

FINN FORUM '79

An international conference on the history of Finnish immigration to North America

The international conference dealing with Finnish immigration to North America was held November 1-3, 1979, in Toronto, Canada. The organizer was the Multicultural History Society of Ontario. The arrangements in Finland were the responsibility of the Migration Institute (Siirtolaisuus-instituutti) in Turku.

The conference was aimed to bring together researchers working in the field of migration as well as others interested in it, provide them with an opportunity to exchange views and experiences, and present the latest results of research — and at the same time stimulate historical migration studies, particularly as they relate to Finnish immigration to Canada.

The conference was attended by more than 300 participants, 32 of them from Finland. Papers were read by eight researchers from the host country of Canada, fourteen by researchers from the United States and fifteen by participants from Finland. The conference was the first occasion of its kind to be held in Canada, and it is intended to make it into a regular series, to convene at set intervals in one of the participating countries. Preliminary plans call for the publication of the conference material in English in two volumes.

A symposium was also held during the period of the conference to look into the gaps that have appeared in the organization and utilization of documentary material preserved in archives.

To prepare matters, a committee was set up to which the following members were elected: from the United States, Professor Rudolf Vecoli, Immigration History Research Center (Minn.); from Canada, Professor Robert F. Harney, the Multicultural History Society; and from Finland, Dr. Olavi Koivukangas, the Migration Institute; as well as the editors of the publication, Professor A. William Høglund, from the United States, Dr. Edward Laine, from Canada, and Mr. Keijo Virtanen, Ph. Lic., from Finland. The idea is to carry out a survey in each of the countries of archives and other material relating to emigration from Finland and on the basis of the findings produce a joint publication designed to serve as a source guide to research into Finnish immigration to North America.

Apart from the conference proper, so-called miniconferences were held Nov. 4 at Thunder Bay and Sudbury, where many of the participants who read papers in Toronto appeared as speakers. Both the miniconferences attracted some 100 participants and there were lively discussions — as well as at the main conference in Toronto — about immigration problems.

Siirtolaisuus-Migration is publishing in this issue summaries of the Finnish researchers' papers read at the FINN FORUM conference in the order followed in the program. All the papers will be published in English in two volumes next year.



Thursday, November 1, 1979

Session:

FINNISH IDENTITIES IN COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION

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THE FINNS IN AUSTRALIA BEFORE WORLD WAR II

Emigration to Australia from Finland before World War II was on a small scale on account of the vast distance between the two countries. It is nevertheless part of the Finnish overseas emigration as well as of the history of the development of Australia.

Although European mariners had sailed to Australian shores in the 16th and 17th centuries, it was not until 1770 that Captain James Cook took possession of the eastern parts of the island continent on behalf of the English crown. Accompanying Cook on his historical voyage was a Finnish naturalist named Herman Dietrich Spöring, a native of Turku, who caught a fever and died on the way back. After England's loss of the American colonies, the first British penal colony in Australia was established in 1788 in the area where the city of Sydney now stands. Typical of the development in the early decades of the Australian settlements was the exploitation of convict labor and generous royal land grants. Free settlers, among them an occasional Finn, also gradually made their way down under before gold was discovered there in 1851.

Seamen deserting their ships — often including the captains — were the first arrivals in the gold fields of Victoria. They were soon followed by prospectors from California who had tried their luck in the gold rush of 1848, among them some Finns, too. As a result of the gold fever, the population of the settlements in Australia exploded from 405,000 in 1851 to 1,145,000 ten

years later. In the "golden decades" of the 1850s and the 1860s, some 200 Finns arrived in Australia, many of them seamen jumping ship or otherwise remaining ashore.

The first Finns to settle in Australia permanently were natives of Turku, Vaasa, Raahé, Oulu and other coastal Finnish towns. Soon they were joined by emigrants from surrounding rural areas, notably the districts of Munsala and Lohtaja. From such centers boasting strong migratory traditions, so-called chain emigration, that is, migration inspired by a desire to join relatives and friends settled abroad, has continued up to our own day. The Finnish emigrants living in Australia have not, however, hailed from the Bothnian region in proportionally such large numbers as have their kinsmen in America.

The most fascinating chapter in the annals of Finnish emigration to Australia deals with Matti Kurikka's attempt to found the "Kalevan Kansa" utopian community in Queensland at the turn of the century. At that time, also Finns were able to avail themselves of free passage from London to Australia. Kurikka's experiment failed and he left for Canada to found another utopia, called "Sointula." Many of his early followers stayed down under for good.

When the United States began to restrict the entry of immigrants in the 1920s, the Finnish migratory stream turned toward Canada, but some 1,000 persons also migrated to Australia, settling especially in the sugar-growing districts of northern Queensland, until the Great Depression halted the flow of migrants in the 1930s.

Owing to the length, high cost and even attendant dangers of the journey, 90 % of the Finns who migrated to Australia before World War II were men. Of the ones who settled in the country permanently, about a half never married and most of the ones who did marry had little choice but to take a wife of some other nationality.

