Prof. Donald Wilson
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Cultural Adaptation Change and Continuity Among Thunder Bay Finns

I. INTRODUCTION

Immigration Patterns

Despite reports that some Finns came to Canada before 1867, it is likely the first ones arrived from Alaska shortly after Russia sold that territory to the United States. Other Finns may have entered eastern Canada via the United States prior to 1875. In any case the first period of major Finnish immigration to this country occurred between 1880 and 1914. Most of these Finns were farmers and some of them artisans from Finland's westernmost provinces. As with many Scandinavian immigrants to Canada, a good many had originally emigrated to the United States, and for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was the prospect of good, cheap land and jobs in railway construction, decided to move northward.

By 1893 the Canadian government had become aware of the desirability of Finnish immigration to the point of establishing a "return man" in Finland whose job it was to recruit immigrants. This agent received a one-way passage to Finland and a small sum of money; his return passage and final payment depended on his success in attracting settlers.[1] From 1895 to 1899 the C.P.R., too, shared this interest in the Finns and its agent, N.D. Ennis, urged Finns to travel to "sunny Canada and become rich."[2] Thus, by the turn of the century, Canada was making deliberate efforts to encourage the immigration of Finns, a "sturdy, honest, hard-working, God-fearing folk, used to hardship and toil, obliged to battle in order to live."[3]

The 1901 census shows there were 2500 Finns in Canada. This figure rose dramatically to 15,497 in 1911 and to 21,494 in 1921. Approximately 10 % of the Finns who left Finland during the first two decades of this century went directly to Canada.[4] Many others crossed the border into Canada after a period in the United States.

With the outbreak of war in 1914 Finnish immigration virtually ceased and did not recommence until the 1920s during

Ethnicity and Cultural Retention: Finns in Canada, 1890-1920

Table I

Pattern of Finnish Settlement in Canada

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
NEWFOUNDLAND	-	-	-	-	-	31	36	45
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	-	-	1	1	1	7	16	-
NOVA SCOTIA	-	43	45	99	96	159	254	235
NEW BRUNSWICK	-	24	36	135	109	149	165	145
QUEBEC	-	216	76	2973	2043	1600	2277	1865
ONTARIO	-	8619	12835	27137	26827	29327	39906	38515
MANITOBA	-	1080	506	1013	808	821	1070	1450
SASKATCHEWAN	-	1008	1937	2313	1940	1805	1891	1730
ALBERTA	-	1588	2926	3318	3452	2958	3662	3590
BRITISH COLUMBIA	-	2858	3112	6858	6332	6780	10037	11510
YUKON	-	61	21	34	55	50	72	95
NORTHWEST	-	-	-	4	20	48	50	35
TOTAL	2502	15497	21494	43885	41683	43745	59436	59215
URBAN Distribution					17497	23643	40840	44925
RURAL Distribution					24186	20102	29199	14290

N.B.According to Statistics Canada, "Finnish" is a person who claims his mother tongue to be Finnish, or whose father's mother tongue is Finnish.

which decade a peak number of 30,000 entered the country.[5] The influx of this decade is explainable in part because of the introduction of an immigrant quota system in the United States in 1924. Thus many America-bound emigrants were deflected to Canada. The depression of the 1930s and the Second World War brought immigration to an almost complete standstill. Then once again another wave of immigration took shape, and in the two decades after 1946, 20,000 Finns came to Canada to settle.[6] By the 1960s, however, immigration had slowed somewhat and the number of Finns entering Canada fell under 1000 per year.[7]

Settlement Patterns

Although Finnish-Canadians can be found in every province and territory, except Prince Edward Island, they are mainly concentrated in Ontario and British Columbia (see Table 1). Twenty-five years ago, their numbers were almost equally divided between rural and urban domicile (20,102 rural; 23,643 urban). The 1971 census, however, reveals an overwhelming predominance of urban-based Finns (44,925 to 14,290). The four largest urban concentrations of Finns (in descending order) are Toronto, Thunder Bay, Vancouver and Sudbury. Thunder Bay and Sudbury represent "old" Finnish settlement; Toronto's and Vancouver's Finnish communities, on the other hand, have grown enormously since World War II.

Originally engaged for the most part in railroad building, mining, lumbering and mixed farming, Finnish immigrants in the first half of the twentieth century concentrated in the Sudbury-Copper Cliff Sault Ste. Marie area of northern Ontario and the Port Arthur – Fort William (or Thunder Bay District) of northwestern Ontario. In western Canada, Finns were to be found in the Red River Valley and west of Winnipeg in Manitoba; at Tantallon, Wapella and Whitewood (commonly called "New Finland") in southeastern Saskatchewan near the Manitoba border; at Sylvan Lake, west of Red Deer in Alberta; and in the environs of Nanaimo on Vancouver Island. Those who were not rural-based worked as general labourers, in service industries, and often as skilled workers, especially carpenters. Single women and those married women who worked outside the home were often domestic servants, maids or more recently cleaning ladies.

