THEMES ON FINNISH SETTLEMENT IN THE THUNDER BAY AREA.

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Chapter One

Introduction

> Throughout history the Finns have been migratory people. They were among the first Europeans to cross the seven seas.[1]

This migration has contributed to the Finnish population being found in many countries, including Canada. It is this Finnish-Canadian population that is of interest here. Growing up in the Thunder Bay area, within the Finn culture, created an atmosphere of questions that needed to be researched and answered. Why did the family end up in Thunder Bay? Why did Finn families before them end up here? Why did Finns come to Canada? These questions burned in the back of the mind for years before finally emerging onto paper. In deciding to research the Finns in the Thunder Bay region, two methodologies were implemented. The first method utilized was the laborious task of researching through the vast materials offered in the archives and libraries. Once the background information was organized, the way was set for dealing with the questionnaires and interviews. By contemplating the questions that needed to be answered, the questionnaires and interviews offered the researcher an opportunity to see the information gathered almost on a first-hand basis.

By delving into the Finnish-Canadian experience, this research offers the opportunity to see the motivation which drove these immigrants in their new lives. First, the research explores the historiography of the Finnish-Canadian experience. This is done by examining the research done on immigration in general, immigration to Canada, Finnish immigration, and finally Finnish immigration to the Thunder Bay area. Then the research turns to the Finnish immigrants themselves and the many reasons for coming to Canada in general and the Thunder Bay area in particular. In Chapter Four, the research turns to the employment of these Finnish

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[1] Olavi Koivukangas, "Finns Abroad," (Institute of Migration, 1999). Accessed 7 May 2002, available from http://www.utu.fi/erill/instmigr/art/koivuk.htm.

immigrants upon their arrival and during their lives in Canada. The final aspect of the research is investigated within Chapter Five. The questionnaires and the interviews conducted by the researcher are analyzed to allow the reader a glimpse into the lives of these immigrants, both when they first arrived and after some assimilation into Canadian society. The conclusion of this research deals with the idea that there are more aspects of the Finnish-Canadian experience which can be examined.

THE BEGINNINGS OF FINNISH IMMIGRATION

The first Finnish settlers to arrive on the North American continent in 1641 were a part of the Swedish attempt at colonization in New Sweden on the banks of the Delaware River. Although there were few numbers of Finns who participated in this attempt, there were enough for a small community to arise. However, it was not until two hundred years later that others were attracted to the idea of immigration to the New World.

Canada was not a part of this initial contact and the land was not known to the Scandinavians until 1749-50, when Pehr Kalm visited some of the area now known as Canada. His travels were recorded and published in 1770 as *Travels in North America*.[2] These travel diaries created more interest in North America, and especially British North America, as a place of promise for a new life.

Finnish immigration to Canada has occurred in three main waves. The first was the influx between 1870 and 1914. Finland was then an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire and had enjoyed unusually generous freedoms, including self-government. However, as the Pan-Slavic movement gained a stronger foothold in Russia, the Tsar became more interested in exerting his power over all of his domain. This move towards Russification was an

[2] Pehr Kalm, Travels in North America, published in London for T. Lowndes, 1771, translated J.R. Forster, FC18.C5 no. 35953 Main/Microfiche, CIHM no. 35953, as cited in Oiva Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place: A Historical Geography of the Finns in the Sudbury Area* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 5.

impetus for many Finns to emigrate in search of a freer political and cultural climate. Also, during this period, much of the arable land in Finland was already occupied; as the population of the country increased, there were more people left without a means of economic survival. For these Finns, emigration became the only viable alternative and North America was seen as the land of opportunity. The boom in the railroad and lumber industries in Canada and the United States brought many of the immigrants to settle there. Official Canadian immigration policy at the time strongly favoured agricultural settlers and Finnish immigration was encouraged, with the hope that Finnish immigrants would be good agricultural settlers.[3] Most Finns, however, had different ideas, becoming wage earners in industries such as those related to the forest. Still, they provided valuable service to the Canadian economy and their immigration was encouraged.

Finnish immigrants who decided to remain in Canada settled in a few main regions. The Thunder Bay area was one such region because of the construction then taking place on the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). After the construction was finished in the area, Finns who had taken a liking to the region[4] remained and turned to the lumber industry. These Finns built uniquely Finnish communities in the Thunder Bay region, such as the rural areas of Gorham, Ware and Lybster and the urban blocks surrounding Bay Street in Port Arthur.[5] Eventually these Finnish immigrants were instrumental in attracting more Finns to the region, through their correspondence with friends and family in the homeland. This led new immigrants to settle in the areas already populated with Finns.

With the outbreak of the First World War, there was a halt in Finnish immigration. Finns

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[3] Varpu Lindström-Best, "The Impact of Canadian Immigration Policy on Finnish Immigration, 1890-1978," *Siirtolaisuus/Migration* 2 (1981): 6-7.

[4] See Eugene Van Cleef, "Finnish Settlement in Canada," *Geographical Review* 42 (1952): 253-66 and "Finns in the United States and Canada," *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries* 2, no.1 (May 1936): 35-37, Mark Rasmussen, "Finnish Settlement in Thunder Bay," (M.A. diss., University of Alberta, 1978) and "Finnish Settlement in Rural Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada," *Nordia* 19, no.2 (1985): 73-80, and Uuno Varjo, "Development of Finnish Communities in the Vicinity of Thunder Bay, Ontario," *Nordia* 19, no.2 (1985): 81-115 for further explanations.

[5] Mark Rasmussen, "Finnish Settlement in Thunder Bay," 46.

were more concerned with the problems then being experienced in Finland than with the possibility of migrating to a new country. Not until the end of the war was there again movement of people to foreign destinations. The second wave of immigration is defined as the period between the end of the First World War and the Great Depression. The political situation in Finland after the war was quite unstable. With the Russian Revolution of 1917 weakening Russian control, the Finns took the opportunity to proclaim their independence in December 1917. No longer under Tsarist rule, they were able to develop their own government.

Bolshevik supporters within Finland, known as the Red Guards, hoped the government would stay united with the Russian Bolshevik Soviet but were opposed by the Civil 'White' Guards, loyal to the cause of an independent democratic Finland. This division would be duplicated in areas of North American Finnish settlement, like Thunder Bay. The country's declaration of independence was accepted by Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the new Soviet Union on 3 January 1918, but it caused tension between the Red Guards and the leaders of Finland and their loyal Civil Guards. A civil war broke out on 28 January 1918, and lasted five months. This Finnish Civil War prompted many Finns, especially those sympathetic to the socialist regime in Russia, to emigrate. While some went to the USSR, many decided to try Canada, which is the reason why the second wave of immigration to the Dominion is often discussed in terms of the political ideals which were espoused by these new Canadians.

In part, they came to Canada because the United States had established new immigration laws and quotas, making it more difficult for immigrants to go there. Canada, on the other hand, had relaxed its immigration laws again and did not restrict the quotas of people allowed to enter the country. This was also a time when most immigrants were looking for a way to escape the economic and political upheaval which accompanied the Finnish Civil War and immigration to Canada offered what seemed to be a safe haven. Once these problems in Finland had subsided, emigration, too, slowed.

During this wave of immigration, the Finns who decided to settle in the Thunder Bay region again favoured certain communities. The areas known as Intola, Kivikoski, Lappe, Toimela and Sistonen's Corner, which are located within the larger communities of Tarmola, Pohjola, Alppila and Ostola, were the main destinations. These areas offered Finnish immigrants a place within Canadian society which was uniquely Finnish-Canadian. Even in the 1990s, there are numerous reminders of these Finnish communities. The names of the areas have remained, and many of the residents are second, third or even fourth generation Finnish-Canadians.

In the five years between the end of the Second World War and the start of the third wave of immigration in 1950-51, Finns were not included in the 'desirable' immigrant category, as they were seen by all the Allies (Britain, France, the United States and, to a lesser extent, Canada) as former enemies. During the war, the Germans had helped the Finns to thwart Soviet expansionism; in exchange, the Finns gave German troops free passage through Finland and the right to establish bases. Unfortunately for Finland, most governments, which were united in the cause to defeat Germany, saw Finland as an ally of Germany, a perception that Helsinki did not share. Instead, it saw itself merely as a co-belligerent fighting against a common enemy, the Soviet Union, on a common front.[6] Be that as it may, it was not until the Canadian economy began to expand in the early 1950's with a concomitant demand for labour that Finnish immigration was renewed. These postwar immigrants brought new life into existing Finnish organizations within Canada and also in the Thunder Bay area.[7] This new wave of Finnish immigration began to decline when Canadian immigration laws were tightened between 1962 and 1967, and the Finnish economy provided more employment, having fully recovered from the effects of the Second World War. With the economy on the upswing, the population no

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[6] Anatole G. Mazour, *Finland Between East and West* (Toronto: D. Van Nostrand, 1956), 37.
[7] Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 99.

longer had as many reasons to emigrate.[8]

Throughout the three separate waves of immigration, from 1901 to 1960, more than 75,000 Finns immigrated to Canada and over fifty percent chose to settle in Ontario. Of the Finnish immigrants in Ontario, roughly half settled in the Thunder Bay region.[9] There were many reasons for this large settlement in Thunder Bay[10], some of which have been constant throughout the century and some of which are unique to the time frame they are associated with. As mentioned previously, one factor was the CPR, which brought labourers to the area. Once these labourers were in the area and found it similar to their homeland, they encouraged a chain migration by writing to friends and family about the attractiveness of their new homes and, more importantly, about the availability of employment. This pull of employment to be found in the Thunder Bay area was also in effect during the third wave, when many Finnish immigrants found work available to them in an expanding lumber industry.

For the second and third waves, the Finns had another reason for choosing the Lakehead region; the existence of a large Finnish community. This community could be seen as an aid to integration into Canadian society. Throughout the years, the Finnish-Canadian community of Thunder Bay has remained a constant for immigrants to rely upon in order to adjust to their new home. In Finland, they use the word '*sisu*' to describe the strong will of the Finns to live their lives as free and independent people. In Canada, '*sisu*' can be used to explain how the Finnish immigrants chose to develop the rugged rural lands which other ethnic groups had passed over and could also be used to explain why many rural Finns fought to maintain their culture and traditions.[11] There were likewise many groups and associations which these

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[8] Department of the Secretary of State - Multiculturalism Directorate, *The Canadian Family Tree: Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: Corpus Information Services, 1979), 82.

[9] Jouni Korkiasaari, "Immigration to Canada of People of Finnish Origin or Birth, 1900-1977," (Institute of Migration, 1998). Accessed 7 October 2002, available from http://www.utu.fi/erill/instmigr/eng/e_canad3.htm and also Rasmussen, "Finnish Settlement in Thunder Bay," Table No.4, 40.

[10] For the purposes of this project, the twin cities of Port Arthur and Fort William will be labelled as 'Thunder Bay', which they amalgamated into in 1970. This is to lessen any confusion which might occur.

[11] Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 14.

Finns could join and begin the adaptation to life in Canada. One of these associations, the Thunder Bay Finnish Canadian Historical Society, has done academic research regarding the history of the Finnish immigrant experience. In the Thunder Bay region, most of the research done related to the first two waves of immigration whereas not much has been attempted on the third. This thesis is an attempt to fill that lacuna.

As is the case in other ethnic immigration studies, many researchers are second or third generation ethnics who have become interested in their roots. Perhaps it is their place to research where they have come from and to understand their parents' or grandparents' motives for beginning a new life in a new world. These are some of the reasons behind this current effort. The author wishes to understand the Canada which her father and his family moved to after the Second World War.

Chapter Two

Historiography

The historiography of Finnish immigration to Canada deals primarily with the political actions and thoughts of the immigrants. As well, a second common theme deals with the factors which brought the Finns to North America and their adaptation to North American society. Much of this work deals with the immigrant population in the United States, especially in Delaware, Michigan, and Minnesota. There is, however, much literature which deals with Finnish-Canadian immigrants and their experience of, and adaptation to, Canadian culture. For example, Hilkka Aaltonen's *Books in English on Finland* provides a general introduction for any topic dealing with Finland.[12] There are sections on early Finnish history, Finland through the ages and topics dealing with Finns who have migrated elsewhere, such as to Canada and the United States. An article highlighted by Aaltonen, which is important to the study of Finnish-Canadians, is Edward W. Laine's "Archival Resources Relating to Finnish Canadians," which appeared in the Winter 1978 edition of *Archivaria*.[13] Laine briefly points out the major collections of use to the researcher of Finnish-Canadian issues, the most important of which are to be found in the Lakehead University Library, which also holds the Finlandia Club collection.[14] Another article by Laine, which explains the development and history of the Finnish-Canadian archives, is "'Kallista Perintöä- Precious Legacy!': Finnish-Canadian Archives, 1882-1985."[15] Laine explains how the archives were started:

> [T]he immigrant Finns brought with them a well-defined awareness of a native Finnish archival tradition, one which can be traced back at least to the fifteenth century. In addition, they had an acute sense of self-identity as a people and, as well, a remarkable degree of historical

[12] Hilkka Aaltonen, *Books in English on Finland* (Turku: 1964).
[13] Edward W. Laine, "Archival Resources Relating to Finnish Canadians," *Archivaria* 7 (Winter 1978).
[14] Ibid., 115.
[15] Edward W. Laine, "'Kallista Perintöä- Precious Legacy!': Finnish-Canadian Archives, 1882-1985," *Archivaria* 22 (Summer 1986).

> consciousness concerning their past and present in both individual and communal terms, elements of which were to become further accentuated in the course of their settlement here. They also possessed a high rate of literacy and great respect for the written word. Finally, they had great desire and capacity for organization...[16]

This article gives examples of what one finds in Finnish-Canadian archival sources; personal papers, corporate records, newspapers, and the records of Finnish organizations.

Another work by Laine, an annotated bibliography, *Archival Sources for the Study of Finnish Canadians*, briefly introduces the sources available at the National Archives of Canada located in Ottawa[17]. *Archival Sources* gives the researcher an idea of what each collection of documents includes. As well, Laine lists other sources found at the Archives, such as photographs, government documentation, and interview tapes. Sources at other institutions in Canada, Finland, and the United States are also briefly described. Perhaps the best part of this work from a researcher's point of view is the bibliographic entries dealing with Finnish-Canadian history, starting with archival research tools and progressing through books, articles, newspapers, dissertations, and unpublished works. Another such guide is the work entitled, *On The Archival Heritage of the Finnish Canadian Working-Class Movement.*[18] These guides are important to the culture of Finnish-Canadians as well as their study as they show the researcher how to organize, arrange, and begin the search for appropriate documentation.

A more recent historiographic source is "Searching for North American Finnishness: Historiography of Finnforums I-IV" by A. William Hoglund.[19] This article details the results of conferences known as the 'Finnforums,' which, since 1974, have invited researchers in Finnish-Canadian and Finnish-American topics to present and discuss their findings with others. From

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[16] Ibid., 75.
[17] Edward W. Laine, *Archival Sources for the Study of Finnish Canadians* (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1989).
[18] Edward W. Laine, *On The Archival Heritage of the Finnish Canadian Working-Class Movement (A Researcher's Guide and Inventory to the Finnish Organization of Canada Collection at the National Archives of Canada)* Research Report no.5 (Turku: Institute of Migration, 1987).
[19] William A. Hoglund, "Searching for North American Finnishness: Historiography of Finnforums I-IV," *Journal of Finnish Studies* 1, no.3 (December 1997): 10-18.

this article, new avenues are opened up for the researcher; not only has Hoglund given a summary of what is currently in the forefront of Finnish-Canadian research, but he also offers new ideas and avenues for research.

As a background to the study of Finnish immigration to the Thunder Bay area, a general knowledge of the history of Finland is essential. One source for this information is *A History of Finland* by Eino Jutikkala and Kauko Pirinen.[20] These two authors offer the reader an in-depth look at the history of the country, from Swedish rule through its period in the Russian sphere to its independence in 1917 and ending with the decade after the Second World War. Each of the ten chapters deals with a period during which Finland was in transition, whether economic, political or social. This book sets out the challenges within the political arena and presents them in such a way that it is easy to understand why the Finns would want to emigrate at certain times. Since it was written by two Finns, the bias is toward the inevitable establishment of an autonomous and independent Finland.

There are several books which deal with Finland's political history, especially with the country in the Swedish and Russian empires. Linked with that discussion is the rationale behind Finnish immigration, as Finns sought political freedom elsewhere. For example, Fred Singleton in *A Short History of Finland*, Anatole Mazour's *Finland Between East and West*, and L.A. Puntila's *The Political History of Finland, 1809-1966*[21] all deal with variations of these themes and the achievement of independence in 1917. Similarly, they address Finnish activity in the Second World War and the reasons behind Finnish emigration in the post-1945 period.

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[20] Eino Jutikkala and Kauko Pirinen, *A History of Finland,* rev.ed., trans. Paul Sjöblom (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974).

[21] Fred Singleton, *A Short History of Finland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Anatole G. Mazour, *Finland Between East and West* (Toronto: D. Van Nostrand Co. (Canada) Inc., 1956), and L.A. Puntila, *The Political History of Finland, 1809-1966*, trans. David Miller (Helsinki: Otava Publishing Co., 1974).

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

The reasons for immigration to Canada during the twentieth century must be understood if the Finnish immigration movement is to be put in context. There are numerous sources on immigration to Canada; this is a subject that has been well-covered by historians. Writing about immigration was a popular topic at the turn of the twentieth century.[22] For example, J.R. Conn pointed to the 'undesirability' of certain types of immigrant,[23] as did Walter James Brown. [24] Supporters of immigration were relatively rare and J.S. Woodsworth's contributions to the literature stand out on that account. [25]

More modern literature on immigration emphasizes different aspects of the movement. Donald Avery explains why certain ethnic immigrants were seen by employers as undesirable and how these immigrant workers attempted to deal with unfair working conditions. In *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932,*[26] Avery surveys the effect that immigrant workers had on the economy and how this in turn affected the treatment of the workers, which was generally unfair, with a low wages, an unsafe working environment and unsanitary and cramped conditions in places like lumber camps.[27] These factors contributed to workers having to look out for their own welfare. This attitude was transformed into radical action, including unionization, strikes, political action, and labour radicalism. The Finns were regarded as leaders in this movement for better conditions and hence were seen by employers and government as undesirable immigrants. This coincided

[22] See Howard Palmer, ed., *Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism*, (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Ltd., 1975) for more detailed information on the immigration question. This collection of articles and essays consists of arguments from both the pro- and anti-immigration sides of the question.
[23] J.R. Conn, "Immigration," *Queen's Quarterly* 8, no.2 (October 1900):117-31.
[24] Walter James Brown, "Immigration and Agriculture," *The University Magazine* 13 (April 1914): 22-34.
[25] J.S. Woodsworth, "Some Aspects of Immigration," *The University Magazine* 13 (April 1914): 186-93. This article is placed in the back of the journal while the Brown article is near the beginning, which begs the question as to whether the editors of the journal gave Brown's anti-immigration view more prominence than Woodsworth's pro-immigration view. For a more detailed expression of Woodsworth's view, refer to J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).
[26] Donald Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979).
[27] Ibid., 36.

with the Finnish radicalism of the First World War. In 1919, Canadian government policy was such that "immigration from Finland was being discouraged because 'a number of Finnish people seem to be very busy spreading International Workers of the World propaganda and occasionally one is found doing something worse.'"[28]

Political scientist Reginald Whitaker adopts a similar point of view in his study of immigration, *Double Standard: The Secret History of Canadian Immigration.*[29] He shows the inconsistencies in Canada's immigration policy as to who was accepted and who was not. His analysis certainly fits Finnish immigrants:

> The Canadian state has erected a detailed framework of ideological and political criteria for selection and exclusion. It has insisted that it wishes to keep out certain ideas and certain beliefs, just as it wishes to keep out certain germs and contagious diseases. Canada has been at one and the same time the land of freedom, a peaceful refuge from the storms of oppression and persecution, and a country that, out of extreme fear of totalitarianism, enacts what must be termed quasi-totalitarian controls over the entry of persons of differing political ideology and even, to the extent that this is possible, over the entry of the ideals themselves.[30]

Whitaker analyzes Canadian immigration policy through the prism of the Cold War and the fight against communism in the post-Second World War period. Those who were fleeing from communist regimes were more likely to be allowed entry into Canada than those who were fleeing non-communist, but dangerous, regimes. There was a period when the Finns already living in Canada had to register with the government as enemy aliens during World War II, and those Finns were included in the undesirable listing of possible immigrants.[31] *Double Standard* provides the explanation as to why the third wave of Finnish immigration did not begin in the

[28] Immigration Branch Records, 651, no.3, F.C. Blair to McFadden & McMillan Lumber Company, Fort William, August 27, 1919, as cited in Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners,"* 92.
[29] Reginald Whitaker, *Double Standard: The Secret History of Canadian Immigration* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1987).
[30] Ibid., 9.
[31] For the Finns becoming enemy aliens, see Varpu Lindström-Best, "Finns in Canada," *Polyphony: Finns in Ontario* 3, no.2 (Fall 1981): 13.

immediate aftermath of the Second World War but had to wait a few years until attitudes towards Finns had changed.

One of the leading sources for immigration into Canada during the period after World War II is *Post-war Immigrants in Canada* by Anthony H. Richmond.[32] This book deals with the 'open-door' immigration of British citizens into Canada and how this influx affected Canadian society and immigrants' lives. Richmond also deals with their impact on the economy, immigrants' incomes and their standard of living as compared to those they had experienced while in their homelands. As well, Richmond looks at the sociological aspect of the immigrants' new lives within Canada; how this affected their families and their social life. He concludes with a chapter regarding the research done on return migration to Britain.

