

extreme nationalist Patriotic People's Movement (Isänmaallinen kansanliike IKL) and other right-wing movements which committed many muggings and kidnappings of prominent leftists. The adversities and uncertainty of incomes during the Great Depression also likely led many to reconsider plans for returning to Finland.

Thus, on the whole, the first decades of Finnish independence were marked by disappointment and disillusionment, even renunciation, for many Finnish immigrants in Canada. In many ways the Finnish immigrants were a people adrift, a diaspora without a homeland.

The Finnish halls of the Finnish Organization of Canada and its less populous syndicalist rival, the One Big Union (OBU) – became intense centres of cultural survival and political expression during the interwar years. They were the heart of Finnish enclaves throughout Canada, serving both the function of cultural community and being places where relationships with the broader society were formulated and developed.

Before the Great War Finnish immigrants and their organizations were viewed by the progressive Canadian majority as part of the movement to improve the status for workers and immigrants in Canada. The major halls, such as the Finnish Labour Temple built by the Finnish temperance and socialist activists in Port Arthur in 1910, became community centres also for members of the broader society. The Port Arthur hall was a place for meetings convened by the Canadian Boards of Trade as well as by political luminaries. Finns were also the main supporters of the Social Democratic Party of Canada, in which they were the largest ethnic group and at times even the majority.

The Great War changed all that. Halls were closed and Finnish newspapers were prohibited or censored. The official Canadian view of Finns changed, as enemy German troops were invited to Finland to fight the leftist Red Guards, and Canadian troops landed in Murmansk to support Canada's Tsarist Russian allies. Finns were seen, paradoxically perhaps, as suspiciously pro-German and anti-Russian.

At the end of the Great War, the halls reopened and newspapers resumed publication but the Finn-

ish community felt more isolated than before. The Social Democratic Party had been discontinued. The wartime experience of being viewed as a threat by the Canadian officials as well as the outcome of the Finnish Civil War where many friends had suffered or died, mainly in prison camps, left immigrants in a more hostile world. They felt excluded by their new homeland and cut off from the land of their birth.

Finnish activists however found a receptive community in the emerging leftist Canadian labour movement, where many had viewed the war with suspicion as an "imperialist plot." Also, postwar prosperity provided a fertile ground for organizing. The Finns were particularly active among the lumber workers of Northern Ontario; FOC general secretary Tom Hill was a key organizer. As OBU affiliates waned, organizing work advanced under the communist-affiliated Workers' Unity League. It was a time of internationalism in the labour movement, and Hill and his colleagues went as far as Moscow to build the new movement. The organizing work among lumber workers went on even after the FOC's party membership was discontinued. By the end of the decade the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union had learned to organize successful strikes and won several agreements to improve wages and working conditions.

This did not occur without cost. Several organizers and strikers were beaten, jailed, even killed. The latter included union organizers Viljo Rosvall and Janne Voutilainen, whose bodies were found under the ice of a wilderness stream, and Jaakko Jaaska, who succumbed to wounds from a policeman's club.

As the Depression set in, strike actions were more intense. Port Arthur witnessed the intervention of mounted RCMP officers and raids of the Labour Temple during prolonged strikes. The Finnish organizers like Alf Hautamäki stood their ground and organized ever more lumber workers into the Lumber Workers' Union across Northern Ontario and even bringing in the French-speaking lumberjacks of Western Quebec.

This successful organizing work by Finnish union activists played an important role in the formation of the largest national union organ-