II. FINNS IN THUNDER BAY: A CASE STUDY

The Finns who came to northwestern Ontario settled in both cities which now form Thunder Bay – Port Arthur and Fort William – as well as the surrounding rural areas. A thorough study has yet to be made of Finns in the townships, but it is known that many settled there before World War I.[8] There is no firm evidence at this time about the number of Finns in either Canada or Thunder Bay before 1900. During that year, 682 Finns immigrated to Canada and the numbers increased, though by no means evenly, until World War I. In 1913 – 1914, the numbers peaked at 3,183 and then fell decisively below the 500 mark.[9] What proportion of these came to Thunder Bay is not certain. The 1901 census does not mention Finns in either Port Arthur or Fort William; apparently they were classed as either Russians or Scandinavians. The Turku study of Finnish emigration in 1905 reports that about 30.7 % of the Finns to Canada came to Port Arthur and Fort William.[10] The 1911 census, on the other hand, reveals that 10.6 % of Canada's Finns resided in Port Arthur and Fort William during that year.[11] The discrepancy between these two sets of

figures suggests that there are too many variable factors to determine precisely what proportion of Canada's Finns came to Thunder Bay. The Turku statistics include anyone who gave his destination as Port Arthur or Fort William and ultimately moved on to the rural areas outside Thunder Bay, but they exclude Finns who came to Canada via the United States. The census includes those Finns in Canada who immigrated via the United States but excludes those living in rural areas. Although it is not possible to give an accurate account of annual Finnish immigration to Thunder Bay, it is certain that by 1911, at least 1643 Finns resided in the cities of Port Arthur and Fort William, comprising 5.9 % of their total population.[12] By 1913 Finns exceeded 10 % of the total population of Port Arthur and a contemporary observer made note of the prominence of the "Finn Colony" in both cities.[13]

As they sought to build a new life in this area, the Finns came into contact with other Canadians and immigrants through their work. At the same time, they formed organizations within their own ethnic community – churches, temperance societies, and workingmen's associations. There is no evidence that Finns established any formal organizations in Thunder Bay before 1896, at which time the Finnish Lutheran Church was formed in Port Arthur. Until then ceremonies such as baptism, marriage and burial had been conducted at St. John's Anglican Church where the minister had learned to read in Finnish.[14] As with many other ethnic groups, religious organizations became the focal point of many Finns' self-identity.[15] Generally speaking those Finns who did not associate with the church in Thunder Bay joined some socialist organization or other. The origins of the so-called White-Red split among the Finns in Canada is, therefore, at least seventy-five years old.

The Church

At the turn of the twentieth century, three Finnish congregations came into being in Thunder Bay – the Apostolic Lutheran Church (commonly known as the Laestadians), the Port Arthur Finnish Lutheran Church, and the Fort William Finnish Lutheran Church founded in 1897. The Apostolic Church was the centre of life for its members. Drinking was forbidden and thus the need for joining any temperance society was precluded. The Laestadians were also strongly anti-union and kept apart from labour and socialist activities as much as possible. Generally, they remained aloof from association with their fellow Finns and with the wider English-speaking community of Thunder Bay.

The Port Arthur Finnish Lutheran congregation was formed in 1896. The following year land was donated to the congregation and a church was built. The next few years the congregation experienced a period of growth. Regular worship services and Sunday School were held, a choir was formed, and various picnics and special activities were sponsored.

The long-standing feud between church-going Finns and antichurch, usually socialist, Finns began to heat up after 1910. Church Finns charged that their services were being disrupted. "On Sundays and other days," they charged, "when divine service is being held in the church, the socialists noisily and openly enter and disturb them and their worship." The socialists were described as "a wicked and ungodly people who openly break marriage vows and exchange wives."[16] For the socialists, the church represented the oppressors, the "hired hands of capitalists,'" and preached the "degradation of life."[17] In Finland the Finnish Lutheran Church at that time held considerable secular as well as spiritual power and influence which

was continuously being challenged by the rising socialist movement. But in Thunder Bay before World War I, the struggle against the church seems to have been more symbolic than real. Although church membership lists are not extant, all evidence points to the likelihood that church-going Finns formed a minority of the Finnish population of pre-World War I Port Arthur and probably Fort William as well. Baptismal, marriage and burial figures,[18] however, seem to indicate a continuing desire to turn to the church to perform traditional ceremonial rites even though many of these Finns were certainly not active members of the congregation.

For English-speaking society in Thunder Bay, however, the Finnish church was seen in a different light. It was in the church that the seeds of future Canadian citizens of merit were to be found.[19] For example, Mayor Oliver of Port Arthur, in his speech to the National Church Convention in 1914 said that "he had found Finnish settlers of the Lutheran faith to be most desirable citizens .... and they could do much to help the civic authorities and English-speaking churches in the work of Canadianizing their people and teaching them our laws, etc."[20]

Thus in the pre-World War I era, the Finnish immigrant church seems to have been more significant for its ideological stance than for its capacity for action. While the church grew slowly and fostered internal convictions which would be transmitted to future generations, it was the socialists who ran in elections, built public halls, published newspapers, and generally captured the limelight.

Temperance Societies

The first Finnish non-religious organizations to be formed in Thunder Bay were the temperance societies. Temperance as a cause had taken root in Finland during the last half of the nineteenth century.[21] and many immigrants to Canada shared its ideals, namely the encouragement of an active, moral life uncontaminated by alcohol. In Port Arthur the "Uusi Yritys Raittiusseura" or "New Attempt Temperance Society" was formed on February 23, 1902[22] and in Fort William, the "Pohjankukka" or "Northern Flower" had its beginnings about the same time.[23] For a few years the Port Arthur organization was very active. Dances, socials, plays, concerts and debates were sponsored and a mutual aid society formed. Membership rose rapidly. Activities were largely confined, however, to the Finnish community. In fact an invitation to join the Royal Templars Temperance Society was turned down.[24]