Another source for postwar immigration into Canada is Alan Green's *Immigration and the Postwar Canadian Economy*. In this book, Green details the changing immigration policy and the impact of the new immigrants on the economy of Canada. One of the most important ideas articulated by Green deals with the capacity for the Canadian economy to take in the immigrants. Explaining why immigrants, including the hardworking Finns, needed to be allowed into Canada, he states:

> A basic component in Canadian immigration policy in the postwar period, and one with firm roots in the inter-war years was the adjustment of the volume of immigrant inflow to the 'absorptive capacity' of the Canadian labour market. This aim was stressed by Mackenzie King in his 1947 statement, quoted earlier: "The government will seek by legislation, regulation, and vigorous administration, to insure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy."[33]

Although these works deal mainly with immigrants from other English-speaking

[32] Anthony Richmond, *Post-war Immigrants in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967). This analysis is cited in many of the Finnish works dealing with immigration, as an information source for immigration to Canada.
[33] Alan G. Green, *Immigration and the Postwar Canadian Economy* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976), 32.

countries, they provide the reader with an understanding of what some immigrants' lives were like when they came to Canada after 1945 and how they affected Canadian society. Not only is it important for researchers to understand immigration, it is also essential for the researcher to be familiar with the topic of integration within the new society. Green's book, in particular, provides the best understanding of the process of integration and assimilation.

FINNISH IMMIGRATION

Building on the sort of analysis which Richmond undertakes are two articles important to the study of Finnish immigration to North America; these appear in *The Finns in North America: A Social Symposium.*[34] This book is a collection of different authors' views on the movement of Finns to Canada and the United States. Reino Kero's "The Background of Finnish Emigration" asserts that "any examination of the factors influencing Finnish emigration to America must determine what motivated so many citizens of certain areas to seek a new homeland in America."[35] Some of these factors, as Kero saw them, were the growth of the Finnish population, the move from the rural to the urban setting, the abundance of opportunities in North America reported by Finns who had already immigrated there, and the turbulent political situation in Finland. These pushes and pulls sent many Finns to North America in order to improve their lives.

Kero noted the influence that letters from immigrant Finns to their relatives had in persuading them to emigrate. Some of these gave a wonderful view of ideal conditions in North America:

> The area is exceedingly fertile....I have never seen such large apples as I have seen here. They also grow numerous kinds of fruit, which I have never seen in Finland....Last year

[34] Ralph J. Jalkanen, ed. *The Finns in North America: A Social Symposium* (Hancock, Michigan: Michigan State University Press for Suomi College, 1969).
[35] Reino Kero, "The Background of Finnish Emigration," in *The Finns in North America: A Social Symposium*, ed. Jalkanen, 55.

> it was possible to buy these farms cheaply, but now when we have asked about the prices, they have risen by about twenty percent. But, in any case, you can still purchase an exceedingly good farm of 80-100 acres for from $2000-3000 ....It is not worth your while to stay in Finland....You know here we govern ourselves....The government, you know, favors Finnish immigration.[36]

Many such letters were written by Finnish immigrants enticing their friends and relatives to immigrate. Tauri Aaltio followed Kero's work in the article "A Survey of Emigration from Finland to the United States and Canada." Using the research begun by Kero, Aaltio described when and where the majority of Finnish immigrants settled. Most of the article deals with the United States, but Aaltio considered Canada as well. As he notes, many immigrant Finns encouraged other Finns to immigrate and Aaltio saw this as the reason for large settlements of Finns in certain areas: "New conditions, unfamiliar customs, a strange language, and homesickness were among the many factors causing them to seek the company of other Finnish immigrants, which in turn led to the formation of several 'Finnish' communities in the United States."[37] Aaltio concluded his article with a few brief paragraphs on the emigration movement to Canada and two major differences from the movement to the United States. The later start date and the higher numbers of Finnish immigrants into Canada allowed that country to "retain an intensity and variety no longer seen in the Finnish areas of the United States."[38]

A geographer, Eugene Van Cleef, also dealt with Finnish settlements within North America. "Finns in the United States and Canada," dealt with the emigration and distribution of the Finns in the United States and made comparisons with the Finns in Canada.[39] Van Cleef asserted that "The pattern of Finnish settlement in Canada resembles that in the United

[36] Ibid., 61. The letter is from an American immigrant who was residing in Kaleva, Michigan.
[37] Tauri Aaltio, "A Survey of Emigration from Finland to the United States and Canada," in *The Finns in North America: A Social Symposium,* ed. Jalkanen, 66.
[38] Ibid., 69.
[39] Eugene Van Cleef, "Finns in the United States and Canada," *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries* 2, no.1 (May 1936): 35-37.

States."[40] In another article, "Finnish Settlement in Canada," he expanded on the pattern of this settlement. Van Cleef described the physical geography of Canada, with emphasis on the areas in which the Finns settled. In his analysis, the reasons why the settlers immigrated was for employment, in particular with the railways. He then described the regions in which the Finns settled in relation to economic and physical geographic factors. The major areas of Finnish settlement were the Vancouver-Victoria region,[41] the area between Edmonton and Calgary, the "middle transition" region of eastern and southeastern Alberta and Saskatchewan, around Lake Superior, and in the Toronto-Hamilton area. He concludes by noting the success of Finnish immigrants, while also indulging in some 'ethnicist' commentary:

> The Finns in Canada have been successful trail blazers and capable frontiersmen. They have demonstrated here, as in the United States, that in occupying and taming wild new country, geographically similar to their native land, they have no peers. Their occupance of lands that are "like home" illustrates concretely the critical importance, in any land settlement, of careful selection, and encouragement by those responsible, of peoples whose original habitat has many characteristics in common with the region to be developed.[42]

Appearing in the nineteenth volume of *Nordia* was Uuno Varjo's "Development of Finnish Communities in the Vicinity of Thunder Bay, Ontario."[43] This article provides the reader with the social and economic background of Finnish settlements in the Thunder Bay area as well as their history. Varjo began by giving the background of the immigration movement and why the area was chosen by the Finns. He also explains, in greater detail than did Van Cleef, the geographical impetus behind Finns settling in Thunder Bay. Varjo made a direct link between the availability of farmland and the willingness of Finns to locate in the area. By the

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[40] Eugene Van Cleef, "Finnish Settlement in Canada", *Geographical Review* 42 (1952): 253.
[41] It is supposed that the Finns in the Vancouver-Victoria region settled there as early as the 1840s and had come from Russian Alaska. These were probably joined by more Finns from that area when Russia sold Alaska to the United States. Mika Roinila, "Finland-Swedes of British Columbia," *Journal of Finnish Studies* 4, no.1 (May 2000): 21.
[42] Ibid., 266.
[43] Uuno Varjo, "Development of Finnish Communities in the Vicinity of Thunder Bay, Ontario," *Nordia* 19, no.2 (1985): 81-113.

1950s, however, Finnish immigrants were no longer being pulled to the area for the farmland, as most of the best land had already been sold and there was less available. He observed that "many of the people referred to as farmers in the area should really be termed 'rural residents,' since they use their fields for growing a small range of crops, mainly just hay, potatoes and root vegetables, and these mostly for their own consumption."[44]

Varjo also detailed the Finnish organizations which sprang up within the area because of the immigrants. These organizations are grouped into two ideological factions, the "Church Finns" and the "Hall Finns."[45] The "Church Finns" are those immigrants who were affiliated with and spent a great deal of time with the Lutheran Church, and the "Hall Finns" were those who spent their time and energy affiliated with organizations which met in certain halls within the community. The Church and the Hall became the social alternatives for the Finns, depending on their political outlook. The social sphere also included the schools and co-operative movements, and Varjo explained the relevance of both to the Finnish community. Since this article was dealing with the development of the Finnish communities, the conclusion sums up whether or not the Finnish settlements as communities were based on an ethnic culture and geography or, as Varjo states, social geographical communities.[46] Varjo concluded that the beginning of the immigrant movement saw the settlements as communities unto themselves but that, by the 1950's, these communities were no longer so closely knit:

> although many Finns live in the old villages in the vicinity of Thunder Bay, they no longer adhere as communities. Farming is no longer economically feasible, and the descendants of the pioneers have left for more profitable jobs in Thunder Bay. With the dissolution of the old, closely-knit farming community, there no longer seems to be much of a bond between the residents of the villages. What were once active,

[44] Ibid., 100.
[45] Ibid., 101. He mentions as his sources for this separation, Robert F. Harney "Preface," *Polyphony: Finns in Ontario* 3, no.2 (1981): 1-2, and Yrjö Raivio, *Kanadan suomalaisten historia I* (Copper Cliff, ON: Canadan Suomalainen Historiaseura, 1975).
[46] Varjo, 109.

> supportive entities are now only geographical locations for people of Finnish extraction.[47]

Oiva Saarinen's "Geographical Perspectives on Finnish Canadian Immigration and Settlement" looks at immigration from a geographical standpoint in order to account for the distribution of Finns in the different regions of Canada.[48] According to Saarinen, who used information from the 1951 Census of Canada, 67 percent of immigrant Finns settled in Ontario.[49] Like Van Cleef, Saarinen concludes that the Finns settled in areas which were geographically similar to Finland and tended to form communities which attracted more Finnish immigrants to the area.

Saarinen also published a short article, "Perspectives on Finnish Settlement in Canada," in the journal *Siirtolaisuus-Migration.* Here, he detailed briefly the relationships between the numbers in the Canadian censuses and the actual facts which are shown through those numbers.[50] Saarinen explored the background of the three waves of immigration, as well as what can be observed through the numbers. He took the statistics and deduced eight conclusions regarding age, gender, language, and religion, providing the reader with the basics of Finnish settlement in Canada from 1901 to 1991. He concluded that, "According to one recent government publication, this data can be used to support the contention that the Finns in Canada 'may in fact be becoming more aware of their origins than ever before'. This conclusion is pertinent from a policy framework as it suggests that there remains fertile ground both for the on-going promotion of the Finnish heritage in Canada and for the continued fostering of ethnic linkages with Finland."[51]

As a more recent and valuable addition to the historiography of the Finnish immigrant

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[47] Ibid., 111.
[48] Oiva Saarinen, "Geographical Perspectives on Finnish Canadian Immigration and Settlement," *Polyphony: Finns in Ontario* 3, no.2 (Fall 1981): 16-22.
[49] Ibid., 20.
[50] Oiva Saarinen, "Perspectives on Finnish Settlement in Canada," *Siirtolaisuus-Migration* 3 (1995): 19-25.
[51] Ibid., 25.

experience, Oiva Saarinen's *Between a Rock and a Hard Place: A Historical Geography of the Finns in the Sudbury Area* offers researchers a more detailed examination of the Finnish phenomena within one district which spans the wide time period of the immigration movement. Using his expertise as a geographer, Saarinen has taken his previous studies and enriched them with more information of the immigrant's social, economic and cultural experiences. Many of these have been taken from personal interviews with Finnish immigrants and their descendants. This new book, published in 1999, has provided the framework for researchers writing of the Finnish immigrant experience in other regions. As Saarinen stated in his Introduction, "it is hoped that this book will serve as a useful framework for comparable studies involving other ethnic groups in North America."[52]

Varpu Lindström-Best has written a number of articles and books on Finns. For example, her *The Finnish Immigrant Community of Toronto, 1887-1913*, published by the Multicultural Historical Society of Ontario as part of the 'Occasional Papers in Ethnic and Immigration Studies' series in 1979 laid the basis for much of her later work.[53] This included *The Finns in Canada*, part of the Canada's Ethnic Group Series of the Canadian Historical Association. Here, Lindström-Best provides the reader with a basic knowledge of the Finnish immigrant experience. As others have also pointed out, she notes that "Although the Finns have never comprised more than half of one percent of the Canadian population, they increased their visibility in this country by settling in clusters, concentrating in a few occupations and actively participating in Canadian politics. Unlike most other immigrants, the Finns were able to tolerate the rugged frontier conditions and pragmatically chose them, even when the Canadian government was strongly encouraging prairie settlement."[54]

This piece was followed by an article in *Polyphony: The Finns in Ontario,* entitled "The

[52] Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 2.
[53] Varpu Lindström-Best, *The Finnish Immigrant Community of Toronto, 1887-1913* (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1979).
[54] Ibid., 17.

Finnish Immigrant Community of Toronto, 1887-1913." It briefly examined Finnish immigration to Toronto during the period before the First World War. Lindström-Best provided a more complete analysis of Finns in Toronto by analyzing the community in *Polyphony: Toronto's People.* Generally, her research has focused on how Finnish communities were built, how they were perceived by others, and how they evolved over time. Certainly that was her perspective in her doctoral dissertation, which focused on the female part of the Finnish community, "Defiant Sisters: A Social History of the Finnish Immigrant Women in Canada, 1890-1930," and the book of the same name which followed.[55] She includes here a particularly unsettling, yet not uncommon, practice followed by Finnish women (and men) -- suicide.[56] "The act of taking one's own life in Finland [was] seen by many as a private decision, an ultimate act of independence."[57] Oddly, Lindström-Best suggests that hanging, as opposed to other forms of suicide, was seen as a final courtesy:

> Outside of Port Arthur there was a famous tree called "the last stop" because that's where the Finns hanged themselves. It seemed that almost every week someone was dangling there from his neck. They were considerate, you know, if somebody was missing you knew where to look first. It was much more difficult to go to the forest and find the pieces of those who shot themselves - wild animals often got to them first. But when you know one is hanging from a tree branch, this isn't such a problem ....Life was so rough, unemployment, hunger churning in the stomach, lonely men, not even money to go back to Finland. You can see why they would choose to kill themselves...when you are a foreigner your life isn't worth a damn, and soon you start to believe it too.[58]

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[55] See Varpu Lindström-Best, *Defiant Sisters: A Social History of Finnish Immigrant Women in Canada* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988). The original thesis was Varpu Lindström-Best, "Defiant Sisters: A Social History of the Finnish Immigrant Women in Canada, 1890-1930" (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1986).

[56] In her more recent article, Lindström states that "information garnered from Finnish newspapers reveals that Finns were four times more likely than the average in Canada to commit suicide...Causes for men's suicides reported in the newspapers included hunger, loneliness, alcoholism and madness...In contrast, women who committed suicide were...caused by shame or a sense of desperation." Varpu Lindström, "Ethnocentricity and Taboos: Untouched Themes in Finnish Canadian Social History," *Journal of Finnish Studies* 1, no.3 (December 1997), 42.

[57] Ibid., 51.

[58] Ibid., 51-52.

In *Defiant Sisters*, Lindström-Best also discusses the reasons why single Finnish women immigrated to Canada (more Finnish men than women in Canada meant finding a husband was easier), as well as the work they did here, their religious affiliations, and their organizational abilities. In particular, the author focuses on socialist organizations and women's roles in them. They were seen by women as being, not only political, but also as social and educational institutions: "[t]hus Finnish women who joined the socialist organizations did so for a multitude of reasons, political activism being just one important part of the whole."[59]

A more recent article by Lindström appeared in the special issue of the *Journal of Finnish Studies*, December 1997. This issue was dedicated to the publication of the papers presented at FinnForum V held in Sudbury in May 1996. Lindström's article, "Ethnocentricity and Taboos: Untouched Themes in Finnish Canadian Social History", looks at the current state of Finnish Canadian research and suggests areas and ideas for further research. She admits that many of the researchers have a personal interest in the subject, often looking at subjects relating to their personal heritage.[60] Areas which she targets as desirable for further research are some of the religious and cultural organizations, the second and third generation Finnish Canadians, and also themes such as racism, sexuality and violence within the family. All of these subjects are worthy of study but have yet to be taken up.

For more research on the many cultures within Canada, *Polyphony* provides articles in special editions devoted to an Ontario city's ethnic diversity. Volume 5, *Polyphony: Sudbury's People*, includes an article by Peter V. Krats, "'Suomalaiset Nikkelialuella': Finns in the Sudbury Area, 1883-1939",[61] which is a survey of the whole Finnish community in the Sudbury area, from the beginning of the immigration until roughly the Second World War. Krats works with the same sources as other researchers when writing about the start of the immigration waves and

[59] Ibid., 139.
[60] Ibid., 33.
[61] Peter V. Krats, "'Suomalaiset Nikkelialuella': Finns in the Sudbury Area, 1883-1939," *Polyphony: Sudbury's People* 5, no.1 (Spring/Summer 1983): 37-47.

why the Finns chose Canada. Where this article differs from others is in the detailed facts of the Sudbury experience. Since the major industry in Sudbury was (and is) mining, the Finnish experience in this area is different from most other immigrant communities, where the majority of Finns were employed in the forest industry.

Krats also mentions the role of women in the community and their economic purpose. With women fulfilling an economic role, Krats goes on to remark on the support systems which developed to ensure the Finnish community would survive. From these support systems came the need for social institutions, which the Finns filled with religious affiliations; "[t]he combined intensity of these religious efforts suggests Sudbury area Finns were not as anti-church as is often assumed."[62] Gradually, these church-run organizations lost influence and the political aspect of the Finnish experience was reaffirmed by the more recent immigrants from Finland, which was experiencing political turmoil after the First World War. The Sudbury Finns became well-known for their political institutions, particularly the socialist ones, which continued after the Second World War.

A number of dissertations have been written in the field of Finnish-Canadian history as, for example, Martha Allen's at the University of Western Ontario in 1954.[63] Entitled "A Survey of Finnish Cultural, Economic, and Political Development in the Sudbury District in Ontario," it discussed Finnish settlement and culture in the Sudbury area during the period 1885-1953. Since Allen wrote her dissertation without many of the sources now available to the researcher, such as recent census data and the information compiled in many archives, she conducted interviews and used information on the culture of the Finns in Finland for comparative purposes. The Finnish national epic, *Kalevala*, is continually cited as a cultural influence among the Finns and their attempted integration into Canadian society. Allen concluded that the Finns did indeed

[62] Ibid., 41.
[63] Martha Isobel Gerard Allen, "A Survey of Finnish Cultural, Economic, and Political Development in the Sudbury District in Ontario" (M.A. diss., University of Western Ontario, 1954).

integrate into Canadian society but carried with them some of their own customs.

Lennard Sillanpää also contributed to the Finnish-Canadian historiography with a doctoral dissertation dealing with the Finns in the Sudbury region: "The Political Behaviour of Canadians of Finnish Descent in the District of Sudbury."[64] As suggested by the title, Sillanpaa was most concerned with the politics of the descendants of immigrant Finns. However, to understand them, he had to deal with their forefathers, the immigrants themselves. Sillanpaa discussed the reasons for emigrating, which were primarily economic. He concluded that "emigrants wanted better living conditions; there were few opportunities in the homeland; there were the unsettled living conditions in Finland after the war; and, for the first time in two decades, there was a possibility to move."[65]

Research has also been done on the integration of the Finns into Canadian society. Ahti Tolvanen's research on that subject with respect to Port Arthur Finns will be dealt with in the literature specifically dealing with the Finnish immigrants of the Thunder Bay area. Keijo Virtanen authored an article on Finnish immigrants who settled around the Great Lakes in Canada and the United States.[66] This article, "Work as a Factor of Adaptation for Finnish Immigrants in the Great Lakes Region," dealt with the process of integration of the Finns and focused on their labour as the main reason for their adaptation into the North American society.

Virtanen looked at three major occupations and how the Finns integrated within Canadian society with these jobs. The first was mining, which he claimed had "strengthen[ed] the Finnish sense of identity: the Finns wanted to preserve their Finnishness in nationality and language even in the mines."[67] Obviously, in these circumstances, integration was difficult. The integration of women in domestic service was placed at the opposite end of the spectrum by

[64] Lennard Sillanpää, "The Political Behaviour of Canadians of Finnish Descent in the District of Sudbury" (Ph.D. diss., University of Helsinki, 1975).
[65] Ibid., 41.
[66] Keijo Virtanen, "Work as a Factor of Adaptation for Finnish Immigrants in the Great Lakes Region," *Journal of Finnish Studies* 1, no.3 (December 1997): 117-24.
[67] Ibid., 119.

Virtanen.[68] Since the women were living with a family and had everyday contact with them, they soon began to feel a part of Canadian society. As this work was also readily available, the women were not as likely as the men miners to return to Finland for work. The third occupation Virtanen surveys in his article is farming, which was one of the main reasons for Finns coming to Canada and which speeded integration into Canadian society: "As Finnish settlement expanded, it led to the establishment of stores, churches, and voluntary associations - all factors which promote adaptation."[69] By owning a farm, the Finn was tied to the land in Canada and through his/her children, who attended Canadian school, spoke English and had friends from different ethnic backgrounds, completed the process of adaptation and eventually integrated into Canadian society.

FINNISH IMMIGRATION TO THUNDER BAY

This discussion now leads us to the particular interest of this thesis, which is Finns in Thunder Bay. What Lindström-Best has done for Finns in Toronto and Oiva Saarinen for Finns in Sudbury, Ahti Tolvanen has done for Finns in Port Arthur. In a number of articles and books,[70] Tolvanen delves into the Finnish immigrant experience in Port Arthur, now Thunder Bay. His main purpose for the research is one of motivation for other researchers; "If this work has succeeded in suggesting some guideposts for studying ethnic history, including the inspiration of work on labour history and local social history, then it will have largely served its purpose."[71] Tolvanen dealt with how certain activities and organizations formed by the Finns helped their integration into Canadian society. The organizations he included in his research

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[68] Ibid., 120.
[69] Ibid., 122.
[70] Ahti Tolvanen, *Finntown: A Perspective on Urban Integration, Port Arthur Finns in the Interwar Period, 1918-1939* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1985), Ahti Tolvanen, "Finns in Port Arthur in the Interwar Period: A Perspective on Urban Integration," in *Finnish Diaspora I: Canada, South America, Africa, Australia and Sweden*, ed. Michael G. Karni, 60-76, (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981); and Ahti Tolvanen, "Population Development of Finns in Port Arthur," *Polyphony: Thunder Bay's People* 9, no.2 (1987): 43-45.
[71] Ibid., 125.

were the church, co-operatives, labour organizations, and cultural associations such as those mentioned below in Project Bay Street. Each organization had a unique status within the Finnish community and sought to assist integration; however, Tolvanen concluded that the Finns were never really assimilated but merely adapted their own forms of society into Canada.

