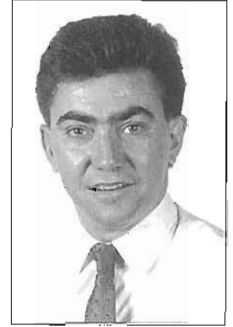


The Diminishing Sugar-Miners of Mount Isa, Australia



Greg Watson

Abstract

In its heyday Mount Isa acted as a magnet to Finnish immigrants who came to Australia. The collective numbers of people of Finnish descent came to represent approximately 11.5% of the town's total population. Highly respected for their work ethic and cultural unity, the Finns of Mount Isa were always able to find prospective employment.

Although the number of Finns living in Mount Isa is now seriously depleted and growing ever smaller, they are still recognised as a most vital ethnic group amongst the highly diverse community of Mount Isa. This paper explores what it was like to have settled in Mount Isa during the early 1950s. It traces the development of the Finnish Community as it grew and then examines that same community in its now depleted state. I then offer reasons for this decline which are based upon observations obtained from personal interviews¹ recently collected from this Finnish community.

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Mount Isa

Mount Isa is a mining town situated in North West Queensland (see photograph no.1), Australia, and is the most unlikely destination for Finnish emigrants to Australia. Yet, it would become a magnet to these Finns and would, at one stage, boast one of the largest populations of Finnish immigrants and people of Finnish descent in Australia. In its heyday, during the early 1970s, there were approximately 1500 people of Finnish descent amongst a total population of approximately 13 000. Hence, they accounted for 11.5% of the population. This is an extraordinary figure, when we realise that the overall number of Finnish immigrants in Australia, compared to other ethnic groups, was actually quite small. This Finnish community would prove to have a profound effect on the Isa² community.

Upon first arriving in Mount Isa one immediately senses several things. Firstly, the isolation. It is a three hour flight from Sydney, the equivalent flight time from Helsinki to London. Between Brisbane and Mount Isa one flies over desolate countryside and upon arrival one can see from the

air just how dry the surrounding countryside is, the township being nestled in amongst rugged red rock outcrops. Mount Isa lies less than 320 kilometres from the wide Gulf of Carpentaria on the northern coast of Australia, "it is so far from the seven capital cities of Australia that the nearest, Adelaide, is on the southern coast of the continent. Mount Isa is closer to New Guinea than to Brisbane... Isolation has always been a dominant problem in the north of Australia." (Blainey 1978:2).

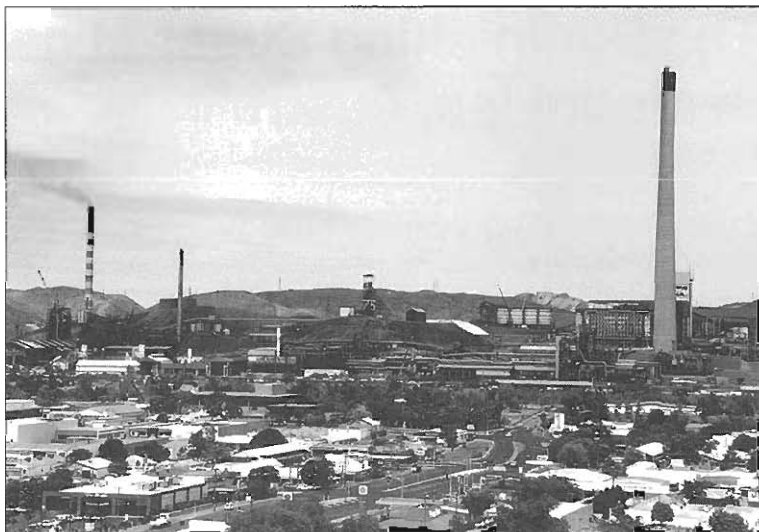
(1) When I first came to Mount Isa and I was living in that Motor Inn. Well I was there for the first night and next morning I started looking for the town. I was standing there in the middle of the town in the main street and I asked somebody will they direct me to the town, the city. He said "You are standing right at the middle of the city!" (Laugh) (Informant no. 5)

The second thing one notices is the oppressive heat. I arrived in the wet season, when the average temperature is well over +35 degrees Celsius. During my stay it was +40 degrees everyday. For example, whilst visiting local Finn-

ish families candles would melt and sag due to the ambient temperature. When the rain begins to fall most dirt roads become impassable, the wet season lasts for approximately 3 months. Four wheel drive vehicles are a typical, and often necessary, form of transport. For instance, before the roads were tarred and sealed it was common for Mount Isa to be cut-off by road from other towns during "the wet"; in fact, even from the other side of the town which is divided by the Leichardt river, which for most of the year is a dry riverbed but becomes a raging torrent in the wet. Upon first impressions this seems the most unlikely town for a large number of Finns to settle in. So, what brought them here?