From about 1905 it appears that the centre of Finnish activity in Port Arthur began to shift its focus from temperance to workingmen's organizations, and before World War I the former was totally submerged by the latter. The first meeting to discuss the possibility of a socialist organization was held at the end of February, 1903.[25] A few months later saw the founding of such an organization known as Imatra #9, a branch of a Brooklyn-based Finnish-American workingmen's association. Interestingly, at least four of the founding members of this organization were also members of the temperance society.[26] Early efforts at formal cooperation between the temperance society and Imatra #9 made little progress. The cause which drew them together was a common concern to reduce, if not remove, the evils of alcohol. Socialist objectives, no less than temperance ones, could not be attained if the rank-and-file imbibed in the excesses of strong drink. Discussions concerning the erection of a common building, however, proved fruitless. In 1905 membership in the temperance

society was double that in Imatra 7/ 9.[27] Then, from 1906 to 1909, a significant shift of members occurred from the temperance to the workingmen's society. By April, 1909 the minutes of Imatra 7/ 9 record that the temperance society had proposed joining its ranks. The temperance society offered to give up its assets in return for a share in the new hall, the proposed Finnish Labour Temple which was actually built the following year.[28] In 1909 Fort William's temperance society also merged with the Fort William Workingmen's Association. With these two developments the temperance societies seem to have lost most of their influence and finally to have disappeared.[29]

Workingmen's Associations

There seems little doubt that before World War I the socialists were the doninant force in the Port Arthur Finnish community. The size and general activity of the socialist organizations and their high visibility among both the Finnish and the *"kielinen"* (non-Finnish speaking) populations lend support to this contention. Although relations with English-speaking labour organizations were usually cordial, Finnish socialists preferred to maintain their own ethnically based associations, namely Imatra 7/ 9 and its successor the Finnish Socialist Organization in Port Arthur. Formed in 1903 Imatra 7/ 9 sought and obtained membership in the so-called Imatra League formed in Brooklyn, New York in 1890.[30] Later, in 1907, the Port Arthur branch fell out with headquarters and sensing the need for a national link in Canada joined the marxist Socialist Party of Canada (S.P.C.) The next year the Fort Willian Finnish Socialist local followed suit. Thunder Bay socialists were also prominent in forming a national organization of Finnish Canadian socialists. This allowed for the provision of a united Finnish voice within the S.P.C. By 1908 fourteen Finnish socialist locals sent delegates to participate in Finnish caucuses at the general S.P.C. meetings.[31] It was apparent that if Finnish socialists were to play an effective revolutionary role, they must participate in mainstream socialist activity.

Formerly the Thunder Bay socialists had lent financial support to *Työmies,* the Finnish socialist paper published since 1903 in nearby Superior, Wisconsin. In 1907, however, they began publishing their own newspaper *Työkansa* (The Working People) and a satirical weekly *Vähäleuka* (The Babbler). Originally published twice a week and eventually in 1912 becoming a daily before bankruptcy closed its presses in 1915, *Työkansa* became a focal point for the Finnish socialist movement in Canada.[32] Only S.P.C. party members could be on the management of the paper.

By the end of 1907 the Finnish socialists felt strong enough to contest the Port Arthur municipal elections. Their efforts, however, proved futile as not one of their candidates was elected. The two-year period following was a time of difficulty and confusion for the Finnish-Canadian socialists In 1910 they were evicted from the Socialist Party of Canada. One interpretation suggests the origins of the split lay in the English-speaking members' resentment of immigrant workers who, they feared, were taking jobs which properly belonged to "Canadians."[33] Another account suggests that the split occurred between those favouring solely political, parliamentary action and those favouring emphasis on economic improvements through non-parliamentary means.[34]

In 1911 the societies, both Finnish and non-Finnish, which had been evicted from the Socialist Party of Canada decided to organize themselves anew. A conference in Winnipeg formalized a new consti-

tution and launched a party under the name of the Social Democratic Party of Canada. Once again the Finnish delegates met in a separate caucus, and subsequently decided to form a Finnish-Canadian socialist organization of their own with headquarters in Toronto. This organization became known as the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada (Canadan Suomalainen Sosialistijärjestö). In March, 1914, the F.S.O. held its first convention in Port Arthur. By this time it had sixty-four member groups comprising 3,062 members.[35]

The period immediately before the First World War seems to have been the heyday for socialism among the Finns of Thunder Bay. Then in 1915 the membership of the Finnish Socialist Organization dropped from 3,062 to 1,867[36] and the *Työkansa*, by then publishing daily, was forced to close down. A period of ideological confusion followed. The Finnish Socialist Federation of the Social Democratic Party of Canada was declared illegal by order-in-Council on September 25, 1918. When Finnish socialism reappeared as a force in the 1920s, it was to be in a vastly different form. Some Finns joined the syndicalists represented in Canada and the United States by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and in Canada for a brief period by the One Big Union (OBU).[37] This faction advocated "direct action" through industry-wide and general strikes and through assuming control of factories. The other and larger faction, represented in Canada after 1922 by the Communist Party, insisted on a programme of political action directed against capitalism. The Finns who supported the latter position joined the Finnish Organization of Canada which was incorporated in 1923. Both factions were particularly active in organizing Finnish-Canadian lumber workers in northwestern Ontario.[38] Finns, together with Ukrainians, became the backbone of the rank-and-file of the Communist Party of Canada.[39]