The research done on Finnish immigrants in the Thunder Bay area is very important and adds to the historiography of the area. As well, the Thunder Bay Finnish-Canadian Historical Society has been involved in two research projects, appropriately called 'Project Bay Street' after the street around which the Finnish community in Thunder Bay clustered. One deals with the rural area outside of Thunder Bay, *A Chronicle of Finnish Settlements in Rural Thunder Bay: Bay Street Project No.2.*[72] This project interviewed residents of rural areas outside of Thunder Bay and analyzed land deeds for what they could tell about early Finnish settlers. Each of the townships with a large population of Finns was included: North Branch, Tarmola, Lappe, Kivikoski, Ostola, Intola, Miller, Alppila, Kaministiquia and Pohjola, Sunshine[73], Sellars and Leeper, Nolalu, Suomi and Silver Mountain, Pearson and Devon. The townships are discussed from their inception as Finnish areas and the analysis focuses on their political, social, and economic development.

The other project published was *Project Bay Street: Activities of Finnish-Canadians in Thunder Bay Before 1915.*[74] This is a compilation of articles by many researchers and resulted in a book edited by Marc Metsaranta. These articles explore Finnish-Canadian life in the city before the First World War and touch on the social, economic, and political activities of these immigrants.

[72] Thunder Bay Finnish-Canadian Historical Society, *A Chronicle of Finnish Settlements in Rural Thunder Bay: Bay Street Project No.2*, (Thunder Bay: Canadan Uutiset, 1976).
[73] Shabaqua, Finmark, Kashabowie, Mabella and Shebandowan are all added into the section on Sunshine. Ibid., 99.
[74] Marc Metsaranta, ed., *Project Bay Street: Activities of Finnish-Canadians in Thunder Bay Before 1915*, (Thunder Bay: The Thunder Bay Finnish-Canadian Historical Society, 1989). Although this work was published in 1989, the research was actually undertaken and privately published in 1974 and then developed into a better work by 1989.

Metsaranta provides a general survey of Finnish immigration to the Thunder Bay area in chapter two and the workingmen's associations in chapters six through eleven. Christine Kouhi wrote the chapter on the Finnish church, which was bolstered by her research done while she was a student at Lakehead University. Tellervo Kahara tackled the history of the temperance society. With this research, one can look at, and understand why, later immigrants were drawn to the area, as there were all the community organizations which would make them feel welcome. The workingmen's associations in particular created invaluable community activities, whose purposes were to provide leisure activities for workers and also to create feelings of community and kinship. Later, Metsaranta describes how Imatra #9[75] organized itself into several committees to offer Finnish-Canadians the social and economic activities they wanted as well as adding greatly to their quality of life: "the entertainment committee, the band, the choir, the drama society, the gym club, the educational committee, the mutual aid, the Sickness and Funeral Assistance Fund, the women's organizations and the Reading Room and Library were all an integral part of what made the organization function."[76]

A number of dissertations, by Christine Kouhi and Mary Veltri (History), Michael Maunula (Sociology) and Robert Orr (Geography), have been written on this subject for various departments at Lakehead University.[77] Kouhi analyzes the first immigrant wave, from 1876 to 1914, dealing with "churches, temperance societies and workingmen's associations"[78] and how they evolved and affected Finns in Thunder Bay. This was later condensed into an article for the *Lakehead University Review*, "Labour and Finnish Immigration to Thunder Bay, 1876-1914." Here, she underlines the radicalism of many early Finnish immigrants, noting that "In Finland,

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[75] This association was affiliated first with the Imatra League, then to a Local of the Socialist Party of Canada, and then to the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada, as detailed in Ibid., 69-88.
[76] Ibid., 108-09.
[77] Christine Kouhi, "Finnish Immigrants in Thunder Bay: 1876-1914" (B.A. diss., Lakehead University, 1975), Mary Veltri, "Labour Radicalism Among Finnish Bushworkers at the Lakehead, 1916-1936" (B.A. diss., Lakehead University, 1981), Michael J. Maunula, "The Retention of Ethnic Culture Among Thunder Bay Finns" (M.A. diss., Lakehead University, 1984), and Robert Orr, "Population at the Canadian Lakehead from 1901-1961: An Analysis of Patterns and Trends" (B.A. diss., Lakehead University, 1970).
[78] Kouhi, "Finnish Immigrants," 10.

socialism, social democracy and trade unions were an accepted and recognized part of life well before the First World War; but in Canada they were considered radical institutions."[79] She concludes by noting that

> the pre-World War One period for the Finnish immigrants in Thunder Bay was one of establishment. The Finns "took root" in the economic life of Thunder Bay and formed a visible segment of the populations of Port Arthur and Fort William. At the same time, however, they nurtured their own traditions brought with them from Finland and sought to maintain a specifically "Finnish" identity, one which separated them from all other residents of the Thunder Bay cities.[80]

Veltri's conclusions in "Labour Radicalism Among Finnish Bushworkers at the Lakehead, 1916-1936," are similar, at least in terms of the radicalism so prevalent among segments of the Finnish immigrant population. This radicalism, Veltri stated, was "found in political traditions which Finnish immigrants brought from their homeland."[81] Her dissertation detailed the labour scene during the period 1916 to 1936 and examined the relationship between labour and the Finnish immigrants, with special emphasis on the period of the Great Depression.

Maunula's dissertation discusses the culture of the Thunder Bay Finns as demonstrated within the younger generation, which generally includes first through fifth generation Finnish-Canadians.[82] Maunula set out to prove that urban Finns who resided in a largely Finnish-populated area will retain Finnish culture more than either rural Finns or Finns residing in non-Finnish areas. This was true, he found, although he also discovered that all Finns retained their

[79] Lindström-Best, "Finns in Canada," *Polyphony:* 8.
[80] Christine Kouhi, "Labour and Finnish Immigration to Thunder Bay, 1876-1914," *The Lakehead University Review* 9, no.1 (Spring 1976): 35.
[81] Veltri, 117.
[82] His research entailed the answering of questionnaires by the Finns, with questions relating to their Finnishness and their perceived adherence to the Finnish culture.

culture to a great extent; "the Finnish community maintained its character with little difficulty."[83] This research suggests that Finns were integrated into Canadian society but did not necessarily assimilate into it.

Robert Orr's dissertation, "Population at the Canadian Lakehead from 1901-1961," analyzes the pattern resulting from the influx and outflow of population with respect to Thunder Bay and surrounding area. He looked at the physical setting of the area, the climate, and physical geography. This study led him to state that the Finns, for the most part, settled in the "forested regions of the study area where the transfer of Finnish culture found physical environments similar to that of Central Finland."[84] Orr also dealt with the historical background to the settlement of the area, the reasons for the growth of the area, and the pattern of its growth. For this study, the most interesting portion of the dissertation is the chapter entitled "Ethnic Origin Patterns," which details which areas were home to which ethnic grouping. Not every ethnic group had a "region" in the study area but, to a great extent, people of the same ethnic background tended to stay in the same areas or townships as others of the same ethnic origin. However, Orr also declared that these areas were not static but changed over time.

In his Master's dissertation titled "Finnish Settlement in Thunder Bay," Mark Rasmussen, surveyed the areas heavily populated with Finns and explained why the Finns settled around the city.[85] Like Tolvanen, Rasmussen's research led him to conclude that "what the Finns accomplished in rural Thunder Bay was a fairly direct transplant of their traditional cultural landscape into a new, but familiar physical environment."[86] Analyzing the building structures and patterns and comparing them to ones found in Finland, as well as non-Finnish building sites in the same areas, he was able to determine how much similarity and how much change had been made in the architecture. This thesis inspired his article, "Finnish Settlement in Rural Thunder

[83] Maunula, 191.
[84] Orr, 60.
[85] Mark Rasmussen, "Finnish Settlement in Thunder Bay" (M.A. diss., University of Alberta, 1978).
[86] Ibid., 173.

Bay, Ontario, Canada," which appeared in the journal *Nordia*.[87] Rasmussen agreed that Finns settled in the region because of geographical and climatic similarities between Northwestern Ontario and Finland.

Added to this compilation of sources on the history of the Thunder Bay area is *Polyphony*, the journal of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario. *Thunder Bay's People* presented a collection of articles dealing with all the immigrant groups of the city.[88] In a section devoted to "The Finnish Experience," four authors stressed the Finnish immigrants and their activities within the city. The first, by Arja Pilli, discusses the origins of the first non-socialist Finnish newspaper in Canada, the *Canadan Uutiset.*[89] This article is an abridged version of Pilli's article "The Finnish Language Press in Canada, 1901-1939," which first appeared as a special publication by the Institute of Migration (*Siirtolaisuusinstitutti*) in Turku.[90] Ahti Tolvanen's piece is also an abridged version of one of his articles in another journal, *Finnish Diaspora.* "Population Development of Finns in Port Arthur" came from "Finns in Port Arthur in the Interwar Period: A Perspective on Urban Integration" which appeared in *Finnish Diaspora I* and which has been mentioned above with respect to Finnish immigration to the Thunder Bay area. The other two articles[91] relate to the activities of the Thunder Bay Finnish Canadian Historical Society and explain what Finns are doing within the community to enhance knowledge of Finnish culture.

Finally, and of some importance to the evolution of this dissertation, was the work of two undergraduates at Lakehead University, Gayle Tuominen and Sinikka Valila. Their paper, "A Study of Finnish Immigration to Thunder Bay," provided background research into Finnish

[87] Mark Rasmussen, "Finnish Settlement in Rural Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada," *Nordia* 19, no.2 (1985): 73-80.
[88] Robert Harney, ed., *Polyphony: Thunder Bay's People* 9, no.2 (1987): 39-50.
[89] Arja Pilli, "The Origins of Canadan Uutiset," *Polyphony: Thunder Bay's People* 9, no2 (1987):39-42.
[90] The full article appeared in *Migration Studies* C6 (Turku: Siirtolaisuusinstitutti, 1982).
[91] These articles are: J. Donald Wilson, "Bay Street Project: a Successful Use of Multicultural Funds," and Jorma Halonen, "A Glimpse into the Activities of the Thunder Bay Finnish Canadian Historical Society," *Polyphony: Thunder Bay's People* 9, no.2 (1987): 46-50.

immigration movements. While suggesting various reasons as to why Finns emigrated to Northwestern Ontario -- similarity in climate and terrain, the search for economic betterment, joining relatives already in the region, and, finally, because of a sense of adventure -- the two authors conclude that

> All four factors apparently played an important role in drawing Finns to this area. The deciding factor seems to be the search for a better life - the location being decided by the geographical features which determine the type of work available. The earlier arrivals came searching for adventure or work, whereas, the later arrivals came as followers.[92]

The above conclusion forms the basis for this dissertation.

To conclude this historiographic survey of Finnish-Canadian immigration research, Olavi Koivukangas has produced an article which details the research currently being undertaken in the Finnish migration field and also the research he feels is needed. "Challenges of Finnish Migration Research and Genealogy in the New Millennium" divides the task into five topics; emigration, immigration, neo-racism and xenophobia, policy oriented research, and internal mobility in Finland.[93] He then suggests where the researchers of tomorrow must delve deeper as "[m]uch more research ... remains to be done."[94] Koivukangas points out that the majority of the research already completed has related to the pre-World War One period; the "big challenge remains for scholars both in North America and Europe to study the culture and the ethnic maintenance of North American Finns and their descendants in the post-W[orld] W[ar] I era."[95] In order for this research to be done, Koivukangas suggests the creation of national and international networks of migration researchers and institutions with relevant information. To

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[92] Gayle Tuominen and Sinikka Valila, "A Study of Finnish Immigration to Thunder Bay" (Unpublished paper for History 2a6, Lakehead University, 1972), 12. These undergraduates attributed one of these four factors, the search for jobs and economic survival, to S.C. Olin, *Finlandia* (Hancock, Michigan: The Book Concern, 1957).

[93] Olavi Koivukangas, "Challenges of Finnish Migration Research and Genealogy in the New Millenium," *Journal of Finnish Studies* 1, no.3 (December 1997): 48-55.

[94] Ibid., 52.

[95] Ibid., 52.

use these networks, he suggests that second and third generation Finnish-Canadians and Finnish-Americans should be encouraged to research their roots: "[t]he exploration of one's ethnicity has thus resulted in the formation of a new historical consciousness."[96] In a sense, that is what this thesis will attempt. The author's heritage is Finnish and she has an abiding interest in researching its roots in Thunder Bay. Indeed, following Koivukangas' advice, I have been "hooked."

[96] Ibid., 54.

Chapter Three

Finnish Immigrants in Canada

"According to the Department of Immigration records, fifteen thousand Finnish immigrants entered Canada between January 1951 and July 1959."[97] In 1951, there was the largest outflow of Finnish emigrants since the declaration of Finnish independence in 1918. From this flood, 21 percent settled in Canada.[98] This influx of immigrants into Canada was spurred by many different factors, which can be divided into two basic categories; the push factors, those that caused Finns to leave their homeland in search of a new life, and the pull factors, those that led the immigrants to the new land. Before the First World War, these factors were intertwined with the economic and political unrest Finland was experiencing. Although "the political upheaval during this time was of paramount concern to government officials and Finnish intellectuals, it was not the prime cause of dissatisfaction and discontent among the Finnish population generally."[99] The "prime cause" centred on the traditional system of land ownership which had been undergoing major changes, creating a landless class within the rural population of Finland. When these landless labourers were unable to find work in Finnish cities and towns, they had to look elsewhere. At the same time, Canada was trying to recruit as many immigrant labourers as possible to help fulfil its growing needs.

Before the First World War, the overwhelming majority of immigrants who found their way to North America chose the United States. These immigrants came mostly from the central and northern provinces of Vaasa and Oulu, the area known as Pohjanmaa.[100] Many settled in the growing Finnish communities of Minnesota and Michigan, fuelled by the mining and lumbering sectors. Eventually, because of a recession, these immigrants worked their way into

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[97] Thunder Bay Finnish Canadian Historical Society Collection, MG 8, Series A, Project I, Box 1, Folder 4, Item 1, Margit Wataja, "Causes and Results of Finnish Emigration to America." 25/02/74
[98] Out of the 19,664 Finns who emigrated, only 4,158 came to Canada. Lennard Sillenpää, 41.
[99] Metsaranta, 11.
[100] Saarinen, *Pattern and Impact of Finnish Settlement in Canada*, 2.

Canada, where a large number of labourers were needed for the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

During this first wave of immigration, the Finns cited many reasons for their migration from their homeland, including the situation of the landless agricultural working class, the harsh conditions which met the small-scale farmers in the north, the uncertainties of the changing economy, their resentment of upper-class Swedes still maintaining their hold on Finnish society, the growing fear of a militant Germany, and the revival of Russification policies.[101] Prior to the First World War, the Finnish economy looked anaemic in comparison to the tales of riches which were being told about North America by the Finns already in the two countries and also by American and Canadian immigration agents in Finland, whose job it was to promote the United States and Canada as places to settle. The Finns "did not become really interested in emigration until they learned that America offered better possibilities for economic advancement."[102]

The Finns fell under the category of desirable immigrants because of their working abilities; "Finns were rated as the best railroad workers among all the nationalities."[103] Another factor in the large-scale immigration into North America was the comparatively high wages which were paid in the New World. Reino Kero points out that at the turn of the century, a good worker in Finland would be able to save two to three hundred marks a year, whereas in North America, that same worker could save up to 1,500 marks.[104] This search for economic survival can be described as the 'labour migration' of workers looking for a better situation in another country. Labour migration can be seen in almost every ethnic migration to Canada, as it is one of the basic reasons for leaving one's homeland.[105] Whether or not the migrating labourers

[101] Allen, 10.
[102] Kero, "The Background of Finnish Emigration," 58.
[103] Van Cleef, "Finnish Settlement in Canada," 260.
[104] Kero, "The Background of Finnish Emigration," 60.
[105] Bruce Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1988) is just one example of this labour migration.

settled in the new land for short or extended periods of time was an individual decision reached by the economic and social integration of workers and their families into the new society.

Most of the Finns who came to Canada in the first wave were also attracted to the country because of the freedom it represented from Tsarist Russia. Many of these immigrants were determined to make money in Canada and return to their homeland when the political situation stabilized. Finland was going through a period of industrialization during the late nineteenth century and the agricultural way of life for most Finns was being disrupted with smaller farmers being thrust into an economy that they did not understand. Once in Canada, many of the immigrants decided to remain there because of the better economic situation they found themselves in.

The second Finnish wave of immigration to Canada was the period between the First World War and the Great Depression. During this wave, the two main factors were the continuing hard economic times in Finland due to the Civil War and its aftermath, and the introduction in 1924 of a new immigration quota system in the United States[106], which was still seen as the most desirable location for the immigrants.[107] However, the other factors already mentioned played a huge role in the migration of the Finns to Canada, i.e., the search for a better economic life, the desire for adventure and the seemingly endless possibilities offered by the country to those Finns who were ready to take some risks.

Another reason why Finns left their homeland was the political instability of the fledgling nation, which had only declared its independence from the Russian Empire on 6 December 1917. As always happens in a civil war, there are two sides fighting, each espousing a different ideology and idea with respect to how the country should be governed. In this case, the two sides were the nationalist Finnish White Guards, who fought for the 'freedom' allowed by the new Bolshevik government in Moscow, and the Finnish Red Guards who fought for a continuing

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[106] This was called the National Origins Act.
[107] Rasmussen, "Finnish Settlement in Thunder Bay," 37.

relationship with the new Soviet Russia. Once the war was over, the Finnish White Guards had installed their government, with the Red Guard having some representation. However, this victory by the nationalists made the latter nervous and some fled to Canada in order to avoid the reprisals which they were sure would follow. This political instability also pushed some of the less politically minded citizens to migrate to Canada because of the apparent stability of the political situation there, which meant that they no longer had to deal with politics and could instead spend their time on economic survival.

The push and pull factors which instigated the third wave of immigration were similar to the factors which prompted the first and second waves. There were social, economic, and political reasons for thousands of Finns to immigrate to another country. However similar the push and pull factors were, the Finns who decided to emigrate were different from those who had emigrated before the Second World War. The post-war migrants were more urbanized and, as a whole, they were classed as skilled workers instead of unskilled as previous migrants.

After the end of the Second World War, "many Finns feared that their country was next on the list of those which were to be forced to accept the status of a Soviet satellite."[108] Three other countries on the Baltic Sea, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were brought into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1940 after signing Mutual Assistance Pacts. The Finnish government would not sign any such pact with the Soviet Union and the Winter War was fought. Since Finland had lost, many Finns thought that the Soviet Union might bring their homeland under the huge Russian umbrella. This fear sent many looking for a new home, away from political uncertainty.

Despite these political difficulties, the Finnish immigrants who left their homeland during the third wave of immigration did so for primarily economic reasons. At the conclusion of the Second World War, Finland was on the losing side. The war reparations which the country had

[108] Singleton, 144.

to pay to the USSR resulted in an increase in taxation and in a sagging economy. Large numbers of Finns wished to escape from this economic downswing and looked to Canada, with its booming economy, for a way out. However, after the war, the Canadian government did not allow many Finnish immigrants into the country, as they were seen as enemies of the state under Order-in-Council PC1373.[109] It was not until the order was rescinded in 1947 that Finnish immigrants were once again allowed to enter Canada. With the floodgates open, the years following saw large numbers of immigrants from Finland.

It was also during this wave of immigration that there developed a new group of immigrants. These were known as the "sponsored immigrants," which meant that they were relatives of Canadian citizens who were willing to sponsor and assist the immigrants in integrating into Canadian society.[110] These sponsors would have to sign papers agreeing to feed and shelter the incoming family members until they were set up on their own.[111] Many Finns fell into this category, as many Finnish-Canadians had advised their relatives to make the move to the more prosperous country. This group of 1950s Finns concentrated on unifying their families by moving them to Canada. The letters from family and friends living in Canada created a chain migration[112] and helped spur those Finns still deciding whether to immigrate. This method of immigration meant an easier time of adjustment for the new immigrants and also helped to bolster the ethnic communities within Canada.

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[109] As noted previously, the Finns were thought to be enemies of the state because during the course of the war, Finland was a co-belligerent with Germany in the fight against the Soviet Union which was allied with Britain and the United States. Britain declared Finland to be an enemy of the state, and Canada followed the British lead. In 1941, the Canadian government declared Order-in-Council PC1373, which deemed Finland an enemy nation. Statement from the Director of Immigration, F.C. Blair, January 16, 1942 as cited in Varpu Lindström-Best, "The Impact of Canadian Immigration Policy," 11. Also, see Appendix 9 for more information on Government regulations in immigration.

[110] Reg Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991), 16.

[111] Interview with Arvo Puumala, Thunder Bay, 2002.

[112] Oiva Saarinen defines chain migration as "the encouragement and assistance of friends and relatives to immigrate to Canada by those compatriots and family who had already settled here." Oiva Saarinen, "Geographical Perspectives on Finnish Settlements in the Sudbury Area," *Journal of Finnish Studies* 1, no. 3 (December 1997): 21.

Another interesting aspect of the third wave of immigration was the gender composition of the group. During the first and second waves, the majority of migrants were males, either single or married, looking for work, available land or adventure. The third wave's majority was women, coming to complete their families, or looking for work or adventure, much like their male counterparts. Saarinen points out that, between 1968 and 1992, 54 percent of the Finnish immigrants who arrived in Canada were women.[113]

In the 1950s, 14,193 Finnish immigrants came to find a new life in Canada. There were 4,158 Finns who immigrated in 1951, making it the largest influx of immigrants in a single year since 1929, when 4,712 Finns had moved to Canada. This large number was not kept up through the 1950s, but dropped to less than 3,000 each year until 1961, when it plummeted to 381.[114]

Finland's climate and geography played an interesting role in the settlement of Finnish immigrants. According to the geographer, Eugene Van Cleef, when the first Finnish settlers came to Canada, they chose to settle in areas which reminded them of home, a land of lakes and forests.[115] An analysis of the patterns of Finnish immigration to the United States, where "Finnish immigrants tended to settle in the northern states, where the climate and scenery were similar to those of the home country,"[116] shows a similar pattern to settlement in Canada.