The Sugar Miners of Mount Isa

In 1924 there were approximately 300 inhabitants in Mount Isa, three years later there would be 3000. The first Finn to arrive was "Jack" Pitkänen in 1928, by 1929 there would be 7 others. By 1930, we know that "Jack" Tilus was living in a tent on the riverbank of the Leichardt river (see photograph 2) and that, by 1935, of the 1500 Finns known to be in Australia at that time 210 of these were in Mount Isa. At the suggestion of Pastor Hytönen, from the Finnish Seamen's Mission in Melbourne, a Finnish-Estonian club, entitled *Mount Isan Suomen Heimoseura*, was established. A meeting was held in the Country Women's Association Hall on the 26th October, 1935. Because the Finnish and Estonian languages were



1. Mount Isa.

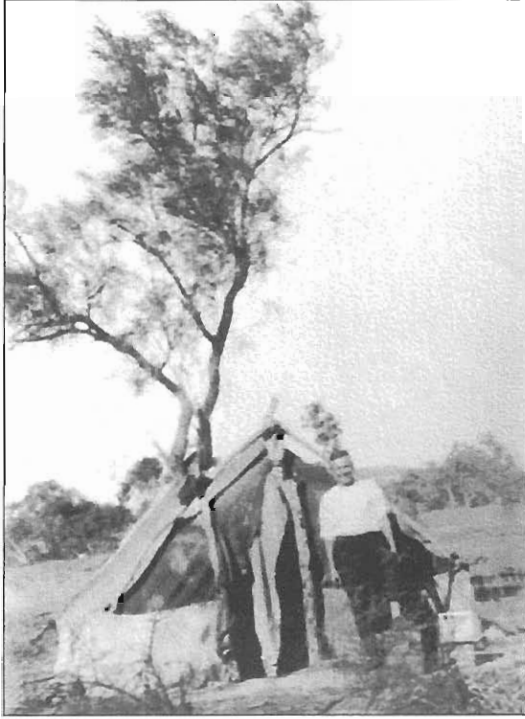
closely related it was decided to work closely together towards the benefit of both ethnic groups. The last surviving member of the founding group of this association, Senni Himanka, died in 1998 at the age of 90. In the first year of operation, there were 57 members of which only 9 were women and 48 were men. These figures help to highlight one of the early problems faced at Mount Isa, a serious numerical imbalance between the sexes. This imbalance was, reportedly, at one stage, as high as 8 males to every female.

During the 1930s a few families began to arrive. By 1940 over 40 men were employed by MIM (Mount Isa Mines Pty Ltd). Social evenings, musical halls and so on were held at the Buffalo Club (still in existence today) and the Hilton Hall. These events were attended by Australians and other nationalities also and the proceedings from these very popular occasions were donated to charities such as the Red Cross, the Bush Children's Associ-

ation, the RSL (Returned Services League), and the Army Comfort Fund. Sporting activities amongst the club were important from the beginning. As the club became more "financial" a Finnish language library was established. One important part of the club's priorities was to make a headstone for every Finn that passed away and was buried at the old part of the cemetery. In addition, visits from the pastor of the Finnish Seamen's Mission in Melbourne became more frequent as the club was able to pay for his fares.

Life in the 1930s and 1940s was very harsh in Mount Isa. Heat, dust, a shortage of water and dust-storms (see photograph 3) were a constant nuisance, which made life, especially for the women, particularly difficult. Many Finnish women had boarding houses (there was a chronic housing shortage in Mount Isa at the time). The boarders were working three shifts a day and needed food and clean clothes at all hours of the day and

2. Jack Tilus in 1930 on the Mt Isa river bank.



3. A duststorm in Mount Isa.

night. There was little time to learn English and many suffered from homesickness, a major rea-

son for many families to leave Mount Isa and return to Finland, a pattern also frequently found else-

where within Australia (refer to Watson 1997).