The Finns who arrived in Australia as seamen or as regular immigrants often led a sequestered existence. After the turn of the century, concentrated Finnish communities began to develop. In Nambour, near Brisbane, the area settled by Kurikka's contemporaries was called "Finnbury." The Finns of Nambour had a club named "Erak-

ko" (Hermit) and they produced a handwritten journal titled "Orpo" (Orphan) in the years 1902-04 – suggestive names both. Between the two world wars, Finnish centers appeared in, notably, the sugar-growing districts of Queensland and, during the 1930s, in the mining town of Mount Isa. As a connecting link among the Finns, there was a newspaper called "Suomi" which was founded in 1926 by a seamen's chaplain – as the only Finnish-language journal published in the southern hemisphere.

During the depression years of the 1930s, many Finns, especially the ones who had migrated with the idea of earning enough money to buy a farm later back home, returned to Finland. During World War II, some of the Finns, including the seamen's chaplain, were interned as nationals of an enemy country.

After the war, emigration to Australia was slight till the late 1950s, since which unemployment in Finland and passage assistance arranged by the Australian government have caused some 15,000 persons to move down under from Finland.



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A GOLDEN DISAPPOINTMENT – FINNISH MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA BEFORE WORLD WAR I

Up to the seventh decade of the last century, the southern tip of Africa had scarcely anything to offer to migrants from Europe. During the period between 1820 and 1860, when the number of Europeans migrating to North America, Australia and New Zealand rose to about 7.3 million, South Africa's annual share of the total averaged no more than 750.

The inception of mining activity, however, came to have a revolutionary effect on the economic development of South Africa. It opened up jobs and drew both capital and immigrants into the country. What actually caused the South African migratory flood was the emergence in Transvaal in 1886 of the Witwatersrand district, created by the city of Johannesburg, as a gold field.

The situation in South Africa became especially favorable to the influx of migrants from abroad in the mid-1890s. Mining activity in Transvaal had gained momentum and ushered in a vigorous boom in South Africa just at a time when an economic slump had hit the United States, Canada and Australia. This raised the South African share of European emigration to its peak. The highest point was reached in 1896, when emigration accounted for nearly 15 % of the traffic taking place via Great Britain.

Also in the annals of Finnish emigration, South Africa took a visible place in the mid-1890s. The area affected mainly in Finland was South and Central Finnish Bothnia, where the high wage level in Transvaal stirred up momentarily an epidemic popular movement. The South African fever quickly passed, however, for it soon became known that the tidings from Transvaal had spread rapidly during the course of 1895 across different parts of Europe and set into motion a veritable gold rush. The chain of events was such that Johannesburg, which at the beginning of the year had acted as a powerful migratory magnet, turned out by the end of the same year to be an overcrowded graveyard of disappointed hopes for hordes of migrants looking for work.

Finnish emigration to South Africa was reactivated during the economic boom of 1902-03 following the Boer War. The sequence of events repeated the pattern of the mid-1890s: The rising trend in market conditions opened up abundant well-paid employment opportunities, inspired dreams of an opulent heaven on earth in South Africa, lured additional migrants to that country and ultimately turned it into an overpopulated inferno of unemployed aliens.

In magnitude, the emigration from Finland to South Africa was never significant. Taking into account also the migration of Finnish seamen, which continued to some extent the whole time,

the total number of Finns settling in South Africa before World War I can be estimated at around 1,500. A special interest and also comprehensibility are bound up with the circumscribed area in Finland involved in the migratory movement. The emigration to South Africa took place almost exclusively from Swedish-speaking communities in the southern and central Bothnian coastal region. Moreover, even in this region, the South African fever overtook only a few localities lying mostly between the towns of Vaasa and Kokkola (Gamla Karleby). Its narrowly local character remains a persuasive token of the importance of tradition in sustaining emigration to South Africa.



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FINNISH GROUP IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AMERICA: EXPERIENCES OF FINNISH COLONI- ZATION IN ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, DO- MINICAN REPUBLIC AND CUBA

In the history of Finnish overseas emigration, the emigration to Latin American countries amounts to a small and relatively insignificant side migratory flow — a kind of exotic episode. In the absence of systematic and reliable source material, it is not possible to obtain any accurate figures on the Finnish emigrants, but a rough estimate would put the total number at around two thousand. Of all the Nordic countries, Finland is the land of origin of the fewest migrants who have settled in regions south of the Rio Grande.

Chronologically, the emigration from Finland to Latin American countries is limited to the present century. Earlier, the few Finns encountered in Latin America were seamen who had jumped ship or lone adventurers. The arrival of immigrants proper did not begin until as late a date as 1906, distinctly later than that of other Scandinavians. This highly irregular migratory flow reached its maximum volume in the depression year of 1929, when, according to official statistics, a total of 201 Finns were admitted into Latin American states.

Regionally, Finnish emigration has been concentrated on three countries in South America and two in the Caribbean Sea. In South America, the chief destinations of Finnish emigrants have been Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay, and in the region of the Caribbean Sea, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. Argentina and Brazil, which have received the largest share of the Finnish migratory flow to Latin America, have also been the most important migratory magnets in general. In addition, solitary Finnish migrants or small Finnish groups have settled in nearly all the Latin American countries.

Finnish emigration to Latin America has been characteristically group emigration, and the establishment of fixed settlements has marked the activities of these migrants to a prominent extent. The Colonia Finlandesa in Argentina, the Villa Alborada in Paraguay, Penedo in Brazil, Ponnistus in Cuba and Viljavakka (Villa Vasquéz) in the Dominican Republic represent this special feature, each in its own way.

