

Canada – Finland

Celebrating 2017

A brave, hospitable and altogether admirable people



With foreword by *Margaret MacMillan* and preface by *Michel S. Beaulieu*

Canada–Finland relations span all facets of modern society, yet these relations date back hundreds of years. From Finnish exploration of Canadian flora and fauna in the 1740s through the various waves of Finnish immigration to Canada, the two countries share a rich, diverse past.

From forestry to hockey and ringette, from technology to literature and film, from a shared experience as arctic, bilingual nations with large neighbours, the two countries enjoy a dynamic relationship and friendship.

2017 is a milestone year for Canada and Finland – Canada 150, Finland 100, and 70 years of bilateral diplomatic relations. This book celebrates the remarkable people who have shown leadership, ingenuity, and perseverance in bringing the two countries closer through scientific cooperation, educational exchange, political and economic engagement, and through cultural and sporting achievements.

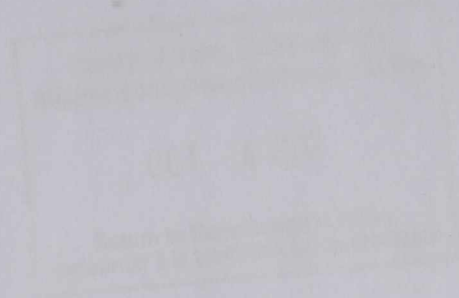


CANADA 150

Office of the Secretary of the Interior



The Secretary of the Interior has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. The Department is unable to give you a definite answer at this time, but you will be kept advised as soon as a final decision has been reached. Very respectfully,
Secretary of the Interior



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Ambassade du Canada

20.8.2017

Dear friends, chers amis,

Cette année, nous avons la chance de marquer l'occasion du 150e anniversaire du Canada. These celebrations have also offered Canadians the opportunity to take a look at our history and those things that have contributed to making Canada the place it is today. Finns are celebrating 2017 as well, as the Republic of Finland marks **100 years of independence**. En plus, nous célébrons 70 ans de relations diplomatiques bilatérales.

Nous avons le plaisir de célébrer cette année jubilaire avec nos partenaires finlandais. Our work with the Finnish-Canadian community and stakeholders in both countries led to the release of a commemorative book, **Canada-Finland: Celebrating 2017**, which will be a lasting account of our shared history. The book is a compilation of contributions from Canadians and Finns, including a **foreword from historian Margaret MacMillan**. It is an account of our history through early contacts, migration, commercial, cultural and political ties. Today, Canada and Finland still have much in common – two bilingual nations with a strong focus on the environment and the Arctic, our cultural exchange in literature and the arts, a passion for winter sports and an understanding of living next to big neighbours. La communauté finno-canadienne reste active au Canada et comprend une population **de plus de 136 000** canadiens d'origines finlandaises.

Considering **the importance of libraries in Canada and Finland**, we have decided to distribute the limited copies of the book to libraries in both countries. J'espère que vous soutiendrez ce projet de distribution en ajoutant notre livre commémoratif à votre collection.

Please do feel free to contact us with any questions or feedback you may have at hsnki@international.gc.ca. L'équipe de l'Ambassade reste à votre disposition pour toute question supplémentaire. Nous tenons à vous remercier de votre soutien à l'avance.

Kind regards,
Cordialement,

Andrée N. Cooligan
Ambassador of Canada to Finland
Ambassadrice du Canada en Finlande

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Canada – Finland

Celebrating 2017

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It has been a great honour for me to collaborate with the Finnish–Canadian Society in Helsinki to help develop this unique 2017 commemorative book, one that celebrates the contributions of Canadians and Finns to each other’s growth as nations. One that celebrates Finland’s 100 years of independence, Canada’s 150 years as a nation, and 70 years of diplomatic relations.

In a 1949 transmission to Ottawa, my predecessor Thomas Stone described the Finns as “a brave, hospitable and altogether admirable people,” followed by a macro analysis of Finland. What was once a classified transmission is now available in full, in the pages of this book, along with a variety of insightful articles which capture the depth, breadth and spirit of the Canada–Finland relationship.

Canada–Finland relations span all facets of modern society, yet these relations date back hundreds of years. From Finnish exploration of Canada’s flora and fauna in the 1740s through the various waves of Finnish immigration to Canada, the two countries share a rich, diverse past. From forestry to hockey and ringette, from natural resources to literature and film, from our shared experiences as arctic, bilingual nations with large and powerful neighbours, this book will remind you why the Finns believe “Yes ...the answer is Canada!”

I am extremely grateful to the many authors who took the time to write, and submit articles and photos for this book. And without the volunteer editorial board – Markku Henriksson, Michel Beau-lieu, Carmen Pekkarinen and Mari-Anna Suurmunne – who provided suggestions for subject-matter experts, as well as guidance on content, editing, and production, this project would not have got off the ground. Moreover, this book would not have been possible without the financial support of the Canadian Finnish Institute of Huntington University in Sudbury, Ontario; Agnico Eagle Finland; the Lakehead University Chair in Finnish Studies and the Friends of the Finnish Labour Temple, both in Thunder Bay, Ontario.



Photo: Global Affairs Canada

As we collectively celebrate 2017 and commend both countries for countless achievements, it is my honour and privilege to congratulate the President of the Republic, Mr. Sauli Niinistö, and the people of Finland, for 100 years of independence.

May our cooperation continue and grow.

Andrée Noëlle Cooligan
Ambassador of Canada to Finland



Cela a été un grand honneur pour moi de collaborer avec la Société finlando-canadienne à Helsinki en contribuant à ce livre commémoratif 2017 unique, un ouvrage célébrant les apports des Canadiens et des Finlandais à la croissance de leurs nations respectives, et aussi le centenaire de l'indépendance de la Finlande, le 150^e anniversaire du Canada en tant que nation et 70 ans de relations diplomatiques.

Dans une note à Ottawa en 1949, mon prédécesseur Thomas Stone décrivait les Finlandais comme un « peuple brave, hospitalier et tout à fait admirable », la faisant suivre d'une macro-analyse de la Finlande. Ce qui fut un temps une note classifiée est désormais disponible in extenso dans les pages de ce livre, de même que de nombreux articles instructifs cernant la profondeur, l'ampleur et l'esprit de la relation entre le Canada et la Finlande.

Les relations entre les deux pays couvrent toutes les facettes de la société moderne, mais elles remontent à des centaines d'années. De l'exploration finlandaise de la flore et de la faune du Canada dans les années 1740 en passant par les différentes vagues d'immigration finlandaise vers le Canada, les deux pays partagent un passé riche et varié. De la foresterie au hockey et à la ringuette, des ressources naturelles à la littérature et au cinéma, des expériences que nous partageons en tant que nations arctique et bilingues ayant de grands et puissants voisins, ce livre va vous rappeler pourquoi les Finlandais croient que « Oui... la réponse est le Canada ! »

Je suis extrêmement reconnaissante aux nombreux auteurs ayant pris le temps d'écrire et de soumettre des articles et des photos pour ce livre. Et sans le comité de rédaction bénévole – Markku Henriksson, Michel Beaulieu, Carmen Pekkarinen et Mari-Anna Suurmunne – qui a fourni des suggestions aux experts des différents sujets ainsi que des conseils quant au contenu, à la rédaction et à la production, ce projet n'aurait pas pu voir le jour. De plus, ce livre n'aurait pas été possible sans le soutien financier de l'Institut canadien finlandais de l'Université Huntington à Sudbury, Ontario, Agnico-Eagle Finlande, le titulaire de la chaire en études finlandaises de l'Université Lakehead et les Amis du Temple du Travail Finlandais, tous deux à Thunder Bay, Ontario.

Alors que nous allons célébrer collectivement 2017 et saluer les deux pays pour leurs innombrables réalisations, j'ai l'honneur et le privilège de féliciter le Président de la République, M. Sauli Niinistö, et le peuple de la Finlande, pour le centenaire de l'indépendance.

Puisse notre coopération se poursuivre et se développer.

Andrée Noëlle Cooligan

Ambassadrice du Canada en Finlande



Minulla on ollut suuri kunnia tehdä yhteistyötä Suomi–Kanada-seuran kanssa Helsingissä työstäessämme tätä ainutlaatuista juhkakirjaa vuodelle 2017; kirjaa, jolla juhlistetaan kanadalaisten ja suomalaisten yhteistä panosta kansakuntiemme kehitykseen. Kirja juhlistaa Suomen 100-vuotista itsenäisyyttä, Kanadan 150-vuotista historiaa kansakuntana ja maidemme välisten diplomaattisuhteiden 70-vuotista taivalta.

Vuonna 1949 Ottawaan kirjoittamassaan raportissa edeltäjäni Thomas Stone luonnehti suomalaisia ”rohkeaksi, vieraanvaraiseksi ja kaiken kaikkiaan ihailtavaksi kansaksi”. Alkusanojen jälkeen oli vuorossa yleistason analyysi Suomesta. Stonen aikanaan salassapidettäväksi luokitellun raportin voi nyt lukea tästä kirjasta. Mukana on myös laaja valikoima oivaltavia artikkeleita, jotka kuvaavat hyvin Kanadan ja Suomen välisten suhteiden syvyyttä, laajuutta ja henkeä.

Kanadan ja Suomen väliset suhteet ulottuvat nykyelämän kaikille osa-alueille. Suhteilla on jo monisatavuotinen historia, sillä Kanadan ja Suomen yhteinen menneisyys on rikas ja monimuotoinen. Suomalaiset osallistuivat Kanadan kasvillisuuden ja eläimistön tutkimukseen jo 1740-luvulla, ja suomalaiset ovat lähteneet siirtolaisina Kanadaan monessa eri muuttoaallossa. Olkoon kyse metsätaloudesta tai jääkiekosta, kirjallisuudesta tai elokuvista, tai yhteisistä kokemuksista pohjoisina, kaksikielisinä kansakuntina suurten ja voimakkaiden naapureiden kupeessa, tämä kirja kertoo, miksi suomalaiset ajattelevat, että vastaus on Kanada!

Olen erittäin kiitollinen kirjoittajille, jotka näkivät vaivaa kirjan artikkeleiden ja valokuvien eteen. Vaapaehtoinen toimituskunta – Markku Henriksson, Michel Beaulieu, Carmen Pekkarinen ja Mari-Anna Suurmunne – oli perillä asiantuntijoista ja tarjosi matkan varrella sekä sisällöllistä että toimituksellista apua. Ilman heitä koko projekti olisi luhistunut. Projekti ei olisi myöskään ollut mahdollinen ilman seuraavien tahojen taloudellista tukea: Huntingtonin yliopiston Canadian Finnish Institute (Sudbury, Ontario), Agnico Eagle Finland sekä Lakeheadin yliopiston Finnish Studies -oppiaine ja Friends of the Finnish Labour Temple (jotka molemmat sijaitsevat Thunder Bayssa, Ontariossa).

Kun nyt yhdessä juhlimme vuotta 2017 ja maittemme monia virstanpylväitä, minulla on kunnia ja etuoikeus onnitella Tasavallan Presidentti Sauli Niinistöä ja Suomen kansaa 100-vuotisen itsenäisyyden johdosta.

Jatkukoon ja kasvakoon yhteistyömme.

Andrée Noëlle Cooligan

Kanadan suurlähettiläs Suomessa



Det har varit en stor ära för mig att få samarbeta med samfundet Suomi–Kanada i Helsingfors för att skapa denna unika jubileumsbok 2017, som har skrivits till ära av kanadensarnas och finländarnas insatser i varandras utveckling som nationer. Boken som firar Finlands 100 år som en självständig stat, Kanadas 150 år som nation och 70 år av diplomatiska förbindelser.

I en rapport till Ottawa 1949 beskrev min företrädare Thomas Stone finländarna som “en modig, gästfri och på allt sätt berömdansvärd nation” och presenterade därefter en makroanalys av Finland. Denna rapport, som i tiderna var sekretessbelagd, kan nu läsas i sin helhet på den här bokens sidor, tillsammans med ett antal insiktsfulla artiklar som återspeglar djupet, bredden och andan av förhållandena mellan Kanada och Finland.

Förhållandet mellan Kanada och Finland har pågått i flera hundra år och täcker idag alla sidor av det moderna samhället. Allt sedan finländarnas forskning av den kanadensiska faunan och florin på 1740-talet genom olika vågor av finländarnas emigration till Kanada har dessa två länder delat ett rikt och brett förflutet. Från skogsvård till ishockey och ringette, från naturresurser till litteratur och film, med våra gemensamma erfarenheter som arktiska, tvåspråkiga nationer med stora och inflytelserika grannar påminner denna bok om varför finländarna är övertygade om att ”Svaret är Kanada!”

Jag är ytterst tacksam över att så många författare ville skriva och skicka artiklar och fotografier till den här boken. Och utan den frivilliga redaktionen – Markku Henriksson, Michel Beaulieu, Carmen Pekkarinen och Mari-Anna Suurmunne – som gav förslag om experter i olika ämnesområden samt råd om innehållet, redigeringen och produktionen, skulle detta projekt aldrig ha förverkligats. Vi skulle inte heller någonsin ha kunnat få till stånd den här boken utan ekonomiskt stöd från det kanadensiskt-finska institutet vid Huntington University i Sudbury, Ontario, Agnico Eagle Finland, the Lakehead University Chair i studier i finska och the Friends of the Finnish Labour Temple, som båda ligger i Thunder Bay, Ontario.

När vi nu tillsammans firar 2017 och lovordar bägge nationerna för deras otaliga framsteg har jag den äran att gratulera republikens president Sauli Niinistö och det finska folket för 100 år av självständighet.

Må vårt samarbete fortsätta och växa.

Andrée Noëlle Cooligan
Kanadas Ambassadör i Finland

Finnish-Canadian Society's message

Although my family has no Finnish roots, I am proud to call Finland home, and even more proud to serve as Chairman of the Finnish-Canadian Society (FCS) here in Finland.

Before joining the Society, I was sure membership consisted mainly of Canadians. However, upon joining, I was pleasantly surprised to learn it was a mix of both Canadians and Finns, as many members have partners from the "other" country. This has made our events refreshing, and our newsletters consist of a wide variety of topics and languages.

The Finnish-Canadian Society offers a soft landing for Canadians who have found themselves in the land of the Finns, be it by studying in Finland, working for one of the Canadian or Finnish multinationals, or by playing professional or recreational hockey. We estimate there are about 2,000 Canadians living in Finland, and over 130,000 Canadians in Canada who claim Finnish heritage.

Not all Canadians resident in Finland are a member of the Society, although I encourage them to join up. During my time with the Society, I have had the pleasure of meeting many of the Canadians that call Finland home. Likely the most prominent is André Noël Chaker, who has twice been named Finnish Speaker of the Year (not for his English or French skills, but for his Finnish!). Carmen Pekkarinen (former FCS Chair) is another name that must be mentioned thanks to her tireless efforts for the Canadian community, and her entrepreneurial spirit.



Photo: Bruno Puolakainen

As for 2017, the highlight will most certainly be the 150/100/70-year celebrations slated for Helsinki. I look forward to celebrating the birthday of both countries!

Mike Kempf
Chairman

Finnish-Canadian Society/Suomi-Kanada-seura

Foreword

by **Margaret MacMillan**

Friends and Neighbours.

From one perspective Canada and Finland seem very far away, an ocean apart. From another however they are close neighbours, across the North Pole. Both countries have taken the lead in Arctic cooperation and are staunch members of the Arctic Council. Canada has recently served as its chair while Finland is about to take over that position. We understand well the threats and opportunities presented by climate change, the need to manage our resources with care, and to work constructively with our aboriginal peoples.

Our two nations have much else in common beyond their geography and their climates. We have significant linguistic minorities, in Canada's case the French and in Finland, the Swedish, and we have worked with considerable success to accommodate and protect those. We are small powers next door to much bigger ones and, of necessity, manage our relationships with them carefully and skilfully. The Finns know what it is to live with Russia. Whether that great power has been under Tsars, Communists, or today President Putin, it has always posed a challenge to Finnish identity that must be met.

Canada has had to live with the United States; the elder Trudeau once compared it to being in bed with an elephant. Canadians too have worried about their identity and culture being submerged in that of the great power on their borders. And just as the Finns often find themselves trying to explain Russia to Europe and vice versa, so do Canadians with the United States and the rest of the world.

As peoples we both like the out-of-doors. Whenever we can, we go to cottages in the woods or by the water. We greet the first snowfalls of the winter with grumbling but, if we are to be honest, excitement. We learn to skate when we are young and many of us play hockey and ski. We are Northern peoples, cautious, reserved and frugal, and rightly apprehensive about what nature might throw at us next. We like informality, in our leaders too, and we are suspicious of those who seem to be getting above themselves. In Canada we talk disapprovingly of the Tall Poppy syndrome. There is probably a Finnish equivalent.

The links between us, of people and trade, go back many years. Thousands of Finnish farmers and loggers immigrated to Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. After the First World War many Finns brought their politics, both right and left, with them to enliven the Canadian scene. In the 1930s Canadian Finns made up one of the largest national groups in the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, which fought in the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War. Today Finnish migrants to Canada are more likely to be scientists or hockey players or musicians. Nearly 140,000 Canadians claim Finnish ancestry and range from a famous actress – Pamela Anderson – to the politician Judy Erola.

Canada has benefitted too from the best of Finnish design. We in Canada were delighted and surprised in the 1960s when Canadian stores started to carry Finnish fabrics, household wares, and furniture.

They were stunningly fresh and modern but at the same time practical and sturdy. One of Toronto's most loved buildings is its new City Hall designed by Viljo Revell.

Parts of our countries look so alike. When I flew into Helsinki for the first time and looked down at the rocks, trees and lakes, I felt I could have been landing in Ottawa. But the architecture tells a different story. Canada's government buildings are largely neo-Gothic, built during the nineteenth century. While Finland's grand buildings also date back to the nineteenth century, the style is neoclassical. Canada's Parliament Hill has a statue of Queen Victoria; Helsinki's Senate Square has Tsar Alexander II.

Our histories have taken different paths. True, both countries have known war and conquest. In the Seven Years war Britain conquered the French colony in Québec and kept it in the subsequent peace; Finland was seized from Sweden by Russia in 1809. Canada moved however toward autonomy earlier than Finland did – and more peacefully. In 1867, Britain's North American colonies joined together to form a self-governing confederation within the British empire. In the next half century the Dominion of Canada, as it was once called, gradually took on greater responsibility for its own affairs and Canadians developed a sense of their own identity. They saw themselves as part of the British world but different; they lived in a new world, not an old one and, importantly, they had a large French-speaking population. In the same decades, Finland saw its limited autonomy within Russia curtailed. Finns struggled to protect their language and culture in the face of a determined Russification.

For Canada the First World War marked a coming of age, as Canadians fought in Europe and Canadian statesmen played an increasingly independent role both during the conflict in the Imperial War Cabinet and at the subsequent Paris Peace Conference. Canada signed the peace treaties in its own right and was one of the founding members of the League of Nations. Finland joined shortly afterwards, and both countries have always shown strong support for multilateral organizations.

In the 1920s Canada took greater control of its own foreign policy. In 1922, in a decision that shook the British, Canada refused to send troops to support Britain in a war against Turkey. The following year, Canada signed its first bilateral treaty, with the United States over fishing rights. In 1930 the Statute of Westminster formally recognized the reality that Canada and its sister Dominions of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa now managed their own foreign affairs. Yet through all the changes Canada still remained part of the British empire.

For Finland the First World War brought a more abrupt break with the past. The collapse of the Tsarist regime in Russia in 1917 provided the chance for the Finns to seize their independence from a collapsing Russian empire. The birth of the new nation was marked by revolution and a bitter civil war between the right and the left.

Both Finland and Canada were caught up in the Second World War but in very different ways. Finland was squeezed between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany and paid a heavy price, as it fought first against one and then the other. Canada was spared invasion but Canadian troops served across Europe and in Asia.

Since 1945 the two countries have worked to maintain the peace. Both take great pride in their long record of contributing to UN peacekeeping operations and in generally being good members of the international community. And statesmen from both countries have taken the lead in strengthening the international order. Martti Ahtisaari, the former President of Finland, is among much else the founder of the Crisis Management Initiative and is one of the Elders made up of distinguished global leaders

who work for peace and human rights. In 2009 he won the Nobel Peace Prize “for his efforts on several continents and over more than three decades, to resolve international conflicts.” In Canada we remember with pride Lester Pearson who played a key role in founding the United Nations and, in the crisis of 1956 over the British-French-Israeli attempt to seize the Suez Canal, helped to organize the United Nations Emergency Force and avert a major war. Sixty years ago, in 1957, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for his role.

In a year of anniversaries we should remember one more: seventy years ago, in 1947 Canada and Finland established formal diplomatic relations. The friendship between our two countries is a warm one, based on shared values and ideals. Long may it last.



Margaret MacMillan

Margaret MacMillan is the Warden of St Antony's College and a Professor of International History at the University of Oxford. Her books include *Women of the Raj* (Thames and Hudson, 1988; Random House, 2007); *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (Random House, 2001); and *The Uses and Abuses of History* (Penguin Canada, 2008; Profile Books, 2010). Her most recent book is *The War That Ended Peace*, published by Profile Books in 2013.

Photo: Rob Judges

Margaret MacMillan is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature and a Senior Fellow of Massey College, University of Toronto. She is an Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, University of Toronto, and of St Hilda's College, University of Oxford. She sits on the boards of the Mosaic Institute and the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, and the editorial boards of *International History* and *First World War Studies*. She also serves on the Advisory Board of the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation, and is a Trustee of the Rhodes Trust.

Preface

Canada and Finland share an enduring and unique relationship. Between 1860 and 2008, 1.4 million people emigrated from Finland to communities around the world. Thousands chose Canada as their new home.

Generally, historians accept that there have been three waves of immigration. As might be expected, these waves of Finnish immigrants reflected the political, economic, and social evolution of Finland from the late nineteenth century on. The result was both the renewal and the rejuvenation of the Finnish community in Canada with each successive generation of immigrants and continuous and ongoing contact between Finnish Canadians and their extended families in Finland.

Finnish immigrants to Canada were mostly working-class and, like most other immigrants to Canada at the time, their daily lives were consumed with providing for the needs of their families. Both women and men worked hard to establish lives in Canada, and the centre of activity was the home. For some, religion and the church played a central role in their lives, but for others it was politics and community organization.

What is central, though, is that an enduring attachment and love of Finland remained. The sense of identity, egalitarianism, and self-sufficiency that Finnish immigrants brought to Canada was influenced by Finland's history, geographical location, and culture. These men and women established themselves across the country – from Sointula, British Columbia to Halifax, Nova Scotia – and contributed substantially to the development of a multicultural Canadian society during the twentieth century. They also laid the foundation for a diplomatic and economic relationship – both official and unofficial – that continues to develop today.

The various articles found in *Canada–Finland, Celebrating 2017* reflect not only the broad interest in all things Canadian–Finnish, but also the historical and contemporary linkages between the two nations which have developed over the past 150 years.

Michel S. Beaulieu

Associate Professor of History at Lakehead University

Editorial Board



Markku Henriksson

Professor Markku Henriksson is the McDonnell Douglas Chair for American Studies Emeritus at the University of Helsinki. He is also an Adjunct Professor of American and Canadian Studies at the University of Tampere, and currently Chairman of the Board for the John Morton Center for North American Studies at the University of Turku. He holds a doctorate in Social Sciences from the University of Helsinki, and an honorary doctorate (D.Lett, h.c.) in Canadian Studies from York University, Toronto. He has written extensively on Canadian and American history, politics, and culture. His books in English include *The Indian on Capitol Hill: Indian Legislation and the United States Congress, 1862–1907* (Finnish Historical Society, 1988), and *Route 66: A Road to America's Landscape, History, and Culture* (Texas Tech University Press, 2014). He is so far the only European honorary lifetime member of the Western History Association, and winner of the American Indian History Lifetime Achievement Award. In 2014 Markku Henriksson received the International Council for Canadian Studies Certificate of Merit.



Michel S. Beaulieu

Michel S. Beaulieu is an Associate Professor and former Chair of the Department of History at Lakehead University, Canada. His research on Finnish-Canadian history has been made possible by a number of grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and while a Visiting Professor at the University of Helsinki. Related publications include *Labour at the Lakehead: Ethnicity, Socialism, and Politics, 1900–1935* (UBC Press, 2011); *Labouring Finns: Transnational Politics in Finland, Canada, and the United States* (Siirtolaisuusinstituutti, 2011); and the forthcoming *Hard Work Conquers All: Building the Finnish Community in Canada* (UBC Press).



Photo: Anni Kääriä

Mari-Anna Suurmunne

Mari-Anna Suurmunne has a PhD from the University of Alberta in Canada. Her political science doctoral dissertation (1999) was titled “Redefining Security in the Arctic Region.” She worked for seven years (2000–2007) at the Canadian Embassy in Helsinki as the Political Program Manager with a strong focus on circumpolar cooperation. Currently Mari-Anna works as the Head of International Relations at Aalto University in Espoo, Finland, building partnerships with foreign universities and looking after issues related to trilingualism. Mari-Anna is an avid reader with a soft spot for Canadian literature.



Carmen Pekkarinen

Carmen Pekkarinen was born and raised in Northern Ontario and has lived and worked in Finland since 1998. She is the author of the weblog *Life in Finland* and has spent years seeking out those not-so-well-known connections between Canada and Finland. Carmen is also a former Chair of the Finnish-Canadian Society and presently spends a lot of time volunteering on the youth sports front in Espoo.

Photo: Kari Sydänmaanlakka



SOURCE:
 Location:
 Date:
 Author:
 Title:
 National Defense

FINLAND
 No. 2
 Stockholm, 4th October, 1925

Sir,
 I have the honor to report that my reception as first Canadian Minister in Finland was most cordial and friendly. As I reported to you by telegram on a visit from Helsinki, I proceeded by train to the President on September 24th at 11 o'clock in the morning.

2. A brief description of this first visit to Finland would perhaps be in order. Mrs. Stone and I, accompanied by Miss Shirley of this Legation, arrived in Helsinki on the morning of the 24th of September. We were met on the dock by Mr. Tuomi, the Chief of Protocol of the Finnish Foreign Office, his assistant Mr. Linnalahti, and the United Kingdom Charge d'Affaires had intended meeting us, but all of the arrangements which various people had kindly made for our arrival were somewhat upset by the fact that our ship reached port two hours before it was expected. On arrival we proceeded to the Hotel Ekop which was our headquarters during our stay.

3. On Friday morning the 23rd of September I was received by Mr. Carl Enckell, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Enckell as well as the other members of the Government and Government officials whom I had the pleasure of meeting, understood the circumstances which made it difficult, if not impossible, for us to establish a permanent Legation with a Minister of a Charge d'Affaires resident in Helsinki at the present time. I made it a point to explain that it was certainly not from any lack of desire on our part, but that it was purely and simply a matter of not having enough people. I made this point strongly in a press conference which I held in the course of my visit and I am glad to say that it was widely published in the papers of Finland that the Canadian Foreign Service had expanded in the course of ten years from 1915 to 1925 from five missions abroad to thirty-three missions abroad, which was given, as I expressed it, as the only reason why we were not in a position at the moment to open a permanent office in Helsinki.

4. I found the Finnish people generally a little touchy and unreasonably so on this point. There are some four Ministers or Charge d'Affaires in Stockholm accredited at the same time to Finland and three or four in London accredited at the same time to Finland. Unfortunately, the visits of these representatives to their home country have been few and far between and while, as I said above, all Cabinet Ministers are accredited with whom I talked understood why we could not open a resident office in Helsinki, they at the same time expressed the hope that the Swedish Minister, having presented his Credentials, would not, as so many others have done, fling up with his baggage into the mist of Stockholm or the snows of Moscow and not be seen again. I assured our Finnish friends that in our case this would not be so and I gave this assurance in the confident feeling that I could get on better than maintain with Finland as close contacts as the limited staff of this Legation will allow.

The Honorable,
 The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
 OTTAWA, Canada.



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Ottawa, 10th August, 1925.

Dear Sir,
 No. 505. In reply to your letter of the 7th instant to Mr. F.M. Baker, I desire to say that the King's Exequatur empowering you to act as Finnish Consul at Montreal received His Majesty's signature on the 1st June, 1925. Nothing more is necessary for you to assume your office and exercise the functions appertaining thereto.

Yours very truly,
 Joseph Pope
 Under-Secretary of State
 for External Affairs.

The Consul of Finland,
 516-518 St. Catherine Street West,
 Montreal.

HISTOIRE ET POLITIQUE HISTORY AND POLITICS

Pehr Kalm may have been the first Finn to ever visit what today is Canada, although it is likely that some of the early settlers of New Sweden, or their descendants, had travelled north from the mouth of the Delaware River. After the Confederation more Finns migrated to Canada with thousands of other Europeans. With both Finland and Canada developing their independence during the nineteenth century, personal connections and relationships were interwoven into official relations between the two countries. This segment discusses the history of Finnish-Canadian relations on both levels, personal and official.

Pehr Kalm est peut-être le premier Finlandais à avoir visité ce qui est aujourd'hui le Canada, mais il est probable que certains des premiers colons de la Nouvelle-Suède, ou leurs descendants, avaient voyagé au nord de l'embouchure du fleuve Delaware. Après la Confédération, d'autres Finlandais ont émigré au Canada, de même que des milliers d'autres Européens. Alors que la Finlande comme le Canada mûrissaient leur indépendance au XIX^e siècle, les connexions et relations personnelles étaient intimement liées aux relations officielles entre les deux pays. Cette section aborde l'histoire des relations finlando-canadiennes aux deux niveaux, personnel et officiel.

Cataloguing a New World: Pehr Kalm in Canada

Gunlög Fur

Pehr Kalm was the first of Carl Linnaeus' disciples and became one of the best known of the young men whom the famous botanist sent out across the globe to describe and catalogue its flora, fauna, and human habitation. Kalm was born in 1716 to Catharina Ross and Gabriel Kalm, a Finnish clergyman who died before the birth of his child. The boy grew up with his mother in Österbotten (Ostrobothnia) and with the help from relatives managed to enter study at the Royal Academy of Åbo (Turku).

A promising young man, Kalm caught the attention of Baron Sten Bielke, who served as judge at the Åbo Court of Appeal and held an abiding interest in natural history. In 1739, Bielke joined Carl Linnaeus and four other scientists in founding the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, and he introduced young Kalm to Uppsala University and Linnaeus in 1741. Kalm longed to travel, and his first trip went to Bohuslän in western Sweden. But Linnaeus had greater plans. He wished to send his student to the Cape of Good Hope, while Bielke suggested Iceland. In 1744, Bielke and Kalm visited St. Petersburg in Russia and were impressed with the abundance of Asian and Siberian plants they saw in the city's botanical garden. They conceived a plan to send Kalm on an expedition with the yearly Russian caravan through Siberia and Mongolia to China, but it turned out to be impossible to secure permission and the plans petered out. A disappointed Kalm had to wait another three years before he could embark on the trip of his life, to North America. In 1747, partly in order to secure funding for his travels, Kalm was appointed to the first chair in Economics ("oeconomie") at the Academy in Turku, and later that year Kalm left Sweden accompanied by his servant Lars Jungström, who was an accomplished gardener. They would re-

turn in 1751, loaded with seeds, potted plants, and collections of various rocks and other objects.

Kalm and Jungström arrived in Philadelphia harbour in September 1748. Kalm spent his first evening dining with Benjamin Franklin, to whom he carried a letter of recommendation. He devoted the following nine months to visiting Swedish settlements along the Delaware River, collecting, drawing, and describing its flora and fauna. In June 1749, he and Jungström began travelling towards Canada. It was there that Linnaeus and the financial backers in Sweden-Finland hoped that Kalm would be able to procure seeds from useful plants that could be readily adapted to the climate of Northern Europe. Kalm travelled up the Hudson River to Albany, crossed Lake Champlain, and trekked through forested land over to the St. Lawrence River Valley toward Montréal, Trois-Rivières and further on to Québec. The company reached as far northeast as Bay St. Paul before turning south again.

All along the way, Kalm noted everything that he saw in his journal: flowers, trees, rocks, animals, and people. Butternut or white walnut trees grew aplenty along the river, kingfishers streaked by, large and unfamiliar fishes "sauntered" in the water seemingly unafraid, bears existed in plenty but were less fierce than the ones in Finland; and when the company camped for the night, mosquitoes attacked them in force. Kalm's greatest curiosity concerned minerals, plants, and to some extent birds and animals. Sugar maples and rattlesnakes earned initiated comments. Some plants elicited descriptions because of their familiarity, such as when Kalm noted that the tiny flower *Linnaea* (*Linnaea Borealis* L.), which was Linnaeus' favourite and had its name after him, grew in plenty in the forests or that "ordinary Swedish lingonberries" could be found as well. Sometimes

he added illustrations in the margins of the text. These often portrayed constructions that might be usefully adapted to Finnish conditions, such as when he described a contraption for capturing fish in the river which he observed on this way between Trois-Rivières and Québec.

People and settlements also elicited comments. He wrote descriptions of farming practices, fences, the French spoken in the New World, the form of government and religious practices. He frequently commented on the existence of convents, remarking on the practices of several different orders, and expressed admiration for the Ursulines. Every now and then the systematic observer allowed himself a personal comment on his experiences. He noted the first time he tasted beaver, a delicacy he was unable to appreciate. He commented that women in Canada often spoke disparagingly of visitors who did not dress or behave in the manner they considered fashionable and proper. They, he wrote, adhere to what they think is the highest French fashion, but because of the great distance to Paris, they often lag behind. Yet, he described Canadians in general as civilized and well-mannered, treating guests royally.



Pehr Kalm (1716-1779), by Johann Georg Geitel (believed to be image of Kalm). Photo: Wikipedia.

Indigenous people received a different treatment in his journal. On the day Kalm's company crossed over into Canada, he reported a frightening near-encounter. "Wild Americans who belong to the French" traversed the region in search of revenge on the British for a recent killing, and had preceded them on the path only hours before. Kalm thanked God that his group had been spared certain death. Throughout his travels Kalm inserted information regarding the indigenous peoples of Canada, almost always second-hand accounts emphasizing what the narrator viewed as their strangeness and brutal nature. His first actual encounter with Canada's indigenous people occurred in the vicinity of Fort Saint-Frédéric, which prompted Kalm to describe a man who had painted his face half black and half red, with silver earrings and hair shaved off the head. As they camped along Lake Champlain, they now and then observed Abenakis fishing from their birch bark canoes. Kalm remarked that the Abenakis subsisted seasonally on the harvest from corn, bean, and squash plantations, from fishing, and from meat from deer which they hunted. They "live long, have strong health, can withstand more difficulties and fatigue than others [...] and far from wish to change their way of living to that of the most comfortable European." In general, Kalm regarded European settlers with interest and often interacted with them, but maintained a distance, both physically and intellectually, to the First Nations. He primarily relayed ethnographic observations of Canada's indigenous peoples, but did not relate directly to any of them. His journals contain no conversations with named members of First Nations, in sharp contrast to his interactions with Europeans, whom he frequently identified with both name and position. Language barriers hindered him from direct contact with indigenous Canadians, but more so did the fear that enveloped him and his white guides. "Wild Americans" appeared hostile and threatening. Linnaeus urged him in letters to go further north and west, but Kalm declined out of fear for his own security to venture that far into indigenous country.

Instead, returning from Québec, Kalm visited the Niagara Falls and braved travelling through

Iroquois country despite hearing tales of cannibalism, in order to see what “no Swede had until then had the opportunity to view.” Awed beyond any previous event, Kalm attempted to describe the Falls exactly as he experienced them sitting no more than a fathom from where the mass of water roared down the chasm. In comparison, all other falls he had visited before in North America and Sweden “appeared like child’s play.” Kalm’s eyewitness account of the Niagara Falls, printed almost immediately by Benjamin Franklin, became the first account in English of this wonder of nature.

In 1750, before returning to Finland, Kalm married Anna Margareta Sjöman in Philadelphia. She was widowed after Johan Sandin, who had been sent out as pastor to the Swedish Gloria Dei congregation in Philadelphia. Together, she and Kalm had one son, Gabriel, who grew up to become a Major in the Nyland and Tavastehus Dragoon regiment in southern Finland.

Upon the couple’s return to Sweden, Linnaeus urgently wished to see his former student. “Take firebrands and throw after Prof. Kalm that he may come without delay to Uppsala,” he exclaimed in a letter to a friend in Stockholm, “since I long for him like a bride does for one o’clock at night.” Linnaeus and Kalm both had high hopes that the mulberry bush (*Morus rubra* L.) would lay the foundation for a successful silk industry in the Nordic North. Furthermore, they expected some species of trees to provide valuable timber and maize and Indian rice (*Zizania aquatica* L.) to make the many marshes in Finland and Sweden fecund. Medicinal herbs such as ginseng and lobelia were hoped to provide a cure for syphilis.

The trip to North America had been the experience of Kalm’s life. Despite his misgivings about the “wild” western and northern reaches of America, he longed to return. He and his wife applied for permission to emigrate, but Linnaeus averted it and instead secured for him a position

as vicar near Åbo, in addition to the professorship at the Royal Åbo Academy. At the vicarage, Kalm and his wife established a garden where they attempted to cultivate the seeds brought from America. The result was not quite what Kalm had intended. Seeds and plants died, and only a few – rather useless ones – thrived. Yet, their efforts have been deemed to have made an impact on Finnish and Swedish horticultural practices. Kalm also transferred technological knowledge from the New World. His first doctoral student defended a dissertation, largely based on Kalm’s material, on birch bark vessels in the hopes that it could be adapted to Finnish conditions and needs. He was highly appreciated as a teacher and directed during his time as professor of economy 146 dissertations. He encouraged his students to publish in Swedish, rather than Latin, and to concentrate on topics that could have a direct influence on economic practices, such as on the uses of raspberries or how to domesticate forest animals. Five of the dissertations related to Kalm’s discoveries in America. His tireless focus on observations of the natural world in order to elicit its uses for human economy broke new ground in the Swedish and Finnish academy, and he has

His tireless focus on observations of the natural world in order to elicit its uses for human economy broke new ground in the Swedish and Finnish academy, and he has been described as a pioneer in Finnish biology research.

been described as a pioneer in Finnish biology research. He left much of his American notes and materials to Linnaeus, who subsequent-

ly published on it in his *Species plantarum* and in scholarly dissertations at Uppsala University. Linnaeus mentioned that Kalm had determined the characteristics of three plant families and discovered numerous species new to science. In his honour, Linnaeus named the plant genus *Kalmia*, which refers to a group of about eight evergreen shrubs of the family *Ericaceae*.

Kalm is often described as a typical Linnaean utilitarian. He believed, he wrote, that “natural history alone, when it is not connected to its usefulness for human life, is only quarrel and not one bit better than a lot of metaphysical foolishness.” The main purpose of his trip to America

was to gather plants and knowledge that could be put to use in Nordic farming and manufacture, and Kalm diligently collected potentially useful material and meticulously noted its characteristics. He had hoped to collect his material into a *Flora Canadensis* but never managed to complete this work. Instead, his greatest scholarly achievement is preserved in his journal in four volumes from his travels to North America. The first was published already in 1753, the second followed in 1756, and the third in 1761. However, when Kalm had finished the fourth volume in 1777, public interest in his journeys had waned and he could no longer find a publisher. He donated the unpublished manuscript and the diaries to the library of Åbo Academy, where they burned up in the great city fire in 1827. The printed volumes, plus copies of the manuscript of volume four remained and have since been reprinted and translated. The first three volumes are generally chronological while the fourth has a thematic character. In his journal, Kalm shows himself to be a faithful Linnaean disciple. He observes from a distance and classifies all that he sees. He brings along a mental grid based on the scientific methods Linnaeus had developed that structures his observations. Because of this there is an enormous amount of valuable information to be gathered from his journal regarding outer form, characteristics, and uses of rocks, plants, and animals in the New World.

Kalm's detailed, meticulous account ensures him a place among the most useful sources for Northeastern woodlands indigenous culture during the eighteenth century. The descriptive meth-

od he brought to America shows both strengths and weaknesses in his contribution to knowledge about non-white cultures. It produced a wealth of detail regarding clothes, adornments, dances, and trade items but rarely afforded any glimpses

He laid the foundation for natural
history in both Canada and
Finland.

of indigenous peoples' thoughts or gave reasons for their actions. His notes convey a great deal of information on material objects, but not on the meanings they carried. Kalm described and organized categories, but did not identify individuals. He based his descriptions on his own observations in combination with references to European authorities in the American colonies. In this way, indigenous people appear as ethnographic objects, not as part of history or participants in contemporary society.

Pehr Kalm was the first Finnish scholar and naturalist to visit Canada. His keen eye and practised skills of observation preserved in his travel journals provide a unique and valuable account of European habitation in eastern Canada and the natural environment of that settlement. He laid the foundation for natural history in both Canada and Finland, and his work greatly aids the study of the changes brought by European colonization. He and his family forged a link between the first Finnish and Swedish settlement in the New World and later waves of migration. Through him, *Norra Amerika* became a tangible and relevant reference for Nordic scholars and naturalists.