Koskinen (1985:42–48) referred to the period between 1942 and 1948 as the *hämärät vuodet* (the dim, dark, obscure years). On the 6th of December, 1941, Britain declared war on Finland. This meant that Finns living in Australia were declared enemies of the state and were to be interned. In fact, 98 were interned in a camp outside of Adelaide, 48 came from South Australia, 7 from Victoria and 43 from Queensland. Pastor Paavo Hytönen was one of these prisoners. However, this did not happen in Mount Isa, because MIM declared that mining would stop if the Finns were to be taken away. A special permit was granted to the Mount Isa Finns to be allowed to stay and work. This indicates to us that a substantial number of Finns must have been working the mines at the time and that their productivity and high work ethic were highly prized by the mine's management.

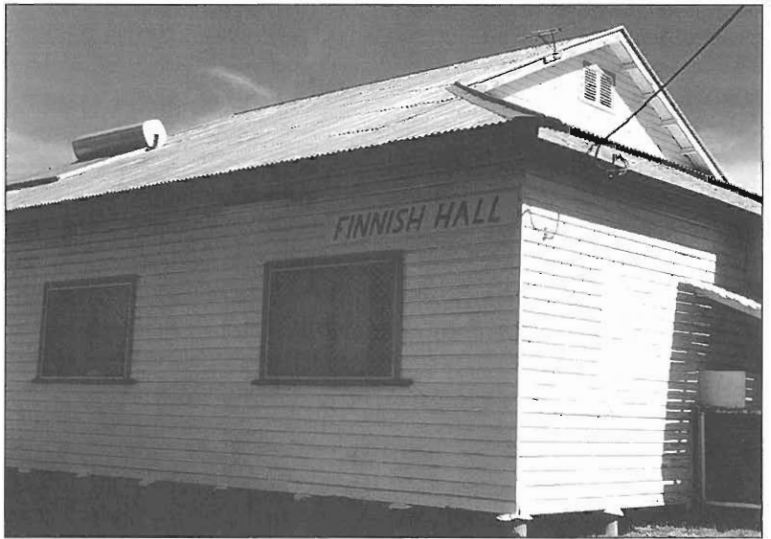
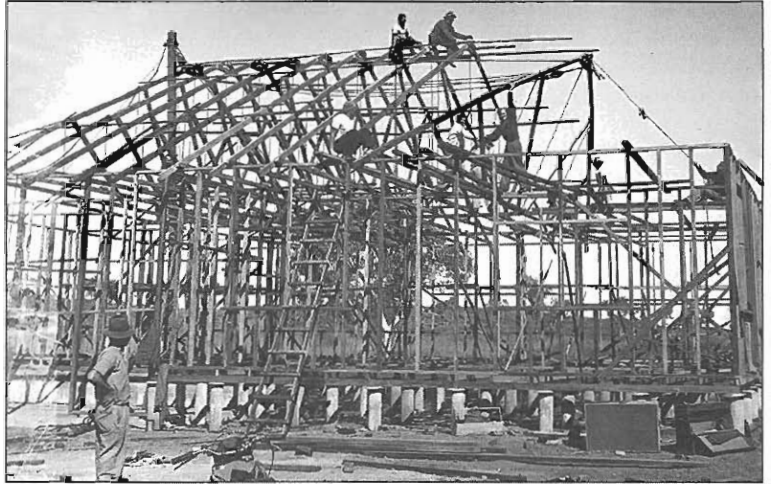
After the war, life began to normalise. Even so, at the beginning of the cane-cutting season many of the Finns would leave Mount Isa and go sugar-cane cutting, returning at the end of the cutting season, and so became nicknamed "sugar miners" (MIMAG June 1952,17). Another common nickname for the Finns was that of Huckleberry Finn, or simply the Huckleberries. In 1935, there were 210 Finns, including women and children. By 1947, the numbers had fallen to only 70, but by June 1952 the numbers had swollen again to 260. In 1955, MIM donated a large block of land to the Finnish community on which the

Finnish Hall was built, by the Finnish community itself (see photographs 4 and 5). This would prove to be a cultural and social oasis for the numerous activities of the Finnish population. In 1960, the community renamed their *Heimoseura* as *Mount Isa Suomi Seura* (the Mount Isa Finnish Association).