The similarity of the geography between these states and Ontario is striking. The areas in Northwestern Ontario were perhaps the most similar to their homeland. The Thunder Bay area bears a great likeness to the climate and landscape of Finland. Even the main species of trees found in Finland, alder, aspen, birch, pine, and spruce, occur in abundance in the Thunder

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[113] Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 17.
[114] Lindström-Best, "Finns in Canada," *Polyphony: Finns in Ontario* 3, no.2 (Fall 1981): originally taken from Statistics Canada. See also Appendix 1.
[115] Van Cleef, "Finns in the United States and Canada," 35-37 and "Finnish Settlement in Canada," 253-66.
[116] Aaltio, 66.

Bay area.[117] However, this pattern was not established strictly because of similar scenery. Instead, as Stanley Frank Hunnisett points out; "in Finland they had worked out eclectic adaptation for coping with a subarctic, boreal forest environment which may have equipped them better than other immigrant groups to succeed in that particular economic-environmental niche."[118]

During this century, the percentage of Finns living in Ontario, as a percentage of those living in Canada, has not dipped much below fifty, staying relatively steady at 65 percent of the total Finnish immigration to Canada for the last fifty years. The only other province that holds a large proportion of the Finnish population is British Columbia, which has never exceeded more than 20 percent.[119] Alberta, by 1930, had more than 10 percent of the Finnish population but, after the 1931 census, this percentage dropped.[120] Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Quebec each have had some higher percentages during the century but, since the peak in 1921, the population percentages have fallen to lower levels. The other provinces and territories have only a small percentage of Finns living within them.

These numbers, when related to Van Cleef's major areas of Finnish settlement[121], show why he proposed his theory of geographically-inspired immigration. When looking at the geographical characteristics of the provinces with low percentages of Finnish immigrants, it is interesting to note that those provinces are in the Prairie west, the Maritimes, and the territories.

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[117] Singleton, 10.

[118] Stanley Frank Hunnisett, "From Pohjanmaa to the Shores of Gitchee Gumee: Finns and Indians in the Northern Lake Superior Region" (M.A. diss., University of Iowa, 1988), 15.

[119] The first settlement of Finns in the province of British Columbia came after the United States purchased Alaska from the Russian Empire in 1867. A large portion of the seamen and labourers found in Alaska were of Finnish ethnicity, as Finland was a Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire, and when Alaska was bought, these men migrated southward to Vancouver Island and nearby localities. See Oiva Saarinen, "The Pattern and Impact of Finnish Settlement in Canada," *Terra* 77, no.4 (1967): 113.

[120] By looking at the Census, it can be determined that 1931 was the end of the second wave of Finnish immigration. There were only 136 people who came from Finland in 1931, whereas there were 2,811 Finns who came in 1930 and the numbers drop down until the start of the third wave in 1951. See Korkiasaari, "Immigration to Canada of People of Finnish Origin or Birth 1900-1977."

[121] These geographic areas are the Victoria-Vancouver region, the Edmonton-Calgary region, the Middle Transition Zone, the Lake Superior region, and the Toronto-Hamilton region. Van Cleef, "Finnish Settlement in Canada".

Finns did not settle in Quebec because, by the end of the Second World War, many were learning English as a third language, after Finnish and Swedish, and they felt more comfortable in the areas of Canada where English was spoken.[122]

FINNISH IMMIGRANTS IN ONTARIO

In Ontario, the two major Finnish areas are the Toronto-Hamilton area and the area around Lake Superior, including the Thunder Bay, Algoma and Sudbury regions. Finnish immigrants tended to stick together as an ethnic group rather than settling in areas without other Finns. As Varpu Lindström-Best has noted, "Although the Finns have never comprised even 0.5 per cent of the Canadian population, they tended to settle in clusters, thus increasing their visibility."[123] In each of the Finnish areas, there developed a residential core which was seen as the heart of the Finnish immigrant community. To the present-day observer, these areas can still be seen. Over time, these areas became less residential and more commercial in their make-up; however, Finnish culture remained very visible.

As the largest city in the Toronto-Hamilton region, Toronto has been home to a steadily declining number of Finns. In the 1931 Canada Census, 7.9 percent of Finns in Canada resided in Toronto but, by 1981, only 2.9 percent called Toronto home. According to Lindström-Best, the Finnish immigrants who settled in Toronto tended for the most part to reside in the area where the first Finnish settlers made their homes. This community was developed after the Finnish tailor, James (Jaakko Lintala) Lindala, decided to settle there in 1887, immigrating from the northern part of Michigan. He had heard of employment opportunities in Canada and decided to seek his fortune here. He found that he liked the community of Toronto enough to stay and then persuaded some of his friends and family from Michigan and Finland to follow

[122] In Finland, the official languages are Finnish and Swedish, followed by English as a minority language. Presently, all school children learn English during their schooling.
[123] Lindström-Best, "Finns in Canada," *Polyphony*, 14.

him to Toronto, which was full of promise as a fast-growing city.[124] In 1903, the Finnish community was centralized in south-central Toronto, in the area bounded by Queen Street in the north, King Street on the south, Peter Street in the east and York Street on the west. The heart of the Finnish community was kept in the centralized area but many of the settlers were moving their residences further east into the Don River area and further west outside of the city centre.[125]

This shift in these areas mirrored the movement of the residential areas to the suburban areas of Toronto. Today, the residential areas are found outside of the city centre. The trend to move into the suburbs is unique to the bigger centres, as the smaller towns and villages found the population was more likely to move into the urban areas away from the rural hinterlands. This movement was partly inspired by the increased availability of employment within the urban areas. The period of decreased immigration by Finns prior to the third wave was when the trend towards urbanization became noticeable.[126] The smaller centres in the Lake Superior area are examples of this.

The region defined by Van Cleef as the Lake Superior area includes the districts of Algoma, Sudbury and Thunder Bay. The Algoma District is the area surrounding the city of Sault Ste. Marie. This city offered employment in the metal foundry and the forest industry, but jobs were not as plentiful as in the other regions mentioned. From 1931 until 1971, roughly 5 percent of the Finns in Canada and 7 percent of the Finns in Ontario lived in the Algoma District.[127] Then, in 1981, the Census reports the percentages dropping to 4 percent and 6 percent respectively. Like most of the Finnish areas in Canada, the ethnically Finnish population began to settle more in the urban centres than in the rural areas. For example, until 1971, the

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[124] Lindström-Best, *The Finnish Immigrant Community of Toronto, 1887-1913*, 4.
[125] Ibid., 12.
[126] Saarinen, *Pattern and Impact of Finnish Settlement in Canada*, 6-8.
[127] See Appendix 5 (Canadian Finns in Major Districts and Cities) and Appendix 6 (Ontario Finns in Relevant Districts and Cities).

Census shows that only half of the Finns lived within the city limits of Sault Ste. Marie, but the percentage rose to 78 percent by 1971 and to 98 percent by 1981. Although these numbers are also influenced by boundary changes, these percentages still show a movement from rural to urban areas, as the traditional ways of living were changing to become more urbanized and industrialized. This movement from rural to urban living is mirrored in many of the different cities within Canada and Ontario.

The Sudbury District has been home for a great number of Finnish immigrants who came to Canada in search of work. Peter Krats has shown that "by 1890 Sudbury was an established destination, particularly for immigrants from Vaasa [a province in southwest Finland]."[128] The Sudbury area, especially the Copper Cliff region, contains many mines and forests which could provide a wage for many labourers, and the Finnish immigrants looking for employment in Canada were accustomed to hard work.[129] The percentage of Canadian Finns in the Sudbury District hovered around 10 percent from 1931 until 1981, peaking in 1961 at 12.5 percent. From there, decline set in and by 1981, only 8.6 percent of the Canadian Finnish population was located within the Sudbury District.

The first Finnish settlers in the Sudbury area were attracted to the many labouring jobs available in the mining and forestry industries. However, these Finns were also attracted by the land which could be bought. These Finns were said to have had 'land fever,' the desire to own land.[130] Agriculture offered security against the irregularity of seasonal employment. Thomas Jacobson (Tuomas Karppi) was the first Finnish immigrant in the Sudbury area to save enough money from his job at the Canadian Copper Company to buy a piece of land on which to establish a farm that offered his family security. Jacobson, along with ten other Finnish

[128] Krats, 39.
[129] According to Oiva Saarinen, Copper Cliff was "second only to the Thunder Bay area as the destination for Finnish immigrants coming to Ontario." Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 35.
[130] Saarinen also states that this land fever is "revealed by the place names on maps that Finns in Canada gave their farming areas such as *Intola* (Enthusiasm), *Tarmola* (Energy), and *Toimela* (Accomplishment)." Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 184.

immigrants, was the pioneer of the Sudbury Finnish community.[131]

Not unlike the Algoma District, the move to the urban area was on a large scale. By 1981, 67 percent of the Sudbury District Finns were found within the city of Sudbury. There could be many reasons for this, perhaps one being that the villages found within the district each had an industry which could sustain the workforce of the rural population. One such example would be the Copper Cliff area, whose mine was a place of employment for a great number of the Finns found in the Sudbury District. The city of Sudbury, even today, is made up of many smaller townships, which are grouped together and classified as a metropolitan area. However, these smaller townships are still considered by their residents as separate villages and communities. The townships of Lorne and Broder, for example, contained a large percentage of the Finnish immigrant population in the district. According to the Canada Census of 1941, Lorne's population was nearly 88 percent Finnish and Broder's was 62 percent.[132] For the 1981 Census, these two townships had been amalgamated into the census tracts of Walden and the city of Sudbury, respectively, and therefore the Finnish population is more difficult to calculate for the smaller townships.

FINNISH IMMIGRANTS IN THE THUNDER BAY AREA

Finnish immigrants began settling in the Thunder Bay area with the development of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1870s. Thus, the "Thunder Bay area has been described as the oldest area of Finnish settlement in Canada."[133] By 1951, it also had the largest percentage of Finnish population outside of Finland. The Canada Census shows that, in 1931, 20.5 percent (9,000) of all Finns in Canada were to be found in the Thunder Bay District and roughly half (47 percent) of these lived within the urban area. In fact, 14 percent of the population of Thunder

[131] Ibid., 39.
[132] Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 1941. Table 32.
[133] Rev. Arvi I. Heinonen, *Finnish Friends in Canada* (Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1930), 85, as cited in Metsaranta, 18.

Bay was of Finnish ethnicity.[134] It has been suggested that one reason for the urban migration of the Finns was the availability of work. The economic boom experienced in the early 1920s led to the construction of new paper mills and elevators within the cities of Port Arthur and Fort William.[135] At the peak of Finnish immigration in 1951, 23 percent of Canadian Finns had settled in the Thunder Bay area. Of this proportion, 47 percent could be found in the urban centre. By 1981, the movement of Finns to the urban centre had risen to the point where 92 percent of the Finnish population in the District of Thunder Bay resided within the city limits of Thunder Bay.

The Finnish immigrants who chose to come to the Thunder Bay area after the Second World War had many reasons for doing so. One of these was the promise of economic viability to sustain their families, which had drawn immigrants to the area during each of the three waves of immigration. Another was the similar landscape that the area had to offer, which could be seen as a residual byproduct of the economic viability offered. Yet another was the burgeoning Finnish community which was growing steadily with the influx of more immigrants from the homeland, due to the 'chain migration' effect.

By the third wave of immigration, the Finnish community in Thunder Bay already consisted of many churches, and social organizations and even had a Finnish press. This community made things easier for the newly arrived immigrants by offering a link to the old country. These organizations gave the new immigrants a helping hand in integrating into the new society. Classes for learning English were offered to some of the older immigrants. The younger ones were sent to area schools where they learned the English language and brought it home to their families, who were then able to adapt to the community more easily.

The economic situation in the region after the Second World War looked more promising to the immigrants than the situation in Finland. There were many more jobs available, especially in the forestry sector, which could employ hundreds of men willing to work hard. This

[134] Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 1931. Table 32.
[135] Tolvanen, "Population Development of Finns in Port Arthur," 43.

sector was booming and many camps needed both men and women to fill the jobs, both in unskilled and skilled labourer jobs. These skilled jobs paid a higher wage than similar positions in Finland, so many young men came to Canada to make their fortune in the bush camps. Even single mothers were able to find jobs because of the logging industry, as there were cooks and cookees[136] needed in every camp and there were jobs within the cities when the men were on days off from the camps. Some women worked in the restaurants and cafeterias, some worked in the laundries, and others were employed in the rooming houses.

As well, when Finnish immigrants came to settle in the Thunder Bay area, they were well equipped to farm in the more difficult to cultivate areas. By the time the Finnish immigrants arrived, most of the better agricultural land had been settled and the Finns were obliged to settle on the more difficult land.[137] The Finns in the Thunder Bay area are renowned for their "stump farming or *kantofarmari*,"[138] only clearing enough wood from the forest to build a homestead and a large enough garden to supply the family with some food, perhaps a barn for some animals, and leaving the rest uncultivated. The Finns were excellent at using what they had available to them to ensure their economic survival. Finnish immigrants did not intend to live solely by the farms, but rather sought to supplement their income from the many jobs available in the areas of forestry, construction, and mining. This area also held the potential for hunting and fishing, which would assist the Finns in sustaining their families through the leaner times.[139] The Finns were unlike their agricultural neighbours of the region, who intended to use their farms to provide income for their families.

From the time the first Finnish immigrants settled in the Thunder Bay area, this ethnic

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[136] A cookee was the assistant who peeled potatoes, served the meals and washed the dishes for the cook, among other various jobs.
[137] This appeared to be the case in the Sudbury region as well. Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 69.
[138] Lindström-Best, "Finns in Canada," *Polyphony*, 8.
[139] O.W. Saarinen and G.O. Tapper, "The Beaver Lake Finnish-Canadian Community; A Case Study of Ethnic Transition as Influenced by the Variables of Time and Spatial Networks, ca. 1907-1983," in *Finns in North America*, ed., Michael G. Karni et al., (Turku: Institute of Migration, 1988), 172.

group has been consistent in centring its community in one locality. Finnish immigrants preferred to live their lives within the boundaries of their own ethnic community as much as possible.[140] The primary areas of Finnish settlement within the City of Thunder Bay have changed somewhat throughout the century but have remained approximately the same; the Bay Street area, the Ruttan Street-Court Street area, and the Empress Avenue-Red River Road area in Port Arthur and the East End area in Fort William.[141] The Ruttan and Court Streets area and the Empress Avenue-Red River Road area were developed as residential sectors for Finnish immigrants. The East End section of Fort William was a combination of the residential and economic centre of the Finnish community in that portion of Thunder Bay. However, the Finnish community never developed in Fort William the way it did in Port Arthur.

The Bay Street area was home to the earliest Finnish immigrants and this was the Finnish community's economic centre. Many early Finnish immigrants set up businesses on and around Bay Street to cater to the Finnish community, often dealing with customers in the mother tongue. Prior to the First World War, the Bay Street area was also home to many rooming houses. After World War I, many of these houses were maintained by Finnish immigrants who saw the need to have places available for the workers to live when on leave from the camps. Most of these rooming houses have been replaced by either retail stores or businesses, or have been developed into apartments. These Finnish stores and organizations are still able to cater to the community in both languages.[142]

One building that is worthy of notice is the Finnish Labour Temple at 314 Bay Street. Completed in 1910, it was owned by the Finnish Building Company and housed the Port Arthur

[140] Kouhi, "Labour and Finnish Immigration," 35.
[141] Kouhi, "Finnish Immigrants," Appendix IV, 62-63.
[142] The use of the Finnish language on Bay Street is apparent to any person who walks down the street and listens. This is of great help to those Finns who immigrated in their elderly years and have not mastered the English language. Although most Finns in Thunder Bay have learned to survive using the English language, it is a joy to some to be able to order a meal or go grocery shopping using their mother tongue.

Finnish Socialist Local, and the Finnish Publishing Company. It was also available to other Finnish organizations. The Finnish Publishing Company moved out in the late summer of 1912 into a building of its own next door to the Labour Temple.[143] Eventually, a co-operative restaurant, the Hoito, opened in the basement of the building, and continues there today.

Outside the city boundaries, the Finnish areas of settlement in the Thunder Bay region have remained quite consistent, much like their urban counterparts. Although there has been a large urbanization of the Finnish-Canadians, there still remains a relatively large rural population of Finnish people. The townships which have had a consistent Finnish presence since the first Finnish settlement in Lybster township was created in 1900,[144] have been McGregor, Gorham, Ware, McIntyre, Dawson Road Lots, Conmee, and Forbes. The Finnish settlement in the Lybster Township was due in part to the development of the Port Arthur, Duluth and Western Railway and in part to the Silver Mountain Mine, which was located in the area.[145] It has also been stated by Eija Kettunen-Hujanen in "A Wretched Life or a Journey to Wealth," that the community known as Tarmola (now within Gorham Township) was the settlement of choice for the Finnish farmers from Varpaisjärvi.[146]

A pattern became evident when the 1931 Census of Canada showed the concentration of the Finns in the rural townships of Gorham, Ware, and Lybster to be the largest in the area. Gorham had 93 percent of its population claiming to be Finnish (530 Finns), while Ware (417) and Lybster (407) had a Finnish population of 90 percent. Lappe, an area within the Gorham and Ware townships, was one of the largest and best known Finnish enclaves. In the 1951 Census of Canada, this concentration had fallen but was still high enough to attract the newer third wave Finns to the area. It was still considered to be "one of the most culturally significant

[143] Metsaranta, 182.
[144] *Bay Street Project 2*, 17.
[145] Rasmussen, "Finnish Settlement in Thunder Bay," 45.
[146] Eija Kettunen-Hujanen, "A Wretched Life or a Journey to Wealth: Adaptation of Immigrants from Savo, North Karelia and Kainuu to Canada, 1918-1930," *Journal of Finnish Studies* 4, no.2 (December 2000): 50.

of the Finnish communities surrounding Thunder Bay, in that it formed a cohesive cultural unit, with most essential services available in Finnish, a rural equivalent of the area surrounding Bay Street."[147] To date, the Lappe Lutheran Church located on the corner of Dog Lake Road and Ware Concession Road 4 offers a Finnish service separate from the English service on Sunday mornings.[148] While these townships have retained some of their Finnish population, the urbanization of the Finns in the area can be seen by the fact that, in the 1981 Canada Census, the urban Finnish population had risen by 45 percent.[149] "This trend towards urbanization did not mean that the Finns were necessarily losing their traditional affection for the land; in most instances, the Finns in urban centres had access to summer camps and the ever-present sauna."[150]

Although there were new opportunities for Finnish immigrants in the Thunder Bay area, many chose to continue in their traditional lifestyle, even in the building of their homes and small farms.[151] Finnish farms were mainly subsistence operations, located on the most marginal areas, but were aided greatly by supplemental incomes from forestry, mining, and construction.[152]

Canada, as a whole, has offered immigrants many advantages over their homelands, whether this was economic survival, political freedom, social opportunities or even the search

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[147] Cindy Danton, "Finland to Lappe, Ontario: Selma Lampu Hynna (1905-1991)," *Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Papers and Records* 20 (1992): 30.
[148] It was not until 1970 that services were held in English. Until that time, Finnish was the language of the services. Dallen J. Timothy, "The Decline of Finnish Ethnic Islands in Rural Thunder Bay," *The Great Lakes Geographer* 2, no.2 (1995): 52.
[149] In 1931, only 47.19 percent of the Thunder Bay District's Finns were found in the two cities of Port Arthur and Fort William, where as in 1981, 91.67 percent of the District's Finns were living within the City of Thunder Bay.
[150] Saarinen, *Pattern and Impact of Finnish Settlement in Canada*, 8.
[151] For more information on the similarities between the Finnish farms in rural Thunder Bay and the farms in Finland, refer to Rasmussen, "Finnish Settlement in Thunder Bay."
[152] Rasmussen, "Finnish Settlement in Thunder Bay," 47.

for adventure. This is particularly true of the Finns who chose to immigrate to Canada.[153] All of these factors have played a role in the waves of Finnish immigration, although, the search for a better economic survival has been the push factor which urged most Finnish immigrants during the final third wave. Once the war had been fought in Europe and with the economy in Finland in chaos, many immigrants found their economic salvation in the labour fields of Canada, especially the forests of Northwestern Ontario.

[153] Although at present Finns are much more likely to be immigrating to Sweden than to Canada or the United States, there is still a small amount of immigrant movement. Most now come via work permits. It is noted by Jouni Korkiasaari and Ismo Söderling that the "migrant of today is well-educated and often plans on staying only a limited period abroad." Korkiasaari and Söderling, "Finnish Emigration and Immigration after World War II," (Institute of Migration, 2002). Accessed 12 May 2003, available from *http://www.utu.fi/erill/instmigr/art/finnmigr.htm*, 4.

Chapter Four

Finnish Immigrant Employment

Before the Second World War, when Finnish immigrants embarked on their new life in the Thunder Bay area, a majority of them were employed in the forestry and mining sectors. It has been noted that logging and mining were considered to be well-suited to the Finnish immigrants because many of them had arrived in Canada as skilled woodsmen or physical labourers, with much experience doing these jobs in Finland.[154] Other jobs were available as well, such as tailoring, carpentry, waitressing or cooking. However, bush work made up a large portion of the available jobs for men in the area and, without the English language, Finnish immigrants were limited in their opportunities. After the war, however, that changed and most Finns who came to Canada had skills and a higher education. By 1978, 74 percent of Finns fell into the highly skilled and professional categories.[155] These immigrants, once they mastered English, were accepted into the hierarchy of industrial life.