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Key Phases of Finnish Canadian Experience

Auvo Kostiainen

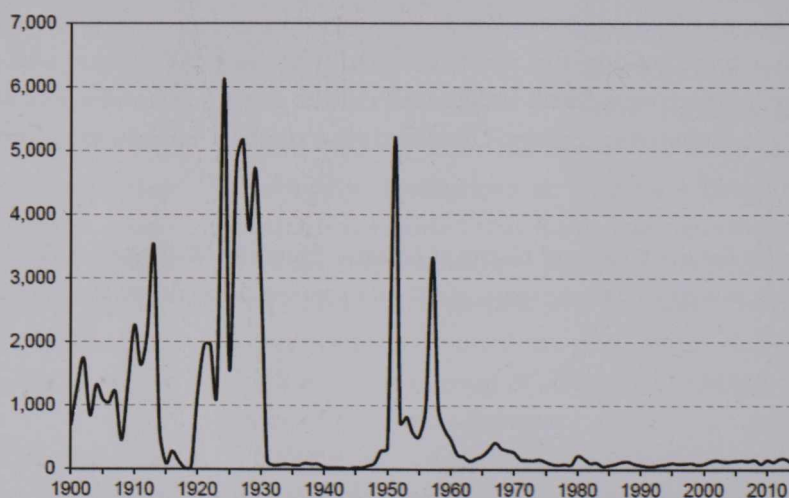
The earliest Finnish contacts with what is now Canada date most probably to the mid-1750s when Pehr Kalm, the renowned scholar and botanist, visited North America. Kalm devoted the first nine months of his three-year trip to Swedish settlements along the Delaware River. These included the colonial New Sweden (Nya Sverige), which had lasted twelve years from 1638 to the early 1650s before being taken over by the Dutch. Kalm explored the colonial establishment, its descendants, and natural resources, then moving on toward Canada. His description of the Niagara Falls in a booklet printed in several languages is the first portrayal of the falls by a European visitor.¹

Large-scale Finnish migration to North America started to gather pace toward the 1860s. While the United States was the primary target, migration to Canada also began during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Some Finns are known to have arrived in the 1870s to work on the canal and railroad construction. Later they were employed in mining and lumbering industries in particular. Finnish immigrant communities and settlements were founded in Ontario, the Prairies, and British Columbia, where many land-hungry Finns also acquired homesteads. The geographical similarities between Finland and some Canadian regions were certainly a part of the attraction.

Special attention must be given to the British Colum-

bian developments in the early years of the twentieth century. A short-lived utopian socialist community called Sointula (Harmony) was launched on Malcolm Island in 1901. The endeavour was led by the socialist agitator and idealist Matti Kurikka from Finland (via Australia, where he had sought to launch another colony of working people). Sointula failed because of internal disputes and a disastrous fire, but the community lent a distinct mark on the whole of Finnish North American history.

Figure 1 below shows the numbers of Finnish immigrants to Canada during the twentieth century. We can detect three major immigrant waves and a more or less continuing migration during the whole of the 1900s. It is evident that migration movements always depend on a range of international and domestic factors such as economic trends, government immigration policies, international conflicts or wars, and local push and pull factors.



Numbers of Finnish immigrants to Canada during the twentieth century.

1. A curious part in Canadian history was played by another Swedish-speaking Finn, Gustaf von Schoultz (1807-1838), who led an armed convoy from the United States to Prescott, Ontario, in an unsuccessful effort to "liberate" Upper Canada from the British rule. He received military training in Sweden, took part in the battle for Polish independence, married a Scottish woman in Italy, moved to the United States in 1836, and started a career as an entrepreneur. He was hanged in Fort Henry, Upper Canada, in December 1838. See Ronald J. Stagg, "Schoultz, Nils von," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7. (University of Toronto/Université Laval).

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=>

The Finnish-Canadian community was by and large split into two major ideological halves, the left-wing "Reds" and the right-wing nationalist "Whites," with labels going back to the Finnish Civil War. Such classifications cannot obviously be very definite, and the intensity of being in the "Red" or "White" denomination certainly had great individual variations. Thus, the borders of those two main groups were fluid, and many Canadian Finns preferred to stay out of the two factions altogether and to live their everyday lives in neutral terms.

By the 1920s, Finnish immigrant communities across the country matured, and cultural and economic activities poured across Canada. According to Varpu Lindström, universally literate Finns became active participants in political debate and strong supporters of the Canadian labour and suffrage movements. During the First World War, many Finnish immigrants showed their loyalty to Canada by volunteering to serve in the Canadian Armed Forces.³ It also pays to remember that the paths of the Finns in Canada followed to a great extent those of the earlier and more abundant Finnish experiences in the United States. Cross-border connections were often very active, and many Finns crossed the border to find new locations in the neighbouring country, whether North or South.

The newly independent Finland recognized the importance of good relations with Canada and its growing Finnish immigrant population. On January 23, 1923, Akseli Rauanheimo (1871–1932) was appointed Finnish Consul in Canada, and a Finnish Consulate was opened in Montréal that same year. Rauanheimo became influential in Finnish Canadian society, helping his countrymen and women in settling down. He also wrote a popular book *Kanadan-Kirja* (1930) about the everyday lives of Finnish immigrants in Canada.

Canada introduced restrictive immigration policies in 1931. The immigration flow reversed, as many unemployed Finns returned to their homeland. The Depression had struck a heavy blow against all layers and ideological orientations of the Finnish immigrant communities, and

the Canadian government policies grew increasingly strict toward certain immigrant activities. Several hundreds of Finns were deported to their country of origin, mainly because widespread unemployment had made them unable to support themselves or their families. The remaining Finnish left-wing activists in Canada participated in demonstrations, hunger marches, and strikes, all monitored and censored by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). Some cases raised a lot of attention, such as that of Arvo Vaara, editor of *Vapaus*. The FOC was banned in 1940, its property confiscated, and its halls closed until the cancellation of the ban in 1943.

Two distinct features emerge from the Finnish-Canadian experience. One was the large re-emigration of Finns from North America to Soviet Karelia, which had called to unemployment-stricken people to come and build a socialist society. In the early years of the 1930s, around 3,000 Finns from both the United States and Canada made their pilgrimage to Soviet Karelia. Some of them were able to return, but many were killed in the Stalinist purges to come. The other distinct feature was the participation of Canadian Finns in the Spanish Civil War in 1936–1939. Inspired by international solidarity to the Spanish Republican cause, hundreds of Finns took part in the war.

The outbreak of the Second World War affected in many ways Finland and Finns overseas. When the Soviet Union attacked Finland on November 30, 1939, the Winter War became headline news. Canadian public opinion supported the "David" in the fight against the "Goliath", and aid was promised from many Western countries. About 250 Finnish immigrants left Canada to fight for Finland, joining the "American Legion." Initially the Canadian Foreign Enlistment Act was a hindrance for Canadian citizens who also wished to volunteer in this battle.

Many Finland Aid organizations worked to collect all kinds of material help for Finland. Canada announced on March 1, 1940 that its citizens were free to enlist for service in the Finnish Armed Forces, and Colonel Hunter, Member

³ Lindström, Varpu, "History of Finland-Canada Relations," Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Embassy of Finland, Ottawa. Last modified December 18, 2008; accessed August 4, 2016. <http://www.finland.ca/public/default.aspx?nodeid=36033&>

Finnish Canadian population by Province and Territory in Canada in 2011:

Province or territory	Finnish Canadians
Canada	136,215
Ontario	74,505
British Columbia	31,610
Alberta	16,285
Saskatchewan	4,470
Manitoba	3,850
Quebec	2,725
Nova Scotia	1,115
New Brunswick	710
Yukon	435
Newfoundland and Labrador	225
Prince Edward Island	160
Northwest Territories	100
Nunavut	25



Note: as a percentage of population, the most Finnish-Canadians live in the Yukon (1.28%), British Columbia (.72%) and Ontario (.58%).
 Source: Statistics Canada. 2011 National Household Survey: Data tables. Map © Pluribus Anthony.

of Provincial Parliament of Ontario, was offered the command of would-be Canadian and British forces in Finland. The aim was to send 2,000 more men immediately to help fight in Finland. However, the transfer of troops never realized, as an armistice was declared on March 13, 1940. Aid to Finland activity, however, continued for another year, and following the Continuation War 1941–1944 between Finland and the Soviet Union, aid was sent to Finland for many years.

Many things changed thoroughly when Finland cooperated with German forces to reclaim the areas it had lost in the Winter War. The relations between Finland and Canada cooled during the spring and summer of 1941, a few days after Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June, 1941. Finns now became Germany's co-belligerents fighting the Soviet Union. The British Delegation in Helsinki, which looked after Canadian interests in Finland, was closed, and Finnish consulates in Canada were ordered to close as well.

After diplomatic pressure from the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom declared war on Finland on December 6, 1941 – Finland's Independence Day. Canada reluctantly followed suit the next day. According to Lindström, two hours before the news of Pearl Harbor reached Ottawa, Finnish immigrants were issued exemption certificates that protected them from harsh treatment as enemy aliens in Canada. Unlike the Japanese, Italian, and German immigrants, the Finnish citizens in Canada were only required to be fingerprinted by the RCMP. However, some restrictions applied to their mobility and ability to own firearms, mail service and money transactions stopped, and some property was confiscated and held by the Custodian of Enemy Property. During the remainder of the war Finnish Canadians gave their full support to the Canadian war effort by enlisting in the Canadian Armed Forces, working in the war industries, and raising funds. Finally, Germany's surrender in May 1945 began the normalization of Finnish Canadian relations.

The requirement for Finns to be registered in Canada was removed in September 1945. The Paris Peace Treaty was ratified by the Parliament of Canada on September 19, 1947, and Finland's enemy status was revoked.

Neither the "Red" nor the "White" approach proved very successful in winning over younger second-generation Finns in Canada.

The war years brought with them a string of changes in the lives of the Finnish Canadians. At first, Finns and Finnish Canadians received a lot of sympathy as almost heroes, while a small fraction in the left-wing Finn community righteously argued that the Soviet Union had been provoked by Finland to attack. Then, during the years of the Continuation War, the Soviet Union suddenly became an ally of Canada. The Canadian Finns became "enemies," which affected their living conditions and attitudes towards Finnish Canadians. Their community was split, as the so-called loyalist or "White Finns" wanted to assure their sympathies for the Canadian state and society. However, following the end of the Second World War, the situation began to normalize: controls over the Finnish Canadians were lifted, and friendly relations between Canada and Finland gradually resumed.

Canada entered into a postwar boom. Canadian export industries in the agricultural and resource sectors were short of workers at the same time as many returning soldiers – younger Canadian Finns included – were looking to live and work in the growing urban regions. The Canadian government therefore encouraged immigration schemes that placed the newcomers as construction, mine, farm, and lumber workers.

The postwar years saw a new immigration wave arrive to Canada from Finland. Travel increased, and visa requirements were removed at the beginning of 1959. As already shown in Figure 1, the most important feature in the Finnish Canadian community from the end of the Second World War until 1960 was renewed immigration from Finland.

The Finnish newcomers were usually much better educated and came with a broader mix of skills. Given this background and their experience of the Winter and Continuation Wars against the Soviet Union, few among the new arrivals were attracted to the left-oriented politics of the early immigrants. Edward W. Laine argues that the newcomers were not altogether enamoured with the resident "White" Finns, their customs or organizations, either. They often found them to be uncouth and uncultured individuals who had been further debased by their long time presence in Canada. In their view, neither the Finnish-Canadian old-timers nor their offspring spoke proper Finnish any more, but used a corrupted form of "kitchen Finnish" called "Finglish". Nor were they thoroughly schooled in the cultural values and identity of true Finns. Under the circumstances, those newcomers aspiring to leadership roles in the "White" community took over the executive positions in existing organizations or founded rival organizations of their own. There is an equal gap to be found between the third-wave immigrants and the more recent newcomers from Finland who generally boast postgraduate schooling, professional careers, refined technical skills, or backgrounds in high technology.

In the postwar years, the leftist Finnish Organization of Canada was depoliticized and marginalized. There was still individual-level support both financially and morally for a left-wing ideology and labour unionism in many industries and locations, and the organization still continued to

Finns have had a special history, which has been acknowledged in the strong Finnish areas of the Great Lakes and the West in particular. Most of all, they have contributed to the building of the Canadian welfare society.

feature in many local and regional elections. In this respect there was a lot of similarity with the left-of-centre experiences in the United States: the Cold War years had a distressing impact on the left supporters in both countries.

Laine also pays attention to the identity of Finns in Canada, noting that the FOC or the left wished to Canadianize the Finnish context. Many "White Finns" in turn maintained an insular existence within Canadian society, and found inspiration in the Finnish culture and identity of the Old Country. To them, "Finnish Canadians" were "Canadian Finns," with the emphasis on Finns in Canada rather than on Finnish Canadians. Thus, neither the "Red" nor the "White" approach proved very successful in winning over younger second-generation Finns in Canada, which has jeopardized their organizational and generational continuation.

A number of individual life stories show successful adaptation into Canadian society. These include the business success of Peter Nygård and the political career of Judy Erola, but we

also need to look at the total picture of Finnish Canadiana. Recent emigration of Finns to Canada remains quite small in numbers, and even if 136,000 people recognize their ethnic Finnish background, Finns are in a small minority in the mixture of multi-ethnic Canada. Finns have nevertheless had a special history, which has been acknowledged in the strong Finnish areas of the Great Lakes and the West in particular. Most of all, they have contributed to the building of the Canadian welfare society.

And the process of acculturation in Canadian multi-ethnic society continues among the Finnish immigrant generations. Attached to Canadian society and values, they also carry their Finnish inheritance, and continue to compose an immigrant culture of traditions and practices from both continents.

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The Finnish-Canadian Contribution to Labour and Politics in the Early Twentieth Century

Michel S. Beaulieu

During the first 35 years of the twentieth century, socialism in Canada owed much to the presence and enthusiastic support of Finnish immigrants. This is remarkable considering Finns only made up a minority of the Canadian labour force. Many of these workers had already been radicalized before immigrating to Canada by the changing nature of politics in Finland in the wake of rampant industrialization and the Russian Tsar's program of Russification. Many sought political refuge in the burgeoning Canadian socialist organizations.

Finnish immigrants injected new ideas into existing Canadian socialist organizations that had previously been based on policies derived from British and American trade unionist and labour politics. At the Lakehead, Finns played a crucial role in the development of the early history of the left.

Upon their arrival to Canada, most Finnish workers did not share common cause with the existing Anglo-dominated trade unions organized under the American Federation of Labor and later the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada. In fact, the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada advertised itself in the Lakehead as the only organization in the region capable of protecting workers from "cheap, foreign-born labour."

As a result, Finns formed their own workers' associations, based on the same principles that had guided the Finnish cooperative movement in the late nineteenth century. The Port Arthur Finnish Workingmen's Association, Imatra #9, formed in 1903, was one such organization. Its membership drew heavily from the Finns dissatisfied with the social and political discussions in the local churches and temperance associations. The expressed goal of the Amerikan Suomalainen Työväenliitto Imatra was the dissemination of socialism by taking an active role in cultural, edu-

cational, and political activities. Activities centred around the Finnish labour halls or temples. This "hall socialism" remained a powerful force among Finns.

One of the most visible characteristics of Finnish involvement in politics during the first two migration waves was the role of women such as Sanna Kannasto as regional and national advocates on the issue of women's suffrage. Having achieved the right to vote in Finland in 1906, many women were astounded to discover that they lost what was considered a basic right when they arrived in Canada. Through lecturing in halls to sewing circles, these women discussed and debated a host of issues ranging from contraception, maternal health, the nature of marriage and abortion to the writings of Karl Kautsky and Vladimir Lenin. Their progressiveness and willingness to counter the dogma of the Canadian state led them to being branded as troublemakers, unfit parents, and prostitutes. Their most vocal opponents were the wives of the Anglo elite who would themselves later champion the right to vote movement.

Dissatisfied with the lack of political action undertaken by the parent organization, Finnish socialists associated with the Imatra #9 in Port Arthur and Fort William actively pushed the Imatra #9 League to play a greater role in politics and unions where Finnish populations existed. Long blocked from political involvement and frustrated by the English orientation of trade unions, local Finnish workers established a branch of the Socialist Party of Canada in Port Arthur in 1906. This provided a natural home for those Finnish-Canadian socialists who were looking to take a more active political role within Canada and had left the Imatra #9 League.

By 1910 internal divisions had taken a toll on the party. Differences in political ideas and eth-

nic tensions resulted in the Finns, led by those in Port Arthur and Fort William, to leave the Socialist Party of Canada. Desiring to provide socialists with a new national alternative, the former Port Arthur Finnish Socialist Party of Canada local called for a dominion convention to unite the various dissatisfied factions. Representatives met at the Lakehead on December 30 and 31, 1911 to formally discuss unity.

The nature of the location was symbolic. With its foot firmly in both the Eastern and Western Canadian socialist movements, the Lakehead was seen as a bridge for what many in attendance hoped was the beginning of a pan-national party. The goals of the newly formed Social Democratic Party of Canada were to educate workers "to consciousness of their class position in society, their economic servitude to the owners of capital, and to organize them into a political party to seize the reins of government and transform all capitalist property into the collective property of the working class."

The Finnish members of the new party wanted to ensure a level of independence and to avoid the problems that had led to the Socialist Party

of Canada's implosion. Following a plan first suggested by Port Arthur Finns in September 1911, they decided to form a separate yet affiliated organization of their own, headquartered in Toronto. By October, the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada had 19 locals affiliated to the Social Democratic Party of Canada and a combined membership of 1,205. By 1914, this number had increased to 3,000 members in over 64 locals throughout the country.

The First World War years were not good for socialists in Canada. Increasingly, government agencies targeted them for their anti-war messages. The Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada in regions with a Finnish population became one of the most vocal in the protest of deplorable working and living conditions. Finnish workers soon found themselves the objects of suspicion and, particularly after the onset of the First World War, workers who had stood shoulder to shoulder in strikes before the war were divided further between those labelled "enemy aliens" and those who were not.

In response, Finns and other non-Anglo workers began to look for alternatives. They found it, for



Finnish Labour Temple. Donor: Mrs Anderson. Thunder Bay Finnish Canadian Historical Society Collection, MG8,D,1,1,A,12. Lakehead University Archives.

a short time, in the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies). Upset with the activities of the local American Federation of Labor unions and the general apathy expressed toward both immigrant workers and, specifically, lumber workers by both the Trades and Labour Congress and local labour councils, Finns led the charge to establish an Industrial Workers of the World presence in 1916. The IWW carried out its activities through Lumber Workers' Industrial Union support circles located in largely Finnish lumber camps. Although the organization did appeal to many English-speaking workers, the backbone of the IWW during this period became the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada. This had a lot to do with the conversion of leading organizers to the Wobbly cause. It was also the IWW and the Finns that took the lead in Northwestern Ontario in supporting the Russian Revolution as it had profoundly influenced political developments in Finland.

However, the War Measures Act and Section 98 of the Criminal Code enacted in 1918 virtually stopped all socialist activities in Canada. The organizations of Finns and other ethnic groups were particularly targeted due to their "socialist" tendencies imported from their homeland. The Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada ceased to operate and the Industrial Workers of the World was forced to go underground. Most Finnish workers in the region began to support the formation of the One Big Union in the month before the Winnipeg General Strike in spring 1919. All Finnish IWW auxiliaries that had existed before the war joined en masse these new organizations, and the One Big Union took control of the Finnish Labour Temple.

This situation was short-lived. Difference over how the organizations should be structured –

based on geography or industry (which the Finns supported) – led to fissures in the One Big Union and, in 1922, many left. The majority in the region went back to the Industrial Workers of the World, which once again gained control of the Labour Temple. Others, whose numbers were bolstered by an influx of new immigrants from Finland who had fought for the Reds in the Finnish Civil War, eventually joined the Community Party of Canada. It had established a foothold in the region by 1923 through the activities of Finns such as former Wobbly A.T. Hill, who had been had been swayed to the communist banner due to the events of 1917 and 1918.

By 1925, Finns made up about 60%, or 2,620 of 4,000, of the party's membership and operated largely through the Finnish Organization of Canada. They established their own hall at 316 Bay Street in Port Arthur, and, between 1923 and 1935, the two organizations fought for the allegiance of Finnish workers. Royal Canadian Mounted Police reports at the time reveal that the Finns in Fort William and Port Arthur alone were believed to represent over 15% of all Bolshevik agitation in Canada during this time.

After flirting with revolutionary and direct action from 1914 to 1935, Finns turned, at least at the Lakehead, back to the social democracy that had driven them from their homes, as many threw their lot in with the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the new "voice" of the left after the Second World War. Subsequent migration of Finns in the late 1950s and 1960s further led to involvement in established political parties and, by 1962, control of the Finnish Labour Temple for the first time in almost 30 years did not rest with a socialist organization.

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La contribution finlando-canadienne au travail et à la politique au début du vingtième siècle

Michel S. Beaulieu

Traduit par Madeleine Bernard et Michel S. Beaulieu

Les historiens ont affirmé depuis longtemps que les 35 premières années de travail au Canada devaient beaucoup à la présence et à l'enthousiasme des immigrants finlandais, fait remarquable compte tenu du fait que les Finlandais ne représentaient qu'une minorité des travailleurs canadiens. Beaucoup de ces travailleurs avaient été radicalisés avant d'émigrer au Canada, en raison des changements politiques causés en Finlande par l'industrialisation effrénée et les programmes de russification des tsars. Beaucoup d'entre eux cherchèrent un refuge politique dans les organisations socialistes en plein essor.

Les immigrants finlandais insufflèrent des idées nouvelles aux organisations socialistes existantes, jusqu'alors inspirées par les idées politiques des mouvements ouvriers et syndicats britanniques et américains. Au Lakehead, les Finlandais jouèrent un rôle crucial dans le développement historique de la gauche.

Dès leur arrivée au Canada, la plupart des travailleurs finlandais ne firent pas cause commune avec les syndicats à dominance anglo-saxonne sous l'égide de l'American Federation of Labour et, plus tard, le Congrès du Travail du Canada. En fait, ce dernier se présenta au Lakehead comme seule organisation en mesure d'offrir une protection contre "les travailleurs étrangers à bas coût".

En conséquence, les Finlandais formèrent leurs propres organisations à partir des principes qui avaient guidé le mouvement coopératif finlandais à la fin du XIX^e siècle. La Port Arthur Finnish Workingmen's Organization, Imatra #9, formée en 1903, constituait l'une de ces organisations. Ses membres se recrutaient largement parmi les Finlandais insatisfaits des débats sociaux et politiques dans les églises et sociétés de tempérance. La Amerikan Suomalainen Työväenliitto Imatra avait pour but proclamé de disséminer

le socialisme par un rôle actif dans les activités culturelles, politiques et éducatives. Ces activités se déroulaient principalement dans les Maisons (halls) ou "Temples" des travailleurs finlandais. Ce "socialisme des Halls" demeura une force puissante parmi les Finlandais.

Le rôle de femmes telles que Sanna Kanasto dans la revendication du droit de vote des femmes, aux plans régional et national, constitue l'un des caractères les plus visibles de l'implication des Finlandais dans la politique. Ayant obtenu le droit de vote en Finlande en 1909, de nombreuses femmes s'étonnèrent lorsqu'elles découvrirent, après leur arrivée au Canada, la perte d'un droit qu'elles jugèrent fondamental. Grâce à des conférences aux cercles de couturières dans les Halls, ces femmes discutaient et débattaient d'une variété de sujets qui allaient de la contraception, la santé maternelle, la nature du mariage et l'avortement jusqu'aux écrits de Karl Kautsky et de Vladimir Lenine. Leur tendance progressiste et leur propension à contrer les dogmes de l'état canadien les firent cataloguer comme fauteurs de troubles, parents indignes et prostituées. Leurs adversaires les plus acharnés étaient les femmes de l'élite anglo-saxonne, qui devaient plus tard devenir les championnes du suffrage féminin.

Insatisfaits du manque d'action politique de leur maison-mère, les socialistes finlandais, en association avec Imatra #9, à Port Arthur et Fort William, firent activement pression pour que la Ligue Imatra #9 joue un rôle politique et syndical plus important là où existaient des populations finlandaises. Longtemps privés de participation politique et frustrés par l'orientation anglo-saxonne des syndicats, les travailleurs finlandais locaux établirent en 1909 une filiale du Parti socialiste du Canada à Port Arthur. Le Parti socialiste du Canada offrait un refuge naturel

pour les socialistes Finlando-Canadiens qui quittaient Imatra #9 afin de jouer un rôle politique plus actif au Canada.

En 1910, le Parti socialiste du Canada se trouvait affaibli par les divisions internes. En raison de divergences politiques et de tensions ethniques, les Finlandais décidèrent, sous l'influence de personnalités de Port Arthur et Fort William, de quitter le parti. Dans le but de fournir aux socialistes une nouvelle alternative nationale, l'ancienne section locale du Port Arthur Finnish Socialist Party of Canada appela à un congrès national pour unir les différentes factions mécontentes. Les représentants tinrent les 30 et 31 décembre 1911, au Lakehead, des discussions formelles en vue d'une union.

Le choix de l'endroit avait une portée symbolique. Fermement enraciné tant dans les mouvements socialistes de l'Est du Canada que dans ceux de l'ouest, on considérait le Lakehead comme point de rencontre pour ce que beaucoup de participants espéraient être le début d'un grand parti pan-national. Le Parti social-démocratique du Canada avait pour objectifs d'amener les travailleurs à prendre "conscience de leur position de classe dans la société, de leur servitude à l'égard des détenteurs du capital, et de les organiser au sein d'un parti en vue de prendre le pouvoir et de transformer toute propriété capitaliste en bien collectif de la classe ouvrière".

Afin de garantir un niveau d'indépendance et éviter les problèmes qui avaient conduit à l'implosion du Parti socialiste du Canada, les membres finlandais, selon un plan proposé en premier par les Finlandais de Port Arthur en 1911, ont également opté pour l'établissement d'une organisation à base ethnique et culturelle, séparée mais affiliée, avec un quartier-général situé à Toronto. Vers Octobre, la Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada comptait 19 sections locales affiliées au Parti social-démocratique du Canada et 1,205 membres en tout. En 1914, ces nombres atteignaient à travers le pays 64 sections et 3,000 membres.

Les années de la Première Guerre mondiale furent défavorables aux socialistes au Canada. De façon croissante les organismes gouvernementaux les ciblaient en raison de leurs messages

anti-guerre. La Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada, dans les régions à population finlandaise, devint l'un des protestataires les plus véhéments contre les déplorables conditions de travail et de vie de la classe ouvrière. Les travailleurs finlandais devinrent bientôt objets de suspicion et, avec le déclenchement de la guerre, les travailleurs naguère unis côte à côte dans les grèves, se divisèrent entre les "sujets d'un pays ennemi" et les autres.

En réaction, les Finlandais et autres travailleurs non-anglo-saxons se mirent à rechercher des alternatives. Pendant une courte période, ils en trouvèrent une dans les Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies). Mécontents des activités des syndicats locaux affiliés à l'American Federation of Labor et de l'apathie générale à l'égard des travailleurs immigrés et, plus spécifiquement, des travailleurs de l'industrie forestière, manifestée par le Congrès du Travail et ses sections locales, les Finlandais menèrent la charge dans l'établissement d'une présence des Industrial Workers of the World en 1916. Ces derniers agirent grâce aux cercles de soutiens constitués dans la Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, situés principalement dans les camps de travailleurs forestiers finlandais. Quoique les Industrial Workers of the World attirassent de nombreux travailleurs non-anglophones, l'armature du mouvement à cette époque fut la Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada. Les précédentes filiales de la Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada situées dans ces communautés dépendantes de l'industrie forestière commencèrent à favoriser les Industrial Workers of the World. L'adhésion des principaux organisateurs à la cause Wobbly explique ce changement. Ce furent aussi les Industrial Workers of the World et les Finlandais qui prirent la tête du soutien à la Révolution russe en Ontario du Nord-Ouest, parce que celle-ci avait profondément influencé les développements politiques en Finlande.

Néanmoins, la Loi sur les mesures de guerre et la section 98 du Code criminel, adoptés en 1918 mirent virtuellement fin à toute activité socialiste au Canada. On cibla particulièrement les organisations des Finlandais et d'autres groupes ethniques en raison de leurs tendances "socialistes" importées de leurs patries. La Finnish Socialist

Organization of Canada cessa ses fonctions et les Industrial Workers of the World durent se réfugier dans la clandestinité. La plupart des travailleurs finlandais de la région se mirent à soutenir la création de la One Big Union dans le mois précédant la Grève générale de Winnipeg au printemps 1919. Tous auxiliaires finlandais des Industrial Workers of the World de l'avant-guerre rejoignirent en masse les nouvelles organisations et le One Big Union prit le contrôle du Finnish Labour Temple.

Cette situation fut éphémère. Des divergences à propos de la façon de structurer l'organisation, fondée sur la géographie ou sur l'industrie (solution favorisée par les Finlandais), causèrent des divisions au sein de la One Big Union et, en 1922, beaucoup la quittèrent. La majorité dans la région revint chez les Industrial Workers of the World, qui regagnèrent une fois encore le contrôle du Finnish Labour Temple. Toutefois, d'autres, dont le nombre crût avec les nouveaux immigrants qui avaient combattu aux côtés des Rouges durant la Guerre civile de Finlande, rejoignirent le Parti communiste du Canada, qui avait pris pied dans la région en 1923, grâce aux activités de Finlandais tels que l'ancien wobbly A. T. Hill poussé vers

le communisme par les événements de 1917 et 1918. En 1925, au plan national, les Finlandais représentaient environ 60% des effectifs du parti, soit 2620 membres sur 4000, et ils œuvraient principalement par l'entremise de la Finnish Organization of Canada. Ils établirent leur propre Maison au 316 Bay Street et, de 1923 à 1935, les deux organisations rivalisèrent pour l'allégeance des travailleurs finlandais. Les rapports de la Gendarmerie royale du Canada révèlent que l'on estimait à l'époque que les Finlandais à eux seuls produisaient 15% de toute l'agitation bolchévique au Canada.

Après avoir penché vers l'action directe et révolutionnaire entre 1914 et 1935, ils revinrent, tout au moins au Lakehead, vers la social-démocratie, qui les avait chassés de leur patrie, et se tournèrent vers la Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, nouvelle "voix" de la gauche après la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. Les migrations subséquentes des années 1950 et 1960 eurent pour effet une implication dans les partis politiques établis et, en 1962, le Finnish Labour Temple cessa pour la première fois en 30 ans d'être sous le contrôle d'une organisation socialiste.

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Finnish Influence in the Canadian Labour Movement: A Cause Transplanted

Ahti Tolvanen

At the opening of the twentieth century, Finnish civil society was deeply engaged in a struggle for assertion of national identity in the political context of the Russian Empire. After the 1905 general strike, socialist ideas which informed the labour movement at home and abroad loomed large in that struggle.

During the Russification efforts before and after the strike, many activists were transported to Siberia or were forced to flee abroad, mainly to the United States and Canada. Many were members of the radical intelligentsia, journalists, authors, politicians, and labour organizers. In Finnish centres such as Thunder Bay, Ontario, they became quickly identified by the locals as "The Gentlemen from Helsinki." There were quite a few "Helsinki Ladies" as well, women like Sanna Kannasto, who had become active during the movement to win suffrage for their sex, which Finland became one of the first countries to achieve in 1906.

There was something of an over-representation of socialist intellectuals with nationalist leanings among Finnish immigrants to Canada at least until the end of the First World War. This might also describe other immigrants fleeing Russification, notably Ukrainians and Russian Jews. The Finns stand out particularly because of their extensive successful organizing efforts in the liberal climate of the Grand Duchy of Finland before Russification.

Finns both at home and in the diaspora were largely in a "mobilized" mode before the Second World War, which characterized their choices for social participation. At the turn of the century over 70% of Finnish immigrants to Canada were classified as farmers or workers. One quarter were occupationally classified as "unknown." The role of intellectuals in social mobilizations is difficult to quantify by such statistics but this does

not imply their influence cannot be discerned in qualitative terms.

Theirs was a particular brand of social idealism which went beyond modest reforms or the concerns of a particular trade. Finnish leftists' views encompassed a holistic vision of a better, fairer society – a vision which had been fondly harboured and fostered over almost a century of imagining the birth of a Finnish nation.

When committed social activists experience the adversity of exile, the responses range from resignation, even renunciation of social engagement, to ethnic enclavism to retreatism to the other extreme of intensified engagement. All of these reactions to exile were evident among the turn-of-the-century immigrant activists.

How individual Finnish activists responded to their exile was determined by factors such as the depth and success of their activism in Finland, settlement location in Canada and the array of personal skills they brought with them. These labour intellectuals also possessed study skills either learned in educational institutions or through self-study which they were able to apply to learn the English language. Thus many of them also became natural community interpreters and leaders.

Language certainly proved a high threshold for those who wanted to pursue their political ideals. Parliamentary or municipal politics was not accessible to most because of fluency and citizenship requirements. Activism in ethnic and labour organizations served as a natural outlet.

Many became entrepreneurs, tradesmen, farmers, and labourers, leaving politics to others. Matti Kurikka was an example of retreatism and became engaged in founding a utopian colony in Sointula after pursuing a career of political activism in Finland.

Journalism and the publication of books and pamphlets was a signature activity of political activists, as is exemplified by the founding of the *Vapaus* (Freedom) Publishing Company in Sudbury and of the *Työkansa* (Working People) newspaper and publishing company in Port Arthur, Ontario. Tomes on economics and socialism by self-educated thinkers like Port Arthur's Moses Hahl circulated in Finnish communities throughout North America. The poems and stories of writers like Aku Päiviö inspired thousands of Finnish readers of these publications. Before the First World War the *Työkansa* was published as a daily newspaper, something which has not been seen since in the Finnish diaspora although the local Finnish immigrant population has increased tenfold.

There was also a boom in hall-building, particularly by the Finnish Organization of Canada (FOC) to provide a venue for social education through theatre, lectures, study groups, and political organizing. The dances, films, and entertainments always drew the masses in greater numbers, and the political activists tolerated these because they wanted to hold members. Theatre was a key vehicle of popular education in Finn halls all over the country; writer-director Felix Hyske was particularly sought after by audiences as well as Finnish-speaking amateur actors.

There were also Lutheran churches in the main Finnish centres such as Sudbury, Toronto, and Port Arthur, but they could not attract the numbers of the socialist halls. This was not so much because of hostility between the church and the labour movement but because the church in Finland was viewed as a quasi-state body into which one was born rather than actively joined and supported. It was not until well after the Second World War that Finnish Lutheranism found the social interpretations of the gos-

pel that were already engaging workers and the unemployed in other denominations before the World War 1.

For many, the exile was viewed as only a temporary period before alleviated conditions in Finland would permit returning to resume the nationalist struggle. Some succeeded: for example, Eero Erkkö returned from New York, where he had helped launch the newspaper *Amerikan Kaiku* (American Echo), to Helsinki to found the *Helsingin Sanomat*, which later became the country's main daily. Among the returnees was also labour activist Santeri Nuorteva, who later joined thousands of other immigrants to found a socialist community in Karelia.

The entire Karelian Exodus of the interwar period in fact revealed the strong sense of socialist nationalism many Finns harboured in returning to the nearest alternative Finnish territory after being excluded from Finnish society as socialists after the 1918 Civil War. The socialist commitment of many immigrant Finns was also clearly expressed by their significant representation in the North American contingents in the Spanish Civil War, the Lincoln and Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion.

The 1918 Civil War, Finland's tragic episode in the Great War, was a watershed for many who had viewed themselves as exiles in wait of a changed political climate. Finland remained a hostile environment for socialist politics also into the 1930s. It was a time of the ascendancy of the



Vapaus newspaper delivery. Sudbury, circa 1930s. Photo: Finnish Canadian Historical Society.

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-



Lumber strikers at Finnish Labour Temple, July 1935. Donor: S. Kaukola. Thunder Bay Finnish Canadian Historical Society Collection, MG8,D,1,1,G,I13. Lakehead University Archives.

izations in Canada up to that time. By the early 1930s well over 50% of all Canadian workers had joined three national unions. The most influential part of this movement was the Workers' Unity League, which had brought in large numbers of unemployed and immigrants. It was a historic achievement in the struggle for a national labour movement in Canada. By then the Finnish labour activists had lost their public image as "foreign agitators" and had become respected allies in the struggle for work and wages which involved more and more Canadians as the Depression deepened. By 1936 collective agreement provisions were becoming part of Ontario's provincial policy to improve conditions for workers in the lumber industry.

With the rise of Fascism in Germany, the Canadian Communist Party was directed in the mid-thirties from Moscow to adopt a new internationalism. They were ordered to discontinue separate Canadian organizing and support the affiliation of all unions with the continental labour movement through the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The new slogan became "A United Front against Fascism."

As the Depression deepened, immigration dwindled and deportations became a prominent phenomenon on Canada's migration scene. The numbers of deportees, among them radical Finns, rose to exceed over one third the numbers of admitted immigrants during the 1930s. Other leftist Finns went off to fight in Spain. Among those who remained the new internationalist policy led quickly to disunity within the broad labour movement and to disaffection of most Finnish activists with the Communist Party. Strikes witnessed intense competition and often confusion, particularly in Northern Ontario where Finnish organizers of Syndicalist and WUL factions repeatedly fought parallel strikes on separate organizing principles. At the same time, the communist left declined as a political force and was soon overshadowed by the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the predecessor of the New Democratic Party (NDP).

This also coincided with the falling into public discredit of the hard austerity policies of Prime Minister R.B. Bennett's Conservative government. There is much evidence that after Bennett's demise Mackenzie King's Liberals were able to draw considerable support from Finns in areas with a leftist identity.

During WW2, Finnish organizations were again closed, as Finland was forced to accept German support to repel Russian invasion. But the heroic repulsion of the Russian invader during the Winter War also put Finns abroad in a new light. The leftists of the FOC and the churches found a common cause in soliciting aid and sending packages through Suomi-Apu (Finland Aid) to those suffering from the war in the home country.

In the post-WW2 era, a realigned Lumber Workers' Union carried on in the struggle to improve wages and working conditions, eventually becoming part of the new Canadian labour movement.

Thus in the first half of the twentieth century Finnish union activists had played a key role in creating the more equitable working conditions into which the new influx of their countrymen in the 1950s and 1960s entered.

Social historians have pointed out that a distinguishing feature of Canadian society in the North American community is the high membership of Canadian working people in labour organizations. Despite the expansion of the unorganized service sector and self-employment, one third of all working people belong to unions. In the US, by contrast, the union participation rate is only 11%. The postwar era has also seen the re-emergence of national unions still aspiring to the level they achieved before the Depression. In Canada, most union members (over 70%) belong to Canadian unions. Unions have

contributed to the more equitable distribution of wealth in Canada as well as a sense of social and international solidarity far beyond the sphere of their own membership. This includes national and provincial policies on workplace safety, pensions, unemployment insurance, and universal health care.

The highest ideals of the Canadian labour movement were expressed not only in organizing and strikes but in the everyday contribution members made through their work and daily lives to create a community where people can live out their lives in dignity and material security. To this movement Finnish labour activists brought the ideals of a transplanted nationalism. With time they learned to temper the leftist ideals for the independence of their own country to a land they never expected to be in but learned to call home.

In terms of numbers, the Canadian Finns were and still continue to be a minor immigrant group. Their total numbers (59,000 in 1971) have seldom exceeded even the number of immigrants arriving in Canada in a single year (121,900 in 1971). Considering this, their impact on Canada's left-wing labour and politics has been nothing short of remarkable. Of the many influences Finnish immigrants have had on their new homeland, the role they played in shaping the foundations of a modern Canadian labour movement may well be their most important contribution to building the Canada we celebrate in 2017.

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Final Destination Halifax

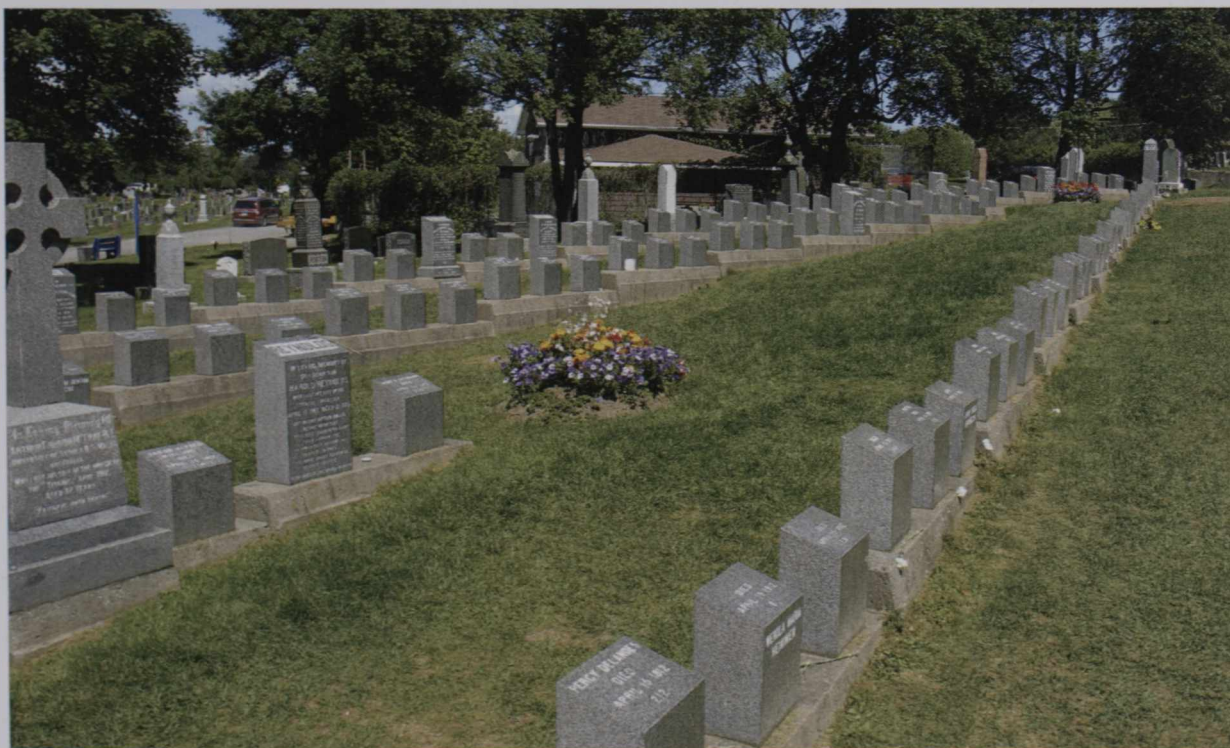
Markku Henriksson

RMS *Titanic* sailed on April 10, 1912 from Southampton, England, with more than 2,200 passengers and crew onboard. Among them were 63 Finns, who were looking for a better life in the United States. We all know what happened. Around midnight between April 14 and 15, *Titanic* hit an iceberg, and more than 1,500 people drowned. Among them were 43 Finns, most of whom were never discovered. Only five Finns have been recognized. Four of them have found their final resting place in Fairview Lawn Cemetery in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada.