Particular interest in the undertakings of Finnish settlers in Latin America attaches to their aims, which have been very high but, critically judged, utterly unrealistic. These aims have ranged from aspirations to establish a new Suomi — Finland — to utopian dreams of an Eldorado or Paradise on Earth. Precisely owing to its exceptional nature, the Finnish emigration to Latin America deviated also in structure and motivation from the general picture of mass emigration to a striking extent.

With few exceptions, the Finnish emigrants in Latin America have enjoyed only modest success,

especially in comparison with their great expectations. The proportion of repatriated emigrants has been high, and to many a Finn the experience in voluntary exile has been a bitter disappointment.



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FINNS IN SWEDEN, CHARACTERISTICS AND LIVING CONDITIONS

At the end of 1978, there were 187,600 Finnish citizens living in Sweden, 41,300 of them having been born there. Of the inhabitants of Sweden at that time, 242,100 were born in Finland, and of this number 96,100 had acquired the status of Swedish subject. The immigrant Finnish population of Sweden thus totalled 283,400 persons (=Finnish citizens and/or persons born in Finland). Adding the children born in Sweden of parents who had changed their national allegiance, the total number of residents of Sweden wholly or half Finnish by birth or descent rises to some 380,000.

This immigrant population is almost completely a result of the postwar exodus from Finland, for in 1945 less than 15,000 persons born in Finland were living in Sweden. Since then, nearly 440,000 Finns have moved west across the border to the Swedish side, and of these less than 200,000 have moved back. The postwar Finnish deficit in this migratory movement has therefore been almost 240,000 persons. The tide of emigration out of Finland was at its height in the years 1869-70, when the population of the country declined as a consequence.

About 2/3 of the Finnish citizens resident in Sweden are of working age (18-64 years) and only two per cent of them have reached the age of 65 years. Of those who have become Swedish subjects, no less than 86 % are of working age and eight per cent have reached the age of retirement (only six per cent of the children were born in Finland).

At the end of last year, there lived in Sweden 104,800 children under 18 years of age at least one of whose parents or guardians (or only one) was born in Finland. Only 30 % belonged to families both of the parents of which were Finnish-born. Every third child had a non-Finnish father and 15 % a non-Finnish mother. No less than 22 % of the children were in the sole custody of the mother and 1 % in that of the father.

Emigration has a noticeable influence on the choice of spouse. In 1977, for instance, no less than 49 % of the women who were Finnish citizens and got married in Sweden picked a mate not of Finnish extraction. As regards the men, the corresponding figure was 26 %. A distinctly smaller proportion of the male Finnish emigrants marry than the corresponding figure for the male population in Finland, but Finnish women marry in Sweden somewhat more frequently than do Swedish women.

Divorces are strikingly common among the Finnish emigrants living in Sweden. For example in 1977, the proportionate number of divorces awarded Finnish citizens in Sweden was twice as high as in Finland and one and a half times as high as among the native Swedish population. The proportion of divorcees among the Finns of Sweden is roughly three times that among the population of Finland; the proportion of bachelors is likewise strikingly high.

The birth rate among the married Finns of Sweden does not differ appreciably from that among the corresponding population of Finland or among native Swedish women. Births out of wedlock occur with considerably greater frequency among the emigrant Finns, especially the youngest age classes, than in Finland and with slightly greater frequency than among the native Swedish population. To some extent, this difference may be due to the prevalence of common-law marriages in Sweden. Thirty-nine per cent of all the children

born in 1977 to Finnish women in Sweden were born out of wedlock; in Finland, the corresponding figure was 11 % and among the native Swedish population 34 %. A total of 4,300 children were born to Finnish citizens in Sweden that year; it would have increased the number of children born in Finland by 6.6 %. The significance of mixed marriages is reflected by the fact that in only 35 % of the cases both parents were Finnish citizens. Only the father was Finnish in 5 % of the cases.

The participation of Finns in the working life of Sweden is more general than that of the population as a whole in either Finland or Sweden. Over half the Finnish emigrants are employed in industry, although this figure has diminished in recent years. Few Finns are employed in agriculture or as white-collar workers. The unemployment figures among the emigrant Finns were proportionally twice as high last year as among the native Swedish population but markedly lower than in Finland.

The material standard of living among the Finns in Sweden does not essentially differ from that prevailing among native Swedes of the same age and working in the same occupations but somewhat higher than among their compatriots back home. Compared with the Swedes, the emigrants are obliged, however, to work harder and put in longer hours, and the state of their health is poorer. The children of emigrants face tougher problems than children back in Finland; the scantiness of instruction in their mother tongue weakens their later chances of further education and thereby their opportunities for advancement in their careers.



Friday, November 2, 1979

Session:

LABOUR HISTORY

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CONTACTS BETWEEN THE FINNISH LABOUR MOVEMENTS IN CANADA AND THE USA

Canada and the United States resemble each other closely in the structure of their societies, their industrial life and other features. A significant point of resemblance is, for example, the existence of large ethnic minorities in both countries.

In this paper, the relations between Finns in North America across the international boundary were examined; and the observation was made that these relations have been quite lively in, for instance, the spheres of religion, the temperance movement and the labor movement. The migratory movement between the countries has also been lively - particularly from Canada to the United States, which has exerted a magnetic pull on account of its superior economic strength. The Finns in both countries have worked in the same occupations and their cultural activities in both countries have been very much of the same type.