In 1964 a Finnish Lutheran Congregation was established. This made it possible to bring a Finnish pastor permanently to Mount Isa. Mount Isa's Finnish community's interest in religion had grown as more women and children arrived. "Previously the churches had languished, as the two girls who came over in the 1930s to form a chapter of the Salvation Army discovered, "the devil was in full swing tonight", they noted on their second Sunday in town, and most preachers could have made the same comment on any other day of the week." (Blainey 1978:231). In fact, the Finnish Lutheran church, and later the Finnish Pentecostal church would go on to play an integral part in the Finnish community's activities.

The Finnish sportsmen of Mount Isa also left their mark. Many participated and won medals in the championships of Queensland and Australia. Some even represented Australia at the Tokyo Olympics in 1964. Greg Norman, the well known golfer, was born in Mount Isa to a Finnish mother.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the newly arrived Finns became well-known for their building of Finnish styled homes. Particular note was made of the Finnish women who were willing to get down alongside their hus-



4, 5. The house of the Mount Isa Finnish Association built in 1955.

bands and help make their own home-made bricks. Of course, there was often the obligatory sauna. "Of all the national groups the oldest, quietest, most clannish and most respected is the Finnish community, which had its own pastor, its own hall and social life, its own fierce preference for underground work, and at least a dozen sauna baths clouded with steam rising from the rocks."

(Blainey 1978: 232) This "fierce preference" for underground work was to make the Finns famous.

They were well known for their tenacity in the mines; Work which entailed very enduring conditions. For instance, one was paid by productivity, and the conditions were arduous, to say the least. One might mistakenly think that at least it is cool in the mines, but this is not the case. On only

6. Miners of Mount Isa.



the third and fourth level of the mine the walls reportedly glow from the heat. These levels of the mine are not ventilated and all work, at these levels, was done by hand with only the use of minor machinery (see photograph 6). At present, the mine reaches a depth of 32 levels, approximately 1.6 kilometres deep, where the ambient temperature is reportedly 60 degrees Celsius. When we add to

this the large amount of lead in the air being carried by the dust, complete darkness apart from a miner's helmet torch, the constant reminder of serious danger and twelve hour shifts, one begins to understand the life of a miner is not an easy one.

Although the Finns worked hard they also socialised hard and were a very patriotic, cohesive group. For instance, on the 10th

December, 1960 they celebrated the 25th anniversary of the founding of their association. The Finnish Hall was packed, there were singing recitals, *kantele* playing, and a brass band, dancing and a lot of beer was consumed. Often these social events were a social highlight in the calendar of other non-Finns. In 1952 they conducted the Mount Isa Finnish Mini-Olympics, in honour of those taking place back in Helsinki at the time. During the 1960s many plays were performed, and this would continue in 1975, 1976 and 1977. These included "Särkelä itte", "Kihlaus", "Naimisiin", "Tukkijoella", "Kun lesket lempivät" and "Ruma Elsa". The church actively engaged the young and conducted confirmation camps and confirmed many young Finnish-Australians. When there was a marriage open invitations to all those in the Finnish community were posted in the shop windows of Finnish establishments and most would attend. There was a definite comradeship amongst the Finnish community. The Mount Isa Finnish Association (see photograph 7) also actively participated in the fiercely competitive Australian wide *Suomi Päivien Kisat*, which would see all the Finnish communities around Australia congregating at one point to compete in volleyball, athletics and *pesäpallo* (Finnish baseball) to name but the key competitive areas. Mount Isa hosted these games in 1971 and again in 1980 (see photograph 8). The Finnish immigrants were well known for their love of sports, hard work, piety (for certain quarters of the Finnish community)

and active social behaviour (for those other quarters). The 1970s and 1980s would see these Finns reach their heyday. The money was good, it was a simple life-style³ which was protected and offered a sense of security. There was an insular, contented feeling amongst the community, but a change was around the corner.

(1) (Any memories you might have or any stories you might have related to the Finnish community?)

