublin, about whom you wrote, or another? But, my dear, you write that he has neither money nor work. Well, if you get married in America, you should at least make a career [marry well], or else you will both suffer misery.

The family has not been given complete information about the status of the potential marriage or the potential spouse. If this young woman was in Poland, her mother and extended family would most likely have helped to arrange the marriage, and there would not be a question of the man's financial standing or ability to provide for the daughter. Anxiety about marriage is also present for those families who want their children to get married in America, implying that they may be taking too long in selecting mate. A mother in Poland writes to her son (Letter 85):

Now I advise you to marry, so perhaps you will be happier, as Antoni and other people are.

As we can see from these examples, families express anxiety at the prospect of (or lack of) a family member marrying, as well as their choice of spouse once they decide to marry.

In addition, rumors of potential marriages often were passed around the village back in Poland. In one example, a family expresses anxiety about their son marrying an American girl due to rumors about other members of the village who married Americans. They write (Letter 88):

. . . DEAR SON: You wrote us that you intend to marry and you asked us for our blessing. We send it to you. May our Lord God help you, and God's Mother of Czstochowa, and all the saints. It is very sad for us that we cannot be at your wedding, but let God's will be done. But we are anxious whether you have met a good girl, for it happened already that one man from Gulbiny wrote how he got married [in America]. He lived for only a year with her, for she stole his whole fortune and went, nobody knows where.

Again, if the son had been in Poland, his parents would be able to approve of the marriage, would probably know the family of the girl, and would not worry about the quality of the marriage their son was entering into.

Another departure from the normal entrance into marriage is a change in consent patterns between those people getting married in Poland and those getting married in America. In our sample, the American marriages were more likely to occur without asking for family consent. While there are still a number of letters which contain family consent for the marriage, there are others in which the family is not informed until after the wedding. One young man writes to his sister (Letter 398):

I received your letter on Christmas, but I did not answer you at once, because I intended to marry, and therefore I waited with the letter, even too long. Excuse me, dear sister and brother-in-law, don't be angry with me. At last I know inform you, that I am married. My wedding was on January 24.

The physical distance between the individual and family members makes obtaining consent unnecessary on two levels. First, the actual time it takes for letters to move

between Poland and America may cause a couple to have to postpone their wedding indefinitely waiting for consent. Second, the family pressure to marry a suitable spouse, who they approve of, is diminished due to a lack of physical presence.

The effect of immigration on family dynamics is also apparent in Poland, where male family members may have moved to America leaving their families behind. A father expresses distress at his daughter's choice of a spouse, as well as dismay at her lack of respect for him by not asking for consent. He writes to his sister from America (Letter 498):

Now I request you, dear sister, and you, dear brother-in-law, inform me what is the news in my home, because I received a letter which grieved me much, that my daughter Domicella will get married, but forsakes her faith; and my wife writes me that she will not be at home, so I don't know, where she is to be....So I beg you heartily, inform me what has become of my wife and my dear daughter Zosia, because I no longer ask about my daughter Domicella. Since she forsakes God and her parents I cannot even ask about her. I am a wanderer in a strange land for the sake of my children, and hear through a letter that my daughter forsakes her faith and her parents.

His daughter married a Russian, which was forbidden due to both national and religious considerations. Because the male head of the family is not present in Poland, this enabled the daughter to bypass social customs and norms.

Conclusion

Our sample of letters from *The Polish Peasant* illustrates how the three external life course principles and the sixth principle, which addresses the intersection of these three external principles, operate within individual lives. In the case of the three external principles, it is evident that immigration to America, a relocation of historical time and space, changes one's access to potential spouses, the way in which one enters into the institution of marriage, and a person's social network which enables them to seek a spouse without consulting family members. We do not have letters written by members of the same kin group. However, the weight of the evidence in the predominance of hasty marriages in America indicates a clear possibility of linked tempo. The combination of these three changes causes a change in the tempo of entering into marriage, creating either haste or postponement. In the case of immigrants to America, it appears that lack of consent given by family-group to marriage hastens entrance into marriage, as a result of the broken kin network ties.

The changes in life course tempo also have effects on family structure. While in Poland, an individual's entrance into marriage followed social norms, such as obtaining consent from both sets of parents, the larger family-group, and in some cases the community as a whole. There was also a certain level of negotiation that occurred regarding money, including how the cost of the wedding and supporting a spouse were going to be achieved. When an individual moved to America, they no longer had to answer to the larger family system, and could make decisions in their own interests alone. While asking for consent still occurred, a greater number of marriages that occurred in America did so without consent when compared with

marriages occurring in Poland. In addition, we begin to see the effects of migration on family structure in Poland, such as in the example of the father who moved to America and whose daughter did not ask him permission to marry out of her social group.

When we view international migration as a turning point, we see how this change in physical location has implications for movement through the life course. The tempo of certain life course transitions may be altered, creating slower or quicker movement into marriage, first birth, etc, thereby having possible psychological and emotional effects. While we looked at entrance into marriage, the sixth life course principle should be applicable to other transitions, in both historic and modern populations.

Finally, our study also demonstrates the richness of Znaniecki's contribution to sociology, especially the fertility of his research, shown in the textual data he and Thomas collected, in the concepts they proposed, and in Znaniecki's methodological innovations.

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