

The first major Finnish immigration wave landed in Canada in 1910–1914, just before the First World War. The second wave began after the end of the war in 1918 and continued for more than a decade to the early 1930s, when North America was hit by a severe economic downturn of the Great Depression. Migration was also greatly influenced by the new immigration limitations set by the United States; many migrants therefore chose Canada instead. The third wave of Finnish immigrants arrived more than a decade later, starting at the turn of the 1950s. Finnish migration has since been much smaller in numbers, and the migrants' personal qualifications have been somewhat different. The newer migrants have included more professionally educated newcomers, while the earlier migrants were mostly non-educated workers and their family members.

According to Census Canada, there were 21,494 Finns born in Finland living in Canada in 1921. In 1961, they numbered 59,436, while in 2011, there were 10,100 persons in the Canadian population who had been born in Finland. However, as many as 136,100 persons reported single or multiple ethnicities including Finnish background in 2011. Those who reported only Finnish background numbered 27,190 persons.² This is evidence of a generational change: second- and third-generation Finnish Canadians now clearly outnumbered the immigrant generation proper.

Newcomers from Finland became a part of the Canadian economic and political system. The Canadian economy offered them a range of prospects, somewhat different in different parts of the country and dependent on timing. The Finns tended to settle where the industries were expanding, and many also aimed at getting a piece of land of their own. This was appreciated in many locations in Ontario, in the Prairies, and even in Western Canada. However, by far the great majority of Finnish immigrants were employed in the expanding industrial sections of mining, lumbering, and transport, and on the West Coast also in fishing. Finnish women found work as maids or servants and were known for their boarding

houses. Following the Second World War, especially during recent decades, Finnish migrants have on the whole been more schooled and have found employment in skilled professions.

An array of social, cultural, and economic ventures took hold in the maturing immigrant communities. Newspapers were among the most important of these, edited by both novices and those who already had similar experience from Finland or the United States. Popular Finnish-language papers included the left-leaning *Työkansa* (Working People; 1907–1915) and its successor *Vapaus* (Freedom; 1917–1974) in Sudbury, Ontario. Due to an ideological split in 1931 in the ranks of supporters of the communist-minded *Vapaus*, the Toronto-based *Vapaa Sana* (Free Speech; 1931–2012) was created as a liberally minded paper. Other notable papers have been *Canadian Uutiset* (Canadian News; 1915–2000) and *Canadian Sanomat* (Communications from Canada), which came out in Thunder Bay in 2001–2012. The former was a liberal, at times even conservative paper in Port Arthur, later Thunder Bay. *Canadian Sanomat* joined with *Vapaa Sana* in Toronto in 2012 to publish *Kanadan Sanomat*.

Similarly, cultural and social activities were grouped in several organizations. Perhaps the most visible was the Finnish Organization of Canada (FOC, *Kanadan Suomalainen Järjestö*), founded in 1911 and based in Toronto. This was a cultural and ideological organization – first with a socialist bent, then with a communist orientation – which can now be defined as a non-political left-liberal association. At its height in the interwar years the Finnish Organization of Canada had 3,000 to 4,000 supporters. Churches were active, too, organizing along the religious group lines common in the United States: Laestadians or Apostolic Lutherans; Suomi Synod Lutherans; National Lutherans; and free churches. Typical Finnish endeavours also included consumers' cooperative stores. In the ideological front line were also nationally minded Canadian Finns trying to resist the strong left movements. Their most influential organization was the Loyal Finns of Canada, with a number of clubs around the country.

2 "2011 National Household Survey: Data Tables," Statistics Canada. <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/dt-td/Lp-eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=0&PRID=0&PTYPE=105277&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2013&THEME=95&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=>