Nothing, only, only we can say we was happy when we got lots people there, we got lots to do, and now we sad because we all lost that one.

(You're a bit sad now... But this sadness that you speak of wasn't always here. When the Finnish community was big and large and active...)

Oh, we was happy, happy then, everything there, lots of different country people coming there, we got the ethnic club there, all we doing Christmas party all, altogether, all different countries doing something.

(Informants no.'s 2, 3, & 4)

(2) I reckon Mount Isa always been very friendly place, in it's been a small place and it's been real easy to live and you never had to be scared here. Like when you go on the coast you always have to worry about something, but here you didn't have to worry about anything and you, your work was permanent and you had your home here and I don't know, simple.

(Informant no. 10)



7. The Mount Isa Finnish Association.

The Depletion of the Finnish Community

The Mount Isa Finnish community of 1999 differs greatly to that of the early 1980s. It is a community in rapid decline. Today, there are only approximately 100 first generation Finnish immigrants in Mount Isa remaining. Of these, the youngest is approximately 55 years old. There is only one Finnish miner working for MIM now, who, ironically, also doubles as the community's pastor because the Finnish Lutheran Church is no longer willing to pay for the cost of a pastor when the combined congregation is now only approximately 40, of whom only 20 are actively engaged in the church's activities. But why has such a rapid decline taken place? The reasons are multiple. Age, remigration, death and internal migration within Australia, usually to the coast where the climatic, and social conditions are more conducive, seem to be the key reasons offered for this depletion of the Finnish community. The follow-

ing extracts shed more light on these observations.

(1) (When you came here in '69 what type of community was it?)

Uh, very strong, vibrant, mainly young. Somebody age of 50 was considered to be an old person in those days, and um, oh there was a bit of a community spirit that was thriving at the time just by the number of Finns that went there... and uh, little by little people have grown older, retired, gone to the coast, or that retirement house somewhere on the coast that they've gone and there not many Finns left here.

(Informant no. 1)

(2) But the main reason why Finnish community has dissolved here is people getting to an age where they retire and nobody wants to retire here in Mount Isa. Very few people do.

It's a matter of getting old.

(Informant no. 1)



8. Athletic games, *Suomi Päivien Kisat*, were hosted by the Mount Isa Finnish Association in 1971 and 1980.

(3) (What's happened to all those members that were here?)

They've gone to different places. They've gone back to Finland, some to Brisbane, some to all round Australia. ... and some have passed away. Yeah that happens. And one day we have to close the doors and said goodbye.

(What do you think you'll do when that day comes?)

Oh, we not really been sort out yet, but we've been thinking 'bout selling the place and give money to Blue Nurses or Laura Johnson house or that Finlandia Village and putting some monuments there on the part now is Finnish hall, where everyone 'member that was Finnish Hall.

Some monuments there. That's way we been talking but we not really just put it black and white and nothing on the paper yet. But that's have to do because own children not like working there. When we

finished, too old to work in there, that's all. Maybe Anneli working by self there. (Laughs)

(The human dynamo.)

Yeah that's right.

(So it was very active and then it started to slow down because lack of Finnish people the plays stopped and the dances stopped and basically everything stopped except you get together on ...)

Family evening on Friday nights.

(Your Friday night family evenings but there aren't all that many there and then you have special events like Independence Day the other day, or Christmas dinner, or Juhannus...)

(Informants no.'s 2, 3, & 4)

(4) There was dancing every second Saturday. And there was over hundred people here and dancing.

But now, hardly see any.

(Yeah, why? What's happened?)

What's happened, uh, lot of them died, lot of them got, just going on the coast somewhere, Brisbane, and a lot of retired and they went away. And now, young, youngsters aren't coming anymore and no migrants coming anymore to Australia.

(Why aren't there any more Finns coming to Australia? What stopped the Finns from migrating?)

I think they stopped them every country.

(No, no you can still migrate, it's harder, its not like in, in the 50s and 60s, but it's possible. That's true.)

Maybe there's not many Finns left in Finland. First of all the Russians didn't kill them all in the war, a few left. I don't why but there's. You were there at the Finnish hall there yesterday?

(Yeah.)