Like Wilhelm Gustafsson from Ruotsinpyhtää (Strömfors), many of the 328 recovered victims were buried at sea, but 209 bodies were brought to Halifax, the closest major port. The White Star Line, owner of *Titanic*, also had offices in Halifax.

The company purchased a section of land in the Fairview Lawn Cemetery, where all of the victims thought to be Protestant were buried. White Star Line paid for small black granite headstones engraved with the name and the number of the victim and the date of the tragedy.

Not all headstones have a name, as about 40 of the victims buried in Halifax have not been identified. Sometimes it took a long time before the researchers could identify a body. A special ceremony was held in 1991 for six victims identified only recently. Among them were Jenny Henriksson from Stockholm (identified for her initials J.H.), and Wendla Maria Heininen from Laitila. Her body, No. 8, had V.H. embroidered on her chemise, and she had 150 Finnish marks sewn into her clothes.



Titanic Grave Site, Fairview Cemetery, Halifax, Nova Scotia. 2013. Photo: Markku Henriksson

A body of a very young child was one of the first bodies recovered by seamen from the cable ship *MacKay Bennett* at the location of the sinking of *Titanic*. Moved by this sad event, the crew of the *MacKay Bennett* asked to sponsor a memorial service for the Unknown Child, for whom they also purchased a headstone. The Coroner's records and passenger list combined to identify the child as Gösta Leonard Pålsson, aged two. He was the youngest of four Swedish children who embarked at Southampton with their mother Alma Pålsson, who is also buried in Fairview as Alma Paulson.

This did not, however, solve the child's mystery. In 2004, based on modern DNA research, the Unknown Child was recognized as the 13-month-old Eino Panula, whose mother and four brothers also drowned with *Titanic*. But doubts still remained. A pair of leather shoes recovered from the unknown child caused the researchers to question the identification, as the shoes were too large for a 13-month-old to wear. New research led to new identification in 2007, and the Unknown Child is now believed to be 19-month-old Sidney Leslie Goodwin from England.

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Titanic Grave Site, Fairview Cemetery, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 2013. Photo: Markku Henriksson

Thunder Bay Sisu: Keeping Canada–Finland Ties Strong

Samira Saramo

It takes a certain toughness of character to make a life in a cold, rugged, and isolated environment. The statement rings equally true for Finns as it does for people from Lake Superior's Canadian north shore. The Finns have a word to capture that character – *sisu* – which has also become a symbol of identity in the Thunder Bay, Ontario region. The tenacity and perseverance that is captured by *sisu* stands as a clear link, connecting one of North America's oldest and largest Finnish immigrant communities with Finland. Since Canada's first decade of Confederation, a steady flow of people and ideas have travelled between Thunder Bay and Finland. Thunder Bay's deep pride in its Finnish roots and embrace of its unique Finnish–Canadian *sisu* allows this Northwestern Ontario city with a “giant heart” to make significant contributions to maintaining and developing ties with Finland.

Today, some 14,500 people in Thunder Bay claim Finnish descent, equalling about 13% of the city's population and earning the title of Canada's largest population of Finns per capita. Thunder Bay's Finnish immigration history has followed the same broad patterns that played out nationally, with the first waves arriving from the 1870s, significant numbers more following the First World War and the Finnish Civil War, and the final major wave arriving after the Second World War. The lingering mark of this Finnish settlement is felt through numerous Finnish names on road signs and classroom roll calls, ubiquitous Thunder Bay saunas, and the favourite breakfast of locals – Finnish pancakes. But Finnishness in Thunder Bay is not only a familial matter. From the earliest immigrants bringing their songs, recipes, and lumbering techniques to current cultural, artistic, entrepreneurial, and educational exchanges, Thunder Bay's Finnish legacy continues to develop through reciprocity.

Thunder Bay has been joined to Seinäjoki, Finland, through significant historic immigration, but also through the cultural ties of the Sister City program since 1974. Beyond formal cultural exchanges such as this, Thunder Bay art and culture have a longstanding relationship with Finland. Perhaps the most striking Finnish presence in the city, the Finnish Labour Temple, owned by the community members of the Finlandia Association of Thunder Bay, has been a beacon of Finnish and Finnish-immigrant culture since its grand opening in 1910.

With a rich history of politics, theatre, music, dancing, and athletics, the Finnish Labour Temple continues to offer community programming with all the hustle and bustle of the early twentieth century. Traditional Finnish culture is still regularly performed at “the Hall,” with thanks to the Pelimanni Orchestra, Finnish men's and women's choirs, and the dance group *Kiikurit*. Performances by visiting musicians and dancers from Finland are, likewise, always warmly welcomed at the Hall. Occasional Finnish plays are still produced by the Thunder Bay Ystävyyskerho (Friendship Society) and others, complemented by a regular season of English-language productions by Cambrian Players. Painted stage backdrops, costumes, and props going back a century serve as a clear reminder of the Hall's vibrant cultural history that links Finnish and Canadian arts.

The Labour Temple frequently hosts special events that honour the unique culture of North American Finnishness. For example, each March, the Thunder Bay community packs the Hall for the celebration of St. Urho's Day. The accompanying parade is a true multigenerational event, including Finnish immigrant elderly, babies in strollers, and everyone in between. St. Urho's Day often stirs interest in Finland, bringing attention to Thunder Bay through media features, such as in YLE News in 2016.¹ Through

1 Vesa Marttinen, “Amerikansuomalaisten erikoinen perinne voi paksusti – Pyhä Urho täyttää tänään 60 vuotta,” YLE Uutiset, last modified March 17, 2016, <http://yle.fi/uutiset/3-8746893>.

participation in events such as the pan-Canadian Culture Days, the Finlandia Association makes available Finnish traditions and foods – *pulla* and *makkara* are perennial favourites – for the broader city's enjoyment. Thunder Bay is a regular host of the Finnish-Canadian Grand Festival, a multi-day cultural event that brings together Fennophiles from all over Canada and elsewhere.

Since 2004, the Hall has regularly introduced Finnish film and documentary to the city through the Bay Street Film Festival and it has even been the star of a film. The Finnish Labour Temple's history was featured in the popular 2011 docudrama *Under the Red Star*, directed by local film-maker and Finnish descendent Kelly Saxberg. The film was Saxberg's second to feature Thunder Bay's Finnish history, following the powerful 2005 documentary *Letters from Karelia*. Both were widely screened and praised in Finland, connecting Canadian and Finnish film-makers and enthusiasts.

The Finnish influence on Thunder Bay arts and culture, however, extends beyond the Labour Temple. For a decade, local community radio station, LU Radio, featured Finnish-language music, news, and interviews on the program *Ulkonaiset*, which was broadcast internationally. Additionally, Finnish heritage makes its mark on Thunder Bay's visual arts scene. For example, artists Lora Northway and Carol Kajorinne both explore themes relating to their families' and region's ties to Finland, both past and present.² Northway's painting *Nightless Night*, which draws inspiration from her family immigration history and Finnish textiles, was recently chosen as the cover art for Ontario's first Cultural Strategy.³ A metal-smith and mixed media artist, Kajorinne developed a Finnish "Knot of Fate" for use on city bike racks, in an effort to connect citizens with their past and community.

The Finnish-inspired "Fate" bike rack was a part of the City's plan to make local shopping even more attractive and green. Among Thunder Bay's vibrant local businesses, many Finnish stores, bakeries, and restaurants have made a lasting mark. In the Bay-Algoma neighbourhood, known as Thunder Bay's Finnish area, the Scandinavian Deli, Finnport, Harry Bakery, and the Hoito Restaurant join the city's

history with its present. Iittala glassware, Marimekko designs, Fazer chocolates, and *karjalanpiirakka* found in local Finnish shops have become standard Thunder Bay souvenirs, along with amethyst and Persian donuts. Harkening to years past, when public baths could be found across the city, Kangas Sauna is still a popular spot for private saunas and home-style meals, and a must-do for many visitors. As the years pass, it is remarkable to see the resiliency of these Thunder Bay businesses, which no longer serve only Finnish clientele. Instead, they now demonstrate a keen ability to balance Finnish heritage with the needs of current consumers, all while highlighting Finnish products and culture.

The motto of Thunder Bay's Canadian Suomi Foundation well sums up an important position of the local Finnish community: "Learning is an aid to the young and support and comfort to the aged." Finnish language and cultural education provides the community's younger generations with a link to their past and the future possibilities afforded by forging connections with Finland. For the elderly, the upkeep of Finnish cultural activities and language, indeed, offer better support services and the comfort that their traditions will not be forgotten. From kindergarten through university, Thunder Bay provides opportunities in Finnish educational engagement. Elementary school-aged children can – since 1965 – participate in the Thunder Bay Finnish Language School (Suomen Kielen Koulu), which offers free weekly cultural activities and basic language instruction with support from the Lakehead School Board's International Heritage Language Program, Suomi-Seura, Finland's Ministry of Education and Culture, and community fundraising. Once in public high school, Thunder Bay youth can take Finnish language courses for credit, with the possibility of continuing on to university-level language instruction at Lakehead University.

At the centre of many of these educational opportunities is the Canadian Suomi Foundation, which has been operating in Thunder Bay since 1977 as a charity that supports the study of Finnish language and culture.⁴ Based on individual and corporate donations, the organization has awarded more than \$500,000 in scholarships and grants,

² See the artists' work at <http://loranorthway.com/paintings/2014-2/> and <http://carolkajorinne.blogspot.fi/p/a-journey-towards-metal.html>.

³ Government of Ontario, *The Ontario Culture Strategy: Telling Our Stories, Growing Our Economy*, 2016, https://files.ontario.ca/ontarios_culture_strategy_en2_aoda_final-s.pdf.

⁴ <https://www.lakeheadu.ca/academics/chairs/cfs/csf>

with an emphasis on Finnish studies and Finnish backgrounds, and has played an integral role in supporting Finnish language courses in Thunder Bay high schools and the Lakehead University Chair in Finnish Studies. Fundraising for the Finnish Chair began in 1988, and the Foundation has donated over \$400,000 to the program thus far.

The Chair in Finnish Studies, also supported by the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture as well as through local donations, brings Finnish scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds to Lakehead University to foster Canadian and Finnish academic collaboration, to highlight this cooperative research, and to bring Finnish-centred course offerings to Lakehead students. So far, six Chairs have occupied the position at Lakehead.⁵ The Chair program successfully highlights the unique position of Thunder Bay in Finnish Studies. Lakehead University regularly coordinates student exchanges between Canada and Finland through, for example, the University of the Arctic and a bilateral agreement with Metropolia University of Applied Sciences in Helsinki and its participation in the UArctic's north2north program. Lakehead University, furthermore, holds a significant collection of rare Finnish language books and boasts an impressive archive that is a gem for any researcher interested in Finnish immigrants in the Thunder Bay region or more broadly in Canada. Upholding its commitment to maintaining educational and cultural reciprocity with Finland, Lakehead University bestowed an honorary Doctorate upon esteemed Finnish scholar Dr. Keijo Virtanen in 2016.

Today, an active interest is evident in the region's Finnish history. The Thunder Bay Finnish-Canadian

Historical Society and Finlandia Association continually welcome new members representing younger generations. New research on area Finns continues to enrich the image of regional history. The interactive website "Lakehead Finns" (www.lakeheadfinns.ca) has introduced this history to people world over. Using the site as a course resource, students at the University of Turku were recently surprised by the Finnish customs upheld in Thunder Bay and wanted to share the website with their family and friends. The strong commitment to preserving and making visible Thunder Bay's Finnish immigrant past resulted in the designation of the Finnish Labour Temple as a National Historic Site of Canada in 2011.

Just as Thunder Bay preserves its Finnish heritage through the Finnish Labour Temple, a love of *pulla*, and Finnish language classes, the region also looks to modern Finland as a source of inspiration in art, education, and forestry, among many areas. But if Thunder Bay keeps a careful eye on all things Finnish, past and present, there is a real curiosity about Thunder Bay, too, from the Finnish side. Young Finnish travellers come to see a bit of Finland in the middle of Canada, and researchers and journalists come looking for evocative stories that bridge Finland with the Northwestern Ontario wilderness. They do not leave disappointed. In the words of artist and Chair of the Thunder Bay Finnish-Canadian Historical Society, Kathy Toivonen, "Thunder Bay has taken *sisu* to heart with a drive and a passion to keep our unique heritage alive."⁶ To keep this proud tradition vibrant, the Thunder Bay community actively fosters and innovates Canada-Finland connections.

Dr. Samira Saramo is a Post-Doctoral Researcher at the John Morton Center for North American Studies, University of Turku, Finland.

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The Sisu Spirit

John M. Valtonen

As a proud Finnish-Canadian reflecting on the meaning of my Finnish heritage, it easily brings to mind the importance of promoting saunas in the winter, followed by a quick jump in the snow; Finnish baseball with a glove that looks more like a hockey goalie glove than one meant for baseball; and cheering for Finland in the World Hockey Championships in spite of fellow Canadians in the room. Despite the great social aspects of Finnish culture that resonate in Canada, clearly there is more to it than just friendly competition. It is a deep sense of pride and connection that is difficult to understand at first. It is difficult because it is tied to a country that you were not necessarily born, or perhaps never even visited, yet the connection is very real, very powerful, and strengthened only by *Sisu Spirit*.

For me, it started with the stories from my *mummu* Anna Valtonen, a White Rose of Finland Medal recipient and mother to six children. She spoke very stoically of their struggles during the Finnish War as if it were something they just simply had to endure in order to survive. She spoke of *sisu* as if it came naturally to all Finns and reinforced that I also possessed this remarkable characteristic. Through the years I tried to wrap my mind around what *sisu* really was or simply trying to explain it to my non-Finnish friends. I then came across a popular 1940 *Time* magazine article that recognized the challenges faced by Finns during the war:

The Finns have something they call *Sisu*. It is a compound of bravado and bravery, of ferocity and tenacity, of the ability to keep fighting after most people would have quit, and to fight with the will to win. The Finns translate *Sisu* as "the Finnish spirit" but it is a much more gutful word than that... (*Time* magazine, January 8, 1940)

A more recent definition of *Sisu* has surfaced on the internet, encapsulating a contemporary version:

Extraordinary determination, courage and resoluteness in the face of extreme adversity. An action mindset which enables individuals to see beyond their present limitations and into what might be. Taking action against the odds and reaching beyond observed capacities. An integral element of Finnish culture, and also a universal capacity for which the potential exists within all individuals. (www.facebook.com/InspireSisu)

I read this definition regularly and cannot help but feel a sense of pride along with an undeniable obligation to sustain this spirit. Unknowingly, I was handed that responsibility a few decades ago, as *mummu* had decided to hand down my *pappa's* medals that he had earned during the Winter War fighting at Suomussalmi and into the Continuation War. I still recall *mummu* had made it quite clear that I was now responsible for their care, to understand what they were awarded for and to ensure I kept them in the family. In hindsight, I now realize it was her own way of making sure the family in Canada remained connected with the rest of the family in Finland. It was not just about the medals; it was what the medals represented.

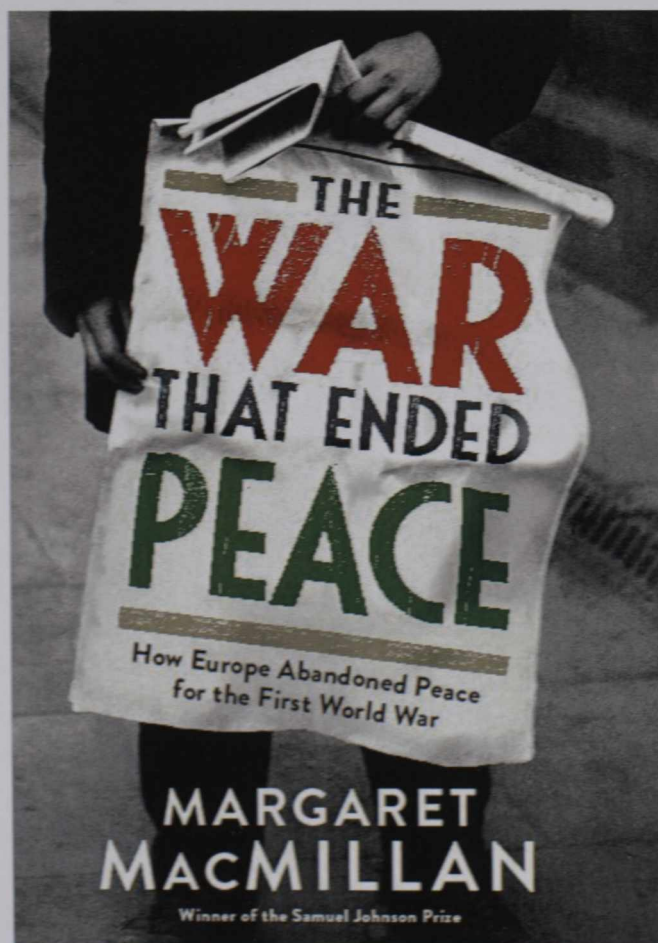
Since then, I have had the chance to walk the battle ground in Suomussalmi, and study the conflicts that took place. I know through family stories passed down from one generation to another that my *pappa*, *sotilasmies* Juha Valtonen was wounded twice and still returned to the frontline and had occasionally travelled kilometers into enemy territory to retrieve the fallen in order for them to be laid to rest at home. This was the *sisu* spirit in action, and this is what has resonated with me for years. It is that very personal, internal ability to recognize and harness that spirit that

is believed to be integral to Finnish culture and put it into action. Through the course of my life adventures I have had the privilege to meet many non-Finns who have demonstrated remarkable fortitude and courage. The potential lies in everyone to do remarkable things, but *sisu* specifically is what connects all Finns through our inherent cultural expectation to step up to adversity and meet challenges head on. I have personally recognized it in myself as a police officer, soldier, husband and most importantly, as a father. I have proudly begun to pass the *sisu* spirit to my children Markus and Maija Valtonen.

The periods of extreme adversity that have faced the Finnish people demonstrates how *sisu* has woven itself into the fabric of Finnish culture and connects us with our Finnish heritage no matter where we are around the world.

To all those veterans and Lottas, whose numbers are becoming fewer and fewer with each passing year, *Kiitos!* It is now our duty and responsibility to embody the Finnish *sisu* spirit. We will make sure we as Finnish Canadians do not forget your sacrifice allowing us the opportunity to live full lives and to pass our proud Finnish heritage to the next generation.

Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Valtonen has been a serving Infantry Officer with the Canadian Armed Forces – Reserve Force for the past 27 years. He is the past Commanding Officer of the 2nd Bn Irish Regiment of Canada and Algonquin Regiment in Northeastern Ontario. He has deployed with NATO forces to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Afghanistan. John M. Valtonen has also been a Canadian police officer for the past 25 years and holds the rank of Staff Sergeant with the Greater Sudbury Police Service.



Margaret MacMillan's history books are available throughout Finland's library network.

The Development of Canadian-Finnish Bilateral Relations

David K. Ratz

This article looks at the development of bilateral relations between Canada and Finland from the earliest days to the 1960s.¹ Until after the First World War contacts between the two countries remained informal. Finland was a source of immigrants for Canada as well as a trade competitor especially in the area of forest products. With the establishment of formal contacts in the 1920s, the interaction of the two states remained at a low level. The Second World War saw widespread sympathy for Finland during the Winter War but that devolved into official enemy status after December 1941. With the conclusion of the Paris Peace Treaty in 1946 relations were normalized, but not until 1960 was a Canadian embassy opened in Finland.

Canada and Finland are in many ways very different, but they also share many common traits. Both countries have a varied land mass, but much of Finland in terms of geology and geography resembles Labrador and the northern parts of Ontario and Quebec.² For this reason a Finnish geographical expedition visited north eastern Canada in 1937 and again in 1939.³ Bilingualism is a feature of both countries, as is liberal democracy with the rule of law and individual rights. Geopolitically Canada and Finland are middle powers, integrated in regional organizations or structures such as the EU and NAFTA. Both are exporting countries. These similarities also extend to shared values such as a belief in multilateralism and peaceful conflict resolution. Both countries have historically been

major contributors to UN peacekeeping. Likewise, they have some common interests such as the Circumpolar North, as seen in membership in the Arctic Council.⁴

After Confederation, the Canadian government made a concerted effort to attract Finnish immigrants, regarded as hard workers and ideal settlers. As Immigration Agent John Dyke wrote in 1882 about some Finns employed building the Canadian Pacific Railway, "They are first class axemen, charcoal burners, and miners, and as such would I feel confident to be a most valuable class of settlers to encourage to any part of the Dominion".⁵ Through the use of immigration agents, the first informal Canadian contacts with Finland began. Immigration agents would periodically visit Finland to report on conditions there, and later "unofficial agents" were contracted on an ad hoc basis to distribute immigration literature and find immigrants.⁶ Canada had to compete with the United States for Finnish immigrants, and these early efforts were not very successful. In response to the repressive Russification policies many Finns were looking to escape their homeland, but efforts to induce mass migration to Canada failed. By hiring additional agents, working with the Canadian Pacific Railway and shipping companies, there was more success attracting Finns in small groups. By the 1911 Census there were 15,497 Finns in Canada.⁷

Finns were almost universally literate and many actively participated in political debate.

1 This article is based on research from my doctoral dissertation at the University of Oulu, Finland, on Canadian-Finnish foreign relations. My interest in things Finnish grew out of encounters with Finns in my hometown of Thunder Bay, Ontario.

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4 Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, *Finland and Canada: Northern Partners. Finland's Canada Action Plan* (Helsinki: Publications of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 9/2011).

5 John Dyke to John Lowe, Secretary Department of Agriculture, 4 December 1882. Library and Archives Canada, (LAC) RG 17, Vol. 357, Docket 38224A.

6 Mauri A. Jalava, "The Scandinavians as a Source of Settlers for the Dominion of Canada: The First Generation, 1867-1897," *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies* 1 (1983): 3-14.

7 Varpu Lindström, "History of Finland-Canada Relations," Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Embassy of Finland, Ottawa. Last modified December 18, 2008; accessed August, 2016. <http://finland.ca/public/default.aspx?nodeid=36033&contentlan=2&culture=en-US>.

In a democracy like Canada, this was not a bad thing, but many Finns had been exposed to socialist and other radical or "progressive" ideas at home, which made them suspect in the eyes of Canadian authorities of the time. The Finnish Canadian community was internally divided between left-oriented Finns and the more conservative nationalist Finns, but to the Canadian officials, the largest identifiable group of Finns were the socialists active in labour unions, strikes, protests, and other types of radical politics.⁸ Immigration was curtailed during the First World War, and Canadian official enthusiasm for Finnish immigrants cooled somewhat due to the negative perception of the "radical" element. During the war Finnish organizations were subjected to police scrutiny and Finnish-language newspapers and publications subject to censorship.⁹ Later F.C. Blair, the secretary for the Department of Immigration and Colonization wrote in 1919 to several employers to explain that immigration from Finland was discouraged because some "Finnish people seem to be very busy spreading IWW [International Workers of the World] propaganda and occasionally one is found doing something worse."¹⁰ Despite this, roughly 500 Finns had demonstrated their loyalty to Canada and served in military units at home or overseas in the Canadian Expeditionary Force.¹¹ By the 1920s Finland was once again a preferred source of immigrants for farmers, farm labourers, and female domestic servants. However, in 1930 immigration restrictions, brought about by the Great Depression, dramatically reduced the number of new arrivals from Finland until after the Second World War.¹²

The war would also lead to diplomatic recognition of Finland. On December 6, 1917, the Finnish Diet took the opportunity to declare the Grand Duchy of Finland was an independent country. Political conflict between more conservative Finns and socialist Finns soon erupted

into civil war. With the military aid of Germany the conservative White Finns were victorious over the socialist Red Finns by the spring of 1918. The presence of German troops caused the Canadian government to consider Finland to be under the control of the enemy. This along with fear of socialist revolutionary activity in Canada caused organizations which used the Finnish language and publications in Finnish to be prohibited in September 1918.¹³

Another aspect of the chaos surrounding the Russian civil war was the military intervention by the Allies in Northern Russia around Murmansk and Archangel. Among the troops were several hundred Canadian soldiers and roughly 1,200 Red Finn refugees who had been recruited by the British into the Murmansk Legion to oppose the Germans and their White Finnish allies. Canada provided some of the officer cadre for this unit.¹⁴ For the Allies a precondition to the recognition of Finnish independence was lenient treatment and repatriation of the legionaries. The Finnish government agreed, but reserved the right to bring to justice those who were accused of crimes during the civil war. Consequently the Council of Foreign Ministers, during the Paris Peace Conference, granted recognition of Finland's independence on May 3, 1919.¹⁵ However, there remained approximately 50 Legionaries who were blacklisted and prevented from entry into Finland. Under pressure from Britain, the Canadian government eventually agreed to accept them and by the spring of 1920 they were en route to Canada.¹⁶ After being sequestered for several months at a lumber camp they eventually joined the general population.

Canada, which was still part of the British Empire in 1919, also gave de facto recognition of Finnish independence. That December Finland appointed a Consul General in London responsible for all parts of the British Empire including Canada. Soon after in early 1920 Erick J. Korte, a

8 Varpu Lindström-Best, *The Finns in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985), 10-11, 14.

9 Arja Pili, *The Finnish-Language Press in Canada, 1901-1939: A Study in the History of Ethnic Journalism* (Turku: Institute of Migration, 1982), 92-93.

10 F.C. Blair to McFadden and MacMillan Lumber Company, Fort William, 27 August 1919. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG76 1A1, Vol. 25, File 651 Part 3, Reel C-4693.

11 David Ratz, "Finnish Canadian Soldiers in the First World War," in *Hard Work Conquers All: Finnish Canadian Experiences*, eds. Michel S. Beaulieu, Ronald Harpelle, and David K. Ratz (Vancouver: UBC Press, forthcoming, 2017).

12 Varpu Lindström-Best, "The Impact of Canadian Immigration Policy on Finnish Immigration, 1890-1978," *Siirtolaisuus-Migration* 2 (1981): 7-10.

13 John Herd Thompson, *Ethnic Minorities during Two World Wars* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991), 9.

14 Jukka Nevakivi, *Muurmannin legioona: Suomalaiset ja liittoutuneiden interventio Pohjois-Venäjälle, 1918-1919* (Helsinki: Tammi, 1970).

15 Juhani Paasivirta, *The Victors in World War I and Finland: Finland's Relations with the British, French and United States Governments in 1918-1919* (Helsinki: SHS, 1956), 117-118.

16 "Canada is Choice of Finnish Reds," *Montreal Gazette*, November 4, 1919.

prominent Finnish-Canadian business leader was appointed as the Finnish Honorary Vice-Consul at Port Arthur.¹⁷ Three years after the Finnish Consulate was opened in Montréal, with Akseli Rauanheimo as the Consul General *de carrière*. In 1924 further honorary consular appointments were made in places with substantial Finnish communities such as Vancouver, Toronto, and Québec, with Winnipeg and Copper Cliff added later.¹⁸ On the other hand, Canada did not have any pressing interests in Finland. Due to a limited budget and a small diplomatic corps, Canadian interests in Finland would be represented by the British minister in Helsinki until the late 1940s.

From the recognition of Finnish independence normal relations existed with Finland. During the interwar period there were numerous treaties, agreements, conventions, and protocols, both bilateral and multilateral, to which both Canada and Finland were a party. Among the first policy decisions were arrangements to send letters and parcels to Finland. Other agreements included the extradition of criminals, legal proceedings regarding civil matters, agreement on the measurement of ship tonnage, and so on.

Trade was another area of contact between Canada and Finland. From the early nineteenth century, Finland was seen as a source of competition for Canadian forest products, especially in the British market, where the lower shipping costs made "Baltic timber" more attractive.¹⁹ When it came to promoting trade, Canadian Trade Commissioners were posted to various locations with the task of attracting markets for Canadian products. During the first half of the twentieth century the person assigned to look after Finland was typically headquartered in Norway or the Netherlands, with a large area of responsibility which included Belgium, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic States, and Russia. Finland was simply included in the area of Scandinavia or the "Baltic States."²⁰ Though they had no diplomatic

functions or privileges, both immigration agents and trade commissioners were a precursor to the eventual establishment of the Canadian diplomatic service in Finland.²¹

The first trade agreement between the two countries was made in 1925 with an exchange of notes. Britain had signed a trade treaty with Finland in 1923, containing a provision for Canada to accede to the most favoured nation (MFN) treatment clause. The Canadian government agreed to this in 1925, in the hopes of gaining a wider market for Canada's wheat. Notwithstanding the trade agreement there was therefore comparatively little in the way of commercial or business contacts between Canada and Finland. As a report by the Department of Trade and Commerce put it, "Canada's trade with Finland has traditionally been small and of an inconsistent pattern."²² For the most part Canada had a trade surplus with Finland. For example, in the 1930s the value of Finnish exports to Canada never exceeds \$100,000, while Canadian exports to Finland ranged from 4–15 times that value.²³ The eclectic list of products imported from Finland included cheese, wooden furniture, paper, engines, boilers, farm implements, and granite, whereas Canada sold to Finland rubber tires and inner tubes, various metals, leather, and farm implements, but above all else wheat and flour. Trade with Finland was therefore more important as a symbolic gesture toward achieving the broader foreign policy objective of the liberalization of international trade.

Canadians reacted with horror during the Second World War when Finland was attacked by the Soviet Union at the end of November 1939. Already committed to the Allied cause in the war, there was little Canada could do directly to aid Finland in the Winter War, but the Canadian people showed great sympathy. The Canadian government offered a \$100,000 gift which could be used to purchase and ship food aid to Finland. Ultimately it was used to buy rye flour. Various

17 Canada, "Report of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, 1921," *Sessional Paper No. 34* (Ottawa, Thomas Mulvey King's Printer, 1921), 15.

18 Canada, "Report of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, 1923," *Sessional Paper No. 25* (Ottawa, Thomas Mulvey King's Printer, 1923), 16.

19 A.R.M. Lower, *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest: A History of the Lumber Trade between Canada and the United States* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1938), 80, 188.

20 L.D. Wigress, *Trade Possibilities of the Baltic States* (Ottawa: Department of Trade and Commerce, Commercial Intelligence Service, 1929).

21 H.G. Skilling, *Canada's Representation Abroad: From Agency to Embassy* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1945), 47.

22 "Canada's Trade with Finland," 5 July 1956, LAC, RG25 G2, Vol. 6252, File 9559-40.

23 A.J. Jalkanen, Consul General for Finland to O.D. Skelton, 11 February 1938, LAC, RG20, Vol. 701, File A-F1-3.

individuals and groups, including the *Suomi-Apu*, offered financial and non-military material aid, either through the Red Cross or privately. In total, over \$290,000 in rye flour, apples, medical supplies, ambulances, bedding, clothing toiletries, wool, and fabric were sent with Canadian government aid.²⁴ Other Canadians hoped to help in a more direct way, and the Canadian government allowed individuals to volunteer to serve with the Finnish armed forces. By the time the Finnish-Soviet Armistice was signed in March 1940, over 300 men and women had made their way to Finland, and there were roughly 2,000 volunteers still organizing in Canada.²⁵ Over the next year Finnish aid groups continued to send parcels of food and clothing.

By the spring of 1941 reports of Finland's cooperation with Germany caused relations to cool, especially after it was learned that Finnish troops had joined in the German attack in June on the Soviet Union, which was now a Canadian ally. In the view of the Department of External Affairs, "Finland was occupied by Germany."²⁶ Under German pressure, Finland ordered the British Legation in Helsinki closed on 1 August, effectively breaking diplomatic relations.²⁷ Six days later Canada ordered all Finnish consulates closed. Finnish interests in Canada would be represented by Sweden. In Helsinki the United States fulfilled that function for Canada, until that country's embassy was closed in July 1944, turning over responsibility to the Swiss.

Still Canada, like Britain, was hesitant to declare war on Finland. Given the recent sympathy shown during the Winter War it would have been an unpopular move. It was hoped diplomatic pressure could convince Finland to withdraw from the war or at least restrain her offensive military action that was in effect aiding Germany. As the weeks passed, the Soviet Union exerted pressure on her Allies. When patience finally ran out, Britain declared war against Finland on December 6, 1941. Canada followed suit

the next day. The Finnish government had insisted it was not an ally of Germany, but rather a "co-belligerent" and fighting a "separate" war, which was a continuation of the Winter War, but the Canadian government did not see it that way. In his CBC radio address to the people of Canada, Prime Minister W.L.M. King explained "the present Finnish regime has persisted in its armed support of the Nazis; has become, indeed, an Axis ally in a general war."²⁸

Finland was now an enemy country, and Finnish nationals living in Canada were to be considered "enemy aliens." The problem was there were still thousands of Finns who had moved to Canada, but had not yet applied for citizenship. On the initiative of Norman Robertson at the Department of External Affairs a compromise was reached. Finnish nationals would still be "enemy aliens" and required to register, but would be issued an exemption from some of the harsher conditions under the Defence of Canada Regulations, such as internment. Finns were "technically" enemies, but the Prime Minister in his speech "recognized that most persons of Roumanian, Hungarian or Finnish origin or nationality residing in Canada are law-abiding, well-disposed and loyal inhabitants of this country, contributing to its war effort, and disavowing any allegiance to the Nazi controlled puppet governments of their countries of origin."²⁹ Mail service and money transfers to Finland stopped, some property was confiscated, but for the most part Finnish Canadians lent their full support to the Canadian war effort.

In the days that followed, Finnish-registered ships and individual Finnish crew members on ships operating on the western Atlantic were ordered detained by Canadian authorities. Over 100 Finnish sailors were interned and examined by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to see if they had pro-German sympathies. Those deemed safe were eventually allowed to join ships operating on North American trade routes. The Finn-

24 O.D. Skelton, USSEA to Alexander Loveday, Director of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League of Nations, 4 December 1940. LAC, RG25 G1, Vol. 1994, File 11191 part 2.

25 Varpu Lindström, *From Heroes to Enemies: Finns in Canada 1937-1947* (Beaverton: Aphasia Books, 2000), 89-91.

26 Naval Message, Code, NCSO, Sydney to NSHQ, 27 June 1941, LAC, RG25 G2, Vol. 2899, File 2298-B-40.

27 Olli Vehviläinen, *Finland in the Second World War: Between Germany and Russia* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 97.

28 Statement by Prime Minister re declaration of war on Hungary, Roumania and Finland, December 6, 1941, LAC, RG25 G2, Vol. 2930, File 2859-40.

29 Canada had also declared war on Hungary and Romania. Statement by Prime Minister re declaration of war.

ish-registered ships *SS Ericus* and *SS Carolus* were requisitioned and sailed in support of the Canadian war effort. Later the *Carolus* was torpedoed in the Gulf of St. Lawrence by the enemy in October 1942.²⁰

Canada did not take part in direct military action against Finland. When the tide of war changed and Finland sought armistice terms through 1943–1944, the Canadian government was kept informed. By the summer of 1944 Canada agreed with the terms offered to Finland by Britain and the Soviet Union. Finland would have to make \$300 million in reparations payments to the Soviet Union, declare war on Germany and expel German troops from her soil, in what was known as the Lapland War. Parts of eastern Finland were ceded to the Soviet Union, including the Petsamo region, where INCO had nickel mines. The Soviet government eventually paid the Canadian company \$20 million in compensation for the loss of the mines. In May 1945 moves toward normal relations began with the lifting of the registration restrictions for Finnish nationals and the resumption of mail service. Finnish Canadians began sending aid parcels to help their war-ravaged countrymen, though trade with Finland remained restricted. The Canadian government did not provide aid directly to Finland, but did contribute through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the work done by Herbert Hoover. The Canadian government and people were the third largest contributors of international aid.³¹

Canada participated in the 1946 Paris Peace Conference, where the peacetreaty with Finland was negotiated. Since Canada did not have any direct interests in Finland and except for an effort to have the harsh reparation payments reduced, the debate over the treaty was left to

the others involved. Parliament ratified the Paris Peace Treaty on September 19, 1947, ending the state of war with Finland. Finns were no longer enemy aliens and a new wave of Finnish immigration occurred. Finland appointed Urho Toivola as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in December 1947; the Finnish Legation was opened in Ottawa in January. Trade between both countries resumed, and through an exchange of notes in October 1948, MFN treatment was re-established. It was to be in effect until both countries joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which had MFN treatment as its central pillar. A shortage of diplomatic officers and budgetary concerns meant that Canada would not have a representative in Finland for some time. However, in March 1949 T.A. Stone, the Canadian minister in Stockholm was dually accredited to Finland as Envoy Extraordinary Minister Plenipotentiary. To make the job of relations with Finland easier, T.B.B. Wainman-Wood was appointed as *Chargé d'Affaires a.i.* (to temporarily head the diplomatic mission in the absence of the accredited head), and a Legation was opened in Helsinki in April 1952. This was raised to Embassy status in January 1960 with the appointment of J.H. Cleveland as Canada's first Ambassador to Finland.³²

Bilateral relations between Canada and Finland evolved out of informal contacts developed by immigration and trade officials. Finland was the first to appoint official representatives, while Canada delayed until several decades later. Nonetheless, in the years that followed, trade between the two increased, and thousands of Finns chose to make Canada home. Contacts between Canada and Finland also increased through participation in international bodies like the United Nations, as well as through athletic, cultural, scientific, and student exchanges.

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30 Eight Finnish merchant seamen, who were "enemy aliens," are commemorated in the Canadian *Merchant Navy Book of Remembrance*. The name *SS Carolus* is included in the list of ships lost in Canadian service at Battle of the Atlantic commemorations. Robert C. Fisher, "Canadian Merchant Ship Losses, 1939-1945," *Northern Mariner* 5(3), (July 1995): 57-73.

31 Herbert Hoover Report on the World Famine, broadcast by the CBC 28 June 1946, LAC, RG25 G2, Vol. 3822, File 8740-40.

32 Editor, "Canada's Relations with Finland," *External Affairs*, 13(2), (February 1961): 56-57.

Thomas Stone's despatch to Ottawa 6.10.1949

FINLAND
No. 3

CONFIDENTIAL
Stockholm, 6th October, 1949

The Honourable
The Secretary of State for External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

Sir, I have the honour to send you the following further report on my first visit to Finland.

2. This is a brave, hospitable and altogether admirable people. The atmosphere of work and resolution, which one cannot help but feel, is impressive and encouraging. There is a grim determination to solve economic and political problems to the point of making greater material sacrifices and working hard than perhaps any other people. For the bed they are now lying upon is not remarkable for the number of roses in it. There seems to be, however, plenty of good food. The same is not true of housing which is severely restricted. Persons with extra rooms are compelled to take in lodgers – by no other means could a roof have been put over the heads of 400,000 displaced Karelians. Finns are not of course immune from all human weaknesses and cases have come to light (like some old voters lists) of “lodgers” who have been dead these many years, or are living in Canada. On the whole, however, this enforced billeting is accepted as part of the tough game which now has to be played, and there are surprisingly few efforts at evasion.

3. There are other cruel and visual reminders of defeats in two wars constantly before them. Passenger and freight vessels, once the pride of the Finnish Merchant Marine now sail in and out of their ports bearing Russian names and flying hammer and sickle. The boundary of Porkkala is dramatically close to, and on the west side of, Helsinki. We were taken to see it. On the Russian side it is dead country. The houses are empty and it was reported to us (we were not close enough to verify it – one step to get into Porkkala and three weeks to get out, the Finns say, so we took no chances) that there is a machine gun in every window. Certainly very much in evidence are the watch towers all along the border which might be for forest fire protection but are not. The Finnish farmers along the border, this being their first experience with a Russian frontier, are quite mystified by people who cannot speak to them across a wire fence. Their mystification is deepened by the fact that in some cases they are allowed to crop land within the Porkkala area (only where the fence has cut a field in two) but not allowed to speak to the soldiers they see there even without the fence between them. Once or twice the Russians have threatened to remove this privilege because some farmers offered some soldiers cigarettes. Nothing is known of what goes on in the interior of the area. Trains are blacked out, hermetically sealed and under guard when they cross the area running between Helsinki and Åbo drawn by Russian locomotives. Ships play safe and never go closer than 5 ½ to 6 miles from shore.