Perception of Finns by Host Society

When Finnish immigrants settled in Canada before Wold War I, their reception by the predominantly Anglo-Celtic host society was affected by currently held views about immigrants. By some, all immigrants were perceived as "hordes," and the source of most crime, pauperism, and illiteracy in Canada. Generally, the Anglo-Celtic host society assumed that its civilization was superior to any other and that its stock was superior in biological, racial, social, religious and political terms.[40] This conviction which grew from a mixture of Social Darwinism, the Protestant ethic, the Aryan myth, Anglo-Saxon racism and pride in the British Empire led the host society to judge immigrants according to their presumed assimilability. On this scale of perception, the British, Americans, Scandinavians, Germans and French were the most desirable immigrants. The Slavs and southern Europeans were less so but, nevertheless, capable ultimately of entering the Canadian way of life. Finally, Arabs, Orientals, and Negroes were seen as incapable of assimilation and hence ideally to be barred from entering Canada.[41] The highest class of immigrant was thus from Northern Europe, from countries of Teutonic race, Protestant religion, and "popular" government.[42] The less desirable immigrants were admitted for economic reasons; there was never any premise that they had much to contribute culturally or intellectually to the life of Canada.

According to this scale of values, the Finns were accepted as members of the Northern European community. Although not of Teutonic race, they were, according to one assessment of 1909, quite

desirable because of their proximity to Scandinavia and their love of freedom.

> .... long residence near the Scandinavian people has influenced them greatly. Many of those from the coast – the district from which most of our immigrants come - can hardly be distinguished from the Swedes. The attempted "Russification of Finland" has met with great opposition from this intelligent, sturdy people. Many of them prefer to leave their homes rather than sacrifice their independence. [43]

In Thunder Bay the attitudes of the host society towards the Finns seem to have ranged from indifference to mild tolerance. At least as far as these attitudes were publicly revealed in the press, there was little overt hostility. The first mention of Finns in the English language press occurred in 1907 when the Finnish socialists decided to run a slate of candidates in the municipal election.[44] After this time, the Finns were mentioned more frequently usually in association with sports or politics. The newspapers did not approve of the Finnish socialists, but this was due to the latter's political ideology rather than to their ethnicity. In an editorial entitled "The Finnish Socialists," the *Daily News* made it clear that the Finns in general were accepted as potentially good citizens while the socialist Finns, although not posing an immediate threat, were perceived as less desirable than their socalled non-political countrymen.[45] Another article in the *Daily News* mentioned the hard work of the Finns, the attractiveness of the Labour Temple, the eagerness of the Finns to learn English, and the fact that most Finns were by no means socialists. There were also liberal references to the "tyranny of Russia" and the people "sent from Finland to suffer and die in the deserts of Siberia, or in a cell in a Russian prison." An editorial in the same issue entitled 'For our Finnish Friends' seconded the sentiments of the article but expressed the "poor little Finland" theme more eloquently:

> We fancy that a demonstration in Port Arthur of contempt for and protest against Russian atrocities, could not be better manifested than by consenting to extend to the Finnish residents of the city the small concession for which they ask (tax exemption for the Labour Temple).[46]

Finns at Work

A social survey of Port Arthur and Fort William commissioned by the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in 1913 referred to the Finns as "the aristocracy" of the non-English-speaking immigrant labour population.[47] In this capacity they stood among the ranks of the "ever-increasing horde of unskilled workers" who had entered the Canadian Lakehead since the turn of the century.[48] Nevertheless, as the aristocracy, the Finns were said to provide "the link connecting the immigrant with the Artisan class," composed mainly of English-speaking skilled labourers. The first class above the artisans and unskilled workers consisted of the wealthy early settlers "who have grown up with the City," and the business and professional men.[49]

A recent study of occupations of male Finns in Port Arthur in 1911 corroborates the social survey's classification of Finns, in the main, in the third class.[50] Almost 70 % of male Finns in the study were general labourers. Less than 10 % were skilled workers (see Table 2). In Fort William the percentage of male Finns who were general labourers was even higher exceeding 83 %. Of the working women in Port Arthur (estimated to be 16.4 % of the total Finnish female population in 1911), the majority (40.3 %) were hotel staff. Usually unmarried, these women lived in their place of work, serving as cooks, chambermaids, waitresses and maids. Clerks

TABLE II

A. Occupations of male Finns in Port Arthur, 1911:

General labourers	253	69.1 %
Skilled labourers *	34	9.3 %
Business proprietors	15	4.1 %
Tyokansa employees	11	3.0 %
Clerks	9	2.5 %
Managers, secretaries	5	1.4 %
Others	2	5 %
Unknown	37	10.1 %
	366	

B Occupations of male Finns in Fort William, 1911

General labourers	180	83.4 %
Others	7	3.2 %
Unknown	29	13.4 %
	216	

C Occupations of female Finns in Port Arthur, 1911

Hotel staff	29	40.3 %
Clerks	10	13.9 %
Domestics	9	12.5 %
Others **	8	11.1 %
Unknown	16	22.2 %
	72	

D Occupations of female Finns in Fort William, 1911

Hotel staff	11
Unknown	1
	12

* Skilled labour was defined in the Kouhi study to include artisans (carpenters, stonecutters, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, electricians, watchmakers, stonemasons, plasterers), those in service trades (tailors, barbers, butchers), as well as a miner, a fisherman and four farmers.

** This figure includes 3 bookkeepers, 2 laundresses, a nurse, a bath attendant, and a dressmaker.

Table borrowed from Christine Kouhi, "Labour and Finnish Immigration to Thunder Bay, 1876-1914," *Lakehead University Review*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (Spring, 1976), pp. 25-6.

and domestics comprised another 25 % of the female labour force, and with a single exception they worked for non-Finns. Thus, a general picture of the Port Arthur Finnish labour force emerges: the males were primarily general labourers and the females, servants. However, at the same time a business community was coming into being and some Finns were being employed at skilled labour.