FORESTRY SECTOR

As it was prior to the war, the forest sector was able to employ a large majority of the immigrants after the end of hostilities. In September 1946, forestry officials expanded their labour pool to meet the increased need in the markets by urging the Canadian government to "consider a policy of selective immigration from Great Britain and other countries of northern Europe, of men calculated to fit into our economy and climate and willing to work in the industry."[156] The hard working Finns fit nicely into this category of wanted workers.

Following the Second World War, the forestry sector was in a tumultuous time. There

[154] Timothy, 48.
[155] Lindström-Best, *The Finns in Canada*, 15.
[156] Ian Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 163.

were increased demands for pulp and paper products, but the market was being provided not only by northern Ontario but also by British Columbia and the southern United States. With the majority of the easily available wood in northern Ontario already harvested, the loggers had to look at taking the second-rate timber or building roads into the uncut tracts further afield. This left operators unsure of the future. There was also a labour shortage in the forests after the war, caused by the veterans who now had more skills with which they were able to find skilled jobs rather than have to brave the wilderness for forestry jobs. Also, those men who had been employed in the forest industry and did not fight in the war, found war-time employment in the mining sector, which had experienced a boom during the war, and did not return to forestry.

This labour shortage was seen as a reason to open up the doors to immigrants who were willing to take these less desirable jobs. Many of these immigrants were Finns, eager to leave the uneasy economic situation in Finland in search of a better place. Moreover, "the forests have always played a significant role in the Finns' mental and material existence."[157] The forest industry offered those Finns an ideal solution; hard work for good money.[158] There were also many Finns already employed in the logging camps who were able to convince their family and friends to make the trip to Canada because of the great opportunities to make enough money during the winters to be able to become farmers for the summer season.[159]

The Finns, used to hard work and harsh living conditions, made the best of the situation. Prior to the widespread mechanization of the lumber industry, the camps were not comfortable, homey places. According to one Finnish bush worker, the bunkhouses were

> made of logs, even the floor is made of round logs. We never

[157] "Farm Forestry Statistics," (European Forest Institute, July 1998.) Accessed 8 July 2000, available from http://www.mmm.fi/tike/farm-forestry/finland.htm

[158] Arvi Tuuamen, a Finnish-Canadian who worked in the Algoma district, recalled that the work expected of him was often "tantamount to torture...[he] often found [himself] crying, it was such strenuous work." Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, 55.

[159] Radforth states that nearly three-quarters of the total harvest was the work of seasonally employed wage earners. Each fall, bosses would hire men, and send them to camps scattered throughout the forest, and the employees would spend the fall and winter felling trees, sawing logs, and hauling them out of the woods. Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, 26.

> have time to smooth them down, after all we don't stay many winters in the same camp, sometimes we have to move deeper into the forest. Takes a little practice to learn to walk on those floors of ours because there are deep cracks between the logs. The boys call them ditches. Of course they fill up in no time, it's hard to sweep such floors, especially with spruce branches shedding their needles. We use spruce branches for our mattresses on the bunks that line the walls. Nice and comfortable when fresh, but the boys don't seem to get around to cutting fresh ones, what with being so doggone tired at the end of the day. Anyway, the dry sticks seem almost too comfortable to bother. I tell the boys it takes know-how to arrange one's bones on the branches.[160]

However, at the same time, giant leaps were being made in the mechanization of the industry. New advances in power chain saws and transportation methods were allowing for the easier cutting and moving of the timber. The manufacturing of one-man power saws, by Stihl and Husqvarna, gave the lumberjacks the freedom to work individually in the cutting and piling of the timber, instead of the large teams[161] who were found in the forests before the Second World War. As Donald MacKay has observed, "once the power saw came in it was more individual, every man for himself. So it changed the lumbering."[162] Also, the development of the skidder for transporting the timber out, decreased the need for the larger crews and the necessity of horses. The skidder increased the distances from the felled timber to the roadway used to transport it to the mill, thus reducing expenses and the necessity for major road building. Trucks to haul the timber into town were becoming commonplace because of the increased distance from major waterways to send the timber down, as they had done in the past. Now instead of having huge camps of men cutting for months in one area, the crews were able to cut massive amounts of wood for transport in a shorter time, moving quicker through the

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[160] Aili Grönlund Schneider, *The Finnish Baker's Daughters* (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1986), 46-47.
[161] The teams included the cutting crew (choppers, buckers, rossers, liners, scorers and hewers), the skidding crew (teamsters, pilers, deckers, rollers, horses and oxen), and the river crews (drivers and powder monkeys). Richard A. Rajala, "The Forest Industry of Eastern Canada: An Overview," in C. Ross Silversides, *Broadaxe to Flying Shear: The Mechanization of Forest Harvesting East of the Rockies* (Ottawa: National Museum of Science and Technology, 1997), 128-30.
[162] Donald MacKay, *The Lumberjacks* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1978), 88.

areas of usable timber.

With the introduction of chain saws and mechanical loading equipment in the late 1950s, however, the forestry industry underwent change. No longer were large crews of men needed to ensure the timber company's annual haulage was cut and shipped. In the earlier days of Swede saw[163] and horse power, the large influx of immigrant men and women could find employment in the large bush camps situated all over Northwestern Ontario. After the war, Finns were still found employed in the forestry sector, helping their fellow countrymen to learn the skills and procedures of the jobs. Even today, one can find numerous Finns employed in the forest industry. Many have started their own businesses, contracting their services to the larger forestry corporations, and some are currently employed in the same jobs as their ancestors, felling and transporting the trees to the mills.

The Finns were well known in the forest industry for two main reasons; that they were not afraid of hard work or the harsh working environment, and that many of them were radicals who used their socialist ideas to further unionization. The Finns were ranked among the best producers among the logging camps and many company managers hired whole gangs of Finnish workers, who preferred to work with men who spoke the same language or shared a similar background. It can be argued that Finnish bush workers were among the top producers because it was a tradition within Finland to work in the forests. In her dissertation, Hanna Snellman "demonstrates that the lumberjack of Lapland could at any time have changed places with his colleague in East Karelia, Norway or even Canada. He would have had no difficulty at all slipping into the routine."[164] With their work ethic and ideas of cleanliness, Finns were assets

[163] The Swede saw is a Finnish invention which was popularized by the Finns working in the bush camps and is made up of a narrow blade, which could be rolled for easier transportation, and the crossbars, which could be easily fashioned from wood found in the forest. This saw was widely used until the lightweight chain saws were developed in the 1950s. Ian Radforth, "Finnish Lumber Workers in Ontario, 1919-46," *Polyphony* 3, no.2 (Fall 1981): 27.
[164] Sanna Kaisa Spoof, "Lumberjack Culture in Finnish Lapland, A Review," *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 27 (1997): 172.

for any lumber company. Saarinen explains this phenomenon best in his book, stating that "studies showed that Finns were better at cleaning up their cutting area, which facilitated subsequent steps in the logging process, and that they kept their camps tidier."[165]

Another area which added to the Finn's reputation for cleanliness was the regular bathing of the men and women of the camps. In *Bushworkers and Bosses*, Ian Radforth explained that

> Only in the camps where Finns worked was it easy to bathe. Whenever a few Finns moved into a camp, they would build a sauna; Lakehead logging contractors provided steam baths as a matter of course. 'I wouldn't have a camp without one,' recalled Oscar Styffe, a Port Arthur pulpwood operator. It was a simple matter to throw up a rough log cabin, add a barrel stove, and call it a sauna. Siami Hormavirta, the widow of Hans, an Algoma jobber, remembers how every evening in winter and twice a week in warm weather, the chore boy would light the sauna fire and set a great cauldron of water to boil. Some sixty men enjoyed taking a hot bath every evening.[166]

The forestry sector had, in the past, employed many young immigrant men who had socialist roots in the old country. One of the most famous Finns who found employment in the Ontario forests was Oskari Tokoi.[167] As a result of the political nature of their homeland, the Finnish immigrants had many political opinions which could be developed more thoroughly in the new country. These immigrants brought with them strong and sometimes divergent political beliefs from the old country, which often gave rise to disruptive influences among the Finns as well as upon the rest of Canadian society.[168] Before the Second World War, these Finnish

[165] Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 183.
[166] Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, 92-93.
[167] Tokoi was the prime minister of the socialist government which ruled for a few short weeks during the Finnish Civil War in 1918. Since he had sided with the communist supporters, he had to flee in exile to Canada. There, Tokoi and some of his cabinet members worked in a logging camp near New Liskeard. They were only in Canada for a short while before migrating to the United States. Ian Radforth, "Finnish Radicalism and Labour Activism in the Northern Ontario Woods," in *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s,* ed. Franca Iacovetta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 297.
[168] Saarinen, *Pattern and Impact of Finnish Settlement in Canada*, 8. Saarinen also explains that since "the wealth of the nation [Finland] was unevenly distributed among its citizens [and] the country was also characterized by a large landless peasantry, these conditions eventually gave rise to strong socialistic movements in Finland."

radicals[169] were instrumental in organizing strikes against the lumber companies and establishing unions within the forestry sector, paving the way for their Finnish brothers and sisters in the future. After the war, forestry was still seen as a preferred employment for the Finns. One of the contractors operating in the Thunder Bay area, Y.W. Nelson, hired mainly Finns for his camps.[170] He believed that the Finns were excellent bush workers.

Prior to the 1950s, the average length of continuous employment in a logging camp within the boreal forest was 44 working days, with the average productivity 0.7 cords per day[171]. Since each logger was paid by piece-rate, the more lumber they could cut, the more money they would make. Also, cutting the trees and stacking the cords was seen as the best-paying and most prestigious job in the lumber industry.[172] Thus, the Finns were "especially keen on piece work because they believed their excellent woods skills were more justly rewarded under such a system."[173] In the decade after the war, the loggers began to recognize the benefits of mechanization. The workers no longer faced as many day-to-day dangers once equipment was enclosed, such as the feller-bunchers and skidders. They saw the power saws as "relatively inexpensive in relation to the increase in earnings they provided, they gave the worker control over his productivity, and they were useful outside the forest, therefore worth owning."[174] Radforth tells the story of William Ritokoski. He was "a physically powerful Finn who immigrated

[169] Radicals such as A.T. Hill who tried to bring unionization to the bushworkers of Ontario and Viljo Rosvall and John Voutilainen, two union men rumoured to have been murdered by White loggers. For more information, read Satu Repo, "Rosvall and Voutilainen: Two Union Men Who Never Died," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 8/9 (1981-2): 179-202, William Eklund, "Labour and Cultural Organizations of Finnish Canadians," in *Finns in North America,* ed. Michael G. Karni et al. (Turku, Finland: Institute of Migration, 1988), 236-49, and also Ian Radforth, "Finnish Radicalism and Labour Activism in the Northern Ontario Woods," in *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s*, ed. Franca Iacovetta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 306-7.
[170] Interview with Airi (Sipila) Rathje, Thunder Bay, 2002.
[171] A standard cord contains 128 stacked cubic feet and generally implies a stack with a vertical cross section 4 feet X 4 feet and a length of 8 feet with a small percentage extra in height to allow for settling.
[172] Milda Danys, *DP: Lithuanian Immigration to Canada After the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1986), 97.
[173] Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, 75.
[174] Silversides, 22. The power saws were also useful to the loggers around the farm or rural home in the production of firewood, fenceposts and other building materials.

to Algoma in the early 1950s, [and recalled] that he worked very hard to produce three cords a day with a bucksaw; after purchasing a chainsaw he worked very hard to produce five cords a day."[175] Gradually, the mechanical changes in the industry changed it into a full time employment opportunity. Instead of being limited to winter, the lumberjacks were able to cut, skid and transport the wood to the mills during every season, not waiting for the spring thaw for the transportation. They became full time loggers, not loggers and farmers.

Many of the practices in forestry regeneration and conservation have been developed in Finland and used within the forests of other countries, like Canada. One reason for this is the private ownership of land in Finland, as opposed to the public ownership in Canada. In Finland, three-quarters of the wood used by industry comes from private forests.[176] This 'family forestry' puts individuals in charge of the growth and maintenance of the forests, as well as the harvesting of the wood. Each owner is informed by the government and forest industry when to cut, when to replant and when to thin out the areas. In Canada, the provinces have jurisdiction over resources. In Ontario, the Ministry of Natural Resources has started to put the onus of responsibility for these tasks on the company doing the logging. The forest industry is beginning to develop into the profitable and renewable resource industry like that which is found in Finland. With the help of the many Finnish immigrants who moved to Canada and who had been raised with 'family forestry,' the forest industry continues to grow and flourish.

Like their families and friends in Finland, some of the Finnish immigrant women joined their male counterparts in the forestry sector. The pay for women working in the forests was much more than they could make in town but the living conditions were harsher, which Finnish women seemed to be able to cope with quite readily. In her book *Under the Northern Lights*, Nelma Sillanpää recounts how harsh the conditions in the northern logging camps could be:

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[175] Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, 205.
[176] Ownership is divided over a broad spectrum of the population, every fifth Finnish family owning some forest, which the state helps them to manage. "Forestry," (www.forest.fi, 7 July 2000.) Accessed 8 July 2000, available from http://www.forest.fi/metsa_suomi/Forest.nsf/wwwPages/200_e.

"Mother had to cook for seventy-five men there. My mother worked seven days a week in that heat around a huge wood-burning stove."[177] Before the Second World War, the Finn women were among the only women found in the bush camps[178] and they enjoyed the respect of the men in the camps, who accepted the women because they were doing traditional female jobs. After the war, many more women were getting jobs as cooks and cookees in the bush camps but the Finns were still the most highly regarded; "Perhaps the most celebrated cooks in northern Ontario were the Finnish women whose delicious meals and spotlessly clean cookhouses earned them wide acclaim."[179] The Finnish women would cook such traditional Finnish dishes as *liha mojakka* and *kala mojakka.*[180] They also brewed a lot of coffee (*kahvia*) and baked *pulla.*[181]

Another job in the camps which attracted many women, especially Finnish immigrant women, was the laundry. This job involved washing the clothes of the bush workers and the laundry of the cooks and cookees that was created in the kitchen. Although in today's society, this job is not thought of with much respect, in the bush camps, the laundress was a very appreciated woman. She earned her own living quarters and usually had her children living with her in the camp.[182]

The men learned to appreciate the skills of the Finnish women, which made the hard work and harsh conditions seem more tolerable. A great number of these bush working Finnish women stayed in the camps after marrying a fellow bush worker. They would raise their children in the camp until they became of an age to attend school, and then they were sent into town to live with relatives and attend school while the parents continued to work in the forest.

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[177] Nelma Sillanpää, *Under the Northern Lights: My Memories of Life in the Finnish Community of Northern Ontario* (Ottawa: Museum of Civilization, 1995), 25-26.
[178] Only two and a half percent of the work force in the forest industry was female. MacKay, 211.
[179] Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, 101.
[180] Meat stew and fish stew made with potatoes, onions, carrots, cabbage and spices.
[181] A sweet coffee bread made with cardamon and coated with sugar syrup.
[182] Interview with Airi Rathje, Thunder Bay, 2002.

By the mid-1970s, the forest industry had undergone many major changes; no longer were the men and women living in log bunk-houses and walking into the forest to cut down trees, one by one. The new camps now looked more like trailer parks, with trailers for living, cooking, and relaxing.[183] Some of the camps now included recreational facilities, maintenance shops, water systems, and generator trailers for electricity. The loggers were bussed to the area in which they were working and the conditions were not so harsh.

Also, by this time, the forest industry was realizing that, in order to continue to have the forest for their lumber and pulp needs, reforestation was a necessity. The lumber companies, in conjunction with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR), began to reforest the areas which they were cutting. This new approach to forestry created some new jobs for unskilled and young workers. Finnish immigrants took to this new employment readily, with whole families taking contracts. As the MNR gradually placed the onus for reforestation on the companies who were doing the cutting, the 'family forestry' practices of the Finns were overshadowed by bigger companies who could accomplish the work faster and for less money. The lumber companies began to hire sub-contractors, such as Brinkman Reforestation, Broland Reforestation, and Wilderness Reforestation. These sub-contractors in turn hired students who needed the money to pay tuition for their education. The children of Finnish immigrants are often found planting trees, following in their parents' footsteps. Since many of the immigrants had found a start in the forest industry, it was seen as a place for their children to start as well.

Another occupation that was very popular with Finnish immigrant men was carpentry. The Finns were good at working with wood, and constructed some impressive buildings. Many Finnish immigrant men found employment in the construction of houses and businesses which were springing up in the Thunder Bay area in the years following the Second World War. These

[183] This move also saved the companies money. Radforth, in *Bushworkers and Bosses*, claims that once the cafeterias eliminated cookees, the companies saved between 15 and 25 percent. Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, 172.

carpenters used many techniques that were found in Finland, an example of technology transfer. For example, the corner style of log buildings, where the corners were dovetailed or lock-notched to decrease the amount of filling needed between the logs to ensure a tight fit, was adapted to meet Canadian conditions. The Finns' ability to work with wood and to bring out its natural beauty is evident in many Finnish homes. Cedar and hardwoods have been used on the walls, floors, and ceilings to create a relaxed atmosphere. It has been said that the Finns preferred to work with "hewn rather than round logs and utilized moss and oakum instead of clay for insulation. Considerable technical expertise accompanied the erection of buildings."[184] The knowledge of such wood workings was important to the Finnish carpenters, who took pride in their work. These immigrant carpenters were like their countrymen in the forests, well known for their work.

FINNISH IMMIGRANT WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

Unlike the men, who had to venture far afield for employment, the majority of the immigrant women could find employment at or near their homes. In rural farming families, the women tended the livestock and the house, while the men were involved in agricultural labour during the summer and off to the bush camps in the winter. The women who lived within the urban setting were able to find work as clerks, waitresses, domestics, cooks, and assistants in the local businesses and restaurants.

In the years prior to the Depression, domestic work employed the majority of Finnish immigrant women. Finnish women took pride in their work, which afforded them the luxury of independence.[185] Even within the immigrant community, this work was seen as "reputable [and]

[184] Saarinen and Tapper, 179.
[185] Marilyn Barber, *Immigrant Domestic Servants in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991), 18.

well paid."[186] After the Second World War, the demand for domestic workers increased and immigrants from Northern Europe were classified as better workers and thus were allowed into Canada at a higher rate. National Employment Service officers also noted that "Canadian employers had become more choosy in their applications [for domestics] and usually specified that domestics should come from Northern Europe."[187] Once Finland was taken off the restricted immigration list in 1947, single women were recruited and brought to Canada to fill the many gaps in the domestic service industry.

Finnish women who immigrated into the domestic service industry had more opportunity than those who went into the forest industry to learn the language and culture of the new country. They lived with a family, and generally, Finnish women would be immersed in the English language on a daily basis. This immersion helped to accelerate the maid's knowledge of the language, whereas the Finnish bush workers often worked in camps and crews of their fellow countrymen, using the Finnish language as the primary working language. Before the Second World War, these domestics would live in the household where they were employed, and close proximity to Canadian culture made it nearly impossible for them not to be affected by it. However, after the war, domestic workers were often hired as day workers, living their own lives in apartments or boarding houses after a day's work. It was during this time that the English language classes offered within the community increased in popularity for new immigrants.

Within the Finnish community in Thunder Bay, there were many other employment opportunities for women, whether single or married. The co-operative restaurant on Bay Street, the Hoito, employed many immigrant women as waitresses, cooks, and cleaning staff. Above

[186] Varpu Lindström, "'I Won't Be a Slave!': Finnish Domestics in Canada, 1911-1930," in *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s*, ed. Franca Iacovetta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 175.
[187] Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 42-43.

the Hoito, the Finlandia Club hired Finnish women to waitress, bartend, and clean. There were also many Finnish stores; Lauri's Menswear, The Finnish Book Store, and the People's Co-op, which needed clerks and other employees. As previously mentioned, the Finnish community in Thunder Bay was well known for its ability to cater to all Finnish immigrants. Therefore, the newer immigrants were more likely to get a job in the Finnish community until they were able to converse efficiently in English and look for employment outside of the community.

OTHER EMPLOYMENT SECTORS

Other employment areas which attracted third wave immigrants were "white-collar fields."[188] Some of the more educated immigrants found employment in the education, health, law, and financial sectors. Many of the elementary schools in the Thunder Bay region have teachers who are either immigrants themselves, or they are children or grand-children of immigrants. Other Finns have become university and college professors, librarians, archivists, and administrators.[189] As is typical of the immigrant experience, the children of those third wave newcomers experienced educational success.

The health sector also attracted Finnish immigrants and their children. Within the Thunder Bay region, there are many doctors, nurses, chiropractors, dentists, and pharmacists of Finnish ancestry. This provides a positive aspect for older immigrants, who still feel much more comfortable conversing in their mother tongue, having health care professionals able to explain everything more thoroughly. As part of the alternative health care field, there is one notable Finnish-based centre. The Kangas Sauna building on Oliver Road is home to the Cranton Wellness Centre, housing a chiropractor/naturopath, massage therapy, and holistic health services. Also, the Healing Arts Centre on May Street houses some Finnish holistic

[188] Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 217.
[189] For example, at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Raija Warkentin (Anthropology), Jari Leinonen (Finnish Studies), Vivian Sharp (nee Nyysonen – Archivist, Librarian) and even the past Registrar, Pentti Paularinne, are all of Finnish descent.

health care practicioners.