4. Nor is anything known in detail of what goes on in Karelia. Air photographs indicate that the forest is taking over the fields and that there is little or no cultivation. Viipuri, once a thriving city of

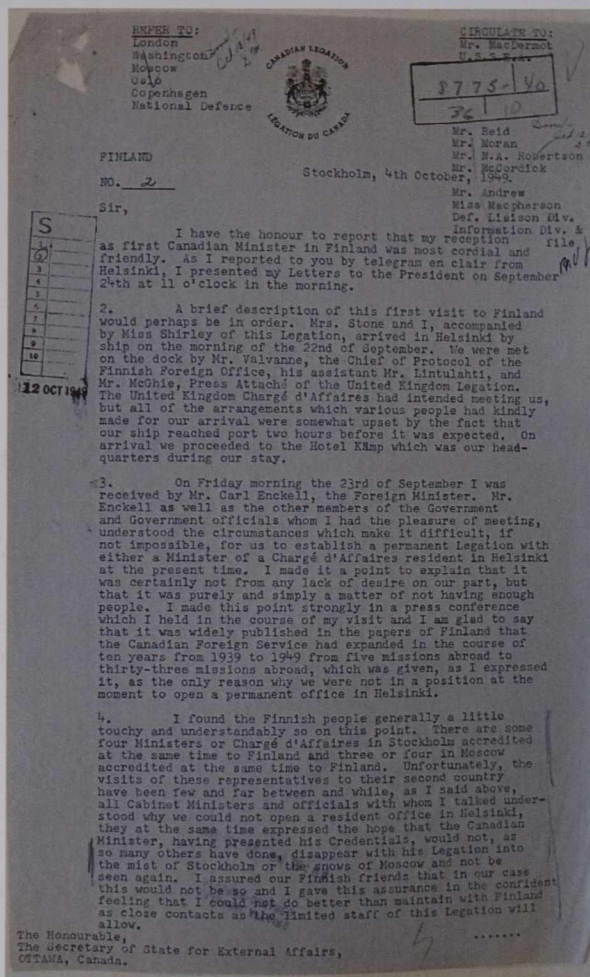
70 – 80,000 people has now, at the most 20,000 Russians. One Finn told me that he recently passed through, walked about a little (he was born there) and estimated that there could not be more than 5,000 people in the town, probably all garrison troops with very few women in evidence.

5. In Helsinki itself, as I said above, there seems to be plenty of food. Good meat, I was told, is sometimes hard to come by and good coffee was until recently, very scarce. I saw announcements in the press, and the event was important enough to make a long story on the front page, of the receipt of substantial shipments of oranges and lemons from Spain and Italy and of pears from Denmark. Dairy products, all I think from local sources, are plentiful and the quality of Finnish cheese, because of a higher allowable percentage of fat, is better than Swedish – at least in my taste. The immediate neighborhood of Helsinki (the only part of the country I have yet been able to see) has many and prosperous looking dairy farms. They are not so well groomed and manicured as are the farms in Sweden where the whole country looks like a government agricultural experiment station, but they compare favourably in appearance at least with farms in similar country in Canada.

6. These are a few rambling impressions. I shall now comment briefly on some of the larger and somewhat more specific matters of interest.

Finnish-Soviet Relations

7. The attitude of the Finn towards his “Neighbour” is a state of mind partly, I would say, deliberately developed to cope with the circumstances of the present and partly logically the result of the history of this people. It is a state of mind which enables the Finn to face the future realistically, to take into account the menace which hangs over him, to appreciate his impotence against this menace were it suddenly to change from threat to action, and at the same time to go about the business of rebuilding his country and his life quietly and efficiently, permitting himself neither the luxury nor the handicap – for it could be both – of worry. And other road could lead the whole people to insanity or a what-does-it-matter attitude, Finns have said to me, and it is not desirable that the end of the race, if it is to come, should come in that way. Should the end come by drowning in a Russian flood tide – well, it will come (but not without a struggle, I am sure) and that will be that. But in the meantime “we refuse to contribute to our own decline by permitting a state of mind which might result in people not sowing gardens, not building houses and factories, not creating in the arts and sciences, and not breeding children, just because it hardly seems worthwhile. Our history has been tough but in spite of it, all of these things have been worthwhile in the minds of our people for a thousand years and we intend to keep them so.” There is no



Transmission to Ottawa (# 2) by first Ambassador accredited to Finland Thomas A. Stone, October 4, 1949.

doubt in cold logic that this approach is the only approach. Human beings en masse, however, rarely set their course on points of cold and sane logic and while I am convinced of the fact that the Finns for the most part have managed to do this, it will take some thought and study thoroughly to appreciate why and how it has been possible.

8. Finnish policy vis-à-vis the Soviet Union has on the political side one principal and simple objective – to continue to persuade the Russians to leave them alone. For the moment it is succeeding fairly well. Of strictly political relations between the two countries it can be said that there are practically none. Officials of the Foreign Office rarely see or have any contact with officers of the Soviet Legation. The Foreign Minister very occasionally has general talks with the Soviet Minister. I believe that the Foreign Office has had two protests only from the Soviet Legation in the past year both concerning the arrests of drunken officers in Helsinki. Partly, at least, as a result of these two incidents Soviet officers or men are never seen on the streets of the capital, nor, I believe, of any other city.

9. Pravda and Isvestia rant and rave about the “fascist, criminal and reactionary” Fagerholm Government. The Finnish communist press parrots along with them. But the Kremlin appears to do nothing, at least publicly and officially, to support the “persecuted” communists in Finland.

10. Relations between the two countries exist therefore almost exclusively in the commercial and reparations fields, for each of which there is a special Soviet delegation in Helsinki having no connection, as far as is known, with each other or with their Legation. The usual reply to the usual question in the Commercial Division of the Foreign Office is “Oh yes, we get along all right with them, but (deep sigh) it takes a lot of patience”. On these commercial and reparations questions I intend to report separately (but possibly not until after my next visit to Helsinki) and I shall not therefore discuss them in detail in this despatch.

11. One revealing remark was made to me by a prominent Finnish business man à propos the policy of “continuing to persuade the Russians to leave us alone”. In answer to a question from this gentleman I described our recent oil, gas and iron ore developments in Canada. He observed that these were very very exciting discoveries indeed which in time would undoubtedly change the whole face of Canadian economy, but, he added, “God forbid that we should ever make similar discoveries in Finland. We sometimes feel that what resources we have already are perhaps too attractive!”

Domestic Political Situation

12. It is too soon for me to write with any authority or in any detail on this matter. My talks with various people from the President down were, in the circumstances, of a very general nature. The one obvious question, of course, I asked wherever an opportunity arose – what is the strength of the communist party and how has it been affected by the outcome of the recent strikes? In so far as the first part of the question is concerned the general – and expected – view is that the party is not weak and is, in itself and apart from its foreign loyalties, a very definite force to be taken into account. As for the second half of the question I was surprised, in my limited opportunity to “sample” (in the gallopien sense of the word) to find widely divergent views. Of the two extremes, one was expressed by Mr. Hämäläinen, Chief Government Labour Mediator, who was not convinced that the communists had lost anything through the comparative “failure” of the strikes. His view was based, however, on some assumptions which, as he himself said, may or may not be correct. One is that because of the number (7) and importance of the unions expelled from the Central

Organization and now returning to the fold, they would be able in the long run to return on their own terms without, except perhaps in a token manner, making the clean-up purges of their communist controlled executives on which the Central Organization is trying to insist. If this should happen the strength of the communists left in control would be considerably enhanced. Another assumption is the communists will succeed, and there are indications that they will, in gathering unto themselves all the credit for wage increases which were, in fact, granted in one or two industries, not because of the strikes but because they were overdue. I asked Mr. Hämäläinen what then might be the effect on communist political strength were elections to be held in the very near future. The loss of 3 to 4 seats from their present 38 was the most he would concede. He added, however, that even if his assumptions, as above, were wrong, only small losses would be attributable to the fact that Finns are slow to change and that it might take two or more elections for habitual communist voters to switch to another party even when their own was losing ground in other fields.

13. On the other hand, the Swedish Minister in Helsinki, an old and knowledgeable Finnish hand, holds the view that the communists suffered a very severe defeat in the strikes. He thinks that were there to be a parliamentary election in the near future this set-back would be reflected by the loss of up to half of their representation in the Diet.

14. The Prime Minister, Mr. Fagerholm, was not quite so optimistic. He was naturally not prepared to very forthcoming on what after all was an academic question as he made it quite clear to me that failing a real emergency, the Government had no intention of recommending dissolution to the President which is the only way an election could be held before June 1951. Mr. Fagerholm was prepared to say, however, that in his view, should an election be held within four months the communists would lose at least 8 seats.

15. I asked Mr. Fagerholm about the Presidential elections which are to be held in February or March. He said that Mr. Paasikivi had not yet announced his intentions but he (the Prime Minister) "has reason to believe" that he would be a candidate for re-election. In this case he anticipated that he would be returned by acclamation except for the communists who would not put up a candidate in opposition but would probably refrain from voting. Since my return from Helsinki, however, a small cloud has appeared on the horizon in that the Agrarian party, according to the press, has announced the presidential candidature of its leader, Mr. Urho Kekkonen, who has for long had ambitions in this direction. Unfortunately, I am not in a position to make any authoritative appreciation of the possibility that this cloud might become a real political storm. Should Agrarian support be withdrawn from the Government party as a result of Mr. Kekkonen's candidature in opposition to Mr. Paasikivi, I should think that it might.

Finnish-Swedish Relations

16. Relations between Finland and Sweden are as one might expect, close and friendly. There is but one major outstanding problem which might cause some hard feeling – the Finnish debt to Sweden. As you know, this country made very large advances in cash and material to Finland during the two wars and particularly during the winter war. The amount owing was by negotiation some time ago set at approximately 750 million kronor. The Swedes agreed to ask for no repayment whatsoever until after the completion of reparations payments to the Soviet Union. My feeling is that at this time the Swedish Government will be prepared to reopen discussions before any payments are made and possibly to make some concessions even if they are only tokens of good-will in respect of interest rates and the

capital amount. I was told in the Swedish Foreign Office that there is genuine concern over the effect on Finnish public opinion from the fact of that country having with great effort settled its reparations obligations only to begin at once paying to Sweden what for Finland is a considerable amount.

17. As you know, Finland was a Swedish province for some 500 years until 1809. In consequence there are a very large number of people (now about 10%) in that country of pure or almost pure Swedish descent. The country is bilingual in that one may, for example, speak in the Diet in Swedish. The speech is, however, immediately translated to Finnish and speeches in Finnish are not translated in Swedish. There has been going, however, for the past several years a movement of Finnishization, if I may coin a rather ghastly word. In one or two cases the names of towns have actually been translated from Swedish to Finnish and in a great many cases Swedish families are using the Finnish equivalent of their names. I found, for example, an old friend in the Foreign Office who, when I knew him at school in Paris many years ago, was called Sohlman. I was unable to identify him until I met him as his name is now Solanko. The people in Sweden are on the whole rather more entertained than worried by this harmless outcropping of racialism.

18. I shall I am sure find great interest in comparing the attitude of the peoples of Finland and Sweden to the Soviet Union. Finnish people say that they can understand Swedish neutrality but they fail to understand the Western attachments and outlook of Norway and Denmark. Swedish people say that they can understand the Finnish attitude and state of mind as described previously in this despatch but that it is quite impossible for a Norwegian or a Dane to do so. The Swedish people therefore regard themselves as middle men between Finland and the other Scandinavian countries. It is always said that both the Finns and the Swedes claim to understand the Russians better than anyone else. Historically of course they should and to some extent after my limited experience with them I am inclined to think that they do. I have yet to meet, however, as I was told that I would, any indication of disregard of other people's views resulting from any consciousness of the effortless superiority of Swedish or Finnish knowledge of things Russian.

19. I apologize for the rambling character of this report. It is based more on impression than on fact derived from many, mostly short, conversations of, as I said, a very general nature with people whom I met during this visit of one week. On my next visit I hope to be able more intelligently to go into detail as between now and then I shall have had an opportunity to follow events in Finland more closely from day to day. Thanks to the courtesy of the British and American Legations, I am receiving in Stockholm daily translated summaries of the Finnish press.

20. I am sending copies of this despatch to our missions in Oslo, Copenhagen and Moscow.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
Thomas A. Stone

Confidentially yours, Thomas A. Stone

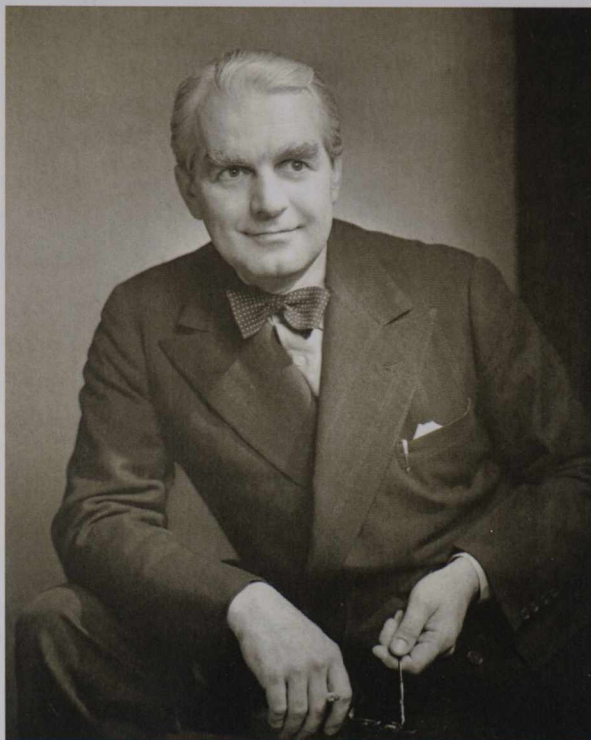
Joel Kropf

Thomas Archibald Stone, one of Canada's first professional foreign service officers, began his diplomatic career in 1927, serving for several years in Washington and Paris. After leaving the Department of External Affairs in 1935, he rejoined in 1939, spending part of the Second World War in Ottawa as the Department's point man for foreign intelligence, and later working in London and Washington. In 1949 he went to Sweden to lead the Canadian legation in Stockholm. That same year he was concurrently appointed as the head of Canada's new legation to Finland.

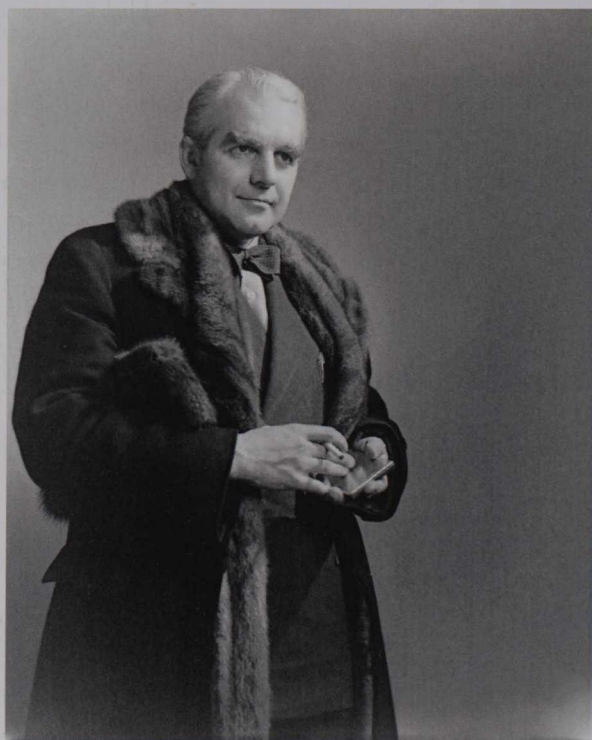
At this time several other countries were also using their senior diplomat in either Sweden or

the Soviet Union as a non-resident envoy to Finland; and after presenting his credentials in Helsinki on September 24, 1949, Stone reported that Finnish officials had "expressed the hope that the Canadian Minister ... would not, as so many others have done, disappear with his Legation into the mist of Stockholm or the snows of Moscow and not be seen again. I assured our Finnish friends that in our case this would not be so." True to his word, Stone was back in Finland less than three months later, visiting the country in early December for Independence Day, and thereby renewing his acquaintance with this "brave, hospitable, and altogether admirable people."

Joel Kropf works as a Historian with the Historical Section of Global Affairs Canada



Thomas A. Stone, 1944 (PA-197625/Karsh/Library and Archives Canada)



Thomas A. Stone, 1944 (PA-197625/Karsh/Library and Archives Canada)

Finland in Canada: From 1920s Consular Relations to Modern Diversified Cooperation of 2017

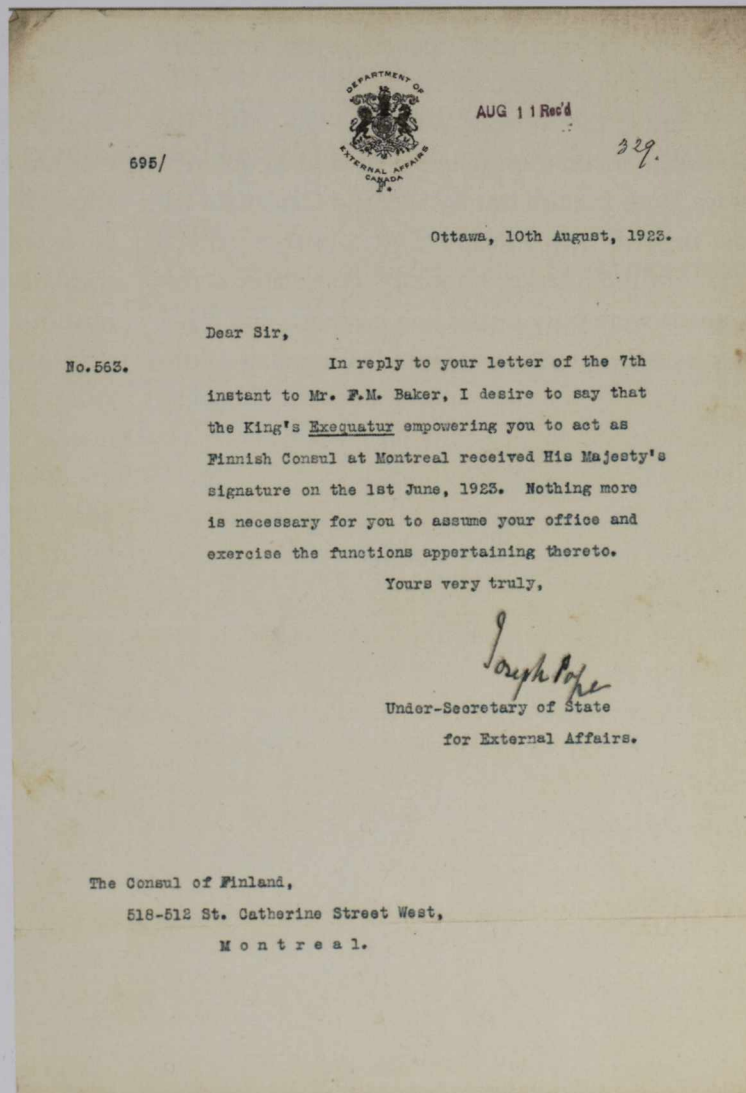
Veli-Pekka Kaivola and Tuulikki Olander

Consular relations were first established between Finland and Canada in 1923, when Finland opened a consular office in Montréal. Other Nordic countries had their consulates in Montréal, so it was an obvious choice for Finland as well. The consular office's core task was to assist Finnish immigrants in Canada. This was reflected in the choice of consul: Mr. Akseli Rauanheimo, who was well acquainted with immigrant issues, was appointed as the first Finnish consul on January 23, 1923. In 1925, the consular office was upgraded to a consulate general.

The consulate services were in much demand at the height of the Finnish immigration wave to Canada. Following restrictions in the American immigration legislation in 1922, the annual numbers of Finnish immigrants arriving to Canada jumped. Between 1922 and 1930 almost 35,000 Finns immigrated to Canada, most with no knowledge of English or French. Assisting the immigrants included all kinds of tasks from passport and legal issues to translation tasks and responding to inquiries from concerned relatives. The consulate also took care of delivering mail from Finland to the migrants, handling more than a thousand letters on particularly busy weeks.

During the first years, Mr. Rauanheimo ran the consular office together with his wife. They had their hands full and clearly needed more personnel. In the late 1920s

more resources were allocated for the consulate, and the number of people working there grew from two to six. New staff included a vice-consul, two clerks, and an errand girl. In the 1930s the flow of Finnish immigrants to Canada slowed down. This was both due to Canada's tightened immigration policy and the fact that fewer Finns



Correspondence confirming Akseli Rauanheimo as the first Finnish Consul in Canada. Located in Montréal, Rauanheimo served from 1923-1932. This letter was signed by Canada's first under-secretary of state for external affairs, Sir Joseph Pope. F.M. Baker, referenced in the letter, was the chief clerk of the department. Photo: Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

were looking to migrate to Canada. However, this did not mean that the consulate in Montréal was out of work. According to Mr. Rauanheimo's successor, Mr. Aaro Jalkanen, the consulate had more than 10,000 customers in 1932.

In the late 1930s the situation changed further. The consulate had to deal less and less with immigrant issues, as newcomers were few and people from the earlier wave of migration had already settled down in Canada. This left the consulate with more time and resources to analyze Canada's economic and political situation, and report back to Finland. Soon it became clear to the consulate general that Canada offered very limited export markets for Finland, as both countries produced similar goods. Another important task was to disseminate information about Finland in Canada. By 1940 Finland had opened seven honorary consulates in Canada.

During the Winter War in 1939–1940, the consulate focused on helping Finland in different ways. Both Finnish immigrants and Canadians felt the urge to help Finland. The consulate general and Finland's seven honorary consulates across Canada were busy organizing passports and other necessary documents for Finnish-Canadian volunteers, and seeking clarifications from the Canadian government of its position on Canadian citizens who wished to fight for Finland. Furthermore, Canada's support to Finland during the Winter War was significant. The consulates were transferring both funds and goods collected in Canada by several Finland Aid organizations and the newly established Canadian Relief Fund chaired by the Senate Leader of the Conservative Party and former Prime Minister of Canada, Arthur Meighen.

In 1941 the Continuation War between Finland and the Soviet Union broke out, which led Finland to cooperate with Germany, in order to maintain her independence. This meant that the relations between Finland and Canada cooled down. In August 1941 Finland's consulates

in Canada were ordered closed and the Consul General at the time, Mr. Kuusamo, returned to Finland.

Shortly after the surrender of Germany in 1945, Finland and Canada began to normalize their diplomatic relations. The Paris Peace Treaty was ratified by the Parliament of Canada on September 19, 1947, and Finland's enemy status was officially rescinded. Diplomatic relations between Canada and Finland were resumed on November 21, 1947. This was followed by the appointment on December 1, 1947 of Mr. Urho Toivola as head of the newly opened Finnish Legation in Ottawa. In 1960 the legation was transformed to an Embassy, and Mr. Artturi Lehtinen was appointed Ambassador.

Since the 1920s cooperation between Canada and Finland has expanded from merely dealing with consular affairs to working together in several fields. The relations between Finland and Canada are now well established and cooperation between the two countries continues to be extensive. Contacts between the two countries have blossomed in joint United Nations missions abroad; athletic, artistic, scientific or student exchanges; increased trade; and formal cultural, economic, social, and political agreements. These are northern countries with a lot in common and a great deal to offer each other, especially in terms of trade.

In 2017 Finland will be celebrating its 100 years of independence and Canada will be turning 150. The Embassy of Finland in Ottawa is working not only to maintain but also to widen and deepen the Finnish-Canadian cooperation. In particular, the Embassy activities focus on political and trade relations. Together with its honorary consuls across Canada, the Embassy also continues to provide consular services to Finnish citizens. Furthermore, the Embassy maintains ties with the large community of Finnish-Canadians and other friends of Finland in Canada.

Veli-Pekka Kaivola is Minister-Counsellor and Deputy Head of Mission at the Embassy of Finland in Ottawa, Canada.

Tuulikki Olander is Coordinator of public diplomacy and communications at the Embassy of Finland in Ottawa, Canada.

Heads of State and Prime Minister Visits since the 1960s

2014 –

His Excellency Sauli Niinistö, President of the Republic of Finland, and Mrs. Jenni Haukio undertook a State Visit to Canada hosted by His Excellency the Right Honourable David Johnston, the Governor General of Canada.

2003 –

The Right Honourable Adrienne Clarkson, Governor General of Canada, made a State Visit to Finland hosted by the President of the Republic of Finland, Tarja Halonen.

1999 –

Martti Ahtisaari, President of the Republic of Finland, and Prime Minister Paavo Lipponen represented the Republic of Finland at the Canada–EU Summit in Ottawa.

1990 –

Mauno Koivisto, President of the Republic of Finland, made a State Visit to Canada hosted by the Right Honourable Ray Hnatyshyn, Governor General of Canada.

1981 –

The Right Honourable Edward Schreyer, Governor General of Canada, visited Finland.

1975 –

The Prime Minister of Canada Pierre Trudeau visited Finland for the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe held in Helsinki and met with the President of the Republic of Finland Urho Kekkonen.

1961 –

The President of Finland Urho Kekkonen visited Canada in 1961.



The Finnish Presidential couple arriving at Rideau Hall. Ottawa. October 9, 2014. Photo: Juhani Kandell/Office of the President of the Republic of Finland.



Their Excellencies the Right Honourable David Johnston, Governor General of Canada, and Mrs. Sharon Johnston, welcomed His Excellency Sauli Niinistö, President of the Republic of Finland, and his wife, Mrs. Jenni Haukio, to Rideau Hall, on the occasion of the Finnish State visit to Canada. October 9, 2014. Photo: Juhani Kandell/Office of the President of the Republic of Finland.



President Niinistö planting a red maple (*Acer rubrum*) on the grounds of Rideau Hall to commemorate the Finnish State Visit to Canada. Situated on the section of the Trans Canada Trail that runs through Rideau Hall, the tree was chosen to symbolize the close diplomatic ties between our two countries, as well as to highlight the natural features we share as northern nations. October 9, 2014. Photo: Juhani Kandell/Office of the President of the Republic of Finland.

« Je n'oublierai jamais l'aide amicale que j'ai reçue à Helsinki en Finlande »

**Le Premier ministre Justin Trudeau,
le 9 juin 2016**

My colleagues and I were thrilled when the Prime Minister was confirmed to participate in our Global Heads of Mission meetings in Ottawa, in June, 2016. Such gatherings of all Heads of Mission are not frequent, so in addition to being given an opportunity to collectively engage on foreign policy priorities, we were thrilled when our still-new Prime Minister took off his blazer, rolled-up his sleeves, perched atop a stool, and provided us with an hour-and-a-half-long question and answer session.

During the Q&A, an ambassador colleague commended the Prime Minister for taking such an active and supportive role vis-à-vis difficult consular cases, to which he launched into a story about his travels as a younger man. He continued: "I'll never forget the help I received in Helsinki,

"I'll never forget the help I received in Helsinki, Finland"

**Prime Minister Justin Trudeau,
June 9, 2016**

Finland" – at which time all eyes in the room turned to me, as if I was somehow responsible for the good service he received almost 25 years ago. He went into depth about the importance of customer service, and the integrity and professionalism required by embassy personnel around the world to help Canadians in need. Indeed, Prime Minister Trudeau was a well-seasoned traveller, even as a child, but it was in Finland where he discovered the importance of "service to Canadians outside of Canada," and the memory has stayed with him all these years.

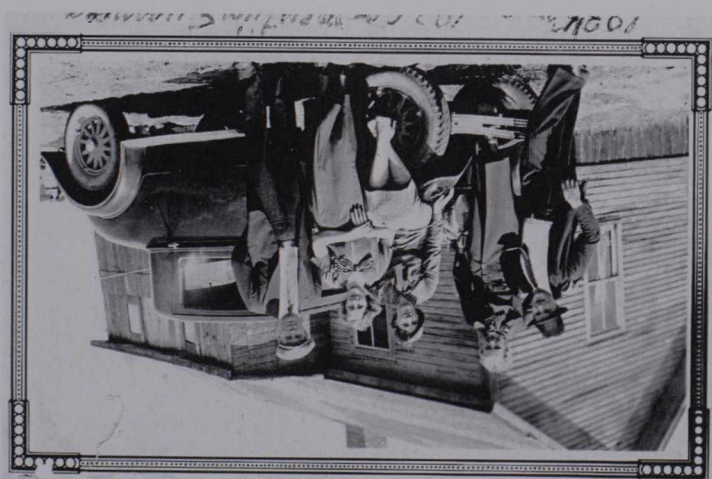
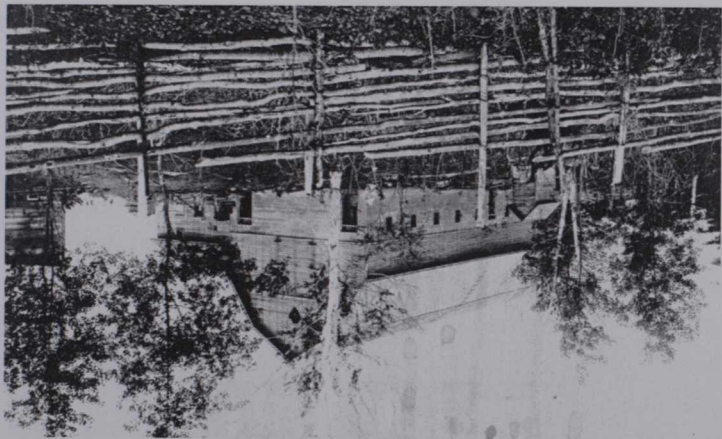
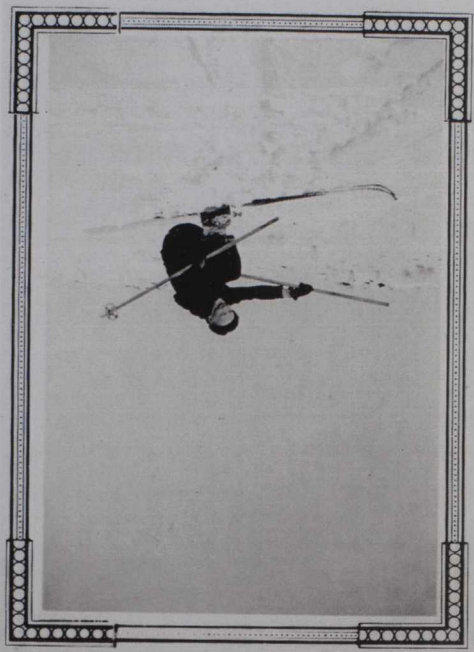
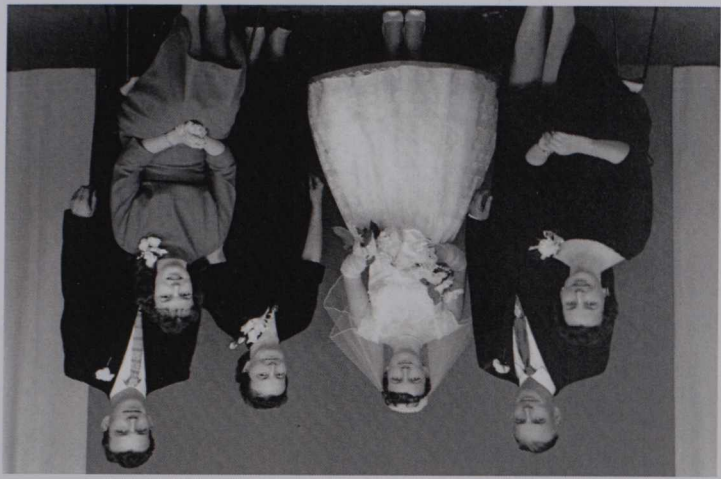
Andrée Nöelle Cooligan
Ambassador of Canada to Finland



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and President Niinistö. United Nations, New York, September, 2016. Photo: Katri Makkonen/Office of the President of the Republic of Finland.



Ambassador Andree N. Cooligan presenting credentials to President Niinistö. Mäntyniemi, Helsinki. September, 2013. Photo: Juhani Kandell/Office of the President of the Republic of Finland.



MIGRATION

MOUVEMENTS MIGRATOIRES

Between 1870 and 1930, around 400,000 people emigrated from Finland to North America. Almost 80,000 Finns settled in Canada. The majority of Finnish immigrants came from the region of Ostrobothnia in Western Finland.

The first big wave of emigration, between 1899 and 1913, marked the height of "America Fever" when over 200,000 Finns crossed the Atlantic Ocean. The Second Wave of immigrants arrived in North America after the Finnish Civil War of 1918. Within a decade after the Finnish Civil War, another 200,000 Finns left their homeland for North America. The third significant wave of Finnish immigration occurred after the Second World War when 15,000 Finns entered Canada.

This section of articles deals with the Finnish Canadian immigrant experience.

Entre 1870 et 1930, environ 400 000 personnes ont quitté la Finlande et émigré en Amérique du Nord. Près de 80 000 Finlandais se sont établis au Canada. La majorité des immigrants finlandais étaient originaires d'Ostrobotnie, région de Finlande occidentale.

La première grande vague d'émigration, de 1899 à 1913, a marqué l'apogée de la « Fièvre de l'Amérique », avec plus de 200 000 finlandais traversant l'océan Atlantique. Les immigrants de la seconde vague sont arrivés en Amérique du Nord après la guerre civile finlandaise de 1918. Dans la décennie suivant cette guerre, quelque 200 000 Finlandais ont quitté leur patrie pour l'Amérique Du Nord. La troisième vague importante d'immigration finlandaise s'est déroulée après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, avec l'entrée au Canada de 15 000 Finlandais.

Les articles de cette section traitent de l'expérience vécue par les immigrants canadiens finlandais.

The Immigration Story of the Olkinuora Family: "This Isn't Helsinki!"

Think of it – in 1928, leaving home, family & friends – sailing across the sea to a strange country called Canada & arriving there unable to speak the language – the three Olkinuoras, Maria (my mother) who was pregnant, Sirkka (my sister) age 4 & Armas (my father) with no job prospects. No government welfare, job training, housing, welfare or unemployment systems existed at that time.

My mother & father were country people from Karelia in north east Finland. I have heard conflicting stories of Father's reasons for immigrating. One story involved Father & his brother dabbling in Shady land deals in Karelia. Father initially planned to come to Canada alone & later (presumably) send for his wife, Maria & daughter, Sirkka. This, in fact, was a common practice for immigrants from many countries. The man of the family came to Canada alone planning to find a job, work, save & then send for his family. Frequently, however, the man grew lonely & found available female companionship irresistible. Thus new family groupings frequently formed in common law relationships & the original families in far away countries were left behind permanently.

My grandmother, however, told her son, Armas, that he could not immigrate without his wife & daughter. Grandmother's edict ruled & in the autumn of 1928 Father, Mother & Sirkka left Karelia. They sailed to Denmark from Helsinki. Sirkka at 76, remembers Father carrying her down the gangplank in Copenhagen. The family shopped & Sirkka was exceedingly proud of her newly purchased brown boots & plaid dress. In Copenhagen they boarded the S.S. *Polonia* & sailed towards Halifax & a new life.

According to records the Olkinuoras travelled third class & Father had the princely sum of \$50.00 in his pocket. Sirkka remembers Mother saying the *Polonia* was so old she thought it

would fall apart at sea. She also recalls seeing her total body reflected in a full length mirror for the first time on board ship. Sirkka danced in front of it singing, "Mina on tyttö-poika" – "I am a girl-boy" – but she does not understand why she had this thought. Mother was pregnant & seasick, unable to eat. Sirkka's most vivid memory of the *Polonia* was being up on deck with Father as huge waves splashed over the top. She panicked & vomitted – a combination of fear & seasickness.

The family arrived at Pier 21 in Halifax, intact, & in fact, on Mother & Father's wedding anniversary, November 24, 1928. On leaving the *Polonia* & seeing Pier 21, Sirkka began crying & sobbing, "Ei tama olle Helsinki." – "This is not Helsinki." – For Sirkka had thought that after Copenhagen the family was returning home in Karelia via Helsinki.

From Pier 21 the Olkinuora family travelled by train to Schumacher in northern Ontario, near Timmins. At their destination, on the station platform the family stood in the dark unsure of what to do & where to go. A kindly man approached & spoke to them in English. In reply, Mother used the only English word she knew: "Finn" & their good samaritan took them to the home of a Finnish family – friends from their own village in Karelia!

Mother always said my sister, Hilka, hitchhiked across the ocean. She was born April 4, 1929. Just prior to the stock market crash & big depression, October 29, 1929. Our family endured many hardships. At one point the family of 4 lived in a one room tarpaper shack in the woods which Mother referred to as their "kesa huvila" – "summer cottage." Father worked as a lumber-jack & Mother cooked for the workers.

When I was born in 1934 we were then living in a small community called Nemegos, near



Olkinuora family at lumber camp in Canada. Photo: Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21.

Chapleau. We had a cow & chickens. Father worked in a mine by Lake Athabasca coming home once or twice a year. Although he was very kind he felt like a stranger to me. I was nearly 5 years old when we all moved to South Porcupine, near Timmins. Father worked there underground in the gold mines & within a short time following our arrival there we had our own home built. By this time our surname was shortened from Olkinuora to Olki. Mother was frequently known as Mary as well as Maria. I was called Ella at school & by my friends while the older Finnish people called me Eila.

Since Finland's civil war in 1948 the Finnish people were politically divided. Some were referred to as Red Finn (Communists) & the others as White Finns (non Communists). Our family was White. When meeting new people we were always asked, "Are you Red or White?" In South Porcupine the Red Finns had their own grocery store known as the Workers Co-op & the white Finns also. Our's was called Consumers Co-op & neither faction ever crossed over to the others store. The Red Finns also had their own hall where meetings, funerals & Friday night dances for high school students were held. One afternoon on walking home from high school I saw the door of the hall ajar & no one appeared to be inside. I darted up the steps & peered in the forbidden room. It was empty with only chairs stacked on

the sides. I looked across the room & saw the wall covered by an enormous red flag with a hammer & sickle & 2 immense black & white portraits, one of Joseph Stalin & the other of Molotov. I ran out, took a deep breath as I reached the street & was relieved to find the street empty.

Even though both Whites & Reds vehemently stuck to their own beliefs most Finns who came to Canada from the same communities in Finland, remained friends & visited in each others homes. Politics, however, were not discussed when they were together. I remember receiving a bright red smocked dress for Christmas. When I was little & I refused to wear it because it was a communist colour. A few times Mother insisted I put it on & I was miserable. Robed in red I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible.

The entire Porcupine area was a veritable melting pot of nationalities. Even though the community was such a diverse ethnic mixture, as a child I longed to be a WASP. Only as I became older did I begin to truly appreciate my own heritage – our parents "sisu" – perseverance, hard work, & great accomplishments.

I still have my parents trunk that held all their possessions & travelled with them from Finland's Karelia to Canada in 1928. When I was a child the trunk was always padlocked & I was intrigued by its hidden contents & thoughts of the mysteries that lay within. Now the trunk sits silently in my den, no longer padlocked but still not divulging the family secrets it has absorbed en route. It is an important part of my heritage ever reminding me of that long ago voyage across the Atlantic that brought my family & ME to Canada.

I visited Karelia with Finnish relatives in June 2001. Accompanied by my sister, Hilikka, the hitchhiker, we visited Pier 21 in Halifax, June 2002. A visit that completed the circle of our family's voyage to this great land. Thank you Pier 21 & Thank you, Canada.

Olkinuora family, arrived from Finland, November 24 1928. Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Accession Number S2012.778.1.

Special thanks to the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 for allowing us to use this text, available at <http://www.pier21.ca/content/the-immigration-story-of-the-olkinuora-family-finnish-immigrants>.

The Immigration Story of Armas Vaino Laurila: Sisukas Suomalainen

The Finnish word "Sisu" is frequently used to describe the Finnish temperament. It is a word without an equivalent in the English language but combines characteristics such as stubbornness, perseverance, "pig headedness" and an [un]willingness to give up even under the most adverse of conditions. Undoubtedly it is the "sisu" of the Finnish people that has helped them endure, survive, and flourish under the most adverse of political and economic conditions that have existed in their tiny country during the past few centuries.

My dad, Armas Vaino Laurila, had the spirit and toughness seen in so many Finns and he was most certainly a "Sisukas Suomalainen." My dad, or "Pa" as I will call him was the 3rd of 6 children born to Wilhelmina and Karl Laurila. He was born in Helsinki, Finland on September 5, 1906. All but one of his siblings died before they reached adulthood. Pa's hero, as a little boy growing up in Finland, was his dad. His father was a policeman and in Pa's eyes he was the most honest, trustworthy, hardworking and respected of men. In 1918 when Pa was only 12 years old he experienced the worst tragedy that would ever befall him. During the height of the Finnish Civil war that took place after Finland gained its independence from Russia, his father was taken prisoner. His only crime was that he was a policeman. Pa learned of this while at school and ran home to find his father and other war prisoners being marched through town. He recalled how he ran alongside his father crying and begging for his release. His dad would eventually end up in a prison camp at Suomenlinna, an island off shore from Helsinki. There several

Life in Finland in the days following the civil war was hard, but with his Finnish "sisu" he always had a job and was able to support his mother and sisters.

months later he would die. Pa remembered how his sister and mother cried when they found out about his death but he became angry and cursed those who had killed his father. He would never forget the tragedy of the event that took his father away from him at such a young age. His life would never be the same.

Thus, at the age of 12 his formal schooling ended, he became the breadwinner for his family. His first job was as an errand boy but he always kept an ear open for other jobs that would offer him a "better future" and more money with which to support his family. It's hard to imagine that he was only 12 years old! He soon learned how to drive a taxi, he became a street-car mechanic and eventually learned the machinist's trade which would become his life-long career. He spent 2 years in the Finnish army and there excelled as a soccer player. Life in Finland in the days following the civil war was hard, but with his Finnish "sisu" he always had a job and was able to support his mother and sisters.

In 1929, at the urging of his mother who had emigrated to Canada the previous year, he decided to leave Finland in search of a better life. He was 22 years old when he traveled from Helsinki to Copenhagen where he boarded the S.S. *Estonia* bound for New York City with a stop in Halifax. He spent his 23rd birthday aboard the ship and certainly must have wondered what lay ahead for him in this new world. On September 8, 1929 the S.S. *Estonia* docked at Pier 21 in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Pa stepped onto Canadian soil for the first time. He cleared the immigration process and boarded a train bound for Montreal.