As a case in point, the exceedingly active contacts between the Finnish supporters of the labor movements in the United States and Canada have been examined here. The examination has concentrated on three levels: personal contacts, organizational and general cultural relations, and the effects of these relations carried across the border. It could be noted that because the

Finnish immigrant community of the United States is the older, the labor movement among the Finns living in that country became organized at an earlier date, in the 1890s, whereas in Canada the organizational process did not actually begin until the early years of the 20th century. As a result, many influences were carried over from the American to the Canadian side: much help was received from the United States in the form of visiting speakers, agitators, cash contributions, etc. Books and newspapers were distributed from the American side to Canadian Finns. The Finnish labor movement of the United States has acted like, in a way, a "big brother" idealings with the corresponding movement in Canada.

World War I constitutes a kind of turning point. After the war, the United States imposed stiffer restrictions than ever on the influx of immigrants, and migrants from Finland moved in increasing numbers to Canada. This turning point also marks the gradual aging of the Finnish immigrants in the United States and a weakening of their activities. By contrast, the Canadian Finnish community and also the labor movement gained strength; the movement in Canada gradually gained parity, at the very least, with the corresponding Finnish movement across the border. Cooperative action also grew more animated and received new forms.

In general, the question might be raised in the light of the foregoing about collaboration between ethnic minorities across the boundary between the United States and Canada, a matter that till now has been studied very little. As far as the relations between the Finnish immigrant labor movements is concerned, such collaboration has been close — but it could have been even closer had not the boundary between the two countries set up obstructions to the development of activities.



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CANADIAN—FINNISH RADICALISM AND THE CANADIAN AUTHORITIES

Prior to World War I and even in the 1920s, the aim of Canadian immigration policy was to attract as much new labor into the country as possible. Immigrants were needed to turn the wheels of the dominion's economic life. Finns, like the other North Europeans, were generally welcomed as immigrants. According to the census of 1931, the number of Finns living in Canada came to about 44,000, the majority of them resident in the province of Ontario. During the period before World War II, the Finns of Canada were divided sharply into two political camps — the socialists and the non-socialists felt nothing but rancor toward each other. There are also indications that the attitude of the Canadians toward Finnish immigrants belonging to the socialist camp began to take an unfriendly turn as early as shortly before the outbreak of World War I.

The earliest Canadian-Finnish labor organizations were founded right after the turn of the century, and in 1911 *Suomalainen Sosialistijärjestö* (Finnish Socialist Organization) was formed to link them together. At quite an early stage, the Finnish socialists of Canada made moves toward getting into the main currents of the Canadian labor movement. Before World War I, they gave their support first to the Socialist Party of Canada and later to the Social Democratic Party of Canada — then, after the war, to the communist movement.

None of these radical leftist parties sprang very strong roots in to the political soil of Canada. Most of their support came from radical immigrant groups, like the Finnish and Ukrainian socialists. From time to time, the Canadian ruling circles felt highly disturbed over the possibility that revolutionary doctrines might gain too strong a foothold among the ethnic minorities. This concern was intensified at the closing stages of World War I and again during the Great Depression at the turn of the '20s and '30s. This feeling was shared by the authorities in other countries as well.

In September 1918, the Canadian government passed a couple of decrees that restricted the activity of the Finnish socialists. One decree forbade the publication of newspapers or literature in fourteen "enemy languages," among which Finnish was included. As a consequence, two Finnish newspapers, the non-socialist *Canadian Utiset* and the socialist *Vapaus* ceased to appear for a time. The other decree was designed to restrain the activities of socialistic organizations, and it was used to outlaw, among others, the Social Democratic Party of Canada and the *Canadian Suomalainen Sosialistijärjestö*. These extraordinary measures remained in force only up to the month of April 1919, but their rescission did not mean the dispelling of suspicions.

At the turn of the '20s and '30s, the Canadian authorities strove to curb the activities of the Communist party, in which Finns also took part. In the 1930-1935 period, about a thousand Finnish immigrants were deported because of unemployment and economic difficulties as well as for political reasons.



Session:

WOMEN'S HISTORY

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FINNISH WOMEN IN THE NORTH AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

Women who emigrated from Finland to the New World participated with great enthusiasm in the activities of Finnish organizations, also within the fold of the labor movement. In the Finnish Socialist Organization of America, which was founded in 1906, there were about 4,000 women,

or 28 % of the total membership in 1911. In 1919 women accounted for as much as, perhaps, 40 % of the membership. The percentage of women in the Finnish-American labor movement was higher than in the Finnish Social Democratic party and noticeably higher than in the American Socialist party.

The women's activities took place mainly in the socialist locals, which offered opportunities for many kinds of activities. Their role in the locals was traditionally feminine. The principle form of activity was the sewing circle; there was one in almost every local. The sewing circles produced needlework for sale at bazaars, with the proceeds going to assist in building activity of the locals. The women organized evening entertainments and social affairs, and they cooked and served coffee. The discussion on the role of women in the organization's papers sometimes took on an acrimonious flavor. Women were also elected to the executive committees of the locals, though, it is true, fewer of them than their number would have called for. Some women were elected even to the most influential offices in the Socialist Organization.