Aside from the education and health fields, Finns also entered accounting, administration, investment, the legal profession, and real estate.[190] As well, many Finns are entrepreneurs. Saarinen states in *Between a Rock and a Hard Place* that "there was a growing tendency for both new immigrants and native-born Finns to open their own businesses and to seek independent professional careers."[191] In 1980, a list of all the Finnish Businesses in Thunder Bay was published by the *Canadan Uutiset.*[192] The list consisted of 53 businesses, many of which are still around to this day. There are the obvious enterprises; The Finnish Book Store, Finn-tastic, and Kivela Bakery, but there are also unique businesses such as Mari-1 Furniture, Custom Hydraulics, DenCorp Inc. (building materials), and the Lappe Ski Centre. The Lappe Ski Centre, owned by Reijo Puiras, is a recreational site for skiers of all ages and abilities. It has provided many Finns (and non-Finns, too) with the opportunity to cross-country ski, which has deep roots within Scandinavian culture.

In the City of Thunder Bay, there was also another employment opportunity for immigrants interested in journalism. For most newly arrived Finns, having a newspaper published in their own language compensated for their lack of literacy in English. Luckily for the new immigrants, there were more Finnish language papers being distributed in their new country than in its southern neighbour. "In Canada, the press is stronger than in the United States, due to the influx of new immigrants in the 1950s who are still subscribers."[193] These papers offered the Finns help through the transition of immigration. The newspaper, *Canadan Uutiset* (The Canadian News), not only offered the chance for Finnish immigrants to find employment, either with the paper or through its advertising, but also allowed them to learn

[190] Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 217.
[191] Ibid., 212.
[192] TBFCHS Collection, MG 8, Series C, Box 2, Folder 4, Item 1, Canadan Uutiset, 25, kesäkuuta, 1980, #26, "Tutustu Thunder Bayhin."
[193] Mari Niemi, "Hunger or Yearning for Freedom? Migration from South Ostrobothnia to North America," *Journal of Finnish Studies* 2, no.2 (December 1998): 80.

about current events in their native language. The paper was established in Port Arthur in November 1915 and was Finnish-Canada's first non-socialist newspaper. The business community in Port Arthur was very supportive of the newspaper, through which they could reach out to more of the immigrants.[194] The *Canadan Uutiset* has gone through many changes over the years, like English articles added, but the ideas are still the same. In 2000, the paper expanded its horizons and amalgamated with the *Amerikan Uutiset.* It now publishes two papers, the *Canadan Uutiset* (once a month) and a weekly called *The Finnish Update (Pohjois-Amerikan Uutiset).*[195] Local Finnish businesses advertise in the paper, and local Finnish immigrants read the paper and shop at the businesses. The cultural events happening within the Finnish community are also advertised, helping to keep the Finnish culture alive.

THE FINNISH COMMUNITY IN THE THUNDER BAY AREA

Not only were the immigrants involved in the community; so were their children. These children were enrolled in the local schools in order to learn English and have better lives than their parents. Children were encouraged to continue their education until they were able to attain a job by which they could support their own families. While some had trouble adapting to school and only wanted to get out and start working, quitting school at the age of sixteen to find employment in the forest industry or other industry which accepted employees who had not received their high school diploma, others took their parent's advice and stayed in school, going on to college or university. One of the respondents to the questionnaire stated that his brother intended to quit formal schooling after grade eight to work in the bush. The teacher insisted that, if he did not continue into high school, he would not pass the eighth grade. The parents sided with the teacher and the boy was talked into completing high school as well.[196] As the next

[194] Arja Pilli, "The Origins of *Canadan Uutiset,*" *Polyphony* 9, no.2 (1987): 39.
[195] The online edition of the paper can be seen at http://canadan.uutiset.com or the editorial staff reached at tbuutiset@air.on.ca.
[196] Interview with Arvo Puumala, Thunder Bay, 2002.

generation of children were also encouraged to continue with their education, their acclimatisation to Canadian culture proceeded. While these immigrant children still hold onto the old values and traditions, they have learned to adapt them into the culture of the greater society.

There are many Finnish cultural organizations in the Thunder Bay area to keep the old traditions and the immigrant's 'Finnishness' alive. These organizations are a cornerstone in the Finnish community. It has been stated that "it is first and foremost in the religious and educational spheres that the Finns have developed an ordered manner of living which has been their strength."[197] When looking through the course calendar at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, one can immediately tell that the Finnish community in Thunder Bay is large. There are courses which cater to the community, such as Finnish language and Finnish culture and history classes. The Thunder Bay Finnish Canadian Historical Society collection is housed in the Chancellor Paterson Library's fifth floor Archives.[198] Many groups meet at the Finlandia Club at 314 Bay Street to hold meetings and events. These include the *Kalevan Naiset Ainikin Tupa No.55* (The Ladies of Kalevala), and the *Kalevan Ritarit Sampo Maja No.51* (The Knights of the Kalevala). There is also a sports club run by the Finns for those interested in athletics. Reipas Sports Club (*Urheiluseura Reipas*) is active in activities such as *pesopallo* (the Finnish style of baseball), shooting, running, and skiing. Other Finnish groups also use the Reipas clubhouse called Tapiola, found just outside of the city of Thunder Bay on Pento Road.

Within the last twenty years or so, the Finnish community has experienced a resurgence of community awareness and activities. Second, third, and fourth generation Finns are starting to ask questions about their heritage and the Finnish community in Thunder Bay is stepping up

[197] Rafael Engelberg, "Finnish Emigration to the United States and Canada," (The Genealogical Society of Finland, 1999.) Accessed 7 October 2002, available from http://www.genealogia.fi/emi/art/article187e.htm
[198] The parent society, the Finnish Canadian Historical Society, was established on 2 July 1944 in Sudbury and was called the Finnish United Historical Society of Canada. The Society changed its name in 1945. Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 167.

to answer them. There is now a museum housed within the Finlandia Club building which explains more thoroughly the Finnish presence in Thunder Bay and its activities. The museum is well equipped to become a centre for teaching Finnish culture. For the Finnish community of Thunder Bay, this expanding interest and knowledge is helping to keep its culture alive and thriving.

Chapter Five

Immigration and Assimilation

For this project, questionnaires were designed and distributed to a number of Finnish immigrants who settled in the Thunder Bay area after the Second World War.[199] There were 30 questionnaires sent out to various people, many of whose names were suggested to the researcher by other Finnish Canadians. Interviews with some of these respondents and other Finns were also conducted. The questionnaires asked the immigrants their reasons for immigrating from Finland and for settling in this area. Not only were the immigrants asked for their reasons, they were also asked about the make-up of their family, whether or not they immigrated with them or brought them over later. The respondents attitudes upon immigration were also questioned. Immigrants who leave their homeland with the attitude that they are starting new lives in a new land differ from those who believe that they will return to the homeland after a time. Assimilation into Canada and the Thunder Bay area was also questioned. Again, the attitudes of the immigrants varied, but all believed that they have assimilated into Canadian society while still maintaining their 'Finnishness'.

The respondents had come primarily during the third wave of immigration after the Second World War and were from a varied age group, some immigrating while young with their families, and others making the decision to immigrate later in their lives. Those who were brought by their families at a young age all claimed that their reasons for immigrating were because of the family. Those who immigrated on their own came not only to be reunited with family and friends but also for economic and political reasons as well as for 'adventure.' The interviews were done to enrich the information which emerged from the questionnaires, with particular emphasis on the effects of immigration and assimilation.

By analyzing the questionnaire answers, one is able to see the complexities associated

[199]See Appendix 10, Finnish-Canadian Immigrant Questionnaires.

with the migration of the Finnish families. Not every member of the family has the same answers to the questions and not every member has the same views on life in Canada. In one example, the eldest son of one family answered that he chose to live in the Thunder Bay area simply because he was helping to support the family, whereas his mother declared they chose the area because of the opportunities for working in the bush and because there was a large Finnish population already settled there. Many respondents who chose the area because their relatives or friends had already settled there. One such respondent, who had made arrangements to live with friends in Kaministiquia, Ontario, claimed that he had enough money and he could have moved back to Finland, but the Canadian lifestyle was more relaxed and fit better into his ideal lifestyle so he stayed. Two respondents stated that Thunder Bay was their destination of choice because it was where their husbands were living. This shows the continuing link which was maintained between the homeland and the newly adopted country; trips taken back to Finland often resulted in marriages and migration of the new family member to Canada.

Almost all of the respondents stated that they came directly to the Thunder Bay area from Finland, with the exception of one who settled in Toronto for five months before heading to Northwestern Ontario. In that case, the father was in the Thunder Bay area looking for land. Once the land matter was settled, he sent for the rest of the family who were able to immigrate to Canada, meet with the son who was in Toronto, and have the whole family move to the rural area known as Kaministiquia.

These responses differed from the ones researched in the earlier waves of immigration, when most of the immigrants did not have the Thunder Bay area as their first choice to settle. Particularly in the first wave, immigrants often did not stay in one place. In many instances they moved around, searching for the perfect place, sometimes for years before putting roots down in an area permanently. In the second wave, there were enough Finnish immigrants already

living in the area to have a growing Finnish community, which helped bring the newer immigrants directly here. The third wave was also able to settle amongst the already established Finnish community in Thunder Bay and area, making this area practically their only destination in the New World.

Two-thirds of the respondents answered that they were farmers in Finland prior to immigrating to Canada. This high percentage of immigrant farmers could lead to further studies analyzing whether the shrinking size of the farms in Finland had any bearing on the decision to move to Canada. At the time, the inheritance system of land ownership was creating a crowded, less productive agriculture within Finland. Traditionally, the eldest son would inherit the main farmhouse of the parents but the younger siblings would be given a parcel of the land to work as his own.[200] These younger siblings would either set up their own houses on the land or continue to live in the main house until their family grew too large. Given the division of land, each piece became smaller and less able to provide sustenance for a full household. It was at this point that many of the younger siblings were forced to find jobs as labourers to supplement the household income. Obviously, many of these younger siblings, when work was not available in Finland, had to look elsewhere for their livelihood. Immigration to Canada offered a good solution to that problem, and might be able to offer enough land for family farming as well. The cheap land that was available in Canada was a pull factor for more than one of the families.

One of the respondents stated that her reason for choosing Canada was that Canada was seen as being better able to support single mothers, in which group this respondent's mother was included. During the first two waves of immigration, Finnish women were able to find employment as domestic labourers, laundresses, waitresses, and many more blue-collar jobs judged as suitable. There was pride among Finnish women, who were sought after as domestic servants. "Finnish maids were in demand...and having a Finnish maid may even have

[200] This was most often only the male siblings, as the females would marry outside of the family and join their husbands on his family's farmland.

become something of a status symbol."[201] During the third wave of immigration, although the need for domestic labourers had remained steady, there were more jobs to be had in the growing commercial economy. New jobs now open to immigrant women included clerical work, the running of small businesses within the home (for example, dressmaking or a beauty salon), and also as cooks in lumber and mining camps. Often, the newly immigrated Finnish women would head out to the camps with their husbands and children to live for a greater part of the year. At the Dog Lake camp run by Y.W. Nelson, Arnold Koivu lived in the camp until he was 6 years old, when he had to leave to attend school.[202]

The respondents who did not immigrate with their families were eighteen years of age or older. The youngest one at the time of individual immigration was eighteen and was moving to the Thunder Bay area with her Finnish-Canadian boyfriend, whom she had met in Finland.[203] Of the respondents involved in family migration, most were younger children and their older parents. As noted by Varpu Lindström-Best, the Finnish immigrants in the third wave came mostly as family units.[204] During the third wave, the family unit was seen as an important aspect. One of the respondents stated that his parents moved to Canada so that the children would have a better chance of getting jobs. The oldest brother was sixteen years old at the time of immigration, old enough to find employment in Canada. The others needed to learn English, finish school, and then find jobs.[205]

Roughly half of the immigrants questioned had decided even before their immigration to stay in Canada for the long term. The other half had a more ambivalent attitude on the length of their stays with some of them prepared to stay only for a few weeks to a few years, only to end up staying longer. One of the respondents declared that he could have left whenever he wanted

[201] Virtanen, "Work as a Factor," 120.
[202] Interview with Airi (Sipila) Rathje, Thunder Bay, 2002.
[203] As mentioned previously, some Finnish-Canadians who visited the homeland came back to Canada with their Finnish born wives or husbands.
[204] Varpu Lindström-Best, *Finns in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985), 11.
[205] Interview with Arvo Puumala, Thunder Bay, 2002.

since he was lucky enough to have money saved up, but he decided to stay because the life in Canada was better than what he had experienced in Finland.[206] Of those who planned on staying for the short term, a few married a Canadian and stayed. Although many immigrants had planned to return to Finland, only twenty percent ever did.[207] The longer the immigrants stayed in Canada, the less likely they were to return. Some reasons behind this are the satisfaction with their new lives in Canada, the friendships they made, and their integration into Canadian society.

In the period immediately after the second wave of immigration, there was considerable return migration. This was spurred partly by the Great Depression and lack of employment opportunities, and Canadian policy. For example, the Canadian government put limits on the numbers of immigrants allowed into the country and also encouraged those immigrants who wanted to return to their homelands. Some Finns were also deported as 'vagrants' because of their radicalism.[208]

Other Finns left dreaming of a socialist utopia in Soviet Karelia[209]. Almost every study done on this phenomenon gives different estimates on the size of the emigration to Soviet Karelia, which range from two to ten thousand.[210] Reino Kero states that "several political, economic and propaganda factors were major reasons for the exodus."[211] These left wing Finns believed Soviet Russia was the country which would be the worker's paradise in the coming years and did not want to remain in North America any longer. Many stories surround this group migration to Karelia, some positive and some negative. These negative reactions can be

[206] Interview with Lauri Penttinen, Thunder Bay, 2002.
[207] Lindström-Best, "Finns in Canada," *Polyphony*, 3.
[208] Ibid., 11.
[209] Karelia is an area which has been fought over many times by Finland and Russia. It remains as part of Russia today but is viewed as Finnish by many of the old residents.
[210] Lindström-Best estimates 2,000 Finnish-Canadians emigrated and Kero estimates 10,000 Finnish-North Americans emigrated. Lindström-Best, "Finns in Canada," *Polyphony*, 11 and Reino Kero, "Emigration of Finns from North America to Soviet Karelia in the Early 1930s," in *The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives*, eds. Michael G. Karni, Matti E. Kaups, and Douglas J. Ollila, Jr. (Turku, Finland: Institute for Migration,1975), 215.
[211] Ibid., 216.

attributed in part to the fact that, in 1935, Josef Stalin began an anti-Finnish campaign. This campaign was rooted in his notion that the Finnish immigrants arriving in the Karelia area were attempting to overthrow his control of the area and return it to Finland. There are stories of people being arrested and terrorized; some just disappeared.[212] Around the same time as the Stalinist purges began, these group emigrations fell off and no more evidence can be found of large groups migrating to Soviet Karelia.

This phenomenon of return migration was not as big an issue in the third wave, but it did occur. There were immigrants who felt life in Finland was better suited to their lifestyles. These immigrants returned to the homeland after time spent in Canada. Another phenomenon that existed during the beginning of the third wave was the threat of deportation amongst newly arrived immigrants. Since immigrants were graded according to a point system[213], which allowed the Canadian government a voice in which immigrants were allowed in to the country, it was reasonable to assume that the government also had a say in which immigrants would be allowed to stay. In some immigrants' minds, it was not unreasonable to harbour some feelings of anxiety where the government was concerned. One of the respondents experienced some worries over the idea of deportation. He had immigrated with his family when he was still a young boy but had not attained citizenship by the time he was graduating from high school. One of his worries was that he was no longer eligible to attain his citizenship with his parents, as he had married and left home at a young age. Another worry was that after high school he might have trouble finding a job because he was not a citizen yet. He applied for employment at various places, one of them the Canadian Armed Forces, which could not hire non-citizens. He eventually did get employment at Great Lakes Pulp and Paper as an apprentice machinist and

[212] Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 146.
[213] Points were given according to nine criteria. These were: education and training, immigration officer's assessment, occupational demand, occupational skill, age, arranged or designated employment, knowledge of English or French, relatives, and employment opportunities in area of destination. For further explanations, refer to Green, 41.

he also applied for citizenship and received that as well. This effectively ended his worries about leaving his new home with his young Canadian family.[214]

The final question dealt with the integration of the immigrant into Canadian society. Have the immigrants assimilated or merely adapted to the Canadian society? In her book dealing with Lithuanian Displaced Persons after the Second World War, Milda Danys states:

> Assimilation is a complex affair: one may assimilate economically or psychologically or culturally. The degree to which any individual can be said to have assimilated, too, might be judged differently depending on one's point of view. Does the immigrant feel himself or herself to be a Canadian? Do other Canadians regard the immigrant as a fellow Canadian?"[215]

When asked if they felt comfortable with their lives in Canada, all respondents answered yes, with a few stating that they felt comfortable but not completely satisfied. If one looked at the situation objectively, they would see how difficult it must have been, and still is, for the immigrant, coming from a settled life to a new adventure. Senja Baron, writing about Finnish immigrants in Australia, says it best: "The Finnish immigrants did not consider themselves as simply Finns living in Australia, but as sort of hybrids, not entirely Australian but not quite Finnish either. Just as maintaining Finnish identity was determined by the impossibility of being Australian, being a migrant Finn was marked by not being like Finns living in Finland."[216] This new life could be seen by any outsider to be unsatisfying.

One respondent, who has expressed dissatisfaction with her command of English, replied that she was comfortable in Canada and loved her life in this country and would not want to return to Finland to live, even though the language barrier would not exist there. When asked if they had returned to Finland to visit or to live, only two respondents had not been back to the homeland for a visit. Only two respondents had returned to Finland to live because

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[214] Interview with Arvo Puumala, Thunder Bay, 2002.
[215] Danys, 299.
[216] Senja Baron, "The Finnish Migrant Community in Post-War Melbourne," *Siirtolaisuus-Migration* 4 (2000): http://www.utu.fi/erill/instmigr/art/baron.htm.

university education was being undertaken in Finland, but both returned to live in Canada. From these answers, it appears that the length of time living in the Thunder Bay area has affected the desire to return to the homeland. Becoming comfortable in Canadian society allowed immigrants to return to Finland for visits, content with their lives and not wanting to return permanently to their former country. These answers did not conclude that the Finns had assimilated into the Canadian society, but they showed an adaptation to it. This is also shown through the organizations which sprang up in the immigrant communities.

THE CULTURE OF FINNISH CANADIANS IN THE THUNDER BAY AREA

In their adopted country, the Finns were quick to establish community organizations designed to help them integrate into Canadian society and keep Finnish traditions alive. The Finns, who preferred to "look inward [and] to organize by themselves,"[217] nurtured their own traditions brought with them from Finland and sought to maintain a specifically 'Finnish' identity. According to Christine Kouhi, this 'Finnish' identity was one which separated them from all other residents of Thunder Bay.[218] "It is first and foremost in the religious and educational spheres that the Finns in [Canada] have developed an ordered manner of living which has been their strength as a special, respected part of the [Canadian] people, while worthily representing the home country and causing its name to be regarded with esteem among the numerous competing nations."[219]

During the first two waves of immigration, these organizations were set up in great numbers and included many labour-related groups, such as the Imatra League, the Socialist Party of Canada (Port Arthur Finnish Socialist Local #6), and the Fort William Finnish Socialist

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[217] John I. Kolehmainen, *The Finns in America: A Students' Guide to Localized History* (New York: Teacher's College Press, 1968), 18.
[218] Kouhi, "Labour and Finnish Immigration", 35.
[219] This statement was originally made in reference to American society, however, it can be argued that the statement is true in the Canadian society as well. Rafael Engelberg, "Finnish Emigration to the United States and Canada." Square brackets are my own.

Local.[220] Another organization developed prior to World War One designed to help Finnish immigrants to adapt more easily into Canadian society, was the Finnish Organization of Canada. Its objectives were stated as follows:

> 1. To assimilate the Finnish speaking people of Canada with the native population by instilling in their minds the benefits of Canadian citizenship, by the teaching of the English language, by disseminating true information about the laws, customs, traditions, history and current events in Canada, and by the lawful and intelligent use of the rights and the duties of Canadian citizenship.
> 2. To advance the standard of life of the Finnish speaking people of Canada by encouraging and developing co-operative enterprises tending to secure their material interests.
> 3. To develop the mental faculties of the Finnish speaking people of Canada by the holding of educational lectures, by furthering artistic endeavours, such as singing, music, theatricals, gymnastics, etc., and by maintaining libraries and reading rooms.
> 4. To own such buildings and other property and to carry on such business as are necessary for the efficient execution of these activities.[221]

There were also groups formed through the churches, the temperance societies, the co-operative movement, the Finnish language press, and the sports community.[222] Many of these organizations have since faded away into the history books, but others were bolstered by the arrival of the third wave and continued to thrive, however different their makeup and beliefs. Examples of these organizations which are found in the Thunder Bay area are seen in the religious, social, athletic and intellectual spheres.[223]

Religion inspired many organizations. In Canada, there were three main branches of Lutheranism; the Laestadian (Apostolic), the Suomi Synod, and the offshoot from the Suomi Synod, the Finnish National Evangelical Lutheran Churches. The Suomi Synod has had

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[220] Refer to Metsaranta, ed., *Project Bay Street*, Chapters 5-7, for a more detailed look at these organizations and their history in the Thunder Bay area.

[221] Section 2, Chapter 1, Constitution of Finnish Organization of Canada, Subsection 4 having been added when the organization was incorporated in 1923, as cited in P. Mertanen and W. Eklund, "The Illegal Finnish Organization of Canada, Inc.," (The Genealogical Society of Finland, 1999.) Accessed 12 May 2003, available from http://www.genealogia.fi/emi/art/article301e.htm.

[222] The existence of these groups demonstrates that the Finns are what Saarinen calls 'active joiners'. Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 109.

[223] See Appendix 13.

perhaps the largest impact on Finnish-American religious life, establishing a college where Finnish traditions are kept alive and practised. As Tauri Aaltio notes, "The most important cultural contribution of the Finnish church in America has probably been the establishment of Suomi College by the Suomi Synod seventy years ago."[224] In Canada, the Suomi Synod became the Finnish Lutheran Synod of Canada. The main congregations of Finnish immigrants in the Thunder Bay area have been the Anglican, the Laestadian, and the Finnish National Evangelical Lutheran Churches.[225] Even today, there are Finnish congregations with sermons preached in both Finnish and English.