This working environment had a dual effect on the immigrant Finns. In one sense it was restrictive in that the majority of Finns were confined to general labour jobs. This occurred partly because many of the Finns were unskilled, partly because of language difficulties, but also because the immigrants were perceived by native-born Canadians to in some sense "belong" to the labouring class. In another sense, the effect of the indifferent, if not hostile, milieu into which the Finns immigrated was positive. They were forced to rely on their fellow compatriots for material aid and companionship, and as a result formed organizations of various kinds - churches, temperance societies and workingmen's associations. Before World War I at least, all of these groups led an extremely active existence, attending to the material, social and intellectual welfare of their members.

It appears too, that the Finns preferred to order their lives within the context of their own ethnic community as much as possible. The reluctance of both the temperance and workingmen's societies to enter any formal relationship with sympathetic English-speaking or *"kielinen"* groups supports this thesis. The Finns who in most cases worked in an alien environment seem to have felt the need to balance this experience with others in which their familiar language, customs, and modes of thinking were preserved.

Conclusion

The pre-World War I period for the Finnish immigrants in Thunder Bay was one of establishment. They came to form a visible segment of the population of Port Arthur and Fort William (now Thunder Bay), and made a lasting impact on the rural areas west and north of the twin cities. Finnish rural life reached the peak of its vitality in the 1930s, fell into decline about 1940 and has not revived since. Among the reasons for rural depopulation, the following may be suggested. The war and war-related industries in the cities drew young people away. Secondly, land once adequate for subsistence-type farming could no longer support the demands made on it by a more sophisticated agricultural economy. Thus as the original settlers died off, no new ones came to replace them. Thirdly, second generation Finns, taught the values and language of the dominant English-speaking culture, no longer felt the need or desire for the security of a specifically Finnish ethnic community.

In Thunder Bay itself, the Finnish presence remained visible after the war and does so even today.[51] The city still boasts a very active "Finn Town" dominated by the Finlandia Club Hall (the former Finnish Labour Temple), a much smaller "Red Finn Hall," several Finnish churches, and numerous Finnish business establishments concentrated on Bay Street in Port Arthur ward. The language is taught in local high schools and also at Lakehead University by an instructor supplied by the Ministry of Education in Finland. Formerly the largest concentration of Finns in Canada, Thunder Bay now takes second place to Toronto which, with Vancouver, has been the most popular destination for Finnish immigrants to Canada since World War II.

While elements of behavioural assimilation can be observed among the city's

Finnish Canadians, it is also true that they have nurtured their own language and traditions brought with them or by their ancestors from Finland. They have sought to maintain a specifically Finnish identity, one which separated them in the past and in many cases still separates them today from all other residents of the Thunder Bay cities.[52] Failure in many cases to learn or to learn well the English language appears to be a major barrier mitigating against social interaction with the host society. Thus a full knowledge of the new environment and a true notion of the new social reality are precluded. Human contacts are often confined to fellow Finns with whom easy communication is possible. Insufficient knowledge of English may well be a major reason for isolation from the mainstream of Thunder Bay society.[53] Other case studies may well show this social isolation to be equally true of other Finnish communities in Canada.

Footnotes

Special thanks are extended to a former student of mine, Ms. Christine Kouhi, who was responsible for translating most of the materials concerning the Thunder Bay Finns which originally appeared in Finnish.

1 Dominion of Canada, *Sessional Papers, 1894*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 10, 1894, p. 5.

2 Reino Kero, *Migration from Finland to North America in the Years Between the United States Civil War and the First Wold War* (Turku: Turku University, 1974), p. 167.

3 Report to Department of Interior by Dr. H. Walton reporting from Scandinavia. *Sessional Papers, 1898*, Vol. XXXII, No. 10, 1898, p. 67.

4 Tauri Aaltio, "A Survey of Emigration from Finland to the United States and Canada," in Ralph J. Jalkanen (ed.), *The Finns in North America: A Social Symposium*. (Hancock, Michigan: Suomi College, 1969), p. 68.

5 *The Canadian Family Tree* (Ottawa: Department of Secretary of State, 1967), p. 116.

6 *Ibid*

7 DBS, 1964, Table 6, p. 204; DBS, 1966, Table 6, p. 229, DBS, 1969; Table 5, p. 209; Statistics Canada, 1972, Table 4, p. 226.

8 A valuable beginning was made in 1975 by Project Bay Street, No. 2, a group of amateur historians funded by a summer grant from the Department of Secretary of State. Their findings together with many photographs were published as *A Chronicle of Finnish Settlements in Rural Thunder Bay* (Thunder Bay : Finnish-Canadian Historical Society of Thunder Bay, 1975).

9 Statistics compiled by Canada, Department of Immigration for Project Bay Street, No. 1, 1974.

10 Statistics compiled by Emigration History Research Center, University of Turku, Turku, Finland: Canada: 853 Finns, Port Arthur, 194; Fort William, 68.

11 Census of Canada, 1911 Number of Finns in Canada, 15,500: in Port Arthur and Fort William, 1643.

12 *Ibid*. Total population of both cities, 27, 719.

13 Bryce M. Stewart, *Report of a Preliminary and General Social Survey of Port Arthur* (Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, 1913), pp. 3, 5; Stewart, *Report of a Preliminary and General Social Survey of Fort William* (Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, 1913), p. 22.