Women aspired, moreover, to initiate activities of their own in the organization. In the very early years, special women's sections were established in the locals, after the model of the labor movement in Finland. Controversy raged for years over the need for such women's locals, but their importance remained slight. Separate women's activities were opposed frequently on the ground that the bourgeois women's movement might influence the socialist women.

The women's activity was at its liveliest in the years 1909-1912. In connection with the meeting of representatives of the Socialist Organization in 1912, a special women's conference was held to take up issues concerning women. The year before, a paper for women called *Toveritar* began to be published. After 1914, the women became distinctly more passive in their activity, although their proportion of the membership of the organization increased. The reason was the schism that overtook the Socialist Organization, as a consequence of which the most active women quit its ranks.

Session:

FINNISH DRAMA IN NORTH AMERICA

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THE AMATEUR THEATRE AND DRAMA-LITERATURE OF THE FINNISH EMIGRANTS IN CANADA, 1900–1939

The cultural activities of Canadian-Finnish immigrants in general and the manifold sectors of immigrant culture associated with them have so far received rather little attention from research scholars, although the migratory movement to Canada belongs to the so-called early phase of European overseas emigration. The amateur dramatic activity in particular that was carried on by members of the labor movement, however, was of such importance and took on such visible forms that it deserves more thorough study than it has been given to date.

The roots of the dramatic activity of the Finnish immigrants in both the United States and Canada are to be found in the temperance movement at the end of the last century. From the temperance societies, it was transferred around the turn of the century to workers' organizations as a significant part of their program of activities. The performance of plays then evolved into something more than a form of entertainment and recreation. For the immigrants who had embraced socialist ideas, the stage began to serve as a vehicle for the propagation of these ideas; it was perceived that plays could be used to educate audiences. The aim of the labor movement and its various organizations was to make the Finnish immigrants class conscious, and the theater and dramatic productions were better adapted to further this aim than many other methods. In the major Finnish immigrant centers of Canada — Toronto, Sudbury, Port Arthur and Vancouver —, the dramatic performances in "Finn halls" were a conspicuous part of the cultural activities of the immigrant population for decades.

It was endeavored from the very beginning to recruit writers of plays for the immigrant dramatic societies from their own midst. In the labor movement, it was felt that the plays performed for working-class audiences had to fulfill certain criteria before they were acceptable. Finnish immigrant playwrights produced "programs up to the standard," as the definition put it, for the workers' theater. The plays they wrote dealt, above all, with issues of timely interest. They pointed up faults in the social order and urged people to demand reforms and justice for individuals and groups. The majority of the plays fell into the category of "one-shot" literature, offering some polemic argument in support of the labor ideology. They were capable of filling the dramatic societies' momentary requirements, but with a few exceptions they were unable to survive as a form of dramatic literature.

The plays written by immigrants cannot, however, be criticized purely on literary grounds by removing them from the background to which they organically belong. The dramatic output of the immigrants must be examined in the first place as a whole, which they form alongside the immigrants' own dramatic activities. These activities and the literature they gave birth to provide in combination an answer to the question of what the significance and the influence of the plays amounted to in the sphere of Finnish immigrant culture. It is only after this that the artistic merits and representativeness of the plays should be examined and a comprehensive estimate possibly made of their worth alongside the immigrants' output of prose and poetry.





Saturday, November 3, 1979.

Session:

FINNISH SETTLEMENTS

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FINNS IN PORT ARTHUR IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

The movement of people to Canada had been cut off by World War I and post-war readjustments impeded its revival, but by 1923, another phase was well in progress although the overall figures attained in 1902-13 were not reached again. With the onset of the Depression, this phase ended abruptly by 1931.

Canada also placed some restrictions on immigration although it did not establish a formal quota system. A list of "preferred" and "non-preferred" countries for selection of immigrants virtually excluded the Chinese and limited other Asian groups severely. The proportion of the Canadian population of other than British, French or native, however, rose by more than 18 % by 1931.

The Royal Commission on Bi-lingualism and Bi-culturalism states in its report on the "other" ethnic groups: "Many immigrants of this period settled in the mining and mill towns of northern Ontario and British Columbia, including large numbers of Finns. They were from the peasant and working class - losers in the class struggle which followed Finland's achievement of independence in 1917. Many went to the Port Arthur area, joining earlier Finnish settlers, and they also developed communities in Sault Ste. Marie, Timmins, Sudbury, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver."

The right to naturalization was suspended for all alien residents in 1914 and in 1919 the suspension was extended for ten years for aliens from former enemy countries, including Finland. The suspension was lifted in 1923. This suspension of rights led to the belief that the Conservative Party was less hospitable to members of other cultural groups than the Liberal, CCF and Social Credit parties. This suspension of the right to naturalization was accompanied by suppression of the ethnic press of former alien nationalities after 1919.

The Depression and accompanying unemployment caused many ethnic groups to seek to improve their position through political organization. Most prominent here were the Ukrainian and the Finns. In both groups, significant numbers joined the Communist Party.

Their anti-fascist propaganda was commonly viewed as a menace to peace. Meetings in foreign languages were restricted and prominent leaders were jailed. Alienation of ethnic groups which opposed it occurred in the period following the Munich agreement. By 1940, meeting places of the Ukrainian Labor Temple and the national Finnish body, the Finnish Organization of Canada, were pad-locked.

Thus the post-war period seems to divide into two periods, one characterized by a high influx of immigrants and economic prosperity; the other by low immigration, some return migration, and a struggle with the austere conditions of an economic depression.