In Montreal there was a pretty blond who 3 years later would become his wife and with whom her would share a life of 55 years. Pa took on the challenge of life in a strange country where he did not even speak the language with the same determination that allowed him to survive the war years in Finland. He took whatever jobs were available and these included helping to repair the train station, building roads, logging and eventually working as a machinist. He would excel at this trade and quickly became a foreman at both Rubenstein Brothers Machine Shop and Canadair Aircraft where he remained until his departure for the United States in 1953.

During the 24 years that Pa lived in Montreal many of his dreams came true. From his very meager beginnings he was able through hard work and perseverance to purchase a home, accumulate savings that would enable his daughter to attend university and to provide for his family with a comfortable life. He proudly became a

During the 24 years
that Pa lived in
Montreal many of his
dreams came true.

Canadian citizen and was active in the Civil Defense effort during World War II. The Montreal Canadians hockey team, hunting and fishing were the loves of his life while in Canada. In 1953, the family moved to the United States to follow Ma's dream of seeing Hollywood.

Pa died in 1993 at the age of 86 years. He never forgot his Finnish roots but his love for Canada was deep and sincere. On that September day in 1929 when he first stepped on Canadian soil at Pier 21 with \$25 in his pocket and a heart full of dreams and hopes, Canada welcomed him and a world of opportunity, unlike any he had ever seen, opened up for him. Pa like so many other young immigrants, took on the challenge of building a life for himself and his family and in doing so, helped to build Canada into the great country that is today. I can't begin to imagine how difficult it must have been for my dad. He was indeed one "Gutsy Finn", a Sisukas Suomalainen!

Armas Väino Laurila, arrived from Finland, September 8 1929. Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Accession Number S2012.728.1.

Special thanks to the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 for allowing us to use this text, available at <http://www.pier21.ca/content/the-immigration-story-of-arnas-vaino-laurila-finnish-immigrant>.

The Immigration Story of Tyyne Johanna Saarinen

She was only 27 years old when she set sail for the new world. She had \$25 in her pocket. She had a small trunk with her life's possessions because she could not know --- if she would ever return to her homeland again. She said goodbye to her father and her 3 brothers. Her mother, sister, and 4 brothers had died at young ages from the ravages of civil war, strife and hunger. She wanted a new life, a better life, a life with opportunity. She was a modern woman but this was 1929. With only her cousin as a companion and with a heart full of hope and courage she left Finland for Canada. She traveled from Finland to Gothenburg, Sweden and there boarded the *Gripsholm* as it was called then. The T.M.S. or Twinscrew Motor Ship was built in 1925. It weighed 23,600 tons, was 574 feet long, and carried 1600 passengers and 330 crew. The ship was divided into First, Second and Tourist classes. The trip from Gothenburg to Halifax, Nova Scotia was 2852 nautical miles and probably took better than one week. The accommodations in Third class were cramped and many suffered the indignities of sea sickness. On September 15, 1929, the ship reached Halifax. This was where Ma first set foot on Canadian soil. Pier 21 reached out and greeted all who disembarked.

Halifax was a major port of entry for immigrants from Europe. Canada's entire population increase between 1901 and 1931 was due to immigration and most of that from European nations. From 1924 to 1930, 130,000 immigrants arrived every year. Prior to the 1920's, arrivals were handled at Pier 2 in the north end of the city, but Pier 3 was largely destroyed in the Explosion of 1917 and new facilities had to be opened to handle the influx of hundreds of thou-

sands of immigrants. Pier 21 opened in 1928 as a complex of buildings connected by an overhead ramp to Halifax's railway station. It housed the Immigration Services, Customs, Health and Welfare, Agriculture, the Red Cross, a waiting room, dining room, canteen, nursery, hospital, detention centre, kitchen, dormitories, and a promenade overlooking the harbour. To the casual passerby at the Halifax Ocean Terminals, Transit Shed 21 was simply a two-story building that looked like all the other transit sheds. To the thousands who came flooding through the doors of Pier 21, eyes bright with hope but apprehension in their hearts, one wonders what passed through their minds as they saw the foreboding grey building with a brick centre feature and barred windows. The day of arrival began in much the same way for all the arriving immigrants. The *Gripsholm* docked on the evening of September 14, 1929. As the darkness of night slowly lifted revealing a thick, grey blanket of misty fog, port workers began to arrive to take up their stations. Cafeteria personnel, nearly attired in white, began the formidable task of preparing breakfast for several hundred people. Ma was about to receive her first taste of Canadian food. The smell [of] freshly brewed coffee wafted through the hallways and the large clocks on the walls indicated that it was nearly 7:00 am. A guard arrived with the pas-

Pier 21 opened in 1928 as a complex of buildings connected by an overhead ramp to Halifax's railway station

senger list or manifest. The parade of government officials led by the physician proceeded up the gangplank. The ship had to be medically cleared before the passengers could disembark. Guards were posted to ensure that only authorized personnel would board and leave the ship. Soon the passengers would begin to disembark. Ma waited

on the dock until her trunk was unloaded and inspected. From there she was directed into Pier 21's reception area where families, women with children, and single men and women were sorted into identifiable groups. At one end of the room there were a series of foreboding wire cages that stretched from floor to ceiling. This was where hand luggage was placed for inspection by health and immigration officials. After inspection the baggage was stored under lock and key. All of Ma's worldly possessions were safe.

The reception area was filled with cacophonous confusion. Staff tried to make themselves understood. Following the initial examination, the arrivals were divided into two groups, those who would be temporarily detained because of incomplete paper or illness and those to be issued the status of "Landed Immigrant." This whole process as stressful as it must have been probably did not take more than a few hours. It was then time to retrieve the hand luggage and proceed to the mezzanine level of the Annex building to purchase a meal and food supplies for the long train trip to Montreal. The most popular items purchased were bread, butter, cheese, sardines, canned meat, and fruit. Pier 21 was connected by a ramp with the train station and tickets could be purchased at CNR (Canadian National Railway) ticket office located right there. A CNR Redcap helped Ma retrieve her trunk and loaded in onto the train destined for Montreal.

Special Immigrant trains were waiting on spur lines on either side of the Annex. Immigrants would travel to points throughout Canada as the final leg of their long journey. For Ma, her final

destination was Montreal. The immigrant trains or colonist trains as they were called in primitive nature. Coal burning stoves at each end of the cars provided the only heat. Dining facilities left much to be desired and most people brought their own food. The seats were made of wood and a platform was located above the seat where a brave soul could climb up and attempt to sleep. Babies cried,

the odor of dirty diapers and unwashed bodies permeated the cars. This was an end to a long journey and the discomfort would be endured. Anticipation was great! The train jerked and clanged its way through cities, towns, and miles of wilderness, whistling at every train crossing. It must have been difficult if not impossible to sleep. What lay ahead? Had she made the wrong decision? No time to think about that for now. This was a new beginning for many thousands of immigrants looking for a new and better home. Ma was just one of them. Her new life was about to begin.

This past July I had an opportunity to visit Halifax, Nova Scotia. I visited Pier 21 which stands in all its grandeur. It is mostly unoccupied now but there is movement underway to establish it as a memorial to Canada's immigrants. The train station stands next door and is still in use. I rode the train from Halifax to Montreal on the same route that Ma traveled almost 70 years ago. As I watched the countryside pass by, I closed my eyes and wondered what Ma must have been thinking as she sat there savouring her first hours in a new land. I felt very close to her and think that she was sitting on my shoulder reliving those moments with me.

Tyyne Johanna Saarinen, arrived from Finland, September 15 1929. Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Accession Number S2012.729.1.

Special thanks to the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 for allowing us to use this text, available at <http://www.pier21.ca/content/the-immigration-story-of-tyyne-johanna-saarinen-finnish-immigrant>.

The Immigration Story of Kaarina Brooks The Diary of a Little Finnish Immigrant: The First Year in Canada

Wednesday, July 11, 1951

Dear Diary,

I'm starting this diary today, because we're leaving our home here in Kuopio, Finland, and going far away, to a country called Canada. My name is Kaarina and I'm nine years old. My sister, Raili, is eleven and Äiti is thirty-two. Isi is five years older.

This train just left the Kuopio railway station with a shrill whistle and is puffing on towards Helsinki. Raili said she doesn't want to go and she just whispered to me that we should have jumped off the train and run back home to our Mummi. I don't think that's a good idea because I want to be with Äiti and Isi. Raili is angry as a bee and is sulking in the corner by the train window.

Äiti won't stop crying and that makes me sad. She feels very bad about leaving Mummi, because she's Mummi's only child. Our relatives were at the station and there was a lot of hugging and crying. Also the people from Äiti's work came to stand beside the railroad tracks to wave goodbye. That made her cry some more. She keeps wiping her eyes and blowing her nose.

We left Mummi crying at home. She was hugging me and saying that we'll never meet again on this earth. But of course we'll be back. I'm sure we're not going to stay in Canada forever!

I'm not too happy, either, because Isi sold our cottage to pay for our tickets. We always had so much fun there in the summer. The last time we were there this spring, Raili and I went into the woods and tore up as many lily-of-the-valleys as we could. We didn't want the new owners to be able to enjoy our flowers.

We have three big, heavy suitcases and Isi said the next time he travels he'll only have his wallet and a toothbrush in his pocket. He's trying to be funny to cheer up Äiti and Raili, but I don't think it's working.

We had to leave a lot of stuff with Mummi because of course we couldn't fit all the stuff we own in these three suitcases. Äiti's violin and mandolin got left behind, as well as our big dolls that open and shut their eyes. At first Äiti wasn't going to let me bring Vurre, my lamb's wool dog, because it's so old that it's worn shiny in places. She said "I can get a new one in Canada." So I asked her if she'd leave Raili or me behind and she began to cry and said, "Go ahead, dear, and take your dog!" ---

After Helsinki we're going to Stockholm, Sweden, on big ferryboat and then from there by train to Copenhagen, which is in Denmark. There we'll get on a big boat and cross the Atlantic Ocean to Canada. I don't really know where Canada is, because we only studied the lakes and rivers of Finland last year in school. The place where we're going to be living in is called Winnipeg. Isi showed us Canada on the map and it didn't look to be so very far away, but since we're going to be traveling a long time to get there, I guess it must be pretty far. Sometimes, when he's being funny, Isi calls the ocean a big puddle.

Monday, July 16, 1951

Dear Diary,

Here in Stockholm they said, at the Immigration Office, that Isi was supposed to go to Canada by himself and that his family was supposed to come later, after he had got himself established. But Isi and

Äiti told them that we couldn't possibly go back because we had no home to return to, and all our worldly goods were in these suitcases. So after some discussion, they said we could all continue on to Canada.

Äiti said that she wasn't about to let Isi go and face who knows what hardships all by himself. She wants to be there with him to start a new life. I like that better, too, because I want us all to be together. Raili is mad. She thought that she was going to get back to Finland, but she's not.

Wednesday, July 18, 1951

Dear Diary,

Now we are in Copenhagen. Our boat is nine days late, so we're staying with a Danish family in one of their nice bedrooms. This house is really fancy with pretty furniture. They have a daughter, Susanne, who is our age and she has lots of dolls and other toys. We told her that we had to leave our big dolls back home because there wasn't room for them in the suitcases. We have to use our hands and point at everything when we talk, and sometimes we have to draw pictures to show what we mean. We understand each other quite well, though. Susanne took us to a park to play with some of her friends. The girls taught us some Danish words and we taught them some Finnish words. The Danish ones are much harder, I think.

Monday, July 23, 1951

Dear Diary,

We are staying at a refugee camp near Copenhagen. Isi said that the bedroom in Susanne's house was too expensive for us to stay there for nine days. He heard about this place from some Finns and so we came here. There are lots of other people here who are also waiting for the boat, and some of them are from Finland.

Raili and I like it here. We live in a tiny room with bunk beds along the two walls and a wooden table, and not much else. The walls are made from some kind of thick, crumbly cardboard and someone has poked holes through them so we can see into the next room.

Äiti doesn't like this place at all. We have to line up for food in a big building with long tables. They have tin plates and tiny tin spoons that bend easily. When they break we can use them to draw pictures on the ground outside, or scrape new little holes in the wall, as long as Äiti doesn't catch us. She lets us sleep in every morning while she and Isi go for breakfast, and they bring us our food on a tray. ---

Friday, July 27, 1951

Dear Diary,

The boat we are on is called Anna Salén. Someone is always shouting "Achtung! Achtung!" on the loudspeaker and saying something that I don't understand. I wish he'd speak Finnish, so everybody would understand.

We haven't seen any other kids on this boat except two little boys. They are also from Finland. The older one is five and the other one is just a baby. On most days they aren't anywhere to be seen because their mother is seasick and stays in their cabin with them.

Today we had a lifeboat drill. It was terrible because the big smokestack kept blaring so loudly that I started to cry. We had to wear awful bulky, hard life jackets, and with all those people crowding on the deck and that horrible, deafening noise from the smokestack, I couldn't stop crying. Isi was mad at me and said, "I told you, this isn't for real and there is no danger! So stop your crying, you big, silly girl!" I knew it wasn't for real, but for some reason I just couldn't stop.

Sunday, July 29, 1951

Dear Diary,

--- Äiti, Raili and I are seasick a lot, but Isi never is. He sleeps down below the decks with all the other men in a huge room that used to be the cargo hold. It's filled with rows and rows of cots and is situated right over the propeller. When it's stormy (like it seems to be most of the time) and the propeller is out of the water, Isi says the noise is deafening. Äiti and we sleep in a cabin with bunk beds and five other women.

Wednesday, Aug. 1, 1951

Dear Diary,

It's taking longer to cross this ocean than it was supposed to, because we were in a really huge storm. The boat had to stop and just ride out the storm for two days. It was so quiet in the cabin, but very difficult to stand because of the weird movement of the boat. No one was allowed outside and Isi said that hardly anyone was in the dining room. Even the sailors were sick, but not our Isi! He didn't have to put up with the noise of the propeller for a couple of days, which was good. ---

Some huge whales are following this ship. We saw their enormous gray backs and they were blowing spray way up into the air. I was a bit nervous and I asked Isi if they could upset the boat if they went under it. Isi said, "Oh yes, and then they like to eat the boat for breakfast." Of course I know he was just kidding again! But still, I'm glad that the whales are staying far off in the distance.

Friday, Aug. 3, 1951

Dear Diary,

We're finally in Canada now, after nine days on the ocean. The boat docked at Pier 21 in Halifax at 9:30 this evening. Everybody was so excited to see what Canada looks like, but I'm just happy that this boat isn't rocking any more. All I could see were streetlights and big, black buildings.

We got off the boat and now we are all sitting in a huge hall at Pier 21. It's filled with rows and rows of benches like a church, only it's much bigger and not at all pretty. The windows are dirty and there are flies buzzing on them. It's all crowded with people and everyone is just sitting and sitting, waiting to be called up to talk to one of the men who are at the front of the room, behind a long desk. They sure are slow!

I'm sick. Isi says I have a fever and he keeps feeling my forehead and my pulse. Äiti tried to give me some powder for the fever, but since there was no water to drink it down with, I couldn't take it. There is a big ugly sore on my upper left arm where the doctor on the boat vaccinated me for smallpox. We already got vaccinated in Helsinki, but for some reason my vaccination didn't take, so they did it again. That's probably why I'm so sick now, because I got a double dose!

We were told that there's a train for Winnipeg leaving near midnight tonight, but it's going through the United States and since we don't have visas, we can't go. We're allowed to go back on the boat for one more night instead of finding a hotel and having to pay.

Monday, Aug. 6, 1951

Dear Diary,

This trip on the train is taking three days. Isi and Äiti sit in their seats, even at night, but Raili and I share a bunk in a sleeping car. The parents of those two little boys, whom we saw on the boat, offered us one top bunk because they don't need it.

Isi has a book called Tou-Wow which tells about the Finnish people who live in Canada. There are pictures of Indians, too! I keep looking for the Indians but I haven't seen any. It would be great to see some on horseback with their bows and arrows!

Isi also has a tiny dictionary that tells how to say things in English. I told Isi that I don't want to learn English and I'll keep on talking Finnish always, no matter what! English looks too difficult and I can't see how anyone can ever learn to understand it. Äiti said, "Dear child, you just keep on talking Finnish!" But Isi said that I'd just better start learning English because everyone speaks it here in Canada. Actually I already know a few words. When a man comes around selling food I just say, "Ham sandvits!" and he gives me a little packet with two pieces of white bread with meat in between. It's very tasty. Then I say, "Tank you."

Tuesday, Aug. 7, 1951

Dear Diary,

When we got here to Winnipeg today, we put our suitcases into a taxi at the railway station. Isi showed the driver a piece of paper with the address of the Immigrant House on it. The man waved his arms to show that it was just around the corner, so we took all our luggage out of the taxi and walked to save money. Äiti and Isi carried the heavy suitcases plus other stuff that somehow appeared during the train trip, and Raili and I had some bags to carry, too. Raili said she was so embarrassed by all this hassle. Everyone was tired and in a bad mood. Isi was trying to tell jokes, like he always does to make everyone feel more cheerful, but it didn't work. So then he just said, "Stop the whining and get moving! It's not that far!" But it was, for me anyway!

Sunday, Aug. 11, 1951

Dear Diary,

At this Immigrant House we are staying in a little room with bunk beds. We sure have been sleeping in a lot of bunk beds since we left Finland! I always get put in the lower bed because I'm younger and move around more, Äiti says. ---

People are allowed to stay here for two weeks and by then they have to find work and a house to live. All that was explained at a meeting. Isi and Äiti didn't understand what the man was saying, but some of the Finns understood a little and were able to tell them. Someone asked what happens if they can't find a job by then, and the person showed them by tightening his belt. Everyone seemed to understand what that means, and they all laughed. ---

Every morning a lady opens up a storage room and people point to what food they want for the day. Each family prepares its own meals in a huge kitchen with big gas stoves. When Äiti is away at work, I eat white bread and strawberry jam and I also fry eggs when I get hungry. Äiti washes dishes at the railway station restaurant, and Isi goes with some other Finnish men to pave a parking lot for a Safeway store. ---

Monday, Aug. 20, 1951

Dear Diary,

We live upstairs in a house that belongs to two old people. They are from Poland, but they can speak English, because they've been in Canada a long time. We sleep in the living room and Äiti and Isi sleep in the bedroom. There is also a kitchen and a bathroom.

Whenever a letter comes from Finland, Äiti cries. Isi gets mad and swears that if she keeps on crying like that he'll tell everyone to stop writing. We don't think he will, he just hates to see Äiti crying. Raili told me that she prays every night that God would let her go back to Finland. I also miss our home up on the hill and our Mummi and our cousins. ---

Monday, Sep. 10, 1951

Dear Diary,

Mrs. Wetton took us to school on the first day. She is a big Finnish lady who helps Finnish immigrants. She has a very small husband who speaks just a few words of Finnish. He's a Canadian.

The school is a big graystone building with a tall metal tower on the outside which has a spiral slide in it for a fire escape. Sometimes the teacher lets us slide down at home time. That's fun!

There are two other Finnish kids in this class, Eero, who is thirteen, and his sister, Liisa, who is sixteen. And there are two sisters from Italy – Angela and Isabella – who are about our age. We immigrants all sit in one row on the left side of the room. This is a grade four class, which is my correct grade, but all the other kids are older and should be in higher grades. Liisa looks like she really hates to be in school with all these younger kids. Her brother told us that she didn't want to come to Canada in the first place, but their parents wouldn't let her stay behind.

Thursday, Sep. 27, 1951

Dear Diary,

Every day at school we immigrants go downstairs to read from a book about Dick and Jane. I like the way little Sally is dressed with cute, shiny shoes with ankle straps. I've always wanted shoes like that! I think I'm the only one who doesn't understand what I'm reading. Raili got mad at me yesterday because I didn't understand when the teacher asked me a question. Raili said the teacher just wanted to know if I understand. Well, I don't understand! So there! The math is easy, though, because numbers in Canada are the same as numbers in Finland. Thank goodness!

Wednesday, Oct. 31, 1951

Dear Diary,

Tonight lots of weird kids are coming to the front door. They're all dressed up funny. Some are wearing sheets and some look like tramps. They all yell something that sounds like "Trikotreet!" and they carry bags into which the landlady puts candies. She called us down to look at the kids and tried to tell us what this was all about, but we didn't understand her. She kept saying, "Halovin" or some such thing. She gave us candies to take upstairs with us and every time the doorbell rings we run to the top of the stairs to see the different costumes. They seem to be having a lot of fun and I wonder how often they do this sort of thing and just what this is all about?

Wednesday, Dec. 12, 1951

Dear Diary,

When we came home from school yesterday there were boxes and boxes of stuff waiting for us. Mrs. Wetton had collected all these donations from other Finnish families. It was mainly clothes but there were also some beautiful fragile balls and pointy shapes. We didn't know what they were, but Mrs. Wetton told us they are Christmas tree ornaments.

It was fun trying on the clothes. We pretended we were fashion models putting on a show. Many of the clothes were too big for us, but Äiti said that she knows a Finnish seamstress who'll make them smaller. There wasn't anything for Isi, but he didn't seem to mind. There were no toys, either. Too bad.

Tuesday, Dec. 18, 1951

Dear Diary,

I'm really scared, because I heard Mrs. Wetton tell Äiti that in Winnipeg it sometimes gets so cold that people freeze to death in the streets. The wind blows so hard that it just freezes them on the spot! I pray every night that we won't freeze this winter. I never heard of anyone freezing to death in Finland. ---

Tuesday, Dec. 25, 1951

Dear Diary,

Merry Christmas! Yesterday was Christmas Eve. Raili and I decorated the tree together because Äiti and Isi were at work. We hung those lovely, fragile ornaments that were in those donation boxes, on the branches. That's all the decorations we had, but the tree still looks beautiful. The people downstairs have coloured electric lights on their tree and they are very pretty. They're shaped like candles and have coloured water or something inside them. When they are lit, they bubble like boiling water. Lots of houses have coloured lights outside. ---

Isi came home from work after six o'clock but Äiti didn't come till seven. She made rice pudding for our Christmas dinner and after that we opened our presents. Of course Joulu Pukki didn't come, and although I know that Joulu Pukki doesn't really exist, still I was a bit disappointed. He always came after dinner to visit our house on Christmas Eve and brought the presents. I guess in Canada lots of things are different ... even Christmas.

Raili and I each got a pencil and some candies and we opened a parcel that our aunt had sent from Finland. We were so glad to see books in it because we have read everything that we brought with us many times over. I got Heidi and my sister got Secret Garden. Since we can't read English yet, we haven't had anything new to read for a long time.

New Year's Day, 1952

Dear Diary,

Happy New Year! Today we just got to Port Arthur, Ontario, after traveling all night on the train from Winnipeg with another Finnish couple. --- I think we're all happy to see a landscape that looks more like Kuopio. Isi says there are lots of Finnish people living here. I think I'm going to like Port Arthur. I didn't want to stay in Winnipeg and get frozen on the street, so I'm glad we left! The man who came on the train with us has a sister here in Port Arthur and we're going to stay with her family for a while, until we find a place to live.

Tuesday, Feb. 12, 1952

Dear Diary,

Äiti and Isi both go to work at a logging camp and they only come home on the weekends. Äiti cooks and Isi cuts trees. Raili and I are still here with that Finnish family and the lady gives us our meals. The rest of the time we stay in our bedroom and read or draw or make up stories or do our homework. We lie sprawled out on the double bed because in this bedroom there's not even a table to work on.

I'm unhappy because I lost my toy dog, Vurre. It took a lot of convincing to get Äiti to let me bring it with me, and now I've lost it! I miss it so much. And I miss Äiti and Isi, too. My knee has a sharp pain in it sometimes and I have to limp. I don't want to tell that Finnish lady because I don't know what she'd do. I want Äiti to look at my knee.

The school is right across the street. They put me back into grade three although I should be in grade four. I guess I don't speak English well enough. They put Raili in grade five because she is much smarter than I, and is learning English faster.

Some days I come home at lunch time and I just sit by the window and eat cocoa and sugar and watch the kids in the schoolyard. Raili goes back to school after she has eaten, but the kids make fun of me because I'm fat, so I don't like to go and play with them. And my knee hurts when I walk.

Easter, 1952

Dear Diary,

Now we live upstairs in a house owned by a Finnish family. They have a boy who is our age, but never talks to us because he's shy and doesn't speak Finnish very well. We have a kitchen and a living room but the bathroom is downstairs.

We gave the boy some hardboiled eggs that we had painted with water colours, and his mom gave us big, decorated chocolate eggs. They are so lovely that we don't even want to eat them! She also loaned us a big book of Arabian Nights in Finnish. The stories are scary, but the illustrations are beautiful and each one is protected by tissue paper. We are very, very careful with it, because she told us to make sure it doesn't get dirty.

I'm happy that Äiti doesn't go work at the logging camp any more. She now does house cleaning every day. That's much better, because now she makes our dinner and takes care of us. She looked at my knee and said that it's probably just growing pains. It feels better.

We go to a different school now. This is the third school we have been in during this school year. I'm still in grade three and I'm much bigger than the other kids. I'm at the back of the class and I mostly just sit and draw, because I don't like being here with all these little kids, doing baby work.

Sunday, Aug. 3, 1952

Dear Diary,

One year ago today the boat landed at Pier 21 in Halifax and our family arrived in Canada!

We are now living in Longlac, a little village beside Long Lake, on the Trans-Canada Highway. We came here on a bus in July. To buy the bus tickets, Äiti borrowed all the nickels that Raili and I had been saving all winter long.

Kaarina Brooks, arrived from Finland, August 3 1951. Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Accession Number S2012.590.1.

Special thanks to the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 for allowing us to use this text, which is an abridged version (indicated by --- in the text). The full account is available at <http://www.pier21.ca/content/the-immigration-story-of-kaarina-brooks-finnish-immigrant>.

Family Stories: Finnish Immigration to Sudbury

As members of the Finnish Canadian Historical Society of Sudbury, we represent a broad spectrum of Finnish immigration to Canada. These family recollections are examples of three waves of immigration during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Our family stories bring together the histories of our two countries as we form a bridge between them.

My Family's Story: First and Second Wave Migration

Paul Pasanen

All of my ancestors originate in Finland. I identify as a Finnish Canadian. The culture, language, and history of the country and its people still play a role in my life. I see the world through the eyes of a Finnish kid from a Finnish immigrant family. I think in a language that isn't even Indo-European, but for me, the identity of Finn is not just language. It is also a physical, visceral connection to things like the geography, flora, and fauna of the Canadian Shield. This is a land and an environment that mirrors Northern Europe all too perfectly. My grandparents picked a place to set roots that was an exact match for where their culture and genetics evolved.

One side of my family came to Canada earlier than the other. In the late 1800s the Hilberg family left a place that was an autonomous Grand Duchy of Russia. These people fled an existence governed by an oppressive Russian regime. Great grandfather John Hilberg was a founding member of the New Finland (Uusi Suomi) community of Saskatchewan, while his future son-in-law, my grandfather Jalmari Pasanen, came as a single teenager to eventually meet and marry my grandmother, Tyne, the Hilberg daughter. They homesteaded in Saskatchewan, where my family

has strong roots in pioneer prairie life.

In 1923 my maternal grandparents, Aino and Aarne Tuuri, left a somewhat different Finland than did my father's side. They emigrated from a nationalized, independent Finland struggling through violent birth pains after winning independence in 1917. Rifts between the White Finns (Christian right) and the Red Finns (socialist left) had caused ugly wounds in Finnish society. Red Finns had lost the civil war and had spent time in concentration camps suffering for their politics. Many came to Canada with socialist thinking, looking for work and workers' rights.

Twentieth-century Canadian history has also been an influence for my family narrative. Both sides of my family were homesteaders, my father's in Saskatchewan and my mother's in Northern Ontario. Both sides lived through the Great Depression in Canada. My father's family was driven from their Saskatchewan homestead by the dust-bowl drought and lack of work. My grandparents and their nine children moved to Northern Quebec looking for mining work. Conflict with Quebeckers made their life there untenable, and news of a Finnish community in Ontario brought them to look for work and a familiar culture. The

thriving Finnish community in South Porcupine and work in gold mines promised a comfortable and even prosperous life.

My maternal grandparents, Aarne Tuuri and Aino (Lehtimäki), homesteaded in McIntosh Springs between Iroquois Falls and South Porcupine, Ontario. Part of a second wave of immigration, they came to Canada through Montréal in 1923; Mom (Vieno) was born in Sault Saint Marie just months after they arrived. Grandpa Tuuri cleared land and started a successful mixed farming operation. A team of horses was a huge help in working the land and offered additional income hauling logs in the winter-logging camps. While Grandpa hauled logs my grandmother worked in the cookhouse. They worked summer and winter and were successful throughout the Depression.

My Mother remembers the Depression time well and has often remarked on the hunger and suffering of folks. She was always proud of having a successful farm that made her family affluent for those times. She used to bring extra lunch to the one-room school to feed children from large French families who would faint from hunger at school. My father experienced the wandering of the itinerant unemployed family suffering poverty while Mom lived well, working hard, on a farm.



*Aarne and Aino Tuuri, passport photo. Ikaalinen, Finland, circa 1923.
Photo: Greater Sudbury Museum.*

My parents married in South Porcupine during the Second World War and eventually moved to Sudbury in 1953. They raised six children. Mom is very proud of her 37 direct descendants and the contribution we have made toward building this country.

Canada and Finland: Forever Linked in the Levola Clan

Shirley Levola Mäkelä

My family's story is one of separation and reconciliation; loneliness and togetherness.

Pauli Franz Levola, born in 1900 in Pyssykan-gas near Nakkila, married Aina Sofia Mäkinen from Luvia. Both had been in the military defending their motherland; he in the cavalry as a horseman and she as a Lotta Svärd. After my father Pauli Antero was born they questioned the uncertainty of raising a family in war-scarred Finland and chose to immigrate to the traditional peace of Canada.

Because they had no promises awaiting them, they decided to leave their young son behind in Nakkila with his paternal grandparents until they were more secure in their new country.

Shortly after arriving in Northern Ontario they found employment in a lumber camp as a sawyer and a cook and later operated a restaurant in downtown Sudbury. When savings allowed, they bought property in a remote edge of the village of Wanup on the outskirts of Sudbury.

With their roots anchored as landowners, they

returned to Finland to reunite with my father and bring him to his new home. Together the three cleared the land for pasture. They used the first trees to build a log cabin and then established a sawmill to turn subsequent trees into marketable lumber. Years later they left the homestead to buy and operate a successful dairy farm closer to the center of Wanup.

Taavetti Myllyaho, an ambitious miller, was born in Uurainen in 1896. According to family legend, his work eventually took him to the Salminen farm in Saarijärvi. The farmer was pleased with Taavetti's work and teased him that if he continued to maintain such high quality, he might let him marry his pretty daughter Olga. Excellence must have been sustained because the couple did indeed marry.

When they were expecting my mother Aino Hellin, my grandparents were convinced that Canada held greater potential for prosperity. My grandfather set sail first to get established. Mining gave him immediate work and a new identity; his surname was simplified to Aho. When my mother was two years old, she and my grandmother left their home in Jyväskylä to join Pappa in Canada.

Within a few years they bought a thriving dairy farm only kilometers away from the Levolas where they raised my mother and worked side by side in the fresh air until retirement.

In a fairly small neighbourhood it was almost inevitable my parents found each other and married. After both enduring the loneliness of being

only children they eventually had six of their own. Several generations of the Levola clan have lived in the Wanup area, some still on family property.

Old Finnish traditions were passed along and are still practised while new technology links current generations with the family remaining in Finland.



Pauli Franz Levola wearing his custom-made coat of wolf pelts harvested on the homestead property, Wanup Ontario, circa 1930. Photo: Greater Sudbury Museum.

Muistoja Kahta Puolta – Memories from Both Sides

Hilka Helen (née Etula) Mäkelä

Elämä on taistelua, kehtosta hautaan saakka. The many times I heard my father say those words, his mantra, "Life is a struggle, from the cradle to the grave." My father is Antti Kusta Etula, born Dec. 28, 1904, in Alajärvi, Finland as the oldest of 12 siblings and the only one in his immediate family to emigrate.

Antti saw the Etula family growing in difficult

economic and political times in the 1920s. *Kurija aika*, "poor times," Isä often repeated.

At the age of 21, Antti travelled to Canada, the land of opportunity and freedom. On December 9, 1925 Father boarded the steamship *Ausonia* and landed at Pier 2 in Halifax, Nova Scotia. By rail, he arrived in Port Arthur, Ontario in the cold of winter. The next four years he worked in lumber

camps with low wages and bad food, but Finnish camaraderie abounded, and the sauna. In the summers Antti worked on a farm tending animals, and saved money to travel to Sudbury. At age 26, not speaking the English language, he was seeking a safe boarding house, with no drinking or smoking.

In Sudbury, Isä worked in the INCO Creighton Mine for about four years. Related to the beginnings of the Sudbury Mine and Smelter Workers Union, it is documented that Antti Etula was fined and jailed for two months on April 15, 1931, for taking part in an "illegal march" protesting working conditions and safety in the mines.

Another challenge was the English language, so Isä went to English night school at Sudbury Mining and Technical School.



Antti Etula playing his violin and daughter Velma at homestead on Grassy Lake Road, Worthington Ontario. Summer 1943. Photo: Greater Sudbury Museum.

When his working companion beside him was killed in the mine, Father left, never to go in that "hellhole" again.

Back to the bush camps in Northern Ontario and amass money to fulfil his dreams. Father came to the



50th Wedding Anniversary of Antti and Aili Etula, Oct. 8, 1988. Back row left to right: Julie Flora, Velma Alice, and Hilka Helen. Sudbury Ontario. Photo: Greater Sudbury Museum.

Vermilion River area west of Sudbury, becoming a Canadian pioneer farmer for John and Maria Luukkonen. He later purchased their farm, courted Aili Elienna Henderson (Canadian born of Finnish immigrant parents) and married her on Oct. 8, 1938 in St. John Lutheran Church, Sudbury. Farming of dairy, beef cattle, pigs, and hundreds of chickens continued for 45 years on the Etula homestead of 360 acres.

With three daughters, Velma, Helen, and Julie, Father fulfilled his dreams of love, land, and community. He was on the school board for Louise Twp., Grassy Lake Road's work crews, participated in Beaver Lake Jehu Sports Club, and played the violin in a part-time band. He raised a family while instilling values of honesty, responsibility, and Finnishness. His legacy of *sisu*, survival, and sauna lives on.

The Laakso Family Story

Elsie Stephenson

Onni Matius Laakso was born a Rantakangas on September 22, 1906 in Itäkylä, Finland. His father Juha Rantakangas changed the family name to Laakso because there were so many with the same first and last name that the bills were going to the wrong people. Matti immigrated to Can-

ada to earn money to buy more farmland in Finland. After landing in Quebec City on July 25, 1929 he journeyed by train to Sudbury, Ontario. Because of the Depression he worked part-time in the nickel mines.

Anna Lydia Karvonen was born on July 18,

1908 in Kuusamo, Finland. She immigrated because she wanted a better life. She landed in Halifax, Nova Scotia on January 20, 1929 and from there travelled by train to Sudbury, Ontario. Since her aunt had sent her the boat ticket, she had to work a year on her aunt's farm to pay for it. She then worked in restaurants and as a maid.

Matti and Lyyti met in Sudbury and married in Kirkland Lake in 1931. After the birth of their daughter Anni on June 2, 1932, they moved back to the Sudbury area, homesteading at the west end of Long Lake. When Matti got a job with INCO, they moved to Creighton Mine. In 1935 they bought from INCO the property titled Lot 6, Concession 2 of Denison Township in the District of Sudbury. They moved into their log house on June 16, 1936 and the next day their twins Eila Maria and Olavi Erkki were born. Matti left INCO in 1937 to clear the property of trees and make fields for cultivation. They obtained a licence in June 1941 to start selling milk. Their daughter Elsie Elizabeth was born on May 15, 1942.

In 1947 a new large barn and milk house were built. Registered Holstein cows were bought to further expand their dairy farm. A four-can quota of milk was shipped by truck to Copper Cliff Dairy. Electricity came to the farm on June

28, 1950 resulting in the purchase of electrical appliances, water pump, and milk cooler in the milk house. That summer a new kitchen with a basement underneath was added to the house. Matti was hired by INCO to work at Crean Hill mine on September 13 that year. During the 1950s new tractors, cars, trucks, and farm implements were purchased. The dairy herd and milk quota were sold in 1957. Beef cattle were raised until 1968.

Matti and Lyyti were Lutherans and had their children baptized and confirmed in that faith. They belonged to the Beaver Lake Chapel, which was affiliated with St. Timothy's Lutheran Church in Copper Cliff. Lyyti belonged to the Women's Circle at the Chapel. Matti joined the Whitefish Lions' Club in the late 1960s.

Matti retired from INCO in September 1971 at the age of 65. He suffered a stroke in April 1973 and died on January 27, 1975. Lyyti died on April 25, 1986 following a stroke four weeks earlier. They are buried in Park Lawn Cemetery in Sudbury. Their farm was sold in 1986.

Matti's dream to own more land to farm in Finland did come true because he bought land there but gave it to his brother. Two Finnish immigrants with nothing more than determination built a better life for themselves in Canada.



Laakso Family: Anni, Matti, Eila, Lyyti, Elsie, and Olavi. 1958. Galardo Studios Sudbury Ontario. Photo: Greater Sudbury Museum.



Matti and Lyyti Laakso. Sudbury, Ontario. 1945. Photo: Greater Sudbury Museum.

My Immigration Story

Paula Kristina Rautanen

December 2, 1951 was a grey morning when we awoke moored at Pier 21 in Halifax. The M/S Gripsholm had navigated the stormy winter North Atlantic crossing from Göteborg, Sweden. Previously we had boarded a ferry in Helsinki for the trip to Stockholm. It was a tearful goodbye with all the relatives gathered to see most of my family one last time. We were a small group: my parents Heikki and Ellen (née Westerberg) Rautanen and two daughters, Pirkko and Paula. My father and older sister never lived to visit their homeland again.

The next stage in our adventure was travelling by train via Montréal to Sudbury, Ontario, where we arrived with three trunks of possessions. My father had two cousins who had immigrated to Sudbury before us, and they were the prime rea-

son we also ended our journey there. Father was quickly hired by INCO (International Nickel Company) to work underground at Creighton Mine and was given the English name Henry. The village of Creighton was thriving in the 1950s and 1960s. The Sudbury basin mines were a major source of Canada's nickel, copper, and other precious metals. The living conditions were substandard but leaving postwar Europe offset the harsh conditions.

My father Heikki's story began February 24, 1916 in Miikkulainen, Inkerinmaa on the shores of Lake Ladoga. Inkerinmaa (Ingria, Ingermanland) was one of the Finnish territories ceded to the Soviet Union in 1944. Forced to abandon their homes, two of my father's sisters chose to move to Estonia. An older brother immigrated to Sweden



Heikki Rautanen serving near Rukajärvi, Finland. Winter War 1939-1940. Photo: Greater Sudbury Museum.



Ellen Rautanen in the Creighton Mine Public School yard with number 3 shaft in the background. Creighton Mine, Ontario. Spring 1953. Photo: Greater Sudbury Museum.

and a younger brother lived in Karelia and Estonia until he was able to travel freely to Finland. My parents decided on Canada a safe distance from the Soviet Union and Stalin's purges. My father had served in the Finnish army at Rukajärvi on the Karelian border during the Winter War and Continuation Wars. Unfortunately he passed away before the Finnish-Canadian War Veterans' Association Canadian Region was formed in Sudbury in 1984. At the time there were almost 700 veterans. Now in 2016 only 130 remain.

In my early twenties I had the opportunity to live in Finland and work at HYKS Meilahti

Hospital for a year. Overall I found the Finnish society and culture to be very rewarding, but because of language and especially grammar difficulties I never felt I belonged there. Growing up in Canada I always felt different – like an outsider. When I started school I was terribly shy because I couldn't speak a word of English. Immigrants and refugees share my feelings of being in a limbo without a country. But today I have found my niche at my home on Long Lake and Finlandia Village in Sudbury, a Finnish retirement community that allow me to enjoy the best of both countries.

Summary

Our family stories represent three waves of Finnish immigration to Canada. Finns came to Canada before Finnish independence and after. We came for a home and for freedom and better lives. We brought our northern Finnish skills and knowhow for working with the land. We farmed, logged, and mined alongside people from all over the world. Our hard work and ingenuity helped to build this country from the ground up. We have taken our place in all aspects of Canadian society. As Finnish Canadians we can celebrate both this homeland of Canada and the other homeland of Finland, the one that bred us to be who we are. We are fortunate to have both.

Matti Kurikka and the Utopian Socialist Settlement of Sointula

J. Donald Wilson

A utopian community (the preferred term in use today is "intentional community") can be defined by its isolation, communalism, and idealism. Implicit among its members is a longing for a secure society with no class conflicts and no outsiders. In any intentional community there is always present an implied critique of the larger society. Generally speaking, a utopian community imagines itself as an experiment, one that once successful might be replicated elsewhere.

From a bourgeois home, Matti Kurikka (b. 1863) attended school in his native region of Ingria (near St. Petersburg) before moving with his parents to Helsinki in 1872. In 1881 he entered the University of Helsinki but left for Kuopio without graduating. There he associated with Minna Canth, renowned playwright, socialist, and early feminist. He also made friends with novelist Arvid Järnefelt and socialist Augusti Bernhard Mäkelä and in 1884 wrote his first notable play, *Vuimeinen ponnistus* (The Last Effort), on the theme of class conflict.