Temperance societies were established before the First World War as a result of the temperance movement in Finland. These societies were organized to reduce alcohol consumption and provide activities where immigrants could have fun without drinking. By the third wave, they were no longer in fashion and did not function as they once had. In their way, these organizations may have had a large effect on the Finnish immigrant population, even after they folded. The main reason why the temperance movement was able to expand so rapidly in Finland and within the Finnish immigrant communities was the problem of alcoholism in the homeland. Fred Singleton puts it bluntly in *A Short History of Finland*, "Alcoholism is a scourge which affects Finland and the other Scandinavian states to a greater extent than may be the case in other developed countries."[226] In a study on the behaviour of alcoholics in Finland, Salme Ahlström-Laakso stated that "the prominent part played by weekend drinking...may be regarded as a reflection of the native Finnish drinking culture. A very large proportion of the drinking occasions of normal alcohol users is concentrated on weekends, Saturdays in particular."[227]

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[224] Aaltio, 67.
[225] For a detailed history of the beginnings of these congregations in the Thunder Bay area, refer to Kouhi, "Finnish Immigrants in Thunder Bay: 1876-1914," 39-52.
[226] Singleton, 172.
[227] Salme Ahlström-Laakso, *Drinking Habits Among Alcoholics*, The Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, Volume 21, Aurasen Kirjapaino, Helsinki, 1975, 113.

Within the Finnish-Canadian community, the Finnish problem with alcohol was exacerbated and it was freely admitted that it "unleashed the worst in their makeup."[228] In Nelma Sillanpää's *Under the Northern Lights: My Memories of Life in the Finnish Community of Northern Ontario*, she admits to her father's alcoholism which prompts editor Edward Laine to explain to the reader that "if alcoholism was a severe problem in Finland, it was made worse for the Finnish immigrants here (Canada) due the harsh conditions and sense of alienation that they often experienced."[229] Since much of the use and abuse of alcohol by the Finns was done within the public eye, many immigrants felt something should be done about it. Thus, the consumption of alcohol was seen as something which the community could attempt to rectify together.

In Port Arthur, in 1902, Finnish immigrants established the *Uusi Yritys* (The New Attempt Temperance Society) which set up many activities for the immigrants. There was a youth group, a speaker's club, a women's committee, and a drama club, along with athletic events and dances. All of these activities were geared to show the immigrant that alcohol did not have to have a place in their everyday lives. "It [also] provided a context for self-expression and socially useful activity to a group of people committed neither to a church nor to a political movement."[230] Although the Society itself shut down, the activities which it ran were maintained through the decades by other organizations such as the Finlandia Club of Port Arthur, *Kalevalan Ritarit,* [Knights of the Kalevala], *Naiset Ainikin Tupa* [Ladies of Kalevala], etc., creating the long lasting impact seen even during the third wave of immigration.

The co-operative movement spurred the creation of many organizations, some of which are still in business today, but not operated with the same idea. In Thunder Bay, there were a few co-operative stores and one co-operative restaurant, which were operated with the idea of

[228] Kolehmainen, 20.
[229] Nelma Sillanpää, *Under the Northern Lights: My Memories of Life in the Finnish Community of Northern Ontario*, 32 as cited in Lindström, "Ethnicity," 39.
[230] Metsaranta, ed., *Project Bay Street*, 57.

offering profits to all members. One by one, these stores and the restaurant were taken over and run as private enterprises, but the Finnish Co-op store on the corner of Bay and Secord Streets still bore the original name until it closed its doors in 2002.

The Finnish language press has opened up an avenue for the immigrants to express their ideas and learn about the current news of the world. Many of the papers were started as part of the labour organizations, and used as a means of propagandizing their beliefs and opinions. The Finnish language press as a whole has grown to include eight papers, some consisting of a small portion of English press as well. In an article published in 1967, Oiva Saarinen stated that there were two which appeared three times a week, two appeared weekly, one appeared bi-weekly, and three appeared monthly.[231] One of the weekly papers, the *Canadan Uutiset* was established in Port Arthur in November 1915 and is still Thunder Bay's contribution to the Finnish language press.[232] These papers are a vital way for many of the older Finnish immigrants to keep in touch with happenings in their areas, across Canada, and even in Finland. For some of these elders, English is still a foreign language when written and they feel much more comfortable with the written Finn used in these papers.[233] Finnish immigrants used these organizations and the papers as a way to keep their traditions alive and their "Finnishness" intact.

In *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, Oiva Saarinen declared that "one of the most enduring traits associated with the Finns in Canada was their passion for amateur sport."[234] The Finns in the Thunder Bay region are no exception. During the second wave of immigration, many sports clubs and teams were organized within the community.[235] The organizational

[231] Saarinen, "Finnish Settlement in Canada," 119.
[232] For more information on the *Canadan Uutiset*, refer to Arja Pilli, "The Origins of *Canadan Uutiset*," *Polyphony* 9, no,2 (1987): 39-42, and for more information on the Finnish language press in Canada, refer to Arja Pilli, *The Finnish Language Press in Canada, 1901-1939*, Migration Studies C6 (Turku, 1982).
[233] Many of these older immigrants ventured to Canada in their adult lives and were not able to gain much instruction in the written English language, or perhaps even spoken English. These Finns feel more comfortable writing and conversing in their native tongue.
[234] Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 221.
[235] See Appendix 14 for athletic clubs found in the region.

aspect of these teams was left to others during the third wave, as more Thunder Bay multicultural organizations sprang up and the Finns decided to join rather than organize. There are a few exceptions to this, however, as seen in the Port Arthur Isku Athletic Club (*Isku AC*). This athletic club was affiliated with the Finnish-Canadian Amateur Sports Federation and was involved with sports and activities such as gymnastics, track and field, cross country skiing, ski jumping, wrestling, theatre, and music. *Isku AC* remained on the scene until the spring of 1985, when the hall was sold.[236]

One can find Finn names in local hockey, baseball, ringette, and gymnastic clubs. One sport which still retains close ethnic ties with the Finns is cross-country skiing. Within the Thunder Bay region, there are two areas with ski trails developed and owned by Finns. The Reipas Sports Club (*Urheiluseura Reipas*) holds the Tapiola Invitational ski race on an annual basis and also helps out with the other races held around the city. "Lappe", as it is known to all its members, holds many races which have local, provincial, national, and international participants. Its owner, Reijo Puiras, saw a need in the Finnish community for a recreational ski area that could cater to the more serious racers as well as to the beginner skier. With areas such as Lappe and Tapiola (Reipas), along with the other ski areas in Thunder Bay (Kamview, Sibley, Big Thunder Sports Park (now defunct) and others), there have been many cross-country skiers with roots in the Finnish-Canadian community.[237]

In more recent times, the Finnish community has offered its population more opportunities to meet other Finnish immigrants, to revive the traditions and stay in touch with their ethnicity. There have been annual Finnish-Canadian Grand Festivals (*Kanadan Suomalaisten Suurjuhlat*)[238] held in various cities and towns each summer. The Finnish-

[236] Jim Tester, ed., *Sports Pioneers: A History of the Finnish-Canadian Amateur Sports Federation, 1906-1986*, (Sudbury: Alerts AC Historical Committee, 1986), 61.
[237] See Appendix 15.
[238] Prior to 1959, this festival was called the Finnish Canadian Song, Sports and Co-operatives Festival (*Canadan Suomalaisten Laulu-Urheilu-ja Osuustoimintajuhlat*). Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 230.

Canadian Grand Festival allows Finnish-Canadians to learn more about their heritage and traditions as well as non-Finns who wish to learn more about the culture of Finnish-North Americans. In the United States, these festivals are called FinnFest and are run on the same principles as the Canadian festivals. One such tradition people can learn of at these festivals is that of St. Urho, a symbol which was meant to unite Finnish-Americans and make them proud of their heritage. A psychology professor from Minnesota created this symbol in the 1950's, from the idea of Ireland's St. Patrick, intending to evoke some pride about Finnish culture and language. This legend created St. Urho as the patron saint of Finnish-Americans and eventually evolved into community celebrations which attracted attention to the Finnish-North American culture.[239] St. Urho's Day is currently celebrated on the 16th of March in many of the Finnish communities in North America. However, the St. Urho legend is not one shared by the Finns in Finland. The Finnish-North American culture has digressed from the Finnish culture through the integration of the immigrants into North American society.

On a more scholarly note, there are also forums which have been held celebrating the research undertaken on the Finnish-Canadian and Finnish-American culture.[240] These forums, started in 1974, are called Finn Forums and are held in conjunction with many scholarly institutions. Finn Forum I, held in Duluth, Minnesota was sponsored by the Immigration History Research Centre and focussed on the Finnish culture in the Great Lakes region. The second forum was held in Toronto, Ontario in 1979 in conjunction with the Multicultural History Society

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[239] Yvonne Hiipakka Lockwood, "Immigrant to Ethnic: Symbols of Identity Among Finnish-Americans," *Folklife Annual* (1986): 92-107.

[240] The papers presented at the forums are published together in order to create a record of the research. They are: Michael G. Karni, Matti E. Kaups, and Douglas J. Ollila, Jr., eds., *The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives*, Migration Studies C3 (Vammala: Institute for Migration in cooperation with the Immigration History Research Centre, University of Minnesota, 1975); Michael G. Karni, ed., *Finnish Diaspora I: Canada, South America, Australia and Sweden*, and *Diaspora II: United States* (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981); and Michael G. Karni, Olavi Koivukangas, and Edward W. Laine, eds., *Finns in North America: Proceedings of Finn Forum III, 5-8 September 1984, Turku, Finland* (Turku: Institute of Migration, 1988), and "Melting into Great Waters-Papers from Finn Forum V," *Journal of Finnish Studies* (Special Issue) 1:3 (December 1997); Olavi Koivukangas, ed., *Entering Multiculturalism: Finnish Experience Abroad* (Turku: Institute of Migration, 2002).

of Ontario and looked at the issue of emigration and immigration of Finns to Canada, the United States, Sweden, South America and Australia and was appropriately called 'Finnish Diaspora'. The Institute of Migration (*Siirtolaisuusinstituutti*) in Turku, Finland held Finn Forum III in 1984, which focussed on the experiences of the Finnish immigrants in North America. In 1991, the Immigration History Research Centre once again played host to the Finn Forums in Minneapolis, Minnesota. This forum, Finn Forum IV, looked at the making of the Finnish communities in North America. Another recent Forum, held in May 1996 in the city of Sudbury, Ontario, focussed on the prospects and challenges which lie ahead for Finnish Canadian researchers. The most recent, Finn Forum VI, was held in Jyväskylä, Finland, in 2001. Its theme was Finland embracing multiculturalism and it focussed on how the Finnish immigrant experience abroad could help present-day Finland to change more gracefully into a multicultural and multilingual society. Researchers looked at how those Finnish immigrant experiences could be used to pave the way for the close to 100,000 immigrants currently residing in Finland. These forums have inspired researchers, especially those of Finnish heritage, to take a better look at Finnish immigrant communities.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Since 1641, with the arrival of the first Finnish immigrants in North America, until the present, thousands more have followed. These immigrants ventured to all parts of North America, including the Thunder Bay region. By 1981, the Thunder Bay District was home to roughly 7500 Finnish immigrants and their descendants. In the Canada Census of 2001, 4 660 respondents claimed to be of single Finnish origin; 8 165 claimed to be of multiple ethnic backgrounds, Finnish included. A total of 12 825 respondents in the Thunder Bay District thus asserted that they were of Finnish ethnic origin. These statistics make the region home to approximately 11% of the total Finnish Canadian population and roughly 20% to the total Finnish population within Ontario.

The majority of these immigrants came to Canada, and Thunder Bay, in the three main waves. The first wave occurred from 1870 to 1914, ending with the start of the First World War. With the end of the war in 1918, immigration slowly increased again, peaking in 1924 when 6132 Finns immigrated to Canada. This second wave lasted until the outbreak of the Great Depression in the 1930s. From 1930 to 1931, the number of immigrants went from 2811 to 136, showing the end of the second wave. During the Great Depression and throughout the Second World War, numbers stayed low. Then in 1951, after the Canadian government repealed the prohibition of enemy nationals, the number of immigrants rose again.

Each of these three waves had similarities and differences. One of the most obvious difference is the number of immigrants involved in each wave. The first wave comprised of roughly 20 000 Finns. Almost doubling that number, the second wave's statistics show that in the 12 years between the First World War and the Great Depression, there were approximately 37 000 Finns migrating to Canada from Finland. The third wave was the smallest wave by far.

Perhaps owing to the more positive economy in Finland, the third wave only involved just under 17 000 individuals.

Another difference is the economic situation of the immigrants. The job sector entered into Canada has changed for each wave. Although forestry, domestic service, and entrepreneurship were common links throughout each of the waves, the increase in 'white-collared' fields marked the third wave as different from the other two. Also, the tendency for the immigrants to have a higher level of education increased throughout the waves. By the third wave, most immigrants had finished high school and pushed their children to continue on further in their own schooling, into college and university.

One of the similarities of the waves was the fact that the immigrants all chose the same geographical areas for the same types of reasons, even though the numbers differed. In the first wave, many Finns found their way to the Thunder Bay region, aided mainly by the construction of the CPR. During the second wave, chain migration came into effect and brought new Finnish immigrants to the region. Another pull factor during the second wave was the booming forest industry. Again, chain migration and forestry employment were the main factors. For all three waves, the settlement in the area of Thunder Bay increased and in the 1961 Canada Census, 21% of the population of Canadian Finns were residing in the region. The next highest percentage of Canadian Finns was found in the Sudbury District, with 12.5%.

Another similarity that exists within the framework for all three of the waves is the situation in the home country. Life in Finland during the three waves was tumultuous and chaotic. During the first wave, the economic and political situations in Finland were questionable in their outcomes. The push for independence had a high cost for those Finns who supported the Communist cause. Many of these Finns decided to immigrate to Canada in order to get away from the White Guard. The rest of the wave was made up of Finns who did not want to take part in the dispute. In the second wave, the political situation was again tense. The

economic situation can also be described as tense, with the heavy war costs being placed on the population through taxes. Some Finns sought refuge from the taxes in immigration to Canada. In the third wave, the economic situation was thrown in chaos due to the high war reparation payments. Again, the flow of immigration continued until the economic turmoil subsided and the people felt more confident in the Finnish economy.

The future of immigration from Finland to Canada is one of smaller potential. In the 1990s, Finland joined the European Union and its economy has boomed. This association is seen as aiding Finnish political and economic security, which can indirectly lead to less emigration out of Finland.[241] As a result, Finns who have relatives in Canada are not interested in immigrating to bring the family together. Also, with technological advancements in industry, there are no longer the number of unskilled jobs there once were, which creates less of an economic pull factor for the Finnish population to leave their homeland; large-scale labour migration from Finland for economic reasons is unlikely.[242] It is therefore highly likely that future Finnish emigration will virtually end.

Olavi Koivukangas points out that future research into Finnish-North American culture should focus on integration, settlement, and social and cultural activities after the immigrants were settled into the new country.[243] Many of the second and third generation Finns are now studying their ethnic background to try to understand what motivated their families and friends to immigrate and how these Finnish immigrants learned to live in tune with Canadian society without losing their heritage. Many Finnish immigrants have tried to keep their children and grandchildren interested in their heritage, to keep old traditions and ideas alive. As Chris Laws has written, "It's definitely important for children to be aware of their heritage because so many

[241] Sherwood S. Cordier, "Finnish Security in the Post Cold War Era," *Journal of Finnish Studies* 2:1 (April 1998), 24.
[242] Korkiasaari and Söderling, "Finnish Emigration and Immigration after World War II."
[243] Olavi Koivukangas, "Challenges," 51.

people are unaware of their ancestry."[244]

The Finnish immigrants' integration into Canadian society can be seen through the following indicators; permanent settlement, political involvement, English language skill acquisition, social affiliations, and church affiliations.[245] Further research can and should be undertaken by third and fourth generation Finnish-Canadians in this area. The integration of the Finns during their lives in Canada is something that seems to interest many of the descendants and is something which can be pursued further.

In the United States, there has also been a push by second and third generation immigrants to investigate their ancestry, because they feel there is something missing from their lives. One of these groups is the Finnish Americans, who are researching their history in record numbers. This, in turn, is bringing out a desire from Finnish Canadians to question their own adaptation and assimilation into Canadian culture.

> The second generation [Finn]...whose family has not been a part of the community very soon loses any consciousness in his day-to-day life of his national origin... for the third generation, the [Finnish] experience will be even more submerged, yet not unlikely it too may be brought to the surface by some surrounding activity, like writing about (the) [Finnish] community, or making the initial attempts at translating a [Finnish] newspaper, or going to [Finland] to look for the past.[246]

This quote, adapted from a history of Swedes in Vancouver, can also be applied to the feelings of the Finnish community in Thunder Bay. Without more interest being taken by second and third generation Finnish-Canadians, Finnish culture could be almost forgotten, which would be a loss to the community. The Finnish culture presents Canada, and particularly the Thunder Bay area, with a more diverse society in which to live and grow.

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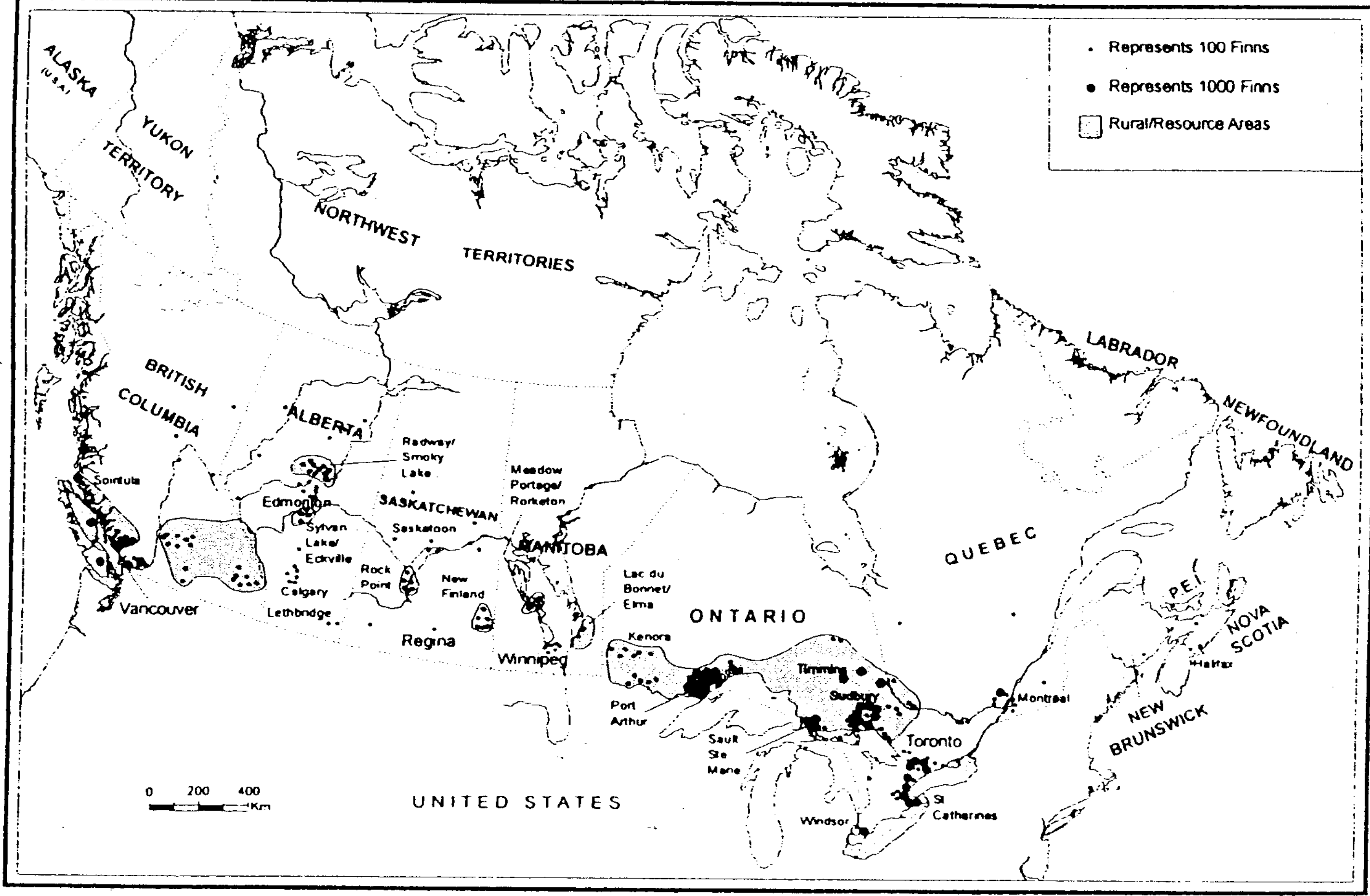
[244] Chris Laws, "Re-defining the Finnish Identity," *Thunder Bay Magazine* 10, no.2 (April/May 1992), 8.
[245] John Potestio, *In Search of a Better Life: Emigration to Thunder Bay from a Small Town in Calabria* (Thunder Bay: The Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, Inc., 2000), Chapter Eleven.
[246] Irene Howard, *Vancouver's Svenskar: A History of the Swedish Community in Vancouver* (Vancouver: Vancouver Historical Society, 1970) as cited in Roinila, 33. Square brackets are my own.