How many Finns were there? **(About 10.)**

There used to be even a couple of years ago about 40 or something come along and now they've gone down and down and down. And they were thinking about finishing the whole association.

(Were they?)

Their last meeting they didn't decide it. Some of they says finish it, someone says to keep it on.

(Yeah.)

'Cause they don't make any profit anymore, 'cause no people, to come, no people to pay for the membership.

(Yeah, yes.)

It's dying.
(Informant no. 6)

(6) (Why is the Finnish community so depleted now? What happened to them, where did they all go?)

Oh, half of them are in the cemetery already. So... (Laugh)
I think a lot of Finns came to Mount Isa to make money and they got certain amount and then they would go to Brisbane

or somewhere to buy a house, or some went back to Finland. 'Cause the money here in 60s, 70s was lot better than it was anywhere else. You had to work hard, but the money was good.

Like nowadays I don't think money's much different to anywhere else.

Oh I think it's still good. Probably still is good.

'Cause it was good enough but they made this new agreement and that's my big problem.

And I think that in Finland now they got work now, they don't have to migrate anymore, so there's no more younger people coming to Mount Isa or even Australia and Australia isn't taking many, more migrants anymore. So, there's no more Finns coming, so all your kids are marrying Australians and they are more Australians than Finns. They just mixing, mixing with Australians. They're not Finns anymore. Because of the language problems, most of our kids, even though the mum and dad are Finnish, well their main language is English and all their friends are Australian speaking, English speaking so they lose contact with Finnish and by mixing with Australians. So, in all, all the Finns have disappeared from Mount Isa. Died, or they moved to Finland or they move to Brisbane or somewhere around the Brisbane, most of them there. 'Cause in Brisbane there are many kinds of get together and they ask people to put

their hands up whose been in Mount Isa and most of them, 95%, have been in Mount Isa. So, there's so many Finns in Brisbane area whose has been and move up there.

(Informant no. 11)

(7) Grown a lot smaller, older. It used to be young people, now it's just the old people, because these young people have, over 30, 40 years, they grown old and uh that's about it.

Finnish people disappeared in the next 10 years or so. Finns no more here anymore.

And um, what started 50 years ago or longer looks as if dying stages I suppose you'd just about say. Which is sad but it's uh, it's a phase of history and phase of life and uh, people have moved on.

(Informants 12 & 13)

As stated, we can see from the above interview extracts that the reasons for the steady decline of the Finnish population at Mount Isa are multiple. It is ironic that this particular Finnish community turned out to be the first to go into serious decline, because it was, perhaps, the first and foremost community to be established in Australia. It was certainly the most vibrant and it was directly responsible for the strength of the current Brisbane community. As one interviewee aptly noted, Mount Isa acted as "the mother octopus, sending out its young to other areas of Australia". In doing so it ensured its own demise. Today's Finnish Mount Isa community is in decline due to several key reasons: discontinuation of pipeline

migration from Finland; the natural ageing process of those who came to Mount Isa; and large scale movement to more hospitable environments in Australia or then re-migration back to Finland. Many of my informants mentioned that they intend to leave Mount Isa upon retirement.

This depletion of the Finnish population has also made for unusual bedfellows. It is another strange irony that the reduction of the overall community has also brought together sections of the Finnish commentate that did not traditionally associate with one another. I speak mainly of the different religious groups, the Lutherans, the Pentecostals and, to a certain extent, the Seventh Day Adventists, each possessing their own church within Mount Isa. Now that their collective numbers are so depleted the once distinct borders are not so strictly patrolled so that a congregation, albeit an ecumenical one, may be maintained. In addition, those who did not traditionally even attend church are known to socialise with those who do and did, and vice versa. This was not always the case. The following extracts add witness to these observations:

(8) A lot of divisions between the several different religious groups here. We had Lutheran Church and we had Seven Day Adventists and then we had the Pentecostal Church that uh this and that and whatnot. This groups sort of hated each others' guts, they wouldn't be seen on the same premises. Then you got your common folk that weren't religious, which was the mainstay of the

Finnish Hall. The again the religious groups wouldn't be seen together with these people.