Throughout his life, Kurikka's struggle for social reform would be influenced by utopian socialism, the anti-clerical humanitarianism of Leo Tolstoy, and theosophy. Inspired originally by the writings of Robert Owen, Saint-Simon, and Charles Fourier, he derived from them the dream of class harmony. This explains why he called his utopian settlement by the Finnish word "Sointula," "harmony" in English. Robert Owen had called his communitarian settlement in the United States in the 1820s "New Harmony."

Despite his rejection of Marxism, Kurikka soon became an acknowledged leader in Finnish socialist and radical circles. He capped his rise to prominence in 1897 with the editorship of the labour movement's leading newspaper *Työmies* (The Worker) in Helsinki. However, in the face of opposition from Marxists, he resigned in April 1899. The next year

this bitter conflict, combined with an increase in the Russification campaign in Finland by Emperor Nicholas II, prompted Kurikka to migrate with a number of other likeminded Finns to Queensland, Australia with the intent of establishing a colony. Unfortunately, it failed miserably in short order.

At this juncture a group of disgruntled Finnish-Canadian coalminers near Nanaimo, British Columbia, wrote to Kurikka asking him to come to the province to help start a colony. Towards the end of August 1900 he arrived in Nanaimo, where he assumed the presidency of a colonization company called Kalevan Kansa (People of Kaleva). Malcolm Island, about 300 kilometres northwest of Vancouver, was chosen as the colony's location and named *Sointula*.

Late in 1901 the first settlers began to arrive, and a printing press was purchased for a newspaper entitled *Aika* (Time), Canada's first newspaper published in Finnish. All the colonists were Finnish, most were young – in their twenties and thirties – and men outnumbered women by two to one. Kurikka's goal was to establish a society where all members would play an active part in the management of their own lives and cooperate fully with others in all economic, social, and cultural matters. In these harmonious surroundings everyone would be free from the sense of alienation and exploitation that characterized industrial capitalism. Both Kurikka and his friend A.B. Mäkelä, who joined him from Finland in 1901, held out the prospect of "many Sointulas." As Saint-Simon had put it, "the golden age of mankind is not behind, but before us." The colony operated from the outset under socialist and communitarian principles, and is one of the few examples, other than the Doukhobor colonies, of such settlements in Canada.

Using the public platform provided by extensive trips and speaking engagements across the United

States and Canada, as well as through the pages of *Aika*, Kurikka propounded his philosophy. He opposed church-sanctioned marriage as a form of slavery for women, echoing the earlier views of Charles Fourier that marriage makes most women into "conjugal slaves." Women should not feel bound to one man for life, Kurikka asserted, and should experience motherhood without the necessity of a wedding ceremony. Children should be raised by experts, and so a nursery was constructed at the colony, where mothers could leave their children while working more productively elsewhere during the day.

The breakup of Sointula in 1904 resulted in part from a bitter dispute over "free love" and marriage. Kurikka insisted on forcing the issue over objections from the second-in-command Mäkelä, who considered the colony's serious economic difficulties of much more pressing importance. Agriculture was impossible on the island, and neither logging nor fishing had proven profitable alternatives. The sawmill, based on logging, had held some promise for a time, but ill-considered contracts with the Lower Mainland of British Columbia resulted only in disastrous losses.

The population, which had numbered 238 in 1903, was severely depleted by the departure of Kurikka and half the members in October 1904. The colonization company (Kalevan Kansa) was finally liquidated on May 27, 1905. Mäkelä placed blame squarely on the extreme idealists headed by Kurikka, "people who tried to make the stumps lay eggs," and "had lots of talent when it came to talking about wonderful ideas, but left their realization to others."

Meanwhile Kurikka made one more attempt to found a utopian settlement in the Fraser Valley some 50 kilometres east of Vancouver. A new colonization company called Sammon Takoijat (Forgers of the Sampo) was formed in late 1904 with him as secretary. Within months this experiment too failed and in September 1905 Kurikka, disheartened, returned to Finland. There, like

many other immigrants heading back home, he found great difficulty in reintegrating into Finnish society. Turned down from a job at *Työmies*, the newspaper he had previously edited, he was expelled from the now Marxist Social Democratic party he had helped found, and a new party he had launched remained in existence only a few months. He then turned to the Theosophical Society, befriended Pekka Ervast, the leading Finnish theosophist of the day, and became editor of a theosophical newspaper entitled *Elämä* (Life). This publication, which appeared first as a bi-weekly then a daily and eventually became a bi-monthly, served between January 1906 and June 1908 as a mouthpiece for Kurikka's theosophical and utopian socialist thinking. Many of his articles resembled those that used to appear in *Aika* between 1901 and 1904, and the major theme was still utopian socialism. One can see why the scientific socialists who by then dominated the Finnish socialist movement had completely lost faith in Kurikka's leadership potential.

In 1908 Kurikka moved to the United States to settle permanently. He became a columnist for, and later co-editor of, *New Yorkin Uutiset* (New York News) and in 1913 bought a farm in Westerly, Rhode Island. His death came suddenly of cerebral hemorrhage in 1915 while building a road on his farm.

Kurikka left a lasting legacy among Finnish-Canadian socialists who became adherents of various early Canadian left-wing parties in disproportionately large numbers, including the Communist Party of Canada. For example, by 1928 fully 60% of the membership of the CPC were Finns. A Finnish tone, though muted, still survives at Malcolm Island and at Webster's Corners, site of Sammon Takoijat. But in a minor way Kurikka was also part of the larger history of Canada in the sense that his philosophy and activities coincided with the general spread of socialism during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

J. Donald Wilson is Professor Emeritus of History of Education at the University of British Columbia and also taught during his career at Lakehead University and the University of Western Ontario. He is the former president of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association and the Canadian History of Education Association. His publications include ten co-authored or co-edited books on Canadian social history, educational history, and contemporary education, three of which received national book prizes. He is also the author of several articles pertaining to Finnish-Canadians, particularly Matti Kurikka, A.B. Mäkelä, and Sointula. He was a Visiting Professor at the University of Turku, Finland in 1979.

Sointula, Finnish-Canadian Community in British Columbia

Mikko Saikku

Sointula – translatable as “a place of harmony” – is among the best-known Finnish communities in North America. The settlement was founded in 1901 by Matti Kurikka as a Finnish utopian commune on the remote Malcolm Island in Queen Charlotte Strait. Although maybe a quarter of Malcolm Island’s eight hundred inhabitants are still of Finnish descent, little Finnish is now spoken in the community. Between the 1900s and the 1960s, however, the predominant language of communication in Sointula was Finnish.

The essentials of Sointula’s fascinating history are rather well-known; they include the establishment of an ethnically homogenous, utopian socialist commune, its inevitable breakup, strong socialist and cooperative traditions among the island’s population ever since, move from agriculture and lumbering to fishing as the community’s economic base, and reputation as a haven for alternative lifestyles since the late 1960s. With tourism on the rise in coastal British Columbia, the story is today being told again and again in travel guides and on websites connected to the industry. The beach on the northern shore of Malcolm Island, regularly visited by orca whales, is a popular destination for ecotourists and serves as an important setting for many scenes in Bill Gaston’s acclaimed 2004 novel titled *Sointula*. For many visitors to Vancouver Island, Sointula and Malcolm Island have become synonymous with the striking beauty of the British Columbia coast and a lifestyle in harmony with the natural world.

As a socialist utopia Sointula survived only for a couple of years. The over one hundred Finns

remaining on the island purchased land from the provincial government and, in addition to farming and lumbering, turned to fishing and mink trapping for their livelihood. They also found work in the logging float camps up and down the coast and in salmon canneries. Despite the collapse of their utopian socialist experiment, Malcolm Islanders sustained a sincere belief in the labour movement. The settlers had been exposed to the cooperative movement already in their home country. Thus it is not surprising that Malcolm Island has since 1909 supported the oldest cooperative store in Western Canada, the Sointula Co-op. The Sointula Co-op has ever since been the heart of the community. It has acted as a uniting force for the island’s population, serving as a bank, property owner, and supplier of groceries, hardware, and fishing gear.

Most of the settlers joined the Socialist Party of Canada in 1907, but split with its British leaders in 1911 and formed the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada that operated a hall in Sointula for political meetings and cultural events. During the First World War,

the name was shortened to Finnish Organization of Canada due to governmental pressure. The organization closely allied with the Workers’ Party of Canada and the Communist Party of Canada.

By the early 1930s, there were already over 400 people living on the island, although some Malcolm Islanders had left Canada for the Karelian Soviet Republic in the Soviet Union. Not surprisingly, Sointula maintained a reputation as a socialist centre well into the 1940s. The community remained close-knit and solely Finnish-speak-

For many visitors to Vancouver Island, Sointula and Malcolm Island have become synonymous with the striking beauty of the British Columbia coast and a lifestyle in harmony with the natural world.

ing although the younger generation was now learning English.

Matti Kurikka's right-hand man, A.B. Mäkelä, who had proved a hard worker and organizer for the colony, stayed in Sointula. Known in Canada also as Austin McKela, Mäkelä assumed leadership on Malcolm Island and remained an important figure in the community for decades to come. He became the community's justice of the peace and found employment as a civil servant, serving as the keeper of the island's Pulteney Point lighthouse. He lived in Sointula until his death in 1932, except for short stints as a newspaperman in the United States and Finland. Mäkelä joined Canada's Socialist and Communist parties, but did not actively participate in politics. He continued to support the workers' movement and held high hopes for the future of the Soviet Union, but preferred to stay on his beloved island and claimed to have no interest whatsoever in Canada and its affairs.

After the collapse of the utopian commune, agriculture and lumbering on Malcolm Island were practised mainly to meet the settlers' own needs. By the mid-1930s, the forested area on the island had shrunken considerably, and lumbering had become much less important for the local economy. Hopes for an agricultural community were similarly abandoned. By the 1920s, Sointula families typically grew only some berries, fruit, and vegetables for their own use. Still, there were adherents to the yeoman ideal. A dozen families concentrated in farming, selling their surplus produce through the co-op.

Sointula was founded amidst one of the world's greatest fisheries, and the Strait of Georgia was teeming with salmon when the Finns arrived.

Valuable commercial fish included all five species of Pacific salmon, the chinook (king),

coho (silver), humpback (pink), sockeye (red), and chum (dog), in addition to the Pacific halibut. After the collapse of the communal experiment, commercial fishing soon became crucial for Sointula's economy. In the beginning, Malcolm Islanders joined crews of fishing boats working

in the nearby waters. The Rivers Inlet with its sockeye run became the most important fishing ground for the Sointula fishermen. In addition to Malcolm Islanders, the fishermen in Rivers Inlet until the end of the Second World War consisted mostly of Natives. Only a few fishermen were of other European or Japanese background. In addition to Native women, canneries in Rivers Inlet provided work for Finnish women and Chinese immigrants of both sexes.

To begin with, canneries owned the fishing equipment. Younger Sointula fishermen typically rented a skiff and net from one of the cannery companies to fish the salmon runs. The skiffs were towed up to fishing grounds, where they stayed for about five days and were then towed back in. The skiffs did not anchor for the night, and the fishermen stayed with their equipment by tying their boat to the nets. Gillnetting was gruelling work because the heavy nets had to be pulled in by hand. Fishermen were typically paid by the number of fish caught. For their month-long fishing trip to Rivers Inlet, Sointula fishermen would stack up with canned foods, dried rye bread, and an old Finnish delicacy, the *korppu* – dried white bread seasoned with sugar and cinnamon, and enjoyed dunked in coffee. Children as young as six to eight years of age could accompany their fathers to the fishing grounds. Many of the skiff renters would later buy their own boats, often a skiff then converted into a gas boat.

Trolling for salmon had supplemented gillnetting from the beginning. Fishermen would troll their lures on their way to and from Rivers Inlet. Some Sointula fishermen maintained that trolling was at least as effective as gillnetting. Compared to gillnetters, trollers usually received better pay for their fish, because they also dressed their catch. Sointula fishermen also trolled for halibut, originally with handlines.

After Rivers Inlet, Sointula fishermen had begun to gillnet in Kingcome and Knight Inlets, and started fishing in Johnstone Strait in 1936. Other important fishing grounds came to include the mouths of the Fraser, Skeena, and Nass Rivers.

After the collapse of the communal experiment, commercial fishing soon became crucial for Sointula's economy.



Malcolm Island and surroundings, showing the most important fishing grounds for the Sointula fishing fleet. Cartography by Eric Leinberger.

By the mid-1930s, the fishing season had been prolonged to five months with the inclusion of all Pacific salmon species in the catch. Sointula had turned into a true fishing village where almost all males earned their living from fishing.

In 1929, the Finns on Malcolm Island founded the first fishing co-op in British Columbia, the short-lived British Columbia Fishermen's Co-operative. Malcolm Islanders also played a decisive role in the historic 1936 fishermen's strike against the canneries. Despite the Sointula co-op

offering credit to the fishermen on strike, the strike ended without a clear winner.

An important innovation in commercial fishing during the twentieth century can be traced back to Malcolm Island and a Finnish fisherman and boat builder. The gillnet drum was invented by Lauri Jarvis (Järveläinen) in 1931. Before its debut, the heavy nets had to be set and hauled by hand. Soon all Sointula fishermen were constructing drums for their boats. Jarvis had hoped to patent his drum concept that later proved

revolutionary for the whole fishing industry. For a while, he ran a drum manufacturing plant in Sointula, but it soon became clear that the invention was too simple to be efficiently protected by patent laws. Eventually fishermen around the world copied and improved upon Jarvis's original concept.

In the late 1950s, an innovation of a different kind was made in Sointula. Helmi Pakkalen, who had moved to the island from Finland in 1952, conceived a convenient way to recycle the fishing nets discarded in abundance on the island. Cut apart and crocheted, they made durable and surprisingly attractive rugs. Her idea caught on, and over the years hundreds of such rugs have been made on the island.

By 1948, Sointula's fishing fleet included 70 gillnet boats and 12 deep-sea trollers in addition to several purse seiners, fish packers, and halibut vessels. The biggest problem for the island's fishing industry was still the lack of a breakwater in the Rough Bay harbour: during summer west-lies and winter storms smaller boats had to be hauled onshore, while bigger ones relied on their anchors out in the bay. Fishing around Malcolm Island was potentially very dangerous because of the combination of high winds and strong tides. In a 1993 interview, a retired fisherman could easily list sixteen Sointula colleagues who had drowned since the 1930s. A memorial in the Sointula harbour holds the names of 31 men, most of them with Finnish names, who lost their lives at sea between 1932 and 2001.

By the 1950s, the nickname for trolling equipment had changed from "starvation pole" to "money tree." New lures came into wide use. Sointula fishermen would troll as far as Queen Charlotte Islands, but most stayed within a 60-mile radius of Cape Scott. Many fishermen worked as loggers after the salmon season ended in the fall. Logging was hard work, but not as demanding nor dangerous as fishing. By the early 1990s, there was very little old-growth left on the island, most of it in the Bere Point Regional Park on the northern shore.

In interviews conducted between 1967 and 1993, Sointulans emphasized the importance of the fishing industry for the community as a

whole. Thorough knowledge of local conditions was seen as the crucial factor behind the rise of the fishing industry and subsequent economic development on Malcolm Island. Despite the risks involved, fishing was generally seen as an ideal way to make a living. By the 1980s, Sointula had its own "fishing millionaires," but these typically did not show off their wealth by conspicuous consumption. Compared to the old days, however, many inhabitants felt that something had been lost with the bigger profits and increased efficiency.

Life on Malcolm Island began to change after the Second World War. Radios, telephones, and the education of Malcolm Island children in English brought new influences to Sointula. At the same time, the number of fishermen of non-Finnish background grew on the island. Still, over 90% of the island's inhabitants were of Finnish

An important innovation in commercial fishing during the twentieth century can be traced back to Malcolm Island and a Finnish fisherman and boat builder.

origin in the mid-1950s. The first church was built on the island in 1961, but to this day the settlement has remained unincorporated without a permanent police force. The ethnic base of the population started to shift again from the late 1960s on. As a result of the Vietnam War and the rise of counterculture in the United States, draft dodgers and hippies began to arrive on Malcolm Island in growing numbers. They purchased old Finnish farms and attempted to live off the land. The new arrivals came from different backgrounds, but a common denominator was their disenchantment with the conventional way of life and a strong desire "to get back to the land." The arrival of people with a very different lifestyle initially caused an upheaval in the community, but the predominantly American newcomers were accepted within a decade. During the last three decades, this new generation of settlers – who sometimes have explicitly identified themselves with Matti Kurikka – has actively developed new

cooperatives on the island, including tree planting, shellfish, and food co-ops.

Since the late 1990s, one result of the controversial Salmon Revitalization Strategy (the so-called Mifflin Plan), instituted by the federal government to protect salmon stocks by cutting down the number of fishing boats, has been the collapse of the island's previously flourishing fishing industry. Under the new licensing system, only the biggest operators now seem able to afford the fishing permits, and the problems faced by Sointula's traditional fishing industry seem incurable. Not surprisingly, Malcolm Island fishermen have always been quick to point out that overfishing is not the only factor contributing to the decline of salmon stocks in British Columbia.

Despite the vast changes in their community, Malcolm Islanders of Finnish ancestry have tried to sustain their strong sense of place.

By the 1990s, the increasing governmental regulation combined with recent development on Malcolm Island was embittering people in the traditional fishing industry. New sport fishing lodges were being built on the island by outsiders. The lodges brought in most of their provisions and supplied their guests with self-caught fish and crab, much to the disappointment of local merchants. In addition to other problems faced by the profession, fish farms were starting to appear on the British Columbia coast. Judging from the Norwegian experience with farmed Atlantic salmon, there seemed to be a grave risk of the farm fish transmitting diseases to wild salmon stocks.

Despite the vast changes in their community, Malcolm Islanders of Finnish ancestry have tried to sustain their strong sense of place, formalized in the 1980 development plan for Sointula as a part of the Regional District of Mount Waddington. Since the 1990s, wealthy people from southern Vancouver Island, the Vancouver metropolitan area, and the United States have increasingly begun to use the island as a summer resort, going

back to their city homes for winter, and leaving little money in the community as a whole. Of late, tourism has become increasingly important to the local economy, a development lamented by many long-time residents with no connections to the fast-growing service sector of B&Bs, fishing tours, and whale watching and other wilderness excursions. The recent economic trends have been recorded in the 2004 Regional Development Strategy, which in addition to the growing importance of tourism documents a 50% decline in the active fishing fleet.

In the conclusion of his comprehensive history of the communitarian tradition on Malcolm Island, Kevin Wilson maintains that "Kurikka dreamed of utopia, and did not remain when he saw it fail. [Mäkelä] worked for a viable community that looked after its own, and stayed to see it succeed. The residents of Malcolm Island, whether newcomers or old-time Finns, are the descendants of [Mäkelä] -- the practical dreamers of Sointula" (p. 224). Today the dichotomy between the two men and their legacy is becoming less clear. Kurikka would presumably find the organic food, aromatherapy, and traditional Chinese medicine available on today's Malcolm Island not incompatible with his theosophical ideas, while the contemporary vacationers' dream of combining pristine nature with modern amenities is not that far removed from Kurikka's published reveries.

After the collapse of the utopian experiment, the Sointula Finns by necessity adopted a practical attitude toward life and nature, with little room for aesthetics. Echoing Mäkelä, the inhabitants of the fishing community nevertheless appreciated their natural surroundings and developed a keen sense of place. Still, Mäkelä's utilitarian dream of independent but united workers seems to be fading fast. In today's globalized economy, the small primary producers of older OECD countries have lost much of their footing. Compared to the situation at the time of the founding of Sointula in 1901, the problems faced by independent fishermen and small farmers are now identical in Finland and British Columbia.

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The Anderson Farm: Finnish Homestead to Vibrant Community Museum

Greater Sudbury Museums

Compiled by Samantha Morel

This is the story of two Finnish immigrants who arrived in Canada over a century ago, whose grit and good business sense allowed them to achieve dramatic success. It is also the story of how the Anderson homestead was given new life in order to preserve local history and act as a community gathering place.

Frank Anderson was born in Kauhava, Finland in 1880. He left home at the age of 14 to live with his married sister in Minnesota and to begin his career in mining. A few years later, he immigrated to Canada, settling in Copper Cliff in Northern Ontario (a town now part of the City of Greater Sudbury). He worked as a mucker, a pipe-fitter, and later, a driller.

Not long after, Gretta Peltoniemi (also called Reeta or Greeta), born in Oulun lääni, Finland in 1882, also immigrated to Copper Cliff. She came to live and work at her sister's boarding house, where she met Frank.

In 1901, according to a *Sudbury Star* article, Frank Anderson "took stock of his worldly wealth. It consisted of the work clothes he stood in, one

suit of store clothes for special occasions and \$7 in cash, so he decided he could afford to get married." And so, aged 21 and 19, the two tied the knot. Over the next ten years, the couple moved from one small area town to the next, as Frank was promoted first to shift boss and then to general foreman. During this period most of the Anderson children were also born: Lempi in 1902, Sulo in 1903 (who died the same year), Hilma in 1905, Arthur in 1907, Frank Jr. in 1908, and Jack in 1912.

According to *The Sudbury Star*, sometime around 1914 Frank purchased "a quarter lot with a small shack on it and about 10 acres cleared" and moved his family there. His intent was to take a leave of absence from his work in mining to establish a dairy farm. Around this time the Andersons built a "modern" two-storey house, with electric lights, hardwood floors and paneling, and running water. It cost \$3,500 to build, the equivalent of just over \$66,000 in 2016.

Two years later, they built a barn with the help of their neighbours, the Lahtis. It cost \$7,000 to build, the equivalent of around \$132,000 in 2016.



1934 to 1936 mentions women.

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1. Taimi and Lauri Huhtala and Others, 1934. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum: Huhtala Family Collection.

2. Taimi and Lauri Huhtala. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum: Huhtala Family Collection.

3. Group Photo including Taimi Huhtala and Elis Kallio, ca. 1943. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum: Huhtala Family Collection.



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1. Lempi and Gretta Anderson. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum Collection.

2. Anderson children, left to right: Frank Jr., Arthur, Lempi, baby John, Jack and Hilma. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum Collection.

3. Anderson Farm Barn, 1916. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum Collection.

John, the baby of the family, was born the same year.

Frank, reputedly never crazy about farming, returned to work for Inco in 1926, leaving the dairy farm in Gretta's capable hands. As described by *The Sudbury Star*:

... from the day of his marriage... the story of Frank Anderson became the story of his wife. She was the loyal help-meet who strove by his side as he hewed a home out of the wilderness; the shrewd, hard-headed businesswoman, whose able management of the farm while her husband worked in the mines made it one of the show places of the north.

At its height, the Anderson Farm had around 100 dairy cows and was one of the largest dairy farms in Northern Ontario. This success was largely due to Gretta. Always seeking new business opportunities, she also owned a boarding house in the nearby town of Creighton Mine. In testament to her no-nonsense attitude, a local anecdote tells of a time Gretta broke up a fight at her boarding house by firing a gun at the ceiling, earning her the nickname "Annie Oakley." Though a serious woman, Gretta put people in need first; for example, when the Creighton school burnt down, she offered the use of her boarding house while the new school was built.

Of the family's children, Jack worked at Inco but also spent a great deal of his time helping out at the farm. He is described by one of his daughters as having inherited his mother's great love of and facility for working with animals. John lived and worked on the farm for the duration of his

life. Frank Jr. also found employment for Inco, while Lempi and Helmi, the Anderson daughters, both went their own way and became nurses. Arthur died of diphtheria at the age of 18.

In the late 1940s, Gretta sold most of the farm's 366 acres to Inco. The land she sold was soon after developed into the community of Lively (first part of the Town of Walden, incorporated into the City of Greater Sudbury in 2001). In the 1950s Gretta sold the works of the dairy processing plant located in Creighton to the Copper Cliff Dairy, a local business in operation until 2011. By 1972, Frank, Gretta, and the last of their children had passed away.

The site and buildings, a favourite place to play for local children, became run down over time. In 1977, the Town of Walden purchased the remaining 14 acres from the Anderson grandchildren to renew the site and transform it into a space for celebrating Walden's history.

The Farmhouse, Barn, Milkhouse, and Granary were all kept, but renovated and shored up for structural safety as needed. The Stable, an auxiliary barn, and various outbuildings were deemed too rickety to keep or repair and were all demolished. Fortunately, it was possible to rebuild the Stable with modern materials. The empty portions of the site have been landscaped to serve as a community park and green space.

In the early 1980s, the Farmhouse was opened to the public as the Anderson Farm Museum. Exhibitions in the house were assembled with a great deal of assistance from local women's institutes. Renovations continued, and the Barn and

Milkhouse were opened to school groups and to the public later in the 1980s.

As a result of the closure of the town of Creighton, a century-old Inco log cabin was relocated to the Anderson Farm Museum site in 1988, which was renovated to tell that town's stories, including that of Lempi Anderson, who lived and worked there and who is still remembered fondly by many Creightonites. In fact, many of the earliest residents of Creighton were Finnish immigrants who had come to the area to work in the mine, or the Canadian-born children of those immigrants (like Lempi herself).

In addition to displays about the history of the area (with a special focus on the Anderson family and other local Finnish families), dairy farming, and local pioneer living, the site has served the community in many ways. Over the years, the Museum has been a venue for live theatre, live music, agricultural and craft fairs, Easter egg hunts, Canada Day celebrations, winter carnivals, and haunted houses! These events are run not just by Museum staff, but also by members of the community at large, various non-profit organizations, and the

Anderson Farm Museum's own Heritage Society.

There are many plans in store for the Museum, including a new permanent exhibition in the Barn and the reconstruction of the Farm's sauna to house a display about the history of the sauna and its importance to Finnish (and also Northern Ontarian) culture.

What would Gretta Anderson have thought upon seeing the farm she and her husband built in the dense northern wilderness, with the help of their neighbours, turned into a community space celebrating the area's Finnish history and culture?

According to her granddaughter Jean Dudar (née Anderson) who worked and lived on the Farm in the 1940s:

I think she'd be absolutely thrilled that the farm has gone the way it has – absolutely – because she loved the farm and she loved farming... She was a real business woman and she loved people... When we sold the farm... I think she would have been glad to know that it wasn't just going to be torn down and houses going to be built and there [would] be no recollection of her life. I think she would be very pleased.

Samantha Morel is Curator at Greater Sudbury Museums.



1. Vester and Vöitto Rintala, 1936. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum: Huhtala Family Collection.

2. & 3. Taimi Huhtala Skiing, ca. 1935. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum: Huhtala Family Collection.

4. Gretta and Frank Anderson with child (probably John) in front of Anderson House. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum Collection.



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1. Dick Stephenson Jr., son of Lempi Anderson, at the Anderson Farm. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum Collection.
2. Children at Creighton Lake St Finnish Hall, Front L-R: Anita Rintala, Anne Kotanen, Aire Linddamen, Helen Cupailana, Back L-R: Unknown, Roy Santala, Fred Santala, Bob Heino. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum Collection.
3. Anderson Boarding House Being Used as the Creighton School, ca. 1922. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum Collection.
4. Jean Dudar (nee Anderson), daughter of Jack Anderson, and her Aunt Lempi, Celebrating Jean's Graduation from Nursing School. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum Collection.
5. Taimi Huhtala, 1934. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum: Huhtala Family Collection.
6. Group Shoveling Snow, 1943. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image, Anderson Farm Museum: Huhtala Family Collection.



Anderson Farm Museum Annual Fall Fair. Photo by Claire Hobden.



ANDERSON
FARM
MUSEUM

MUSÉE
DE LA FERME
ANDERSON



Anderson Farm Museum Logo and Barn/Milkhouse in Winter.

Niemi Photography: The Finnish-Canadian Experience in Pictures

Compiled by Kristen Bertrand

August Niemi was one of the first commercial photographers in Sudbury, Ontario. As a photographer, he was able to capture the heart of the Finnish community in Sudbury during the first half of the twentieth century. Offering services for group, family, individual, and wedding portraits, August used his skills to showcase the culture, events, and people which created the robust and long-lasting Finnish community in the Greater Sudbury area.

Born and educated in Lapua, Finland, August immigrated to the United States in 1906 before eventually moving to Canada in 1910. After

settling in Cobalt, Ontario for a short time, August moved to the Sudbury area in 1912 and married Hilma Pesonen in Copper Cliff the same year. August and Hilma had two children: Helvi and Arvo. After Hilma passed away in 1943, August married Aino Nykanen Luukkonen in 1946.

August opened and operated A. Niemi Photography, located at 9 Succo Street in Copper Cliff, Ontario. The business later moved to 36 Elm Street in Sudbury, Ontario until his retirement in 1947. His son Arvo continued the family business until 1975. August died on February 12, 1961 at the age of 74.

Kristen Bertrand is the Local History and Archival Librarian at the Greater Sudbury Public Library.



The Niemi family. August Niemi (father); Hilma Niemi (mother); Arvo Niemi (son); Helvi Niemi (daughter). Circa 1918.



Young family. Unnamed family photograph encased in A. Niemi Photography framed sleeve.



Finnish play performed at Clifbury Garage on Lorne St, former site of Finnish Workers' Hall between Sudbury & Copper Cliff. Circa 1924. Greater Sudbury Heritage Image. Prusila Collection.

Eli (Eeli) Kiviaho

Carmen Pekkarinen

Many members of the Lypsinmaa family have moved to North America over time, either to the United States or Canada. Many times knowledge of their whereabouts ends with the move from Finland. But there was one person about whom there is more information, Eeli Konstanpoika (Konsta's son) Kiviaho. He was the superman of his age, and the following was written about him:

Eeli moved to Canada in 1910 and worked in Creighton's mines for 52 years without any problems from stone dust. Most of the time, he worked as a mechanic. He also had quite a big farm to run with his family, and he hunted fur animals with guns and traps. Eeli was one of those Finnish men who we can respectfully call "pitchy stump." His hobbies included cross-country skiing and he was good at it. For practice he skied down wolves with his heavy four-inch skies. Just

before six hours were up, the wolf normally sweltered. He also used to run home from the mine, 10 miles in 1.5 hours, before starting work on the farm.

Once when he was skiing, Eeli had his pole stuck in the ground and he could not get it out of the hole. He started to dig it out and noticed that he was face to face with a bear. He was on top of the bear's den and the bear had taken a grip on his ski pole. He shot the bear on the spot. He went back to a hunting camp close by to get help to carry the bear. When he got back with his friends, they heard sounds from the nest. There were two more bears, and both were shot.

(This is a shortened story from the Finnish-Canadian *Vapaa Sana* newspaper in 1980. The final comment in the magazine was: This is how the story was told and Eeli never denied it.)

Excerpt from a book on Carmen Pekkarinen's family: Rantala, Jorma, ed. Juho Juhonpoika Söderkärnä: Lypsinmaan sukua 1700-luvulta nykypäivään. Keuruu: Keuruskopio Oy, 2004.

*Carmen Pekkarinen was born and raised in Northern Ontario and has lived and worked in Finland since 1998. She is the author of the weblog *Life in Finland* and has spent years seeking out those not-so-well-known connections between Canada and Finland.*

Canada's Northwest Passage, view from MSV Fenica. Photo: Duke Snider





Canada

Menu

Commemorating 20 years of the Arctic Council
September 20, 2016
Canadian Residence, Helsinki

Vegetable spring roll with coriander

Sesame beef with green bean and Thai basil

Assorted cheeses

Flat Rock, Riesling, 2014, Canada
Henry of Pelham Estate, Pinot Noir, 2012, Canada

The 20th anniversary
of the Ottawa Declaration

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Le 20e anniversaire
de la Déclaration d'Ottawa



Government of Canada / Gouvernement du Canada

Canada

IQUALUIT

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2015

DEVELOPMENT FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH

Results achieved during
Canada's **ARCTIC COUNCIL**
Chairmanship
2013-2015

The first country to chair the Arctic Council was Canada (1996-1998), followed by the United States, Finland, Iceland, Russia, Norway, Denmark and Sweden. The second cycle of Chairmanships began in 2013, as Canada assumed the Chairmanship for the second time.

Embassy of Canada in Helsinki celebrates 20th anniversary of the Arctic Council and the Ottawa Declaration. September, 2016.

ARCTIQUE

ARCTIC

The circumpolar region draws a different map where the centre is the North Pole and where countries collaborate by way of the Arctic Council. Similarly, as the following articles illustrate, the Arctic makes Canada and Finland close neighbours and partners in various fields.

When I think of the Arctic, I first think of it as a microcosm, a region within which an array of issues of broad interest can be explored. For my doctoral dissertation, the Arctic provided a compact geographic region to assess and challenge key definitions deeply rooted in the vocabulary of scholarly international relations. A region, so wonderfully unique yet so large and varied that topics ranging from climate change and international security to identity find their testbed there.

Quand je pense à l'Arctique, je le conçois d'abord comme un microcosme, une région au sein de laquelle il est possible d'explorer tout un éventail de questions d'intérêt général. Pour ma thèse de doctorat, l'Arctique a fourni une région géographique compacte permettant d'évaluer et de remettre en question des définitions clés profondément ancrées dans le vocabulaire des relations universitaires internationales. C'est une région si merveilleusement unique, et pourtant si vaste et variée que des thèmes allant du changement climatique et de la sécurité internationale à l'identité y ont trouvé leur banc d'essai. La région circumpolaire dessine une carte différente centrée sur le pôle Nord, et où les pays collaborent par l'intermédiaire du Conseil de l'Arctique. De même, comme les articles suivants l'illustrent, l'Arctique fait du Canada et de la Finlande des voisins proches et des partenaires dans divers domaines.

Negotiating the Northwest Passage with Finnish icebreakers

David (Duke) Snider and Tero Vauraste

"It's 2200 hrs, 27 October 2015. I'm sitting in the Second Officer's chair in the 'cockpit,' sailing as Canadian Ice Navigator onboard the Finnish-flagged icebreaker MSV Fennica," recalls David (Duke) Snider. "There is a considerable level of satisfaction throughout the ship: with our sister ship MSV Nordica, we have just cleared out of eastern Lancaster Sound after completing the latest fall season full transit of the Northwest Passage. This was no simple task. It took over 18 months of planning, diplomacy, cooperation, and professional collaboration to complete. And it all started over a coffee in Reykjavik many years before."

Finland and Canada are two of the best-known icebreaking nations. Our two governments maintain fleets of icebreakers to provide support to shipping in our coastal waters impacted by winter sea ice as well as in Arctic ice-covered waters. Though the art and science of icebreaking is the same, the two nations have chosen distinctly different fleet management structures. Finland's fleet is operated by Arctia Ltd., Canada's by the Canadian Coast Guard.

Arctia, a Finnish state-owned limited company, deploys one of the strongest icebreaker fleets in the world and provides icebreaking and specialized multipurpose vessel services in polar areas. The need for these services is one of the many things that Canada and Finland have in common.

Tero Vauraste

"I met Tero Vauraste, the energetic and visionary CEO of Arctia in Reykjavik, Iceland, where

we were attending an Arctic Council workshop in December 2012," says Duke Snider. "We were two of only three mariners in the multidisciplinary group of experts and were soon comparing our experiences. We also had a wistful dream: wouldn't it be terrific for Canada and Finland to collaborate on the first Finnish transit of the Northwest Passage?" Months later Snider received a phone call from Tero Vauraste: 'Duke, Fennica and Nordica have done the Northeast Passage, we want to do the Northwest Passage. Are you in?' For Snider, to be part of an international voyage pushing the boundaries of Arctic ice navigation was a dream come true.

The underlying basis for the voyage was Arctia's charter commitment to provide ice management and support icebreakers to Shell's Alaska offshore drilling program each summer. To meet that commitment, each spring Arctia had to mobilize their two heaviest icebreakers, sail from Finland and arrive in Dutch Harbor, Alaska in time to commence operations, then sail home to Finland at the end of summer drilling. There were really only three routes to get to and from the Alaska operational site: transiting the Panama Canal with lengthy North Atlantic and North Pacific Passage; via the Northeast or Northern Sea Route Passage along the Russian coast; or through Canada's Northwest Passage. During previous year's operations, the first two routes had been followed, but not as yet the Canadian Route.

The planning teams from Martech Polar Consulting Ltd. and Arctia first examined the overall voyage concept and possible passage plan. When would be the best time to run the NWP, in the early summer or late fall? An end of season exit was definitely possible. With a fall west to east transit considered the most likely, the background meetings and higher level consultations began.

Though the ships were both Finnish flagged and crewed, voyage planning and execution would be overseen by a team from Finnish ship owners Arctic Ltd. and Canada's Martech Polar Consulting Ltd. The Arctic ships would carry a Canadian Ice Navigator and provide room for researchers and other interested professionals that wished to take advantage of a late season passage. Meetings were held in Helsinki, Ottawa, Montréal, with representation from Arctia Ltd., Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs, Transport Canada, Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Canadian Coast Guard, Environment Canada – Canadian Ice Service, Parks Canada, Canadian Polar Commission/Polar Knowledge Canada, Arctinet, and others.

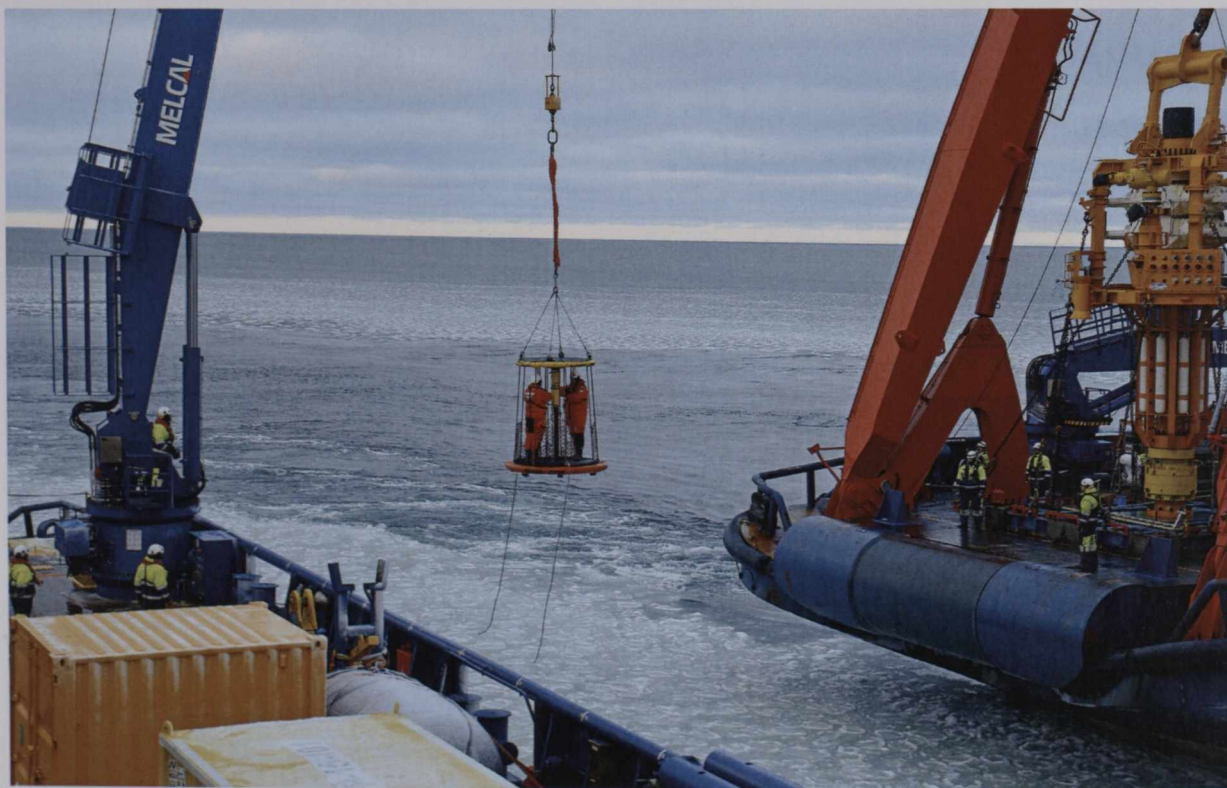
The discussions then focused on ensuring that the two vessels, the routes planned, and all aspects of the voyage would meet Canadian regulatory requirements. In preparation of the voyage I sailed onboard MSV Fennica in the Baltic to conduct an informal assessment of the ships and their operational procedures.

Three possible routes through the Canadian Archipelago were proposed. Route 1 was the

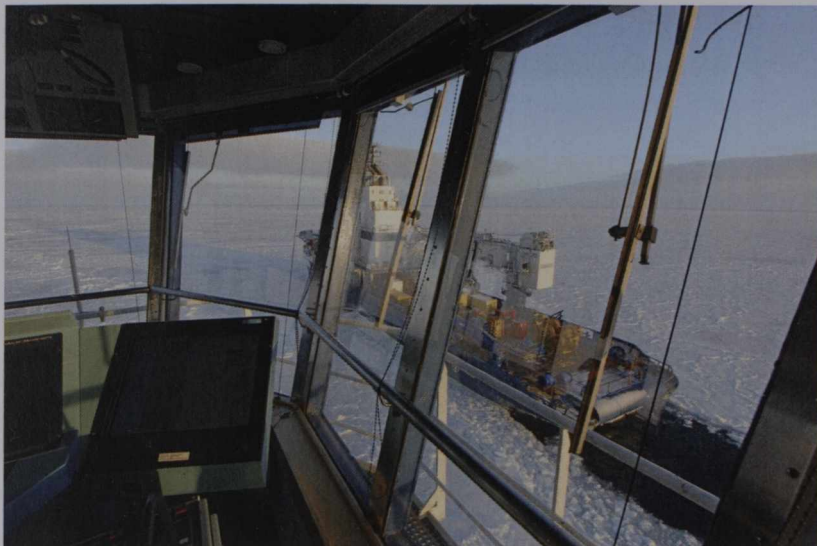
most complex and the longest, but it was also the most likely to present the least difficulty with respect to ice. From the Beaufort Sea this "southern" route would take the ships through Amundsen Strait, Coronation Gulf, Queen Maud Gulf, Victoria Channel, Peel Sound, Lancaster Sound, then to Baffin Bay and Davis Strait. This has been the most commonly transited route through the Northwest Passage.