14 Preface to the Minute Books of Bethel Lutheran Church, Port Arthur.

15 For an excellent study of the dimensions of religio-ethnicity in the United States, see Timothy L. Smith, "Religious Denominations as Ethnic Communities: A Regional Case Study," *Church History*, Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (June, 1966), pp. 207-226.

16 Port Arthur *Daily News*, May 20, 1913.

17 *Työkansan Nuoli* (Port Arthur, 1909), p. 9. Copies of Port Arthur Finnish newspapers referred to in this paper may be found on microfilm in the Lakehead University Archives.

[18] Minutes of the Port Arthur Finnish Lutheran Church (Bethel).

[19] *Daily News*, May 20, 1913.

[20] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1914.

[21] Tellervo Kahara, "Temperance Society *Uusi Yritys*," *Project Bay Street, No. 1* (Thunder Bay, 1974), p. 1. See also Seppo Vaittinen, "Aatteiden Murrokset" in Pekka Suhonen et al., *Sata Suomalaisen Kulttuurin Vuotta* (Porvoo WSOY, 1974), pp. 45-146.

[22] Minute Books of the "Uusi Yritys Raittiusseura" (New Attempt Temperance Society), Feb. 23, 1902. Housed at Lakehead University Archives. (Hereafter referred to as U.Y.R. Minutes).

[23] Nick Viita, "The Origins of the Canadian Finnish Labor Movement," *Industrialisti*, October 9 and 13, 1970. Translation by A. I. Tolvanen, p. 2 of this manuscript, Lakehead University Archives.

[24] U.Y.R. Minutes, Feb. 23, 1904.

[25] Minutes of the executive of the workingmen's society, Imatra 7/9 (Lakehead University Archives). Forty-three members are listed.

[26] U.Y.R. Membership Book, 1905.

[27] 224 to 117 members. U.Y.R. Membership Book, 1905, Imatra minutes, "Vuosikertomus, 1905" (Annual Report).

[28] Imatra 7/9 Minutes, Apr. 29, 1909.

[29] It is interesting to note that in respect to Finns in the United States, Reino Kero places 1910 as a turning point in the decline of temperance societies and the ascendancy of the socialist labour movement. He also notes the same pattern of socialist "takeover" of temperance society halls. The procedure progressed from first joining the temperance societies to eventually using the halls for their own purposes once they were in the majority. Reino Kero, "Finnish Immigrant Culture in America," in Vilho Niitemaa, et al. (eds.), *Old Friends Strong Ties* (Turku: Institute for Migration, 1976), pp. 117-18; 124.

[30] Imatra's purpose was to promote higher aspirations and mutual aid among Finnish-American workers. See Auvo Kostiainen, "Finnish-American Workmen's Association," in *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209.

[31] Viita (Tolvanen trans.), p. 4.

[32] For an analysis of the *Työkansa*'s bankruptcy, see *Työkansa*, June 15, 1915. Its successor, *Vapaus* (Freedom), began publication in Sudbury in November, 1917, and merged in 1974 with the literary weekly *Liekki* to form *Vapaus-Liekki*, published weekly in Toronto. *Työkansa* was not the only publication of the Finnish Building Company which was located in the Labour Temple. They also published *Kevät-Aalto* (1911), *Murtava Voima* (1908), *Työkansan Nuoli* (1909-1910), and *Vakaleuka* (1910-1915). Copies obtained from Helsinki University Library are available on microfilm at Lakehead University Archives.

[33] J.W. Ahlqvist, "Järjestomme Toiminta Vuoteen 1920," *Canadan Suomalainen Järjestö 25 Vuotta* (Sudbury: Vapaus, 1936), p. 35. Ahlqvist had been instrumental in persuading the Canadian socialist Finns to join the Socialist Party of Canada.

[34] Viita, p. 8.

[35] Ahlqvist, p. 38.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] For background to the IWW in Canada and the OBU, see A. Ross McCormack, "The Industrial Workers of the World in Western Canada: 1905-1914," *Historical Papers (C.H.A.), 1975*, pp. 167-190; David J. Bercuson, "Western Labour Radicalism and the One Big Union: Myths and Realities," in S.M. Trofimenkoff (ed.), *The Twenties in Western Canada* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1972), pp. 32-49, Gerald Friesen, "Yours in Revolt": Regionalism, Socialism and the Western Canadian Labour Movement," *Labour/Le Travailleur*, Vol. I (1976), pp. 139-157. For an account of Finnish-Americans and the I.W.W., see Kostiainen, "Finnish-American Workmen's Associations," pp. 212-13; 218-19; Douglas Ollila, Jr., "From Socialism to Industrial Unionism (IWW): Social Factors in the Emergence of Left-Labor Radicalism among Finnish Workers on the Mesabi, 1911-19," in Michael Karni, Matti Kaups and Douglas Ollila (eds.), The Finnish *Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives* (Turku: Institute for Migration, 1975), pp. 156-171.

[38] A.T. Hill, "Historic Basis and Development of the Lumber Workers' Organization and Struggles in Ontario" (ca. 1952). Manuscript in posses-

sion of author. Hill has been a leading communist for over half a century. Now resident in Thunder Bay, he was imprisoned in Kingston Penitentiary in 1931 along with Tim Buck and six other Communist leaders. He was an active contributor to *Vapaus* and for many years ran the *Vapaus* Bookstore in Thunder Bay.