So ah, s'pose it's typical Finnish that you got to have religion and you gotta stick to it. (Informant no.1)

(9) The Finnish hall was quite big, and also Finnish Lutheran Church was quite big and Pentecostal one, there was a two different Finnish churches and Finnish Hall and by that time the fences were really, really high. You know what I mean? Who ever, never went to Finnish Hall and belongs to that group they never went to church and the people who went to church they never went to Finnish hall and got nothing to do even with those peoples who went to Finnish Hall.

The fences were very, very high. Round every single group but I s'pose uh because the Finnish population getting smaller and smaller we sort of accept each other more and more. So these days we go hand by hand Finnish Hall and Finnish Lutheran Church.

(Why do you think that these fences were so high?)

There were ... I don't know if you have any idea about the olden days of Finland who how you say religion...

(Religious.)

Yeah, who sort of belong to that group they wouldn't accept any others who may have a few beers and that sort of thing.

(I see.)

So, also in Mount Isa there was those old dickheads and they thought they are better peoples than those who goes to Finnish Hall.

And that's why the fences were so high. They didn't want a mix, and a of course the other group weren't so keen to go to church because they haven't gone before, why to start it now?

And uh it was a different but these days everything is just fine.

(Yeah, all right, that's one thing, can you tell me anything else?)

What I feel sorry for us especially just for Finns, they don't mix it enough with the Aussies. They stay too much on their own group and sometimes their lives is very, very narrow and boring. And it was the early years but the early years it was even more because the Finnish population were so big. You didn't really need to mix it with anyone else.

(So what you are describing there is that the very Finnish behaviour that you accept when you originally returned to Lahti actually still exists here anyway.)

That's right, yeah.

(It's this deep rooted behaviour of the Finns that uh some people can't change)

That's right yeah.

(Informant no. 9)

One unfortunate group of casualties resulting from the decline of the Mount Isa Finnish community are those Finns who did not man-

age to acquire the English language whilst resident in Australia. Many of them have become old and frail. Most of them are women who never fully mixed with the Australian community at large, as they had no real need to because there was such a vibrant community of Finns at the time. Unfortunately, this community no longer exists and they have found themselves stranded. The reality of the situation, growing old in a community in isolation where your own ethnic group is quickly diminishing is quite sad. They have lost their partners, they have no family to return to in Finland and they are even unable to speak to their own grandchildren, who, predominantly, only speak English. One of my informants offered the following observations on this predicament:

(10) (I'd like to know what you can tell me about how things have changed here with the Finnish community here over the years. Any observations you have to make on that.)

As years go peoples getting older and some people whom haven't get opportunity or get English language so they can use it daily basis.

So they are more like left out of society and they start to fell more lonely and lonely. Like in the Mount Isa Finnish community very old now, is, like I am, I'm a 55 year Finn and I'm one of the youngest ones in this group.

(Yeah, yeah, yeah.)

And oldest that's going around 90... and their children and their families move out from Mount Isa and they stay

*behind here, well they are,
there are so many lonely,
lonely peoples here.*

*We have a Finnish association
a clubhouse as well. Those
people, old, elderly people,
they can't carry on that, so
that's, fall on our account of
what we will going to do with
that clubhouse. 'Cause most of
the time just have to rent it out,
and uh, many meetings we
raise the question now how
long we may carry on with the
clubhouse now.*

*(Yes, do you have anything
else that would like to tell me
about Isa?)*

*They Mount Isa has been very
good to the Finnish communi-
ty, but like I said, its uh, people
getting old and they are some
way left out from the social life
or community. So it's more and
more need to be people who
take the role and look after
them. Even if the old peoples
goes the peoples home they are
very lonely there because
Finns, Finns are a bit uh
peculiar people in some way.
Weird peoples. (Laughs)*

(In what way?)

*They are very, very tight, very,
it's very hard for them to make
friends.*

(Informant no. 7)

Conclusion

The Finnish community, along with a host of other ethnic groups, was a vital force in Mount Isa. During the 1950s it was a place still akin to the wild west. It was a frontier town with untarred roads, water shortages, duststorms and so on. One informant told me that he felt sure he had stepped into a scene of an old western movie, with old buildings resembling those found in the main street. Upon arrival he even saw a woman rounding up wild brumbies (bush horses) and moving them back to the river. But these immigrants brought a cosmopolitan air to the outback. The Finns became renowned for their work ethic, their houses and their sportsmanlike behaviour. They were also well recognised for their ability to socialise quite hard.