Route 2 was less complex, taking the ships from the Beaufort Sea immediately northward to Prince of Wales Strait, M'Clure Strait, Viscount Melville Sound, Lancaster Sound and into Baffin Bay. Much shorter and less complex, this route was expected to be more challenging in relation to ice, but became the preferred route during much of the planning. Route 2 had not been utilized commonly in the past as it was often ice-choked throughout the summer. With the gradually increasing effects of climate change resulting in less onerous ice conditions year-to-year, it has become more common as a route through Canada's Arctic Archipelago.

The third, and most direct route, would see the ships pass north of Banks Island, into M'Clure



Basket transfer. Photo: Duke Snider.



View from the control room. Photo: Duke Snider.

Strait, Viscount Melville Sound, Lancaster Sound, then into Baffin Bay. Route 3 was the shortest of all three routes but is often blocked by heavy multi-year pack ice along the west and north shore of Baffin Island; as a result, very few voyages have been able to complete a Northwest Passage using this route.

With the many months of discussions and planning, adjustments and confirmations, all was set with permissions obtained. By late September it became clear that offshore drilling support to Shell's 2015 program off Alaska would complete by mid-October. With very open ice conditions in all three routes and freeze commencing later than normal, it was clear that the voyage of the Northwest Pas-

sage would be going ahead. At that time Route 3, the shortest route, was very open making it the preferred route.

Conditions remained excellent for the transit, and logistics plans were set in motion to embark the various personnel for the voyage. As MSV Nordica was released and proceeded to Dutch Harbor Alaska to take on fuel, Duke Snider embarked Nordica there to be transferred at sea to MSV Fennica before the two vessels entered Canadian waters in company. Also boarding in Dutch Harbor were United States Coast Guard observers Captain Mike Davanzo (soon to be Commanding Officer of the USCGC Polar Star) and Lieutenant Nicholas Galati, two Finnish journalists, and three Finnish naval architects. The voyage had become a multinational operation.

Prior to MSV Nordica entering Canadian waters, Snider was transferred to MSV Fennica to join an American wildlife observer and a Polar Knowledge Canada wildlife observer. Though plans had originally included a number of Canadian researchers to be onboard MSV Fennica, the late confirmation of the voyage provided little time to mobilize. The greater Canadian presence



Northwest Passage various routes.

was unfortunately not possible due to the short notice.

The two ships met off Demarcation Point on 22 October and once the personnel transfer was complete, entered Canadian waters eastbound. By the time the two ships were in company, Route 3 had closed off as the pack ice moved back against the coastline of Banks Island. Route 2 still looked possible and became the route of choice, being shorter and more direct than Route 3.

As the ships proceeded eastbound, freeze-up continued. "We still intended to proceed through Prince of Wales Strait," says Duke Snider, "but ice charts indicated much heavier ice than previously reported. It seemed like overnight somehow a mass of heavy ice had simply 'appeared.' We waited as long as we could to receive satellite imagery to confirm the ice conditions in Prince of Wales Strait." Intuitively, all three Masters, Captain Matti Westerlund onboard MSV Nordica, Captain Tommy Berg onboard MSV Fennica and Ice Navigator Captain Duke Snider felt that conditions in Prince of Wales were better than the ice chart indicated. But with only intuition to go on and against the ice charts received by Canadian Ice Service, the decision was made to take the more cautious route. This would add many miles and hours steaming to the voyage but would guarantee the voyage would be successfully completed.

With Route 1 becoming the route of choice, the two ships headed eastward into the Archipelago. As we proceeded, we were aware that we were making history. This would be the first voyage of Finnish-flag ships through the Northwest Passage, and to our understanding the latest transit of the passage ever completed.

MSV Fennica and MSV Nordica were more than up for the task. The ships took turns as lead ship, breaking open the track for the other to follow. Mostly only thin and medium first-year ice was encountered until we reached the eastern entrance to Lancaster Sound where 10/10th ice cover of the Sound was punctuated by inclusions of multi-year ice and some glacial ice.

The journey offered Arctia a unique opportunity to cooperate with Canadian partners, observe multi-year ice en route, and demonstrate the performance and operability of Finnish icebreakers even in the most demanding Arctic conditions.

Tero Vauraste

The 2015 Northwest Passage voyage of MSV Fennica and Nordica was a complete success. Even with a later than envisioned start, the two ships clearly showed that they are up to the task of working any ice conditions the North American Arctic can throw at them. The two ships have completed what few others have, essentially a circumnavigation of the Arctic.

This momentous voyage was successful because of the bilateral collaboration between Finland and Canada, both at the highest levels of government and through the practical operational planning and execution of the voyage. This voyage in 2015 highlights the partnerships of mutual learning. Happy 100th Finland, Happy 150th Canada.

Captain David (Duke) Snider is a Master Mariner with 33 years at sea. The founder of Martech Polar Consulting, Ltd., Duke Snider is an ice pilot and ice navigator with extensive Arctic and ice navigation experience in Canadian, American and Greenland waters, Arctic and Baltic waters, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Tero Vauraste is President & CEO of Arctia Ltd., and Vice Chair of the Arctic Economic Council.



Canada and Sápmi: Cooperation between Arctic Indigenous Peoples

Liisa Holmberg

We who are living in the North, we know that the Arctic is not an uninhabited wilderness. It is our home. Where we raise our families, fall in love, have happiness and sorrows. Where we get our livelihood, food, business, and education. Where the distances are long, the summers light and the winters cold and dark. We know how to live in the Arctic, how to cope with ice and snow, dark winters, long distances. We know the joy of catching the first sun in the spring and the wonder of nightless days during the arctic summers.

The Sámi Education Institute has a long and active cooperation with Canada. Our institute was one of the founding members of the University of the Arctic. Through UArctic meetings from 2002 on, we have established connections with other arctic educational institutions working

with a similar environment, goals, and challenges. The first of our student and teacher exchanges came through Nunavut Arctic College and Yukon College in Canada.

We have cooperated with Canadian indigenous peoples on a very grassroots and practical level. Under the UArctic north2north student exchange program, we have sent and received exchange students in the fields of environment protection and technology, indigenous handicrafts and northern tourism. The student exchanges have since expanded to include the University of Saskatchewan and the University of Northern British Columbia, and they give young people a great insight into the real life of the Arctic.

In the autumn of 2012, we received the first delegation of Innu First Nations from Quebec,



Liisa Holmberg, Rector Sámi Education Institute and Innu Dolores André. Inari, Finland. 2012.



Janne Näkkäläjärvi and Henrik Sevä working with reindeer in Inuvik, April 2014.

together with a representative from the University of Montréal. This led to increased cooperation and to a visit to the Quebec First Nations' Innu/Naskapi traditional lands in Schefferville and Sept-Îles in April 2013. The core issues for the Sámi-Innu-Naskapi cooperation focused on reindeer and caribou herding, and the related livelihoods, cultures, and education.

Skábmagovat – Indigenous Peoples' Film Festival is one of the major indigenous arctic film festivals in the world. Every January, new indigenous films are screened in Inari. The Skábmagovat specialty is the Northern Lights Theatre, a theatre made of snow under the sky. Skábmagovat has long cooperated with the imagineNATIVE film festival in Toronto, and many Canadian indigenous films are annually screened in Inari and Sámi films in Toronto.

It is especially important for indigenous young people to cooperate with other indigenous peoples in the North. Media education at the Sámi Education Institute has excellent links with the arctic indigenous peoples' film industry, such as the Canadian indigenous film organization, Montréal-based Wapikoni Mobile. They work with young indigenous peoples in the rural areas

and give them the opportunity to make films about their lives from their own perspective.

Wapikoni Mobile carried out a two-week student exchange at the Sámi Education Institute in January 2013. The exchange team – three indigenous students and a filmmaking teacher – made a short film on Sámi people, experiencing life on the other side of the circumpolar north. Wapikoni's short films were showcased at Skábmagovat, and the organization was also presented in the "Siberia meets Canada" seminar, organized by the Sámi Education Institute at the Sámi Cultural Centre Sajos.

An international workshop on indigenous sacred sites was held in Inari in June 2014 in cooperation with the University of Montréal, Sámi Education Institute, the Arctic Centre of the University of Lapland, and the Sámi Museum Siida. The workshop on indigenous rights-holders was a great success, with more than 50 experts across the Arctic: researchers, teachers, academics, students, heritage professionals, community members, policy makers, and indigenous organizations.

The workshop showed that local indigenous peoples have a great deal of undocumented knowledge about the land. This knowledge and



Ambassador Cooligan with Henry Välle, Mayor Vuokko Tievala-Niittyvuopio, and Liisa Holmberg, Rector of Sámi Education Institute. Utsjoki, Finland. December, 2016.

information is still important when people use and utilize the land in their own areas and it should be taken into consideration in the planning of local land use.

In 2014, representatives of the Sámi Education Institute were invited to visit Inuvik and its nearby environment to discover and help with the herding of the only real reindeer herd in Canada. There is a long and well-documented tradition of Sámi–Inuvialuit cooperation of almost 80 years. The viable reindeer herding tradition of the Inuvik area is a rare feature of Canada's North and nowadays faces many challenges, many of which the Sámi people know all too well themselves.

We also visited the most remote village in the Yukon Territory, Old Crow, which has no year-

round road connection. The Gwitchin people in the village live primarily off caribou hunting, fishing, trapping, and tourism. There are many similarities between Gwitchin and Sámi traditions and livelihoods, which creates a solid base for potential cooperation with the Sámi Education Institute.

Cooperation between Arctic indigenous peoples is crucial for the future development of the Arctic, and a successful cooperation requires a genuine connection. The indigenous peoples in Finland and Canada have good experiences of sharing their traditions and ways of life. We have our own voice and need to be actively involved in the planning and implementation of education and research programs in the Arctic.

Liisa Holmberg is the Rector of the Sámi Education Institute, which provides vocational training in both Finnish and Sámi, and promotes Sámi culture in the whole of the Sámi region.

Kuvat elävät

Jorma Lehtola

Bombardierin moottorikelkat, kanadalaiset kairokset tai Nuxalk Nationin 1980-luvulla adoptoima saamelaisaktivisti Niillas Somby eivät ole ainoa linkki Kanadan ja pohjoisen Saamenmaan välillä.

Suomen Lapin ja Ontarion välillä on jo vuosia ollut vahva alkuperäiskansojen kulttuurisilta. Kaksi elokuvafestivaalia, Skábmagovat Inarissa ja imagineNATIVE Torontossa, ovat tehneet läheistä yhteistyötä alkuperäiskansojen elokuvan tunnettuuden lisäämiseksi. Kumpikin festivaali esittää ainoastaan alkuperäiskansojen itsensä tekemiä elokuvia.

Skábmagovat on saamelaisten pyörittämä festivaali, joka pidetään keskellä tuiminta Lapin talvea. Sen tavaramerkkinä on lumesta rakennettu Revontuliteatteri keskellä Saamenmaan mäntymetsää, jossa näytöslämpötila on parhaimmillaan ollut -30° C. Porontaljoilla istuen ja kuumaa rommitotia siemaillen yleisö on lämpöhaalareissaan jo 18 talvea katsellut lumikankaalle heijastettuja elokuvia Nunavutin jääavikoilta, Brasilian sademetsistä ja Australian Outbackista.

Pari vuotta myöhemmin aloittanut imagineNATIVE loi jo varhain kontaktin Inariin. Festivaalin vetäjät ja programmerit, kuten Danis Goulet ja Jason Ryle, ovat käyneet Inarissa verkostoitumassa ja etsimässä saamelaista elokuvaa ohjelmistoonsa. Vastavuoroisesti Skábmagovat on löytänyt Torontosta runsaasti erityisesti Kanadan alkuperäiskansojen elokuvia Inarissa esitettäväksi.

Pienet erot eivät ole menoa haitanneet: Inari on 700 asukkaan kylä 330 kilometriä napapiiriltä pohjoiseen, Toronto 2,6 miljoonan ihmisen metropoli 2500 kilometriä napapiiriltä etelään; Skábmagovat on keskitalven pakkasiin sijoittuva saamelaisen elokuvan pääforum, imagineNATIVE maailman suurin alkuperäiskansojen elokuva- ja mediataiteen tapahtuma.

Kanada on arktisena maana ollut saamelaisille luonnollinen kulttuurisillan jatke. Luontaiselinkeinot ankarissa oloissa, kielitaistelut ja karut kokemukset sisäoppilaitoksista ovat olleet alkuperäiskansoja yhdistävä tekijä. Myös tundrapeurat karibu ja poro meitä luontevasti yhdistävät, nykyisin myös mustajalka/saamelainen elokuvaohjaaja Elle-Máijá Tailfeathers (Kainai First Nation) – ja onpa Toronton yliopistossa saamelainen professorikin, Rauna Kuokkanen.

Kanada on ollut usein näkyvässä roolissa Skábmagovat-ohjelmistossa. Jo toisen festivaalin (2000) päävieraana oli Native-elokuvan ikoni Alanis Obomsawin (Abenaki). Inuiittielokuvan (2001) lisäksi festivaalin pääteemoja ovat olleet mm. Quebecin aboriginaaliyhteisöissä toimivan Wapikoni Mobilen tuotanto (2010) sekä arktisen alueen elokuva laajemmin (2014).

Kun Manon Barbeau toi perustamansa Wapikonin Inariin tammikuussa 2010, mukana saapui algonquin-räppäri Samian, josta oli jo tullut nuorison roolimalli Quebecin indigenous-yhteisöissä.

Myös elokuvaohjaajat Neil Diamond (cree) ja Susan Avingaq (inuk) sekä äänitaiteilija Moe Clark (Métis) ovat istuneet Inarin lumiteatterissa.

Kanadan Suomen suurlähetystö on tukenut ilahduttavasti Kanada-teemojen toteuttamista. Tuki on tärkeä festivaalille, jonka jokainen ei-saamelainen vieras joudutaan lennättämään kaukaa merten takaa – toisin kuin imagineNATIVEssa, joka sijaitsee Pohjois-Amerikan lukuisien alkuperäiskansojen sydämessä.

Saamelainen elokuva oli imagineNATIVE:n pääteemana vuonna 2015. Toronton Sámi Spotlight oli laajin Skandinavian ulkopuolella tapahtunut saamelaisen elokuvan katselmus, joka tarjosi noin 20 elokuvaa 1990-luvulta tuoreisiin lyhytelokuviiin sekä keskusteluita aiheesta. Skábmagovat kuratoi saamelaisen elokuvan retrospektiivioh-



Jorma Lehtola and Cree Canadian screenwriter Phoebe Sutherland. Skábmagovat Film Festival, Inari, Finland. January, 2015.

jelmiston ja Norjan Kautokeinosssa toimiva International Sámi Film Institute oman Film Lab-sarjansa *7 Sámi Stories*. Mukana oli myös Nils Gaupin ohjaama *Ofelaš / Pathfinder* (1987), ainoa Oscar-ehdokkaana ollut alkuperäiskansojen fiktioelokuva.

Kanadan inuiittielokuva oli vuonna 2001 Skábmagovat-festivaalin päätteemana. Vieraaksi kutsuttiin Isuma-tuotantoyhtiön edustajia, jotka jo pitkään olivat tehneet dokumentteja inuiittien elämäntavasta Nunavutin Igloodikissa. Isuman luoja Zacharias Kunuk joutui viime hetkellä perumaan tulonsa, mutta elokuvaaja-tuottaja Norman Cohn saapui ison videolastin kanssa Inariin.

Isuma oli juuri saanut valmiiksi ensimmäisen pitkän inuiittifiktio *Atanarjuat – Fast Runner*. Se oli esitetty vasta Igloodikin kylässä, jonka asukkaista näyttelijäkunta käytännössä koostui. Cohnin oli määrä esittää näytteitä valmistuneesta elokuvasta, mutta hän päättikin esittää päätöspäivänä koko 2,5-tuntisen elokuvan. Ja näin *Atanarjuat*, klassikoksi myöhemmin tunnustettu myyttinen draama, nähtiin Inarissa noin neljä kuukautta ennen maailmanensi-iltaa. Cannesissa se voitti arvostetun *Caméra d'Orin* ja sen jälkeen lukuisia muita palkintoja maailmalla.

Saamelaisista sanotaan, että he ovat viivyttylän viisauden mestareita, mutta kyllä he pystyvät tarvittaessa kiiruhtamaan edelläkin...

Jorma Lehtola on Skábmagovat-elokuvafestivaalin taiteellinen johtaja.

www.skabmagovat.fi

Bombardier: Highways of Snow

Pauli Ahvonen

As a result of the Second World War, Finland lost the Arctic Sea area of Petsamo. This led to evacuation of the Skolt Sámi to Sevettijärvi, 60 kilometres away from road access to Inari, the main hub of Finnish Lapland. Finnish Posts and Telecommunications Administration (former Posti- ja lennätinhallitus) solved the 60-kilometre communication gap by ordering Bombardier B12 snowmobiles from Laatuvaunu Oy in the mid-1950s. It took many years until a decent road was built to these backwoods.

The first factory-made Ski-Doo snowmobile was sold in 1961 to Eino Kukkonen, a school teacher in Partakko. As a freshman Sales Manager of Laatuvaunu, I was encouraged by the

feedback to draw up a daredevil budget for 100 snowmobiles for 1962. These were envisaged to appeal to reindeer farmers handling their herds in the wilderness, and the new vehicle did just that. Suddenly the endless fields of snow turned to thousands of square miles of snowy highways.

This was fully understood by the Commercial Officer of the Canadian Embassy in Helsinki, who joined me for a week-long round-up of reindeers in Vetsikko, Utsjoki, in northern Lapland. One moonlit night, we located a reindeer herder on skis; he had been missing for three days, his car frozen solid further down south. Ski-Doos created a social revolution in these northern families by reducing overnight camping in the wilderness.



Bombardier demonstration to press, 1964. Photo: Pauli Ahvonen.

And then there were our joint Ski-Doo parties, which helped us overcome the lack of a marketing budget. The PR value lent by the Canadian Embassy made the parties into a success: we provided novelty rides, while the Embassy stood for the hospitality. Everybody who was invited showed up, business people as well as public officials, army, coast guard, police, diplomatic colleagues and the press.

The first customers were mainly reindeer herders and utility outdoor users, followed by a huge and continuing potential among 500,000 summer cottage owners by the lakes and in the archipelago. At some point, deliveries began from Canada instead of the Austrian licensee Lohnerwerke, and a multitude of competitors followed. This led to an amazing situation where over the years the total snowmobile fleet exceeded the number of motorcycles registered in Finland.

The Players World Snowmobile Cup 1967 in Montréal prompted us to use racing as a media event in Finland. I won the first Finnish Championship in 1969. That same year I joined Bombardier Ab in Sweden and moved to Canada for management training in Montréal HQ. Another move was due for 1971–1975, when the position of resident marketing manager Europe transferred to Lohnerwerke in Austria to handle Scandinavia and other snow-covered areas in Central Europe, Spain and Greece included.

Pauli Ahvonen worked in the snowmobile industry in the 1960s and 1970s.



Photo: Pauli Ahvonen

After 1976 I have followed Bombardier's progress from a distance: commercial airplanes, Canadair, low-floor trams, buses, metros, etc. Looking back, one must admire the way in which Joseph Armand Bombardier – from a remote French Canadian village of Valcourt – launched a product and a company connecting people over snow. This was about fostering global contacts before the invention of the concept itself.

UArctic and the Circumpolar World

Scott Forrest

In September 1996, I began my Master's in international studies at the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC), focusing on the circumpolar North. Across the country in Ottawa, the inaugural meeting of the Arctic Council was taking place, and, to add a third factor in a life-changing equation, a radical idea for a northern student exchange program was being beamed between fax machines in Whitehorse and Rovaniemi.

In my undergraduate classes I had been told numerous times that there was nothing going on in the Arctic and that it wasn't worth studying. This seems a distant notion today, but in some ways the "circumpolar world" in 1996 was just lines on a map. Yet the UNBC opened up northern possibilities in the realm of international relations both in study and practice. The person-to-person, institution-to-institution, people-to-people, and country-to-country interaction and cooperation of the next twenty years created a new generation that thought of themselves as citizens with a circumpolar identity, belonging to a common region. One of the first steps in creating that region – and my own circumpolar identity – was the Northern Consortium Student Mobility program.

Outi Snellman of the University of Lapland and the late Aron Senkpiel of Yukon College had the idea to create a pilot mobility program between Canada's three northern colleges, plus UNBC, and a small number of universities in northern Europe. When I discovered the possibility of going abroad, I knew precisely where I wanted to be: Rovaniemi. For a student of northern politics, Rovaniemi was a hub. The birthplace of the Rovaniemi process,

the first step in official cooperation between the Arctic states. Home of the Arctic Centre and the University of Lapland (and Santa Claus, as I later found out).

I was supposed to stay for four months. But one day early in my exchange I walked into Outi Snellman's office and she asked if I'd be interested in helping her out with a little project that she was working on. As a result, I'm still here and still working with Outi on that little project, the University of the Arctic.

Finland and Canada have been instrumental in making UArctic a reality, and creating new education opportunities for students across the circumpolar North. Our earliest programs like the Circumpolar Studies curriculum and the north2north student exchange have strong Finnish-Canadian DNA in their core. That cooperation continues today, with strong participation by higher education institutions and political support in both countries.

Like the Arctic Council, where the idea for an Arctic university was first proposed, UArctic has been instrumental in building the circumpolar world that we know today. The best parts of our current Arctic cooperation reflect shared values that I recognize from both my home nation of Canada and my adopted nation of Finland: respect for the environment and sustainability, a key role for indigenous peoples, building dialogue and reaching decisions through consensus, and maintaining peace and stability. I am happy and proud to have been able to play a part by not just studying Arctic cooperation but actively shaping it.

Scott Forrest is originally from Vancouver, British Columbia. He is the Director of Information Services at the UArctic International Secretariat, which is hosted by the University of Lapland, Rovaniemi, Finland. He is dual citizen of Canada and Finland. UArctic is a cooperative network of over 170 universities, colleges, research institutes, and other organizations concerned with education and research in and about the North.

Safety of Ships at Sea

A personal story of Professor Veitch, Memorial University

Brian Veitch

I arrived in Turku on April 30, 1986. I wasn't supposed to be there. I was meant to land in Helsinki, but there was a strike at Helsinki-Vantaa airport and I was diverted to Turku. I was en route to Rauma, where I had a summer job at the Rauma-Repola Shipyard, so Turku was closer to my ultimate destination anyway. After a trans-Atlantic flight from St. John's, Newfoundland, and a bus ride from Turku, I arrived in Rauma, found my new apartment, and slept.

So my first full day in Finland was May 1. Vappu. I was not prepared for Vappu. But I adapted quickly and by the end of the day I thought, "I like Finland." I was a 20-year-old engineering student of naval architecture at Memorial University, Newfoundland. I was in Rauma to work at a shipyard to get practical experience in my profession. Then, as now, Memorial University's engineering program was a co-op system, meaning that students alternate between practical work terms and academic terms. I expected my work term at a Finnish shipyard – my first time working abroad – to be a real adventure. I was right. It would also put me on a path that I'm still on today, intersecting with Finland many times, for both personal and professional purposes, over the intervening 30 years.

In 2016, I'm working on a research project with

colleagues from Aalto University and the University of Helsinki to improve Arctic shipping safety. Members of the group also include researchers at Memorial University, Hamburg University of Technology, and the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. We're working together on a holistic approach to Arctic shipping safety that includes research on ice-structure interaction, ship structural response to extreme loads, oil spill fate, transport, and ecological impacts, and how ship design and shipping operations can be safer by design.

As most of the researchers in our group are PhD students, each student has an opportunity to spend time working with colleagues at one or more of the other universities. We built this exchange feature into our project to reflect our longer-term hope: that these students from different disciplines and countries would have a shared academic foundation to draw upon in the future as their paths intersect. This mobility feature was



Brian Veitch. Photo: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

in fact based on a shared experience of three of the principal investigators on the project, all of whom received doctorates from what is now Aalto University.

My 1986 summer at Rauma-Repola introduced me to Finnish ship design and shipbuilding – and to Finnish

naval architecture students. We initiated a student exchange that continues to this day. Nowadays, I host Finnish students

who visit Memorial for a semester. Back then, I was the visitor. I worked at another Finnish shipyard, Laivateollisuus in Turku, in the fall of 1987. When I decided in 1990 that I wanted to learn

My 1986 summer at Rauma-Repola introduced me to Finnish ship design and shipbuilding – and to Finnish naval architecture students. We initiated a student exchange that continues to this day.

more about ships designed for operations in ice, my first choice of graduate school was the predecessor of Aalto University in Espoo. This was a great choice. Over a period of three decades, I've spent a total of about six years in Finland. I've drilled through ice ridges off Hailuoto in the winter

cold, visited beautiful Finnish ice-breakers, prepared sea ice crystal samples in labyrinthine labs in Espoo, and worked on the research ship Aranda

during an expedition in the Gulf of Bothnia. I'll visit Finland again soon for the same reason as before: to work with my friends and colleagues to advance the safety of ships at sea.

Brian Veitch is a Professor of Ocean and Naval Architectural Engineering at Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland.

Herding Reindeer, Sustaining Lives

Philip Burgess and Lloyd Binder

Reindeer are herded in northern Finland and have been for millennia, first by indigenous Sámi, then widely by Finnish settlers. But Canada? While Canada has had a caribou on its 25¢ coin – an iconic design that has been in use, unchanged, since 1937 – many are surprised to learn not only that reindeer herding even exists in the country, but that it recently celebrated its 80th anniversary.

Unlike caribou, reindeer are semi-domesticated and typically owned by individuals, though sometimes by nation states. Reindeer herding is practised in nine countries: Finland, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Greenland, Alaska, Mongolia, China and Canada. A small herd is also maintained in Scotland. There are about 30 reindeer-herding peoples in the world and several million semi-domesticated reindeer.

Climate and environment have always determined the conditions by which reindeer herding is practised, and since the development of nation states, various regulatory bodies have created quite different management regimes. But reindeer herding remains very much a family-based livelihood practised (primarily) by indigenous peoples, whose traditional territories traverse national and regional borders. Finns comprise the largest non-indigenous group of herders, as in Finland (unlike Sweden or Norway) the livelihood is not restricted by ethnicity.

The importance of the livelihood goes beyond mere employment and economy. Reindeer herding is important both culturally and socially and is a vigorous and central part of many indigenous peoples' cultures and identities. It is not uncommon to hear herders state that "without reindeer, we will not survive as a people." Indeed, herders live in a semi-permanent state of uncertainty, which has intensified over the last two decades mainly due to man-made changes in the

land. This has led to a loss of pastures in the wake of infrastructural development, mines, oil and gas development, wind power, urbanization, summer cabins, and more. Such processes are especially true in Scandinavia and parts of the Russian Federation, but are of concern pretty much anywhere reindeer herding is practised (bar Canada). In Finland, mining, wind power development, and tourism are the most significant contemporary drivers of land use change.

Climate change is a global concern. It is already impacting herding practices in Scandinavia. A Sámi expression encapsulates an aspect of this: "This year is not last year's brother" – *Jahki ii leat jagi viellja*. The Arctic is predicted to warm at a much greater rate than the temperate zones of the northern hemisphere. Herders in Scandinavia are experiencing rapid warming and refreezing of the snow pack in mid-winter, which can ice over the ground lichen beds, "locking" them away. Reindeer may not be able to move to other pastures due to a lack of space and may have to resort to expensive winter feeding. In much of Finland, winter feeding of reindeer is now the norm in nearly all districts.

Topical debates related to reindeer herding in Finland in recent times have waxed and waned, but generally align to the mainstream opinion that there are too many reindeer in Lapland, and evidence frequently cited is the striking disparity in lichen (*Cladonia rangiferina*) cover in Finland and Norway. However, multiple studies have shown that the real reason for less lichen on the ground on the Finnish side of the border is due to summer trampling: lichen are very dry in the summer months and are prone to damage. As reindeer in Finland are bound by fences, this has severely limited the natural migration of animals between seasonal pastures, which is still practised

Norway and Sweden. In fact, the importance of reindeer grazing to both biodiversity and the preservation of landscapes is the focus of more recent research. This has shown that a warming climate is "greening" the Arctic, as shrubs and willows experience a rapid surge in growth rates and are moving into fell areas. For herders on the ground this has meant a loss of winter pastures and has made it more difficult to keep track of the animals, especially in the tundra. Recent research suggests that some of Finland's most beloved and iconic landscapes – the fell landscapes of northern Lapland – would become covered in shrubs and woody vegetation quite rapidly if reindeer grazing were reduced. It might actually be more useful to think of reindeer as a landscape creator or enhancer.

Unlike in Finland, reindeer herding in Canada has a relatively recent history and the story of how reindeer came to be there is scarcely believable.

In the early 1900s there was an interest in official circles in bringing reindeer to North America. There were early attempts in Newfoundland and Baffin Island, both of which foundered after promising starts. Three hundred reindeer and three Sámi herding families were brought to Newfoundland in 1908 from Alta in northern Norway. By 1917 the last remaining reindeer were shipped to Anticosti Island, where they eventually died out. The Baffin Island experiment was even shorter lived. The Hudson's Bay Company hired 20 Sámi from Norway along with 620 reindeer and transplanted them to Baffin Island. They arrived with their dogs by ship between Cape Dorset and Kimmirut on November 1, 1921. Within one year the experiment was over, and most of the Sámi returned home, as the herd was ravaged by predators and the extreme conditions made close herding impossible.

Reindeer herding in Finland by the numbers

- Reindeer husbandry covers 122,936 km², 36% of Finland's total area.
- The reindeer husbandry area in Finland comprises the whole of the Province of Lapland (except Kemi, Tornio, and Kemijärvi) and a large area of the Province of Oulu.
- The reindeer husbandry area is divided into 56 herding cooperatives, led by the "Reindeer Parliament," which meets annually.
- Around 200,000 reindeer remain in the husbandry area after the round-ups that select animals for slaughter.
- Around 100,000 reindeer are slaughtered each year.
- 120,000–130,000 calves are born each spring.

Reindeer herding in Canada by the numbers

- The herd currently numbers around 4500 reindeer on the eastern sector of the Mackenzie River delta.
- Kunnek Resource Development Corporation hold grazing rights to around 8000 km², including all of Richards Island.
- The summer range makes up 1800 km², the winter ranges around 5200 km². Only 1/8 of the range is used; the area could carry up to 20,000 reindeer.

The most successful example in North America was in Alaska. Partly urged by missionaries, the American government purchased 1200 reindeer from Russia between 1892 and 1902. These were followed by a small herd from Norway, also accompanied by Sámi herders and their families. The Sámi were understood to have the skills to herd the animals and ultimately train indigenous peoples in Alaska to become herders. By 1925 the Alaskan herd was estimated to be more than 350,000 animals. Reindeer had become the second largest industry in the State after fishing, employing hundreds of Native Alaskans and Sámi from Scandinavia and exporting hundreds of tons of reindeer meat to the U.S. mainland every year.

In the late 1920s, Canada wanted to assert its sovereignty in the Arctic. It was establishing Royal Canadian Mounted Police posts and encouraged native peoples to settle in permanent trading and administrative posts. The Canadian government turned to the Lomen Corporation (in charge of the Alaskan reindeer venture) to deliver 3000 reindeer for a total of \$195,000 (over \$2.5 million today). The Lomen Corporation hired Andy Bahr, a Sámi herder who had retired to Seattle, to lead the Reindeer Drive, which was expected to take less than two years to travel the approximately 2600 km from Napaktolik to the Mackenzie Delta. Incredibly, the journey took five years and travelled perhaps twice as far, with Bahr, already in his sixties, earning the sobriquet of the Arctic Moses en route. In March 1935, Bahr and his team delivered over 2300 reindeer, after an epic journey through much unmapped territory, beset with challenging conditions, wolves, bears, and intense weather conditions. Only one-fifth of the original herd survived.

Three Sámi herders with their wives and families from Kautokeino in northern Norway were hired to manage the herd on arrival: Aslak Mikkelsen Tornensis, Mikkell Pulk, and Mathis Haetta. A settlement was born, called Qun'nglaat by the Inuvialuit. At its largest, the settlement had around 90 inhabitants, a Hudson's Bay Company store, a school, a post office, and a church. By 1969, the

settlement was abandoned and relocated to Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk. Despite the initial success of engaging native ownership, all the native-owned herds reverted to the government and native herding of reindeer in the Mackenzie Delta receded in importance both for the Inuvialuit and the government.

In 1974, the last remaining herd was sold to Canadian Reindeer Ltd. and passed to the Kunnek Resource Development Corporation in the 1990s. Amazingly, the reindeer descendants of the herd from the original Reindeer Drive are now owned by Lloyd Binder, a grandson of Mikkell Pulk, one of the original herders brought from Norway to introduce herding to the region. While there are long-term concerns about the future viability of the herd, which now numbers some 4500, there is no doubting the resilience

Reindeer herding in Canada had an extraordinary beginning, and that it has survived at all is nothing short of extraordinary.

of their presence and those connected with them. In 2016, the community of Inuvik celebrated the 80th anniversary of the

reindeer herd.

Reindeer herding in Canada had an extraordinary beginning, and that it has survived at all is nothing short of extraordinary. This speaks to the determination and commitment of those few working with the animals today and one can but hope this will mean that reindeer continue to be a part of Canada's future in general, and in the McKenzie River delta specifically.

The challenges are put best by the current owner, Lloyd Binder: "Always the persisting question of the ownership of the reindeer herd is: Who is ready to take over? If no one is ready and committed, the herd may be doomed. Not many people are ready to make a probable life-long commitment... Reindeer herds are not just bought and sold in the open market. An owner has to be prepared to suffer some unforeseen downturns. And live with them until an upturn."

Kunnek Resource Development Corporation plans to increase its herd to 6500–7000 reindeer to meet increasing meat demands up to 2020. In the past, reindeer meat has been exported to southern Canada but since 2001, all the meat

has been sold within the Northwest Territories (NWT).

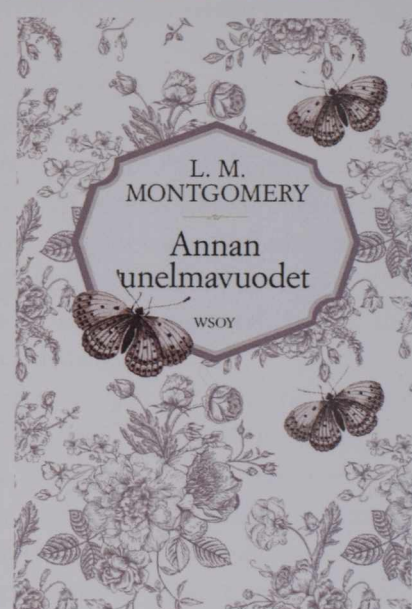
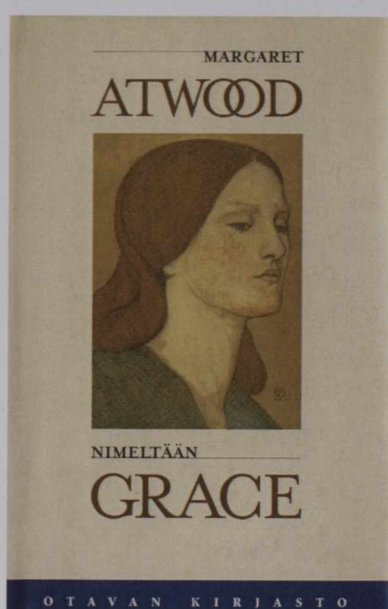
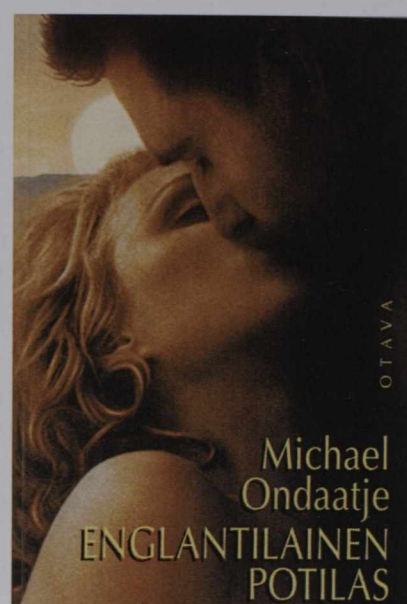
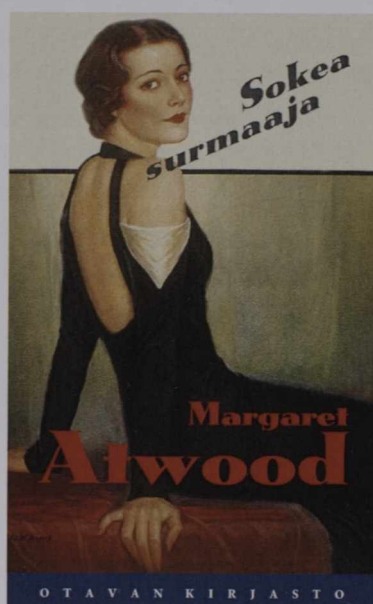
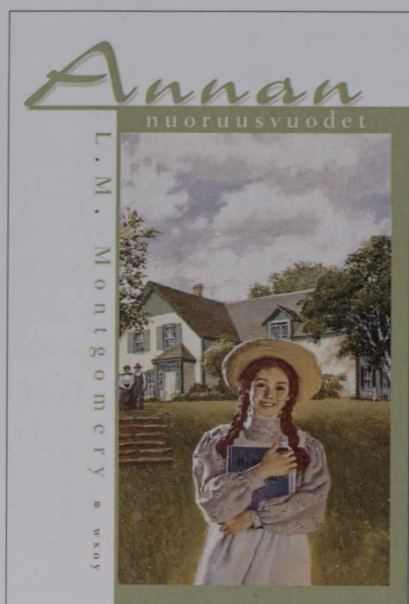
The history of the introduction of reindeer and reindeer husbandry to Alaska and to Canada is a lesson in human interactions. While the reindeer became established in the new herding grounds fairly quickly, it was the human aspects that were more problematic. Interference from bureaucrats, political interests, business competitors, and not least the people who inhabited the areas chosen for herding posed the most serious difficulties for herders and the reindeer in the region. Conflicts often arose that took decades to resolve.

In Finland, the concerns faced by the reindeer herding industry are both similar and differ-

ent in character, including a marginal economy, predators, a lack of concerted support, and subsidy issues. That said, there are some encouraging signs, as prices have recently increased and the public perception of reindeer meat as a healthy and ecologically sound source of protein has become more entrenched. However, herders in Finland face a loss of reindeer pastures from other land users: mining, wind power, and tourism. Climate change is adding another complex layer of challenges to herders and the behaviour of animals on the land. Sámi herders in Finland in particular have long stressed that the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry does not recognize the specific needs and challenges of Sámi herders inside the Sámi home area.

Philip Burgess represents the International Centre for Reindeer Husbandry in Kautokeino, Norway.

Lloyd Binder is a reindeer herder in Inuvik, Canada.



LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE LANGUE ET LITTÉRATURE

Bilingualism is one of the defining elements Finland and Canada share. Growing up in Finland as a Finnish-speaking Finn, I never thought bilingualism made any difference, but having lived in a few foreign countries and then ending up in Canada, I realized its importance: language was politicized and thus important. Language is not an issue that can be taken for granted. I believe that importance also shows in our literature traditions.

While working at the Canadian Embassy in Helsinki, I once received an inquiry from Canada: "Would there be any Finnish authors who reflect on matters of solitude and isolation in their works?" My immediate initial thought was that this group would likely include most of the Finnish authors. While it would be oversimplifying to claim that Finnish and Canadian literature share the tendency toward isolation, I have started to make mental notes when I read Canadian and Finnish literature; could this have been written in Finland instead of Canada? Would this appeal to Canadian readers? More often than not, I conclude, yes.

Le bilinguisme est un des éléments distinctifs qu'ont la Finlande et le Canada en commun. Lorsque j'ai grandi en Finlande en tant que Finlandais de langue finnoise, je n'ai jamais pensé que le bilinguisme faisait une grande différence, mais après avoir vécu dans plusieurs pays étrangers avant de m'établir au Canada, j'ai pris conscience de son importance : la langue est politisée et à ce titre importante. La langue ne saurait être considérée comme allant de soi. Je crois que son importance transparait aussi dans nos traditions en matière de littérature.

Lorsque je travaillais à l'ambassade du Canada à Helsinki, j'ai reçu cette question en provenance du Canada : « Y aurait-il des auteurs finlandais réfléchissant aux thèmes de la solitude et de l'isolement dans leurs œuvres ? » Ma réaction immédiate était que ce groupe incluait sans doute la plupart des auteurs finlandais. Bien qu'il serait réducteur d'affirmer que les littératures finlandaise et canadienne partagent une tendance à l'isolement, je me suis mis à prendre mentalement des notes lorsque je lis des œuvres canadiennes et finlandaises : est-ce qu'on aurait pu écrire ceci en Finlande au lieu du Canada ? Ceci pourrait-il plaire aux lecteurs canadiens ? Bien souvent, je conclus que la réponse est « oui ».