Although the largest immigrant movement to Canada occurred in the pre-war period, reaching a peak of 400,870 in 1913, Finnish immigration is a departure in that the highest inflow occurred in the 20's. The peak years for immigration were 1923-1924 when 6,123 persons arrived.

The United States, although traditionally the promised land of European immigrants, does not figure prominently in post-war Finnish movements. In 1921, the U.S. set firm restrictions on immigration and established a Finnish immigration quota of 566 persons annually. This can be viewed as a decisive factor in the post-war movement to Canada.

Early organizational influences, initially through the temperance movements, sports and cultural activities and finally politics, can be traced to the United States. The arrival of refugees from the war in Finland in the 1920's had an influence which was reflected in the latter half of this period.

Such social and political developments need to be related to changing economic conditions. The role of the Finns in the general process of industrialization in Northwestern Ontario can be related to national and international economic changes including the growth of an industrial working class.



Session:

CULTURE AND LANGUAGE OF FINNISH AMERICA

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THE EARLY FINNISH – AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS IN FLORIDA

Palm Beach county in southeast Florida today has one of the largest native-born Finnish-American settlements in North America. About 10,000 Finns from the North and from Finland have made the Lake Worth-Lantana area their permanent home. During the winter months, this community swells to more than 15,000 persons. The Gold Coast Finntown is today the most dynamic Finnish ethnic community in the United States. Many traditional immigrant activities continue strong in this community. It supports four churches, two imposing halls, three radio programs, scores of business and social services, and 18 different ethnic clubs or organizations.

Although Finnish Americans are today mainly concentrated in two areas, New Port Richey and Lantana - Lake Worth, these are not the locations of the earliest Finnish communities or settlements in Florida. As was the case in the North, isolated Finnish "pioneers" initially drew attention to the possibilities offered by the last of the frontier areas of continental United States. The most notable of these early travellers to Florida was Lars Florell. Florell was a member of the Finnish resistance movement and was forced to leave the country in 1907. The Swedish-Finnish architect purchased a citrus grove in De Land, Florida, and thereby became the first (known) Finn to put down roots in Florida. Through Florell, a number of enterprising Finns in Minnesota and Michigan became aware of the possibilities of farming in Florida. One of these was Martin Hendrickson, a Finnish socialist speaker from Virginia, Minnesota, who served as a sales agent for a Florida land speculator. Through Hendrickson, more than twenty families from Minnesota and Michigan purchased land in Astor, Florida. This community, located about 30 miles southwest of Daytona Beach, was the first serious effort by Finns to farm in Florida. A combination of lack of know-how for growing citrus fruit, unsuitability of the land for immediate planting, difficulties in adjusting to the Florida climate, and marketing problems prevented the Astor colony from prospering. The spread of adverse publicity about conditions in Astor made it impossible to attract others to the area. The modest size of the colony and its inability to generate the usual immigrant institutions (hall, church) also played a part in preventing the colony from expanding and flourishing.

Jacksonville, Florida, promised to become an important Finnish center around 1910 when its ship-building industry attracted more than a hundred carpenters. However, the war and the post-war economic recession spelled doom for this colony. Many of these builders moved to Miami, where an economic boom during the early 1920's provided employment for several hundred Finnish builders. A number of these families purchased farms outside of Miami and became permanent settlers in the area. Approximately the same was repeated in Palm Beach, 65 miles north of Miami, a decade later when six Finnish families purchased farms in the area.

The origins of the New Port Richey Finnish colony is similarly connected with the early construction boom of Tampa – St. Petersburg.



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Finland

FINNISH DIALECTS IN AMERICA – SOME EXPERIENCES AND PROBLEMS

Professor Pertti Virtaranta first describes the material on which his extensive study of "Finglish" (*fingliska*) is primarily based: tape recordings made among Finns living in the United States and Canada, amounting to roughly 400 hours' playing time, of which the tapes made by Virtaranta himself account for some 250 hours. (All the recordings are stored in the Finnish-Language Archives of tape recordings in Helsinki). In addition, the professor has consulted his handwritten notes from two research trips to the United States and Canada (two months in 1965 and three weeks in 1975). The number of subjects interviewed by Professor Virtaranta in North America comes to about 200, most of whom migrated to the New World before or during World War I.

The study Professor Virtaranta has under way and the structure and results of which he discusses in his paper is divided into three parts:

1 A selection of about a hundred samples of free (that is, not read from any paper) speech, transcribed from sound tapes and accompanied by comments.

2 An etymological dictionary of American Finnish, or Finglish. This part contains some 2,500 Finglish words or expressions that are derived in one way or another from American English (loans adapted to the Finnish language, loans by translation, quotation loans). After the title word, its American English model is presented along with an example or examples of its use in speech (the examples

being picked either from tapes or Virtaranta's notes) and/or Finnish-American literature (news-papers, calendars, albums). The dictionary at present comprises some 850 typewritten pages, but the author intends to make further revisions and additions on a research trip scheduled for the spring of 1980.

3- A study of the distinguishing features of American Finnish, particularly as they pertain to vocabulary as well as to phonology and morphology and, to some extent, syntax too. This part would become a substantially enlarged version of an article published by Virtaranta in 1971 in Swedish under the title *Finskan i Amerika*.