[39] Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 24. In the United States, Finns made up 48.5 % of the membership of the Workers' Party of America (Communist) in 1922. Auvo Kostiainen, "Amerikansuomalaisen Työväenliikkeen Tutkimuksesta," *Siirtolaisuus/Migration*, 1976, 1, p. 29.

[40] Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 117-188; Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 1-28; 206-223.

[41] For an excellent summary of Canadian attitudes towards assimilation since the turn of the century, see Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in *Conference Report, Second Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism: Multiculturalism as State Policy* (Ottawa, 1976), pp. 81-118. The same author's "Mosaic versus Melting Pot: Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada and the United States," *International Journal*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (Summer, 1976), 488-528, is also most enlightening on comparisons between the United States and Canada with respect to immigration and assimilation.

[42] Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," in Peter Russell (ed.), *Nationalism in Canada* (Toronto, McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 3-26.

[43] J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates* (orig. pub. 1909; reissued University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 74.

[44] *Daily News*, Dec. 20, 1907.

[45] *Ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1908.

[46] *Daily News*, June 11, 1910. The appeal to "Russian Tyranny" seems to have been a popular one when Finns made an appeal of any kind to the English. A request from the *Työkansa* for advertising from the Department of the Interior begins "As you no doubt know how the tyranny of Russia now oppresses the small nation of Finland" (J. V. Kannasto, M. Hahl, and George McKela to Hon. Sydney Arthur Fisher, Feb. 6, 1911, Public Archives of Canada, Vol. 25, File 651). At the time of the founding in 1901 of the Finnish utopian socialist settlement of Sointula on the west coast of British Columbia, there was similar repeated reference in the local English press to the despotic nature of Russian rule which was leading the "Freedomloving" Finns to seek emigration "in order to escape the tyranny and oppression of the Russian government." See, for example, Vancouver *Province*, April 9, 1901; Victoria *Colonist*, April 11, 1901. For details on Sointula, see my "Matti Kurikka: Finnish Canadian Intellectual," *B.C. Studies*, No. 20 (winter, 1973-74), pp. 50-65.

[47] Stewart, *Port Arthur Survey*, p. 5.

[48] Stewart, *Fort William Survey*, p. 10.

[49] Stewart, *Port Arthur Survey*, p. 5.

[50] Christine Kouhi, "Labour and Finnish Immigration to Thunder Bay, 1876-1914," *Lakehead University Review*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (Spring, 1976), pp. 22-28.

[51] M.J. Metsäranta, "Ethnic Residential Concentration and Succession in the former city of Port Arthur" (Unpublished B.A. thesis, Lakehead University, 1972).

[52] Recent studies of the Finnish community in the Swedish city of Västerås point to the Gemeinschaft-like nature of that community with its informal activities such as weekly dances and Bingo See Elina Haavio-Mannila, "Consequences of Migration for Individuals and Families: A Study of Migrant and Nonmigrant Families in Helsinki and Västerås, in Altti Majava (ed.), *Migration Research in Scandinavia* (Migration Reports No. 4) (Helsinki: Ministry of Labour, 1973), pp. 103-116; Magdalena Jaakkola, "The Social Networks of Finnish Migrants: A Case Study in Västerås, in *Ibid.*, pp. 117-124.

[53] For the establishment of immigrant social networks, see J. Clyde Mitchell (ed.), *Social Networks in Urban Situations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969).

SUOMALAISET THUNDER BAYSSA

Ensimmäiset suomalaiset saapuivat Kanadaan luultavasti Alaskan kautta pian sen jälkeen, kun Venäjä oli myynyt alueen Yhdysvalloille v. 1867. Ennen vuotta 1875 saapui suomalaisia Kanadan itaosiin Yhdysvaltain kautta. Laajamittaisempi siirtolaisuus ajoittuu kuitenkin vuosien 1880-1914 välille.

Väestölaskennan mukaan Kanadassa oli vuonna 1901 2500 suomalaista. Kymmenen vuoden kuluttua määrä oli kohonnut runsaaseen 15 000. Ensimmäinen maailmansota pysäytti siirtolaisuuden miltei kokonaan, mutta 1920-luvulla muutti Kanadaan noin 30 000 suomalaista siirtolaista. Siirtolaisvirrat tyrehtyivät uudelleen 1930-luvun laman ja toisen maailmansodan aikana. Seuraava huippukausi oli vasta vuoden 1946 jälkeen. Vuosien 1961 ja 1971 väestolaskennoissa Kanadassa oli lähes 60 000 suomalaissyntyistä henkilöä. 1960-luvun jälkeen vuosittain saapuvien siirtolaisten määrä on kuitenkin laskenut alle 1000:een. Tämän vuosisadan ensimmäisten vuosikymmenien aikana suomalainen siirtolaisuus keskittyi Ontarion Pohjois- ja Luoteisosiin. Port Arthur ja Fort William, jotka nykyään muodostavat Thunder Bayn kaupungin, edustavat vanhaa suomalaisasutusta. Thunder Bayn alueelle muuttaneiden suomalaisten määrästä ei ole tarkkoja tietoja vuotta 1900 edeltäneeltä ajalta, mutta vuoteen 1913 mennessä suomalaiset edustivat n 10 % Port Arthurin asukkaista. Aluksi asutus jakaantui tasaisesti maaseudulle ja kaupunkeihin, mutta vuoden 1971 vaestolaskenta osoittaa kaupunkilaistumisen lisääntyneen voimakkaasti. Toronton, Thunder Bayn, Vancouverin ja Sudburyn kaupungit ovat suomalaisasutuksen keskuksia