APPENDIX 1
Immigration to Canada of People of Finnish Origin or Birth, 1900-1977

Year	Persons	Year	Persons	Year	Persons
1900-01	682	1926	4 811	1952	2 308
1901-02	1 292	1927	5 167	1953	1 252
1902-03	1 734	1928	3 758	1954	717
1903-04	845	1929	4 712	1955	652
1904-05	1 323	1930	2 811	1956	1 128
1905-06	1 103	1931	136	1957	2 884
1906-07	1 049	1932	62	1958	1 296
1907-08	1 212	1933	67	1959	944
1909	1 348	1934	79	1960	1 047
1910	2 262	1935	64	1961	381
1911	1 637	1936	61	1962	385
1912	2 135	1937	94	1963	325
1913	3 508	1938	81	1964	476
1914	637	1939	82	1965	656
1915	91	1940	32	1966	696
1916	276	1941	20	1967	942
1917	129	1942	21	1968	819
1918	15	1943	18	1969	772
1919	25	1944	8	1970	694
1920	1 198	1945	26	1971	452
1921	460	1946	56	1972	311
1922	654	1947	81	1973	365
1923	6 019	1948	227	1974	362
1924	6 123	1949	267	1975	308
1925	1 561	1950	504	1976	266
		1951	4 158	1977	187

Note: Figures prior to 1918 are not accurate as many of the Finnish immigrants were classified as either Swedish or Russian.
Source: Lindström-Best, "Finns in Canada," *Polyphony: Finns in Ontario* 3, no. 2 (Fall 1981): originally taken from Statistics Canada.

APPENDIX 2
Distribution of Finns in Canada (1961)



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1961 as cited by Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 22.

APPENDIX 3
Number of First and Second Generation Finns in Canada, 1901-1981

Year	Persons
1901	2 502
1911	15 499
1921	21 494
1931	43 585
1941	41 683
1951	43 745
1961	59 436
1971	59 215
1981	52 320

Source: Jouni Korkiasaari, *Suomalaiset maailmalla.* Suomen siirtolaisuus ja ulkosuomalaiset entisa joista tähän päivään. Turku, 1989, as cited in Mari Niemi, 79.

APPENDIX 4

Finnish Population in Canada and Six Provinces

	1931	%	1941	%	1951	%	1961	%	1971	%	1981	%
Canada	43 885		41 683		43 745		59 436		59 215		52 315	
Alberta	3 318	7.56	3 452	8.28	2 958	6.76	3 662	6.16	3 590	6.06	4 135	7.9
British Columbia	6 858	15.63	6 332	15.19	6 790	15.52	10 037	16.89	11 510	19.44	10 810	20.66
Manitoba	1 013	2.31	808	1.94	821	1.88	1 070	1.80	1 450	2.45	1 060	2.03
Ontario	27 137	61.84	26 827	64.36	29 327	67.04	39 906	67.14	38 515	65.04	33 395	63.83
Quebec	2 973	6.77	2 043	4.90	1 600	3.66	2 277	3.83	1 865	3.15	1 140	2.18
Saskatchewan	2 313	5.27	1 940	4.65	1 805	4.13	1 891	3.18	1 730	2.92	1 275	2.40

Note: Percentage of the Canadian Finnish population residing within the province.
Source: Statistics Canada, *Censuses of Canada* (1931-1981).

APPENDIX 5
Finnish Population in Major Cities and Relevant Ontario Districts

	1931	%	1941	%	1951	%	1961	%	1971	%	1981	%
Canada	43 885		41 683		43 745		59 436		59 215		52 315	
Calgary	110	0.25	126	0.30	216	0.49	510	0.86	920	1.55	1 110	2.12
Edmonton	68	0.15	107	0.26	220	0.50	547	0.92	715	1.21	980	1.87
Montreal	1 545	3.52	886	2.13	723	1.65	834	1.40	455	0.77	265	0.51
Sault Ste. Marie	1 110	2.53	851	2.04	1 057	2.42	1 301	2.19	2 190	3.70	1 970	3.77
Sudbury	1 374	3.13	1 241	2.98	1 478	3.38	2 994	5.04	2 750	4.64	3 000	5.73
Thunder Bay	4 247	9.68	3 824	9.17	4 653	10.64	7 281	12.25	8 350	14.10	6 880	13.15
Toronto	3 453	7.87	2 809	6.74	2 880	6.58	3 944	6.64	2 730	4.61	1660	3.17
Vancouver	1 843	4.20	1 454	3.49	1 583	3.62	2 405	4.05	2 375	4.01	1 500	2.87
Algoma District	2 091	4.76	1 995	4.79	2 014	4.60	3 089	5.20	2 805	4.74	2 010	3.84
Sudbury District	4 633	10.56	4 704	11.29	5 411	12.37	7 446	12.53	7 095	11.98	4 490	8.58
Thunder Bay District	9 000	20.51	9 420	22.60	9 922	22.68	12 607	21.21	11 105	18.75	7 505	14.35

Note: Percentage of the Canadian Finnish population residing within the cities and districts.
Source: Statistics Canada, *Censuses of Canada* (1931-1981).

APPENDIX 6
Finnish Population in Ontario and Relevant Cities and Districts

	1931	%	1941	%	1951	%	1961	%	1971	%	1981	%
Ontario	27 137		26 827		29 327		39 906		38 515		33 395	
Algoma District	2 091	7.71	1 995	7.44	2 014	6.87	3 089	7.74	2 805	7.28	2 010	6.02
Sault Ste. Marie	1 110	4.09	851	3.17	1 057	3.60	1 301	3.26	2 190	5.69	1 970	5.90
Sudbury District	4 633	17.07	4 704	17.53	5 411	18.45	7 446	18.66	7 095	18.42	4 490	13.45
Sudbury	1 374	5.06	1 241	4.63	1 478	5.04	2 994	7.50	2 750	7.14	3 000	8.98
Thunder Bay District	9 000	33.17	9 420	35.11	9 922	33.83	12 607	31.59	11 105	28.83	7 505	22.47
Thunder Bay	4 247	15.65	3 824	14.25	4 653	15.87	7 281	18.25	8 350	21.68	6 880	20.60
Toronto	3 453	12.72	2 809	10.47	2 880	9.82	3 944	9.88	2 730	7.09	1 660	4.97

Note: Percentage of the Ontario Finnish population in the relevant cities and districts.
Source: Statistics Canada, *Censuses of Canada* (1931-1981).

APPENDIX 7
Population of Finnish Origin in Canada by province in 1986

Province	Single Origins	Multiple Origins	Total
Ontario	26 530	27 265	53 795
British Columbia	8 540	12 325	20 865
Alberta	2 625	6 015	8 640
Saskatchewan	1 075	1 805	2 880
Manitoba	720	1 550	2 270
Quebec	810	905	1 715
Nova Scotia	95	335	430
New Brunswick	90	310	400
Yukon Territory	25	85	110
Newfoundland	10	95	105
North West Territories	30	55	85
Prince Edward Island	10	30	40
Total	40 560	50 775	91 335

Note: Single origins = Finnish origins only. Multiple origins including Finnish, but not only.
Source: Canada Census, 1986.

APPENDIX 8
Finnish Population by Census Metropolitan Area (1996)

CMA	Single Origin	Multiple Origins	Total
Toronto	6 070	8 060	14 135
Thunder Bay	4 840	7 490	12 340
Vancouver	3 825	7 820	11 645
Sudbury	2 450	4 115	6 560
Calgary	610	2 810	3 420
Edmonton	495	2 385	2 885
Ottawa-Hull	545	2 050	2 595
Victoria	530	1 425	1 960
Winnipeg	385	1 395	1 780
Montreal	490	925	1 415
Hamilton	275	1 030	1 305
London	295	850	1 140
St. Catherines/Niagara	245	835	1 080
Kitchener	230	840	1 070
Oshawa	180	785	960
Windsor	245	550	800
Saskatoon	165	600	770
Regina	85	500	595
Halifax	80	345	425
St. John	25	95	120
St. John's	20	60	80
Quebec City	10	10	20

Source: Saarinen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place*, 24. Originally taken from the Canada Census, 1996.

APPENDIX 9
Canadian Government Regulations of Immigration Affecting Finnish Immigrants

P.C. 9443 - December 12, 1941 (approx.) - Whereas by reason of the existence of a state of war with Roumania, Hungary and Finland, it has become necessary to make provisions for the special position of persons of Roumanian, Hungarian and Finnish nationality; and whereas it is recognized that most persons of Roumanian, Hungarian or Finnish nationality residing in Canada are law abiding, well disposed and loyal inhabitants of this country, contributing to its war effort and disavowing any allegiance to the Naxi controlled puppet governments of their countries of origin; and whereas it is expedient that such persons should not be generally subjected to the Defence of Canada Regulations relating to enemy aliens. Now, therefore, His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Justice and under the authority of the War Measures Act, chapter 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to amend the Defence of Canada Regulations (Consolidation) 1941, and they are hereby amended by inserting the following after Regulation 26B, as Regulation 26C; (1) The Registrar General may, on the personal application to a Registrar of any Roumanian, Hungarian or Finnish nationality, resident in Canada, issue a certificate of exemption, exempting such persons from the operation of Refulation 24, 25, and 26 of these Regulations and may, at his absolute discretion, at any time, without previous notice, cancel any certificate issued. [247]

P.C. 1373 - 1941 - deemed Finland an enemy nation fighting against Russia, Canada's new ally. The nationals of Finland became inadmissible to Canada until 1947, when the order was rescinded.[248]

P.C. 1606 - March 28, 1950 - prohibited the landing of enemy aliens, with the exception of people who satisfy the Minister that they were opposed to an enemy government; close relatives and the prospective husband or wife of a legal resident in Canada; an immigrant of German ethnic origin who is a displaced person who was *not* a German national on September 1, 1939.[249]

P.C. 3689 - July 31, 1951 - revoked the prohibition of enemy nationals.[250]

P.C. 785 - May 24, 1956 - defines the admissible classes of immigrants as follows:
20 (b) a person who is a citizen by birth or by naturalization of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, or Switzerland or who is a refugee from a country in Europe, if such person undertakes to come to Canada for placement under the auspices of the Department or, if the Department has given its approval thereto, for establishment in a business, trade, or profession or in agriculture.[251]

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[247] Varpu Lindström, *From Heroes to Enemies: Finns in Canada, 1937-1947* (Beaverton, ON: Aspasia Books, 2000), 147.
[248] Lindström-Best, "The Impact of Canadian Immigration Policy," 11.
[249] Green, 233.
[250] Ibid., 233.
[251] Ibid., 237.

APPENDIX 10
Finnish-Canadian Immigrant Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FINNISH-CANADIANS WHO IMMIGRATED AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

Hello! Hei! My name is Lana Puumala and I am a graduate history student at Lakehead University. I am researching the Finnish immigrant population of Thunder Bay and area after the Second World War, from 1950 until the present. This questionnaire will be helpful for understanding the various personal reasons for moving to Canada, especially the Thunder Bay region. These questionnaires will be confidential and if desired, no names are necessary. I am thanking you in advance for your cooperation and time. Please return in the addressed stamped envelope attached as soon as possible. Thank you! Kiitos!

1. When did you immigrate to Canada?
   Milloin muutitte kanadaan?

2. How old were you at this time?
   Minkä ikäinen olit kuin muutitte?

3. Did you follow family or friends in emigration?
   Seurasitteko te perheen jäsentä tai ystävää?

4. Did you immigrate with your family?
   Muutitteko perheen mukana?

5. When did your family immigrate to Canada?
   Milloin sinun perhe muutti kanadaan?

6. Are you the oldest sibling in the family?
   Oletko sinä vanhin jäsen teidän perheessä?

7. Where did you settle when first arriving in Canada?
   Mihkä asetuitte asumaan ensin muuton jälkeen?

8. When did you come to the Thunder Bay area?
   Milloin muutitte Thunder Bayn aluelle?

9. Where did you settle in the Thunder Bay area?
   Mihkä asetuitte asumaan Thunder Bayn aluelle?

10. Why did you leave Finland?
   Miksi lähditte suomesta?

11. Was your family farm owners or dwellers in Finland?
   Oliko teidän perhe maan omistaja tai asuitteko maalla suomessa?

12. Why did you choose Canada?
   Minkä takia valisit kanadaan?

13. Why did you choose the Thunder Bay area?
   Minkä takia valisit Thunder Bayn alueen?

14. Did you plan to only stay for a short time or for the long term?
   Oliko tarkoitus olla vain vähän aikaa tai oliko muutos pitemälle ajalle?

15. Have you gone back to Finland to live or to visit?
   Oletko vieraillu tai asunu suomessa muuton jälkeen?

16. Do you feel comfortable now with your life in Canada?
   Oletko tyytyväinen sinun elämään kanadassa?

Thank you for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire. I greatly appreciate it.
Kiitos paljon!

APPENDIX 11
Finnish Businesses in Thunder Bay, circa 1980

Anja's Beauty Salon	Lehto Printers
A-One Filter and Supply	McCormick Electric
Bay Jewellers	MidWest Auto & Hardware
Central Canada Equipment	Oikonen's Taxi
Country Good Meats & Deli	Old Country Meat & Cheese
Current River Bakery	Osuuspankki [Co-operative Bank]
Dan's Studio	Parkkari Trucking
Double J. Eavestroughing Wholesale	People's Co-op
Ellen's Ladies Wear	Rex-Taxi
Excel Sheet Metal Ltd.	Rinne Auto Body
Exterior Finishing Ltd.	Saasto's Men's Wear
Fennica	Safari Imports
Finnport	Scandinavian Delicatessen
Gore Motors	Star TV
Hazelwood Enterprises	Suomalainen Kirjakauppa [Finnish Book Store]
Hoito Ravintola [Restaurant]	Superior Motors Lakehead Ltd.
J.K. Auto Repairs	Super Siding
Kangas Sauna	Thunder Bay Concrete
Kestitupa [Cafeteria]	Thunder Bay Restaurant
Kivelä Bakery	Thunder Bay Welding & Supplies Ltd.
Knit 'N Stitch	Top Buckle Ski Shop
Korte Trucking	Top Notch Roofing
Kärkkäisen Kalasavustamo [Fish Smokery]	Unitized Manufacturing Ltd.
Lakehead Builders	Wanson Lumber
Lakehead Travel	Watch Service
Lauri's Home Hardware	Weave & Wear
Lasvel Shoes	

Source: TBFCHS Collection, MG 8, Series C, Box 2, Folder 4, Item 1, Canadan Uutiset, 25, kesäkuuta, 1980, #26, "Tutustu Thunder Bayhin."

APPENDIX 12
Selected Finnish Enterprises and Professions in the Thunder Bay Area, circa 2002

A-One Filter and Supply
Aho & Arding Certified General Accountants
Anttila Northwest Ltd.
Appliance Plus Centre
The Blueberry Amethyst Patch
Central Canada Fuels
Country Good Meats & Deli
Current River Bakery
Custom Hydraulics Limited
Day Caddo Viherjoki - Chartered Accountants
Eko Siding Contractors
Finnews Limited
Finnish Book Store
The Finnish Update Canada
Finnport Inc.
Finn-Tastic Sauna & Gifts
Finnway General Contractors Inc.
Gore Motors Inc.
Tiina Haikonen, Corporate Legal Assistant
Happy Homes Realty Limited
Harbour Fleet & Auto
Harri Bakery
Hari Enterprises
Dr. John Heinonen, Dentist
Hoito Restaurant
Katja Huitikka, Lawyer
Gerald Hyvarinen Trucking
Jarvela Real Estate Appraisals Ltd.
Kangas Sauna
Daniel E. Karvonen, Lawyer
Kestitupa Cafeteria
Kivela Bakery
Korkola Design Communications
Korte Trucking
Dave Koski Design
Koski Excavating
R. Koski Trucking Inc.
Laitinen Hardwood Flooring
Lankinen Timber
Lauri's Hardware
Lehtinen Technology Services
Lehto Printers Ltd.
Lempiala Sand & Gravel Limited
Leppanen's Store & Service
Carl W. Maki, Appraisal Group (Thunder Bay) Inc.
Maki's Diesel Repair
Marfin Contracting
Midway Cleaners & Tailors
Paul A. Niemi, Accountant
Ken Niivila Trucking
Niivila Timber Ltd.
T.K. Nupponen, Chartered Accountant
Seppo K. Paivalainen, Consulate of Finland
Dr. Raimo E. Pehkonen, Physician
Aki Peltonen Creative Services
Dr. R. Peltoniemi, Orthodontist
Eija Peltokangas, Lawyer
Peltonen Design International
Peterson Electric Co. Limited
Dr. Rodney Puumala, Chiropractor
Eric Pyhtila Trucking
Pyhtila Viljo Sand & Gravel Inc.
Rajala Electric (Canada) Ltd.
Romu Roofing & Contracting
Saari Artesian Springs Inc.
Dr. Otto Salonen, Physician
Dr. A. E. Santala, Physician
Savela Esko and Son Contracting Inc.
Scandinavian Delicatessen
Scandinavian Home Cafe
Shuniah Contracting
Sistonen's Corner
Suomi Koti of Thunder Bay, Inc. (Finnish House - an retirement housing complex)
Superior Motors (Lakehead) Ltd.
Tenander Financial Services
Tenkula Apartments
Thunder Bayn Uutiset
Thunder Country Travel
Valmet Ltd. - Enerdry Division, Canada
Vauthier, Paivalainen, Lawyers
Wanson Lumber Company Limited
Wood-Land Tractor Inc.

Source: Information taken originally from "Finnish-Canadian Businesses and Organisations in Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada," (Canadian Friends of Finland(Ottawa), 14 October 2002.) Accessed 15 December 2002, available from http://www.canadianfriendsoffinland.ca/tbbus.htm

APPENDIX 13
Selected Finnish Social, Political and Economic Organizations in the Thunder Bay Area, circa 2002

Amerikan Laulajat/ Finnish Male Singers of North America

Bethel Lutheran Church

Canadian Suomi Foundation

Finlandia Clubin Keilaajat (Bowling)

Finlandia Club of Port Arthur

Finnish Pentecostal Church

Finnish War Veterans of Thunder Bay

Finnish-Canadian Historical Society

Hilldale Lutheran Church

Isien Usko/ The Faith of Our Fathers (magazine)

Kalevalan Ritarit, Sampo Majo No: 51/ The Knights of the Kalevala No. 51

Kanadan Uutisten Keilaajat (Bowling)

Keskipohjalaisten Kerho/ Central Northern Club (region of Finland)

Kiikurit Finnish Folk Dancers

Mieskuoro Otava/ Male Choir OTAVA

Naiset Ainikin Tupa No:55/ Ladies of Kalevala No.55

Naiskuoro Oras/ Finnish Ladies Choir

Saalem-Seurakunnan

Suomalainen Vapaaseurakunta/ Finnish Free Church

Suomen Kielen Koulu/ Finnish Language School of Thunder Bay

Thunder Bayn Kanadan-suomalainen Historiaseura/ Thunder Bay Finnish Canadian Historical Society

Thunder Bayn Suomalainen Asevelikerho/ Thuner Bay Finnish Firearms Association

Thunder Bayn Suomalainen Kansallisseura/ Loyal Finns of Canada

Thunder Bayn Suomalainen Pelimannikerho/ Thunder Bay Finnish Orchestra Musical Club

Urheiluseura Reipas/ Reipas Sports Club

Note: Not a complete listing of all organizations. Translations are approximate.
Source: Information taken originally from "Finnish-Canadian Businesses and Organisations in Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada," (Canadian Friends of Finland(Ottawa), 14 October 2002.) Accessed 15 December 2002, available from http://www.canadianfriendsoffinland.ca/tbbus.htm and various other sources.

APPENDIX 14
Finnish Canadian Athletic Clubs in the Thunder Bay Area

Place	Name of Club	English Translation
Alppila, ON	Nousu Eagles AC	Rising Eagles
Dog River, ON (Pohjola)	Tigers AC	
Fort William, ON	Karhu AC	Bear
Intola, ON	Punatähti AC	Red Star
Isojoki, ON (Port Arthur)	Vigor AC	
Kaministiquia, ON	Hurja Tigers AC	Fierce Tigers
Kivikoski, ON	Kipinä AC	Spark
Lappe, ON	Liekki AC	Flame
Nolalu, ON	Ponteva AC	Vigour
North Branch, ON	Elo AC	Joy
Pohjola, ON	Hurja AC	Fierce
Port Arthur, ON	Isku AC	Hard Blow
Tarmola, ON	(Väkevä) Tarmo AC	Strong Energy
Wolf Siding, ON (Suomi)	Yritys AC	Endeavour

Source: Tester, 265-267.

APPENDIX 15
Finnish Canadian Skiers from the Thunder Bay Area[252]

Ahokas, Arlene
Ahokas, Hannu
Ahokas, John
Ahokas, Kevin
Ahokas, Mauri
Ahokas, Vilho
Gronroos, Don
Inkila, Paul
Jamsa, Esa
Jamsa, Kari
Kaarela, Karl Jr.
Kaki, Pauli
Kirvesniemi, Katriina
Koski-Harja, Andrew
Koski-Harja, Michael
Leinonen, Jari
Maepea, Derek
Maepea, Jill
Maepea, Jody
Mannisto, Michael
Metsaranta, Juha
Metsaranta, Marc
Metsaranta, Riku
Metsaranta, Leila
Myllymaa, Peter
Niemi, Sam
Penttinen, Lauri
Penttinen, Kaisa
Pesonen, Esko
Pesonen, Kai
Pesonen, Satu
Puiras, Reijo
Puiras, Timo
Puiras, Tuija
Puumala, Arvo
Puumala, Jamie
Puumala, Lana
Puumala, Mark
Puumala, Martti
Puumala, Rodney
Puumala, Sandra
Rautio, Martti
Seppanen, Markko
Tikka, Tenho
Tikka, Timo
Viitanen, Allan
Widgren, Alfred

[252] This is not a complete listing of all Finnish-Canadian skiers in the Thunder Bay area, so the author apologizes for any omissions. The information was gathered from various sources, both written and oral.

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