In research into American immigrant speech, it is especially important to know well the local dialects of the regions where the immigrants came from; this is a matter scholars who have made a study of, for instance, American Swedish have emphasized. And this has also been Virtaranta's guiding thought. Many Finnish Americans have retained the antiquated dialect of their home district in the Old Country surprisingly well (notwithstanding their having mixed words of English derivation in their speech, some more, some less), in some cases even better than their contemporaries who have lived all their life in Finland but whose speech has been affected by standard Finnish, especially of late. The conservative features of the Finnish speech of Finns in America thus yield interesting information also about certain Finnish dialects as they existed around the turn of the century.

Professor Virtaranta also draws attention to the subject matter of loan-words from American English and the motivations for the loans - in other words, why has such and such a word been borrowed? For example: why have words like *haussi*, *ruuma*, *leeki* or *leiki*, *hilli* been adopted to replace in Finglish the homey words *talo*, *huone*, *järvi*, *mäki* or *vuori*?

Particular emphasis is placed on the differences to be noted between the Finnish spoken by the first immigrant generation and that of their offspring as well as of the next generation after that, and also on the speech differences between immigrants living in different surroundings.

Virtaranta's study is philological, but it also has sociological aspects. Furthermore, there is reason to point out that Part I of the study casts fairly varied light on the history, life and habits of thought of Finnish Americans, for they have spoken about such things as: life in the "Old Country" before their departure for America, the reasons for their migrating to America, early difficulties in the "New Country," life as a farmer, miner, lumberjack, fisherman, domestic servant, etc., organizational activity, contacts with other American Finns, ties to Finland, observations on other ethnic groups, like the Indians, relations with other immigrants, comparisons between America and the Old Country, opinions about current conditions.



Session:

PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

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THE CANADIAN FINNS IN SOVIET KARELIA

When the Soviet Union, in connection with the implementation of the first five-year plan, sought to find suitable products to export to markets in western Europe, Soviet Karelia became a highly important region. The production goals of the forest industry in Soviet Karelia were set much higher than earlier, and this meant that new labor had to be obtained for the region. As Soviet Karelia lacked skilled labor in particular, the Finnish immigrants who had acquired experience in the lumber camps of Canada and the United States appeared to be extremely suitable for recruitment. Between about 2,000 and 3,000 Canadian Finns migrated at that time with high hopes to Soviet Karelia.

When the first Finnish forest workers from Canada arrived in Soviet Karelia, the political leaders of Soviet Karelia laid down directives for these men to teach the local inhabitants the tricks of their trade. The Canadian Finns did not get as visible a teachers' role as had been contemplated at the lumbering center of Matroosa, which had been intended to serve as a model for other such centers. A number of courses were nevertheless arranged at Matroosa with the idea of "passing on the experiences of the Canadians to the great masses." It appears that several hundred "instructors" got their training at Matroosa and that quite a large proportion of them hailed from other parts of the Soviet Union than Karelia.

Agriculture was a second-class occupation in Soviet Karelia, but it was endeavored to develop agriculture there too during the period of the first five-year plan. Old farms were combined to form kolkhozes and, at least in certain boggy areas, land was cleared for new collective farms. The kolkhozes of Hiilisuo, Säde and Vonganperä, for example, were founded by Finns arriving from North America. Of these, Säde belonged expressly to Finnish migrants from Canada; and, according to accounts published in Soviet Karelian newspapers, it was the best cultivated collective farm in the Karelian province of Aunus (Olonez).

Although the Canadian Finns did succeed to some extent in fulfilling the goals set by the Soviet Karelian authorities, many of the Finns from Canada were bitterly disappointed in the conditions prevailing in Karelia. Thus, it may be estimated that nearly one-half of the Canadian Finns returned after a few years either to Canada or to Finland.



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SETTLEMENT OR RETURN: FINNS IN THE OVERSEAS RETURN MIGRATION MOVEMENT

1) The repatriation of emigrants has been the subject of hardly any research whatever. The doctoral thesis of this writer is now in press and it was scheduled to appear by the beginning of December this year. It deals with the 380,000 Finns who migrated overseas (mainly to the United States, Canada, Africa, Australia and South America) before 1930. At the same time, this phenomenon is compared with the repatriation of emigrants of other nationalities. Accordingly, at this stage it is not possible to bring to the fore the main research results, which, however, will be made available immediately after the public debate on the thesis. It can already be stated that the elucidation on the general and individual levels of the migratory antitheses, to remain/to return, while taking into account the motives prompting emigration, will probably provide interesting comparative and explanatory material for dealing with the current migratory problem involving emigration from Finland to Sweden. The starting points of the phenomena are similar: economic factors were the basic reasons for emigration. Although the distances between the country of departure and the countries of destination were different, corresponding adjustment problems are to be seen as fundamental in both migratory movements. Since overseas emigration is largely a phenomenon of the past, many of the factors shedding light on the emigration taking place at present can be perceived in its phases, specifically as related to repatriation; in other words, the study sheds light on the matter of what determined the emigrant's decision either to return or to stay abroad. This, in fact, is the central problem of manpower and population policy at present. Whereas the observation is made, for instance, that in overseas emigration repatriation generally had to take place very soon if it was to take place at all, certain special conditions are set up with regard to the repatriation of Finnish emigrants now settled in Sweden. Corresponding examples are to be found in abundance in my doctoral thesis, which has a strong socio-

historical point of view when it produces, for instance, a typology of the central factors determining repatriation.