Oman yhdyskuntansa sisällä suomalaiset perustivat seurakuntia, raittiusseuroje ja työvaenyhdistyksia. Suomalais-luterilainen kirkko perustettiin Port Arthuriin vuonna 1896. Kirkolla oli suuri merkitys siirtolaisten elamässä, vaikka seurakunnat eivät toimineetkaan aktiivisesti ja kirkkoon kuuluvat olivat vähemmistona.Thunder Bayssa ensimmaiset ei-uskonnolliset yhdistykset olivat raittiusseuroje. Port Arthuriin perustettiin "Uusi Yritys -Raittiusseura", joka toimi muutaman vuoden ajan aktiivisesti. Sen toimesta järjestettiin iltamia ja muita juhlia, esitettiin näytelmiä, pidettiin konserteja ja keskustelutilaisuuksia sekä muodostettiin yhdistys keskinaisen avun antamista varten.

Vuodesta 1905 alkaen nayttää toiminnan painopiste siirtyneen raittiusseuroista työväenyhdistyksiin jopa siten, etta myöhemmin raittiusseurat sulautuivat kokonaan niihin, kuten tapahtui Port Arthurissa ja Fort Williamissa.

Sosialistit olivat vaikuttavia tekijöitä Port Arthurissa ennen ensimmäistä maailmansotaa. Siirtolaiset pyrkivät yleensa säilyttämään omat kansalliset yhteenliittymansä vaikka suomalaisten perustamilla työväenyhdistyksillä oli suhteita vastaavien englanninkielisten yhdistysten kanssa. Myohemmin Port Arthurin samoin kuin Fort Williamin sosialistit liittyivät kuitenkin Kanadan marksilais-sosialistiseen puolueeseen.

Vuonna 1907 Thunder Bayn sosialistit alkoivat julkaista omaa sanomalehtea Työkansa ja satiirista viikkolehtea Wäkäleuka. Tätä ennen sosialistit antoivat taloudellista tukea Työmies-nimiselle sanomalehdelle, jota julkaistiin Wisconsinissa.

Kanadansuomalaiset sosialistit erotettiin vuonna 1910 Kanadan sosialistisesta puolueesta, mutta jonkin aikaa kestäneen hajaannuksen jalkeen suomalaiset perustivat oman Canadan Suomalaisen Sosialistijärjestonsä (v. 1914), jonka ensimmäinen kokous pidettiin Port Arthurissa. Järjestoon kuului tuolloin 64 yhdistystä ja yhteensä 3062 jäsentä. Vuodesta 1915 alkaen vallitsi jälleen ideologinen epätietoisuus. Työkansa lakkasi ilmestymästa ja Kanadan demokraattiseen puolueeseen liittynyt The Finnish Socialist Federation julistettiin laittomaksi. Sosialismi ilmeni aikaisemmasta poikkeavassa muodossa 1920-luvulla. Osa suomalaisista liittyi Kanadan syndikalisteihin, jotka kannattivat "suoraa toimintaa". Suurin osa liittyi kuitenkin Kanadan kommunistiseen puolueeseen, joka kannatti poliittisentoiminnan suuntaamista kapitalismia vastaan. Suomalaiset yhdessa ukrainalaisten kanssa muodostivat Kanadan kommunistisen puolueen ydinjoukon. Suhtautuminen suomalaisiin siirtolaisiin vaihteli Thunder Bayssa välinpitamättömyydestä suvaitsevaisuuteen. Isäntämaassa ennen ensimmäistä maailmansotaa vallalla olleen käsityksen mukaan englantilaiset, amerikkalaiset, saksalaiset, ranskalaiset ja Skandinavian maista tulleet siirtolaiset olivat hyväksyttävämpiä ja sopeutuivat helpommin kanadalaiseen elämäntapaan. Suomalaiset laskettiin pohjoiseurooppalaisiksi. The Daily Newsissa ilmestyneen artikkelin mukaan suomalaiset olivat varsin toivottuja siirtolaisia. Ei-poliittiset suomalaiset olivat kuitenkin toivotumpia kuin sosialistit.

Ontarion pohjois- ja luoteisosiin muuttaneet suomalaiset tulivat alunperin toihin rautateille, kaivoksiin ja metsätöihin tai ryhtyivät maanviljelijöiksi. Kaupunkilaisväestön osuus on kuitenkin 1940-luvulta lähtien kasvanut voimakkaasti.

Äskettäin tehty tutkimus (ks. nootti 50) osoittaa, että Port Arthurissa olevista suomalaisista miehistä 70 % oli ammattitaidottomia työntekijöitä vuonna 1911. Naispuoliset siirtolaiset toimivat suurimmaksi osaksi palveluammateissa. Mainittuna vuonna 40 % työssä käyvistä naisista työskenteli hotelleissa ja 25 % oli muissa palvelutehtävissä. Vähemmän kuin 10 % oli ammattitaitoisia työntekijöitä.

Ammattitaidon puuttuminen ja kielelliset esteet selittävät osittain sen, että suurin osa suomalaisista siirtolaisista kuului työväestöön. Toisaalta ympäristön välinpitamätön suhtautuminen ja vaikeudet sulautua muuhun yhteisöön vaikuttivat positiivisesti siihen mielessä, että omaa kansallisuutta olevien siirtolaisten keskinäinen vuorovaikutus oli tiiviimpää. Siten suomalaiset säilyttivät oman kielensä ja perinteensä sekä suomalaisen identiteettinsä.