In return, Mount Isa made many Finns very wealthy, at least in comparison to that which they would have earned back in Finland. Many came to Australia to escape poverty or unemployment. Yet others, perhaps the majority, came only for a lark, as ten dollar tourists (refer to Watson 1997), with the intention of only ever staying for 2 years. Even so, most of them are still in Australia today. These Finns were attracted to Aus-

tralia by the low taxes, good climate and generally out-going personality of the Australian people.

However, times change and time changes. Those Finns who immigrated are now ageing, most are retired or on the verge of retiring. Many others have died, returned to Finland, or moved to the Australian coastline. The Australian government has effectively ceased to allow Finnish immigrants into the country. Only those who are highly skilled professionals are actively encouraged. Gone are the days when the Australian government actively sought unskilled or semi-skilled labour. Concurrently, less Finns now wish to emigrate. Life in Finland is currently a lot more comfortable than it was during the post-war decades. Finland is now an advanced technological society, no longer bound to the land as it once was. The Finnish community in Mount Isa is fast disappearing. It will soon cease to exist as a cohesive community. It will, sadly, be the precursor of a similar demise for other Finnish communities in Australia.

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Endnotes

1 During December 1998 I travelled to Mt. Isa and personally interviewed 13 first generation Finnish immigrants, and met many others. All interviews were then transcribed. This figure represents approximately 13% of the current first genera-

tion of Finnish immigrants residing in Mt. Isa, a statistically significant number to be able to make informed inferences. In addition, all of my informants were very uniform in the replies they gave, there was very little variance in their answers.

2 The locals of Mt. Isa refer to their home town simply as *Isa*.
 3 As one example of this simple lifestyle, television was only introduced in 1970.

The emigration / immigration of the Finns to Australia 1945–1997

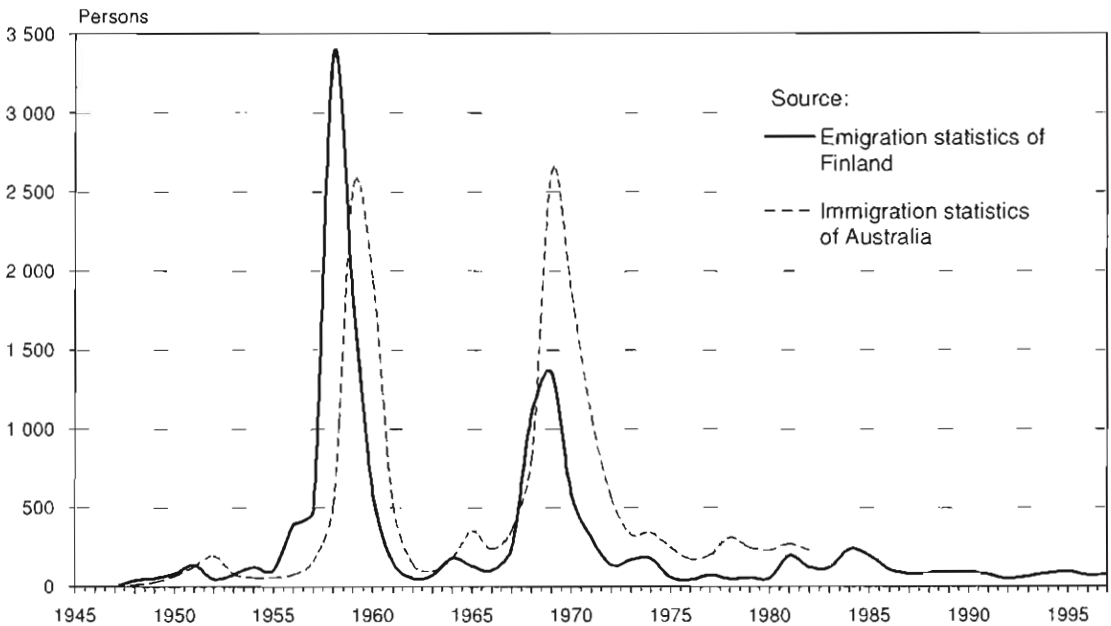


Figure: Jouni Korkiasaari, Institute of Migration 1999.