2) My talk in Toronto relates particularly to the Finns of Canada, so that the following can be dealt with even before the academic debate. Up to 1930, about 60,000 emigrants left Finland for Canada, roughly one-half the number having migrated in the 1920s. The choice of Canada came about because the United States, the preferred destination, imposed stiff restrictions on the entry of foreigners in the early 1920s, which caused the migratory stream to find a new discharge channel. In general, the emigrants in Canada were placed in jobs not requiring any special skills and that ranked low on the social scale. The men worked mostly in mines and in the lumbering industry and the women in service occupations. The main areas of settlement were the provinces of Ontario and British Columbia. The emigrants were concentrated in certain localities, which helped them to adjust to Canadian society. The most important center of Finnish settlement was Port Arthur (later Thunder Bay), on the shore of Lake Superior. Owing to the recency of the arrival of the immigrants, the Finnish stamp is visible to this day on the face of this city of 100,000 inhabitants. There is a section of the town where the signs on stores and other business establishments are in both Finnish and English. Correspondingly, as the immigrant generation has aged, a lively migratory movement has taken place from cold Ontario to Vancouver, in particular, on the Pacific coast of British Columbia, with its pleasant climate. This migration can be compared to the migration of Finnish-Americans since World War II from northern states to Florida.

The emigrants' difficulties of adjustment were at their worst right after their arrival in the country. They gradually began to feel more at home as relatives from Finland joined them, as they got married, and so on. Thus their ties with the Old Country began to loosen, and the idea of returning, which many emigrants had at first nursed in their minds, receded into the background. Only a small minority - 12,000 - 14,000 persons - returned to Finland to stay, even though the conditions of travel starting in the 1920s

were good in comparison with the situation around the turn of the century. On the other hand, temporary visits became commonplace along with the improvements made in communications.



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PATTERNS AND REASONS IN EMIGRATION OF SWEDISH FINNS

The Swedish-speaking minority in Finland has been proportionately declining since 1910. In that year, the 73,000 Swedish Finns accounted for 17.5 % of the total population of the country. In 1975, the corresponding figures were 303 000 and 6.4 %. The highest reliable population count for the Swedish-speaking Finns is to be found in the census of 1950. Their number in that year was 348,300 and their proportion of the total population of Finland came to 8.6 %.

Two great periods of emigration are on record: the period between 1880 and 1914, and the period between 1950 and 1970. In each period, forty to fifty thousand Swedish-speaking Finns left the country without any intention of ever returning.

Characteristic of the first emigration period was an exodus from the Bothnian region, where an estimated 53,000 emigrants hailed from, compared with the figure of only 5,000 for the southern province of Uusimaa. In spite of the exceptionally high birth rate and rapid population growth in the Bothnian cities and towns, a consequence of this emigration was nevertheless a decrease in the Swedish-speaking population of the Bothnian region. On the other hand, the Swedish-speaking population increased at a high rate in both the urban and rural communities of Uusimaa (Nyland).

The second emigration period drained the population of the Swedish-language areas more evenly and contributed heavily to a population decline in all the regions at the same time as the birth rate at this time (1950-1970) was low. In the decade of the 1970s, emigration was on the wane, but two or three times as many Swedish-speaking as Finnish-speaking Finns, proportionally speaking, continued to leave the country.

A comparison between these two emigration periods as regards the effects of emigration on the size of the Finnish-Swedish population, the distribution between town and country and the social structure would be an important research task, which would be closely bound up with the study of the people who became emigrants. The paper points up in this connection the effects on the distribution between urban and rural communities as well as on the size of the population as a whole.

The population of the cities and towns (with the exception of rural areas that technically belonged to urban municipalities) grew vigorously during the first emigration period but remained by and large unchanged during the second period. The province comprising the Åland Islands is the exception, for the population of the capital city, Mariehamn, grew exceptionally rapidly between 1950 and 1970. During this period, the population decreased in all the rural districts. The rural decline in population is dependent on both emigration and urbanization as well as the interaction of these factors. As regards the first period, regional differences show up clearly. In rural Uusimaa, the population increased markedly whereas in the rural districts of the Bothnian region it underwent a steep downward trend; on the other hand, the rural population of Turunmaa and the Åland Islands remained unchanged.

In 1880-1914, the migratory movement was directed mainly toward North America but following World War II mainly to Sweden. General factors common to both language groups underlie the emigration to the United States, whereas economic factors have seldom underlain the emigration of Swedish-speaking Finns to Sweden. Family ties and language factors, together with Sweden's selective recruitment of immigrants, have been of greater importance.

Despite the differences in time and distances, linguistic milieu and history, it can be noted, in considering the country of destination of Finnish-Swedish emigration, that the activities of Swedish-speaking emigrants from Finland contain many similar features in the United States and Sweden, features that can be analyzed by means of the pair of concepts, linguistic and regional loyalty, or the sense of belonging together. An astonishing number of Swedish-speaking emigrants from Finland living in Sweden experience identity problems, which, viewed against the background of largely a common language, seem puzzling. On the other hand, it is only natural for the individuals with the strongest Finnish-Swedish identity to experience the biggest difficulties in the circumstance that they are no invisible minority group in Sweden.



Matkaraht kotiinpäin