Canada – Finlande Modèles de stabilité et de paix sociale pour le reste du monde

André Noël Chaker

La Finlande et le Canada sont parmi les premiers pays officiellement bilingues au monde. Malgré les différents de leurs groupes linguistiques, ces deux pays ont été des modèles de stabilité et de paix sociale pour le reste du monde. Le Canada a été le premier pays au monde à instaurer des programmes d'immersion linguistiques. La Finlande a importé le modèle d'immersion canadien à la fin des années 70. Le Canada et la Finlande sont des bons exemples d'ouverture linguistique qui s'appuie sur le principe de tolérance et de dynamisme économique.

Finland and Canada: Tales of Two Tongues

André Noël Chaker

Though Finland and Canada are relatively young nations, they are among the oldest officially bilingual nations in the world. These nations were born bilingual, as both countries' first constitutions recognized two national languages: English and French for Canada and Finnish and Swedish for Finland.

Today, the Finnish-speaking Finns represent the majority of the population, and slightly more than 5% speak Swedish as their native language. In Canada, 57% of the population speak English as their mother tongue, while 21% are native speakers of French. Neither the integration of the two national cultures nor the co-existence between the two linguistic groups has been without its trials, but both countries have been a relative model of peace and stability for the rest of the world where language and cultural differences have sometimes been the source of extreme social unrest and war.

The Swedish-speaking minority of Finland has often been perceived by many Finns as a well-endowed and elitist group. Indeed, in proportion to

its size, this group has wielded considerable economic and political power. Despite the language confrontations of the past, Finns in general have been able to use this diversity to their advantage. The critical relationships with Sweden and the rest of the Nordic countries have been reinforced by the maintenance of and proficiency in a common Nordic language. The political, military, and economic evolution of Finland is heavily marked by the Nordic ties and assistance. In turn, Swedish-speaking Finns have been culturally defined by their Finnish-speaking compatriots as distinct and different from Sweden and other Nordic countries where languages closer to Swedish are spoken.

I see the same challenges and opportunities in Finland's bilingualism as in the bilingualism of my native country of Canada. In Canada, our bilingualism differentiates us from the United States, and our integration and dynamic interaction between cultures increases our strength as a nation. English-speaking Canada makes the French-speaking province of Québec stronger in

the face of a powerful English-speaking continent. English-speaking Canada is stronger because it can more clearly differentiate itself from our common southern neighbour. The challenge of cultural diversity is an invitation to grow stronger as people and as nations.

I remember growing up as a French-speaking boy in an English-speaking neighbourhood of Montréal. For the most part, this immersive experience was very positive and formative. However, at a time of linguistic and political tension in Québec in the early 1970s, my new given name – the F... Frog – described the bad blood that existed between the two communities. With time the atmosphere grew more accepting, and my English became good enough for me to attend McGill Law School in English and in French.

I'm proud to be from the place that developed the world's first language immersion models: the

Anglophones of Québec first initiated experiments with French immersion in Québec in the mid-1960s. They were quickly followed by similar programs in Ontario and the rest of the country.

The Canadian model for language immersion was first brought into Finland by Christer and Ulla Laurén from the University of Vaasa. The program first introduced kindergarten and primary Swedish immersion teaching to Finnish-speaking students in the Vaasa area in the late 1970s. This model and its applied insights have later been used in Finland to modernize and improve language teaching through an era of significant internationalization.

Languages open the doors of wealth and tolerance in the world. Countries and people who embrace many languages are always richer and wiser for it.

André Noël Chaker is a Canadian and Finnish speaker, writer, lawyer, and business consultant. A law graduate from McGill University in Montréal, he is a member of the New York Bar and the Finnish Lawyers' Association. He also holds an MBA from Aalto University. The Finnish Miracle, one of André Noël Chaker's six books, has become a bestseller in Finland.



André Noël Chaker. Photo: Leena Koskela / Procountor Oy.



Journée internationale de la Francophonie. Helsinki, 2016.

A Finnish-Canadian Peacekeeper's Tale

Allan Best

Being Finnish-Canadian had never really occurred to us as anything unique while growing up in Canada. Many of the customs my brother Martin and I were exposed to seemed the same as our traditional Canadian counterparts: love of the outdoors, summer cottages, and winter sports. Several of our non-Finnish-Canadian peers even had saunas. It was only much later in life that our Finnish heritage and language skills would come to benefit Canada in a special way.

In the fall of 2003 myself and then Major John M. Valtonen of the Canadian Army found ourselves deployed to northwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina as peacekeepers with the NATO Stabilization Force known as SFOR. The Bosnian war had officially ended in 1995, with the various belligerents having laid down their arms years before. As a result, our role as international peacekeepers was more akin to community policing than anything else: monitoring illegal logging, being aware of human trafficking, and reporting suspected mass grave sites.

If there is one constant in any modern peacekeeping scenario, it is the criminal elements that quickly move into the stability vacuum following a cessation of hostilities. Prostitution, gambling, gun smuggling, even illegally pirated music CDs were commonplace. Courtesy of store-bought radio scanners, we knew various underground elements were able to monitor our cellular telephone signals at any time. They did so not in an effort to do us harm, but instead in a bid to avoid



Lieutenant-Colonel Allan Best and Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Valtonen

SFOR personnel as they went about their nefarious business.

It was very early on in our mission when John hinted at me about the coincidental language skills we shared courtesy of our Finnish-Canadian upbringing, he in Sudbury and myself in Toronto. We knew the bulk of the “mafia” understood English, German, and Russian, but would they know Finnish? Unlikely, and broken “Finngelska” (Northern Ontario slang for smashed-together Finnish and English), certainly not! Thus for the remainder of 2003 and well into 2004, the lead liaison leadership of the Royal Canadian Dragoons Battle Group conducted their voice-to-voice communication with absolute confidentiality, in Finnish. Sometimes truth is stranger than fiction. Our grandparents would have been proud.

Lieutenant-Colonel Allan Best is a serving Infantry Officer with the Canadian Armed Forces. He is the past Commanding Officer of the 48th Highlanders of Canada and has deployed with NATO forces to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Afghanistan, and the Baltic Nations. He is the son of the late Dr. Värpu Lindström, and stepson to Dr. Börje Vähämäki. LCol Best, along with now LCol John M. Valtonen, are the senior serving Finnish-Canadian officers within Canada's Army.

Canadian Literature in Finland: Absences and Presences

Janne Korkka

In 1989, Keijo Holsti opened the Finnish-language volume *Kanadan kirjallisuuden vaiheita*¹ on Canadian literature by noting that “Kanada on kirjallisuushistorioissamme valkoinen läiskä” – “In Finnish literary histories, Canada is a blank page” (my translation). Literary histories in Canada might no doubt make the same claim about Finland, which well reflects the ease of getting caught in the glow of literary traditions from big neighbours.

Finns engaging with Canadian literature may seem to encounter a widespread lack of knowledge around them, but it may be revealed as an illusion. My work at the University of Turku involves teaching and research on Canadian literature, and some fitting examples arise from my own work experience. When university students of English are introduced to their first Margaret Atwood text in their studies, year after year many say they have read her before, but some also say “Oh, she’s Canadian?” When Alice Munro won the Nobel, these students shared a moment with some of their countrymen who had already in 1985 read the first Finnish Munro translation *Kerjäläistyttö: Tarinoita Flosta ja Rosesta* (*The Beggar Maid*) as they were reminded that “Oh right, she’s Canadian.” Michael Ondaatje’s name does not perhaps ring a bell in Finland quite as quickly as Atwood and Munro do, but many people only need the cue that he wrote the novel which then became the massive 1996 film success, *The English Patient*. “Oooh, he’s Canadian!” Canadian literature in Finland may suffer from a lack of awareness, but the idea of a lack of presence is simply an illusion.

I will not attempt to offer a history of Canadian literature in Finland here. I will instead focus on selected writers whose presence or absence on the literary scenes of Finland sheds light on the erratic patterns of how some chapters of Canada’s literary history indeed appear as nearly blank pages, but then others are far richer than for example translation history alone would suggest.

Margaret Atwood is a prime example of a writer whose novels are promptly translated but whose non-fiction or poetry tends to be known through the English-language originals only. She is also remembered from a successful tour of Finland in the early 1990s, when she appeared in front of a full house in the Turku International Book Fair and the University of Helsinki. Atwood today needs little introduction in Finland, but I will show below how less widely known authors have made a lasting imprint through personal visits even if their writings are not available in Finnish.

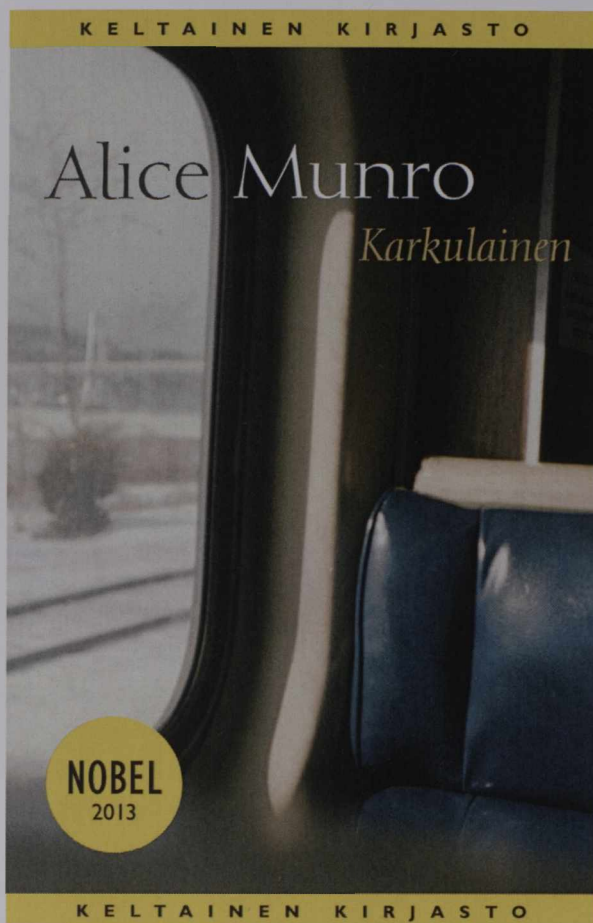
The translation history of Canadian literature in Finland goes back more than a century now, and begins with familiar names. The exception is

The translation history of Canadian literature in Finland goes back more than a century now, and begins with familiar names.

perhaps the very first full book translation from Canada, *Indiaanien maassa* by Egerton Ryerson Young from 1902. The book

recounts nineteenth-century wilderness travel stories among the First Nations, but this first chapter in our history of Canadian translations is not widely remembered. As a major mid-1800s education reformer, Ryerson might now catch the eye in Finland, as the country is famous for its successes in and debates over public education,

1 Keijo Holsti and Päivi Vuorio (eds), *Kanadan kirjallisuuden vaiheita* (Helsinki: Yliopistopaino, 1989).



Runaway in Finnish. Photo: Tammi Publishers / Bonnier Books.

and also undergoing rapid ethnic diversification. In Upper Canada and early Ontario, Ryerson's ideas vastly improved access to democratic schooling, but also shaped the First Nations residential school system which isolated certain ethnic groups from mainstream society with devastating results still felt today.

Just a few years after *Indiaanien maassa*, Ernest Thompson Seton's most famous story collection *Wild Animals I Have Known* (1898) appeared in its Finnish translation as *Villejä eläimiä* (1909). Although Seton lived through much of his writing career in the United States, he left an indelible mark on Canadian writing on nature and animals. His wilderness stories seemed to immediately resonate against Finnish sensitivities, and translating Seton's work continued for decades to come. Other decades-long translation projects soon emerged as L.M. Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* was introduced to Finnish readers in 1920, and Anne's further adventures along-

side Montgomery's *Emily* books kept appearing in Finnish through the next fifty years. Another wildly popular Canadian series of novels, the *Jalna* books by Mazo de la Roche were translated every few years from the late 1930s to the 1960s. These chapters in our translation history are well remembered, and the *Jalna* books, for example, continue to be widely read. A recent literary blog notes that de la Roche's individual books may not always appear brilliantly written, but the 6,564 pages of *Jalna* still allow the reader to "uppo[u]tua kokonaan toiseen maailmaan," to immerse oneself into an entire different universe. The *Jalna* series is "aina yhtä ihana" (always a joy to read) and a trip down the memory land to teenage encounters with the romance of the Whiteoak family saga.²

While English is today absolutely the most widely used foreign language in Finland, it was not widely taught in Finnish schools before the Second World War and was known by relatively few in the early decades of translating Canadian literature. This meant that unlike today, English Canadian texts could never have found a significant readership in their original language, but also that the language barrier was notable for both English and French Canadian writing. As books published in English would reach larger audiences around the world and the appeal of *Jalna* and Montgomery's *Anne* and *Emily* series in other countries would be noted by publishers in Finland, English Canadian books still dominate the early Finnish translation roster. Individual novels from French Canada nevertheless found their way to Finnish language readers: Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine* (1913) was translated as *Pohjolan tytär* in 1930, with no great delay when compared to various *Jalna* and *Anne* novels.

Yet the more recent history of translating French Canadian texts remains more uneven than of English Canadian literature: Anne Hébert's novel *Kamouraska* (*Suuri rakkaus*, 1971) and *Une saison dans la vie d'Emmanuel* (*Talvikausi Emmanuelin elämästä*, 1967) by Marie-Claire Blais were both freshly translated for the Finnish audience, but readers looking for Finnish versions of the writings by French Canadian literary giants

² Anni Vuorinen, "Jalna-sarja," *Maailman ääreen* Blog, August 6, 2013, <http://maailmanaareen.blogspot.fi/2013/08/jalna-sarja.html>.

Ringuet (1895–1960) or Gabrielle Roy (1909–1983) may still find themselves empty-handed.

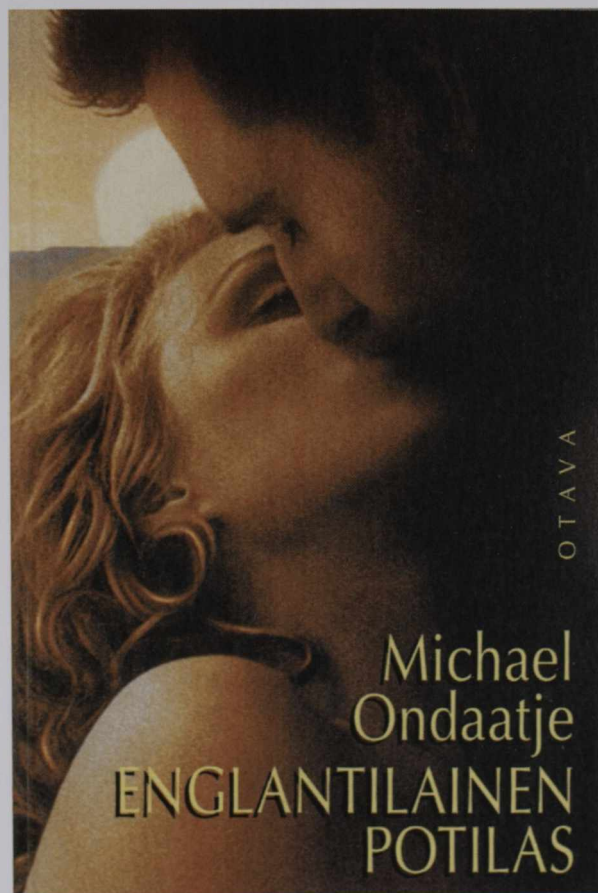
The one Québec-origin giant that Finns certainly know is Montréal-born Leonard Cohen (1934–2016), who was admittedly Anglophone and was for a long time primarily known as a singer-songwriter by a global audience, but his 1960s novels *The Favourite Game* and *Beautiful Losers* have become available in Finnish translations, too (*Lempileikki*, 2004 and *Kauniit häviäjät*, 2003, respectively). Curiously, some of Cohen's poetry was already translated in the 1970s when the book market in Western countries already favoured the novel. Then again, Cohen's career went against the grain in other ways too, not least as after years of silence, after turning seventy, he staged massively successful concert tours which brought him to Finland, too, on several occasions.

Gabrielle Roy's absence from Finnish translations reflects the complicated patchwork of presence and absence of Canadian writers and their work on the Finnish-language literary scene. While Roy spent much of her writing life in the province of Québec, she was born in French-speaking Saint-Boniface in Manitoba and worked in the smaller French-speaking communities of the Canadian Prairie. Her writings thus brought certain flavours of French-Canadian experience to Québec literature which would be unfamiliar to her Québécois readers; at the same time, her texts would capture something hauntingly familiar on the other side of the language boundary among the majority Anglophone population of the Canadian Prairie in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. These dualities would certainly resonate against readers' sensitivities in bilingual Finland, where Finnish and Swedish language experiences of being Finnish resonate against the Canadian idea of two solitudes, the traditional view of parallel but often separate strands of English and French experience. These solitudes may break down through the texts by Roy and others crossing such boundaries, which suggests their texts would continue to resonate among the sensitivities of a contemporary readership in Finland.

Anglophone Prairie literature offers another intriguing point of entry to the complexity of the

Canadian literary traditions and their presence in Finland. Roy's absence from Finnish translations is surprising, but in part it is likely a result of the perceived extra challenge of the French-language originals. What, then, would explain the absence of Margaret Laurence (1926–1987), who hailed from Anglophone Manitoba and became one of the true literary giants recognized across Canada and outside the country? From the point of view of Finnish translations, Canada's biggest literary giants may be there, as new fictions by Atwood, Munro, and Ondaatje have usually been promptly translated at least since the 1980s. In some ways their writings transcend the boundaries of Canada, but in others the trio hails from Ontario (though Munro has lived in British Columbia for decades now). This reflects a certain regional uniformity to a foreign audience, and does not reveal the complex mix of regional influences and incommensurable experiences which shape Canada and its literary traditions.

As a critic of Canadian writing, I happily agreed when the Nobel committee in Stock-



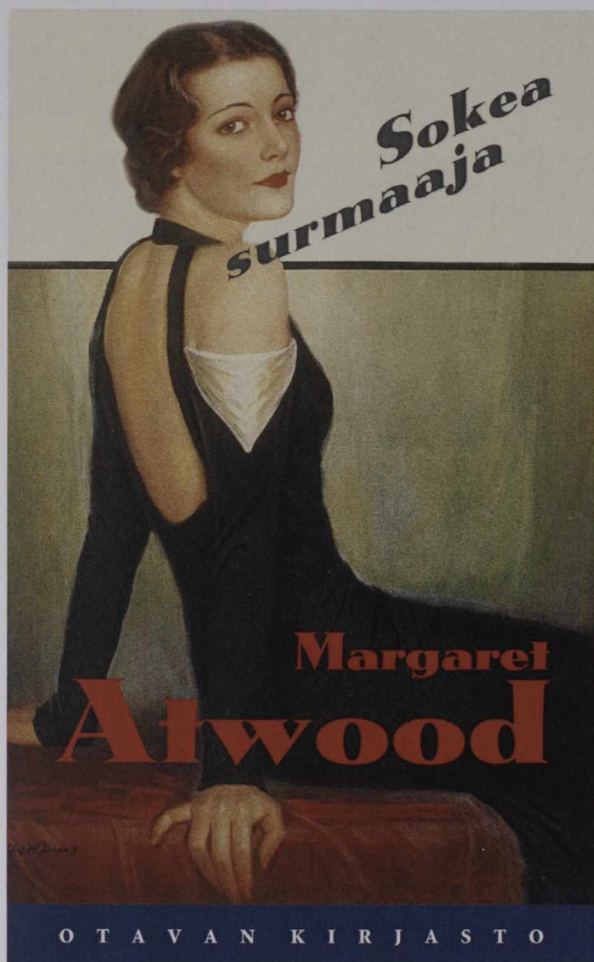
The English Patient in Finnish. Photo: Otava Publishing Company Ltd.

holm (just across our shared little pond, the Baltic Sea) recognized Alice Munro's achievements as the "master of the contemporary short story" in awarding her the 2013 Nobel Prize for Literature. As the Nobel is handed out to writers who have achieved something unique, I had already been contemplating other Canadian candidates and realized how erratic their presence is among a Finnish readership. I had been drawn to writers whose publications are not always in the top 10 of Canadian or global sales figures, but who are widely known for works which articulate something unique, texts which may have transformed the entire literary tradition of their region and continue to send ripples which sometimes grow into massive waves as they traverse Canada's literary tradition. I also realized I was turning to the West to find the waves which remind me that there is no Ontario hegemony: one of my top

Nobel candidates would have been the Alberta writer Robert Kroetsch (1927–2011), whose enormous impact on Canadian literature is difficult to summarize here. Perhaps I will just say that he Kroetsched the Canadian Prairie. He conjured up novels, essays, and poetry which speak of unique people in unique surroundings which are not and cannot quite be real, and yet these texts transformed the Canadian Prairie for ardent readers within and beyond Canada. When I now visit the Canadian Prairie and meet Prairie people, I may be shuffling between the small town and the metropolis and jump from one province to another, but below the 60th parallel, which famously divides Canada's provinces and territories, I always feel that I am in Kroetsch Territory.

Another unique Western voice from Alberta who has tingled my Nobel nerve is Kroetsch's contemporary Rudy Wiebe (born 1934). His voice is often more openly sombre, as many of his major works explore First Nations struggles with colonialism and its legacy. Yet Wiebe truly becomes unique when he explores spaces in the Canadian West and particularly in the Arctic North, conveying a fragile sense of being in enormous space which cannot quite be translated into words.

Both Kroetsch and Wiebe remain untranslated in Finland, but the authors have made a lasting impact among academic readers. By the 1980s, they had both appeared on English literature reading lists on various university courses, and in 2000, as a guest of the Nordic Association for Canadian Studies (NACS), which supports the study of Canada in all the Nordic countries, Rudy Wiebe visited Helsinki and Turku and gave readings of his work at the University of Helsinki. On a very personal level for me as a researcher, an important seed was sown: Wiebe's writings later became the centre of my doctoral work, which culminated in the published study *Ethical Encounters: Spaces and Selves in the Writings of Rudy Wiebe*.³ While these Western giants remain untranslated, I make sure that each new generation of English literature students at the University of



Robber's Bride in Finnish. Photo: Otava Publishing Company Ltd.

³ Janne Korkka, *Ethical Encounters: Spaces and Selves in the Writings of Rudy Wiebe*. (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2013).

Turku is exposed to them. Student audiences are especially ready to grab texts which may never become available in Finnish. Through Kroetsch, Wiebe and various First Nations authors from the Prairie, the students may begin to grasp the presence of a Prairie literary tradition, something they barely knew existed but which opens wonderful paths to a new understanding of Canada as a kindred Northern society.

The final step of my contemplation concerning the Canadian West returns to the idea of Western writers and their erratic presence in Finland. Some Prairie giants remain untranslated, but a delightful exception is Aritha van Herk, who took the Canadian literary scene by storm with her first two novels *Judith* (1978) and *The Tent Peg* (1981). These books dismantle the echoes of the idea that the Prairie and the North are frontiers where you need to be a man or you must get yourself a man before you can flourish. I cannot trace van Herk's translation history in detail here, but someone in Finland was paying close attention to this literary storm as the Finnish

translations *Judith* (1981) and *Kultavaarna* (1984) promptly followed the originals. van Herk visited Finland already in the 1980s, and her continuing collaboration with NACS has brought her to several universities in the Nordic countries and Finland, again to expose new generations of students and other audiences to new ideas of Canada. And she is not alone in her collaboration with NACS and the university world: recent NACS conference visitors include Ukrainian-Canadian novelist Janice Kulyk Keefer in 2005 and Chinese-Canadian poet Rita Wong in 2015, both of whom came to Turku and reminded their audiences of the complex heritage that shape Canadians and their literary tradition.

Grasping the complex linguistic and regional strands that together shape the past and future of Canadian literature may still have its challenges for a Finnish audience, but I am confident that authors, their writings, and persistent readers will keep crossing the Atlantic and continue filling in the page which I believe ceased to be blank over a hundred years ago.

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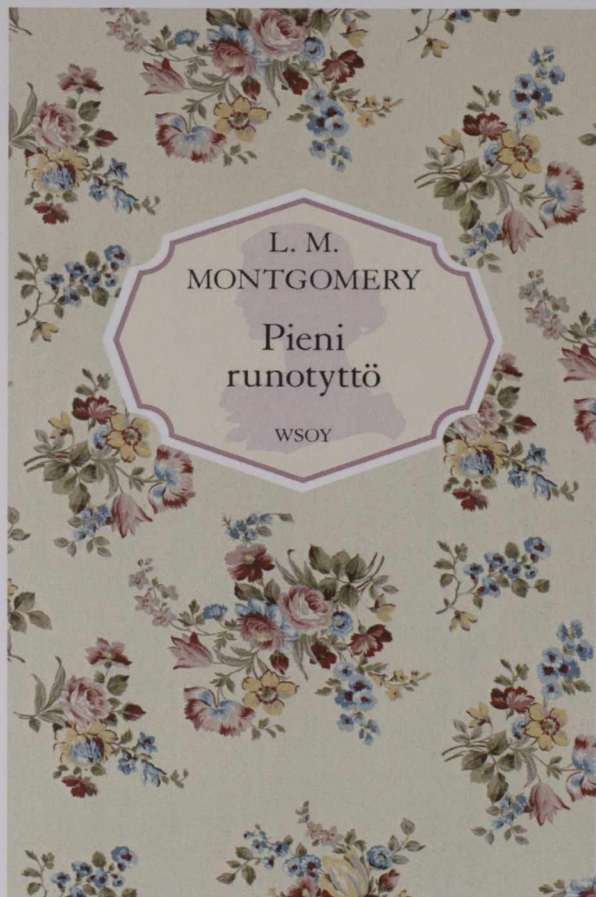
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That Little Red-Haired Girl: The Classic Encounter of Finland and Canada in Literature

Mary McDonald-Rissanen

Part of moving to a new location is tracing your origins in a coherent way so that when asked where you're from, you can put people on the radar. For the most part, Finns have no problem locating where I grew up, particularly women of a certain age. My birthplace, Prince Edward Island, is about the size of the Åland Islands, has less than 150,000 inhabitants, but mention Lucy Maud Montgomery, and you're instantly on the Finns' radar. Almost all of these women readers, and even the occasional male one, know where I'm from.



Emily of New Moon in Finnish. Photo: WSOY / Bonnier Books.

At least that was the way it was in the early 1970s when I first set foot on Finnish soil. Then Montgomery was standard reading among most Finnish women and girls. Montgomery has since become a world-class literary icon, and Finnish readers and researchers of Montgomery are in the forefront of celebrating and creating her international literary fame.

Montgomery's importance to her Finnish readership has long been recognized and was documented by Suvi Ahola and Satu Koskimies in their collection of Finnish women readers' response to *Emily* and *Anne* in *Uuden Kuun ja Vihervaaran tytöt*¹ ("New Moon and Green Gables Girls"). This stunning collection of more than 60 essays by primarily Finnish women is a strong testimony to Montgomery's popularity and the familiarity in Finland with the setting of her novels, Prince Edward Island.

Finns have been regulars at the L.M. Montgomery conferences held every second year since 1993 at the University of Prince Edward Island, the home of the L.M. Montgomery Institute. As I served on the International Advisory Board of the Institute, I made every effort to be a link between that Finnish love of the fictitious orphan *Anne* and the aspiring writer *Emily*, their creator Lucy Maud Montgomery and the aims of the Montgomery Institute. So in 2008 I was very proud to co-chair the conference with my UPEI colleague and former UPEI president and founder of the L.M. Montgomery Institute, Betsy Epperly, when several Finnish women, scholars and fans alike, made the pilgrimage to Prince Edward Island to attend the conference.

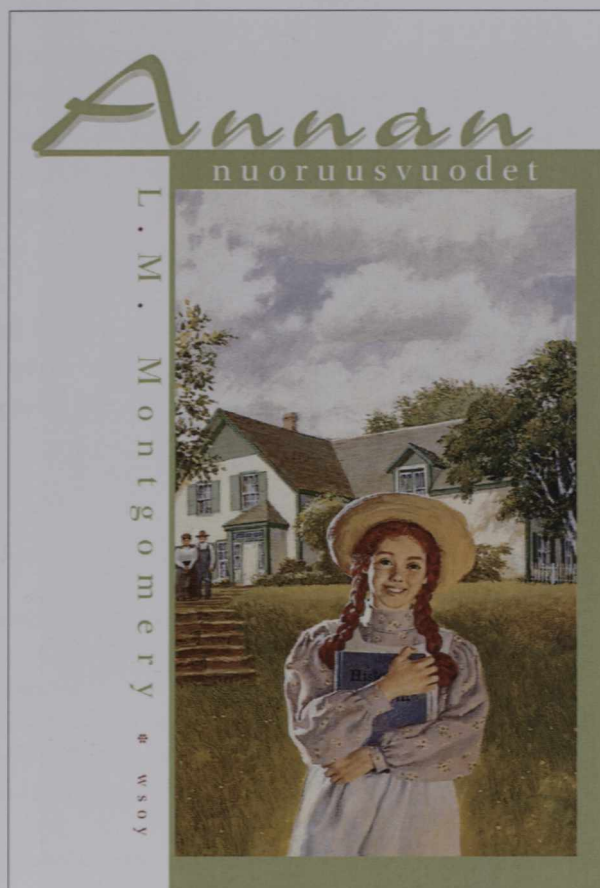
The 12th biennial L.M. Montgomery conference in 2016 focused on questions of Montgom-

¹ Suvi Ahola and Satu Koskimies, eds, *Uuden Kuun ja Vihervaaran tytöt. Lucy M. Montgomeryn Runotyttö- ja Anna-kirjat suomalaisten naislukijoiden suosikkeina* (Hämeenlinna: Karisto, 2005).

ery and gender, with four Finnish scholars among the 50 presenters. The breath of their research and its implications for the international community of Montgomery scholars is impressive. Sara Kokkonen's presentation on girls and women reading Montgomery also drew on her 2015 book *Kapina ja kaipuu*² ("Rebellion and Longing") on Montgomery among other women authors of youth literature classics. Myry Voipio addressed sexuality and desire in contemporary Finnish girls' literature, while Laura Leden³ highlighted the constraints in the process of translation leading to a more "purified" version of Montgomery's story. Also among the speakers was Vappu Kannas, who in 2015 completed the first Finnish doctoral dissertation on Montgomery.⁴

The publication of the five volumes of *The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery*⁵ in 1985–2004 was a landmark for establishing a documentation of a woman writer's life and clearly indicated that this woman was a Canadian literary icon. One only needs to be reminded that Canadian literature is a relatively new concept. It was not until the early 1970s that the first courses in Canadian literature were being offered in my home university, the University of Prince Edward Island. Previously, English literature was either British or American, and it was only when we got our own flag in 1965 together with the founding of such institutions as the Canadian Radio and Television Commission (CRTC) that Canadians truly explored and began to appreciate Canadian music, writers, and culture. The 1980s saw the anchoring and institutionalizing of writers, artists, musicians, and like-minded people into our national consciousness.

American Studies opened the door for area studies in Finland and the other Nordic countries, and Canadian Studies was not far behind. Lecture series, networking among universities, collaboration with the Canadian Embassy and other institutions was fed by visits of writers such as Margaret Atwood, Robertson Davies, Nicole Brossard, Lenore Keeshig-Tobias, Aritha



Anne of Green Gables in Finnish. Photo: WSOY / Bonnier Books.

van Herk, Alistair MacLeod, Maria Campbell, Joe Rosenblatt, Nancy Huston, Wayne Johnston, Peter Such, and the list goes on. It was the golden phase of Canadian Studies that was instrumental in ushering Canadian voices and visions to our students and Finnish society in general.

Yet somehow the stage was set for the concept of Canadian Studies long before the latter half of the twentieth century. Maybe the origins of Canada seeping into Finnish minds occurred more than a century ago in the time between Canada establishing itself as a nation in 1867 and Finland in 1917. A writer on a small Canadian island was already well under way creating stories that would captivate Finnish readers, too, for decades to come.

Recent statistics from one province of Finland, Pirkanmaa, with a population of half a million, indicate that Montgomery is still being read

2 Sara Kokkonen, *Kapina ja kaipuu*. Kultaiset tyttökirjakklassikot (Helsinki: Avain, 2015).

3 Laura Leden, "Emily Byrd Starr Conventionalized: Omissions of Nature Descriptions in the Swedish Translation of L.M. Montgomery's *Emily Trilogy*," *The Looking Glass: New Perspectives on Children's Literature* 18, 2 (2015), <http://www.the-looking-glass.net/index.php/tlg/article/view/652/583>.

4 Vappu Kannas, "The Forlorn Heroine of a Terribly Sad Life Story: Romance in the Journals of L.M. Montgomery" (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2015), <https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/158412>.

5 L.M. Montgomery, *The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery*, volumes 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, eds. Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, 1987, 1992, 1998, and 2004).

with a passion. Something can be gleaned from the statistics on L.M. Montgomery items checked out of the Pirkanmaa libraries since 2010. These statistics, compiled by Laura From, chief librarian of Pirkkala Library, show that more than 30,000

books and audio books primarily in Finnish but also in English, Swedish, Polish, and Russian have found their way to readers. One can only imagine just how extensive Montgomery's Finnish readership is.

Mary McDonald-Rissanen was born and raised in Prince Edward Island. She is currently preparing a book for publication on women who have moved to Prince Edward Island during the twentieth century. She has lived in Finland for more than 40 years and worked as a university teacher for most of that period.

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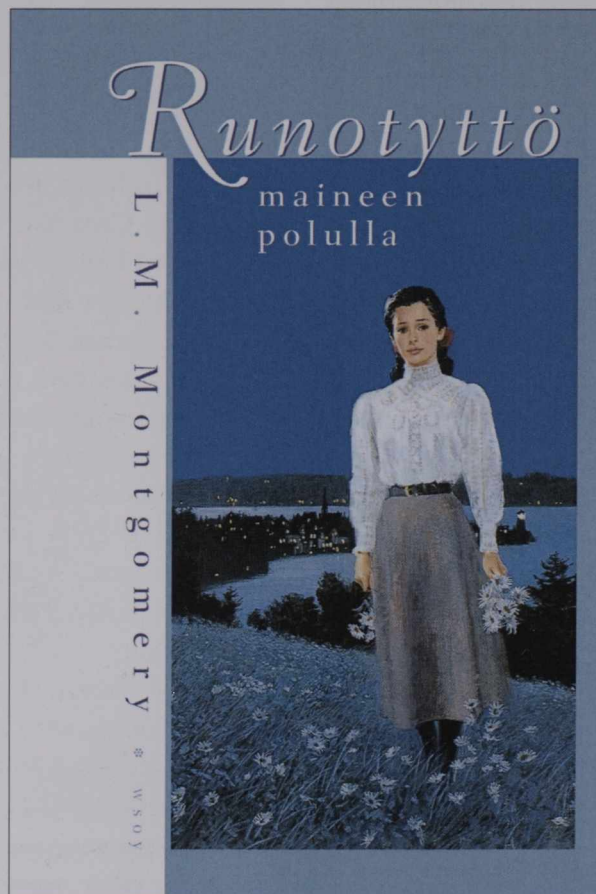
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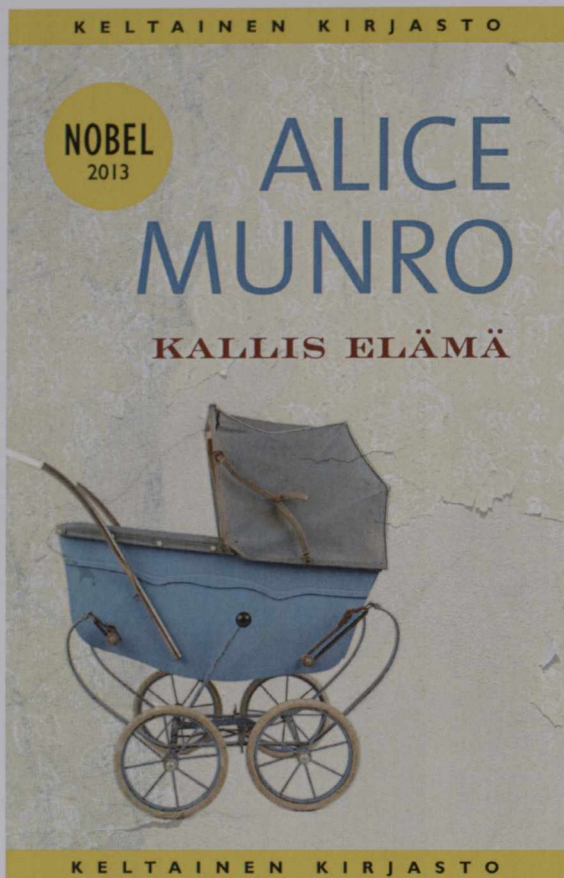
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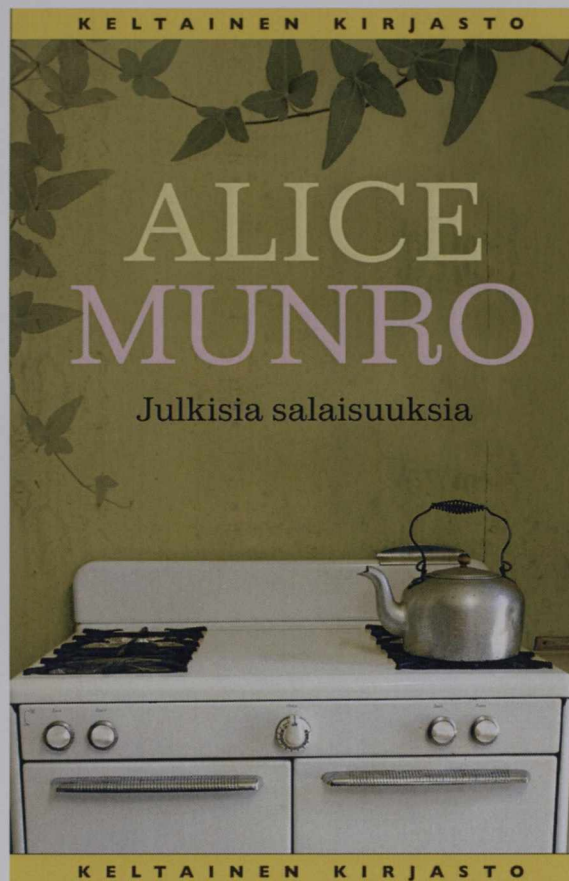
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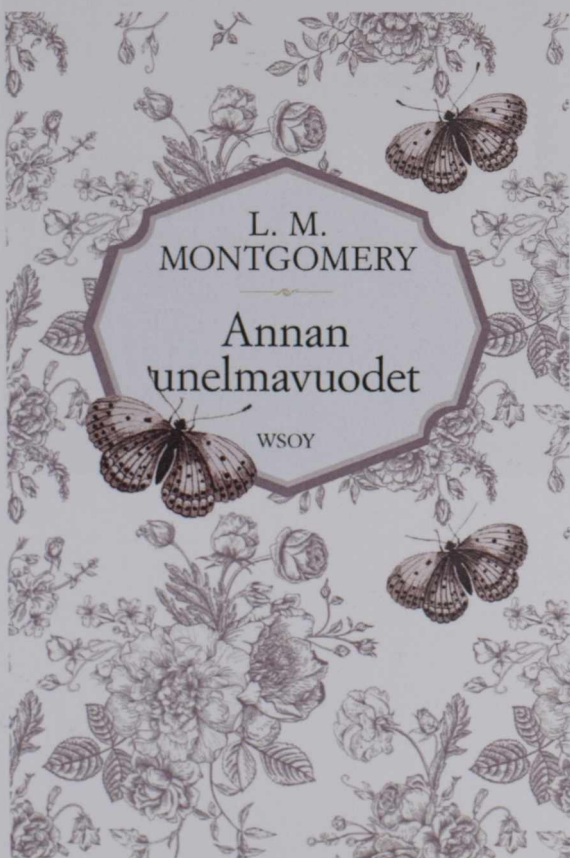
Emily Climbs in Finnish. Photo: WSOY / Bonnier Books.



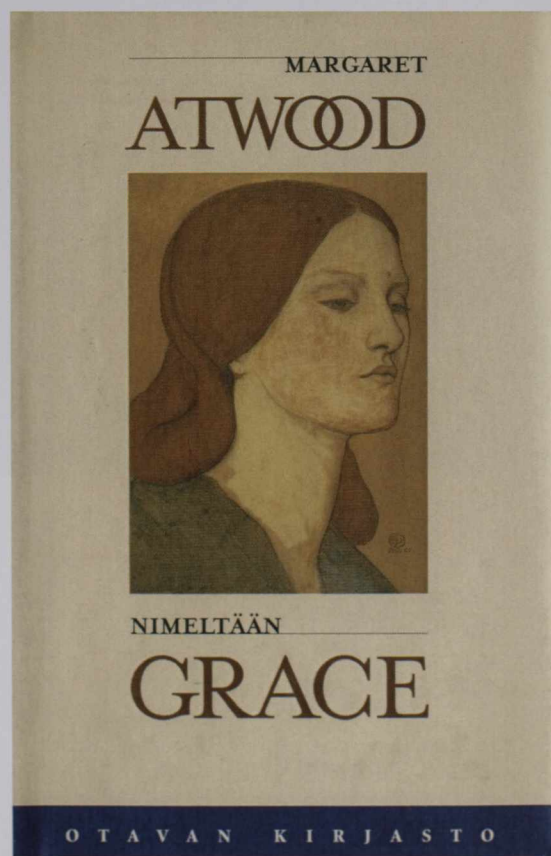
Dear Life, collection of short stories in Finnish.
Photo: Tammi Publishers / Bonnier Books.



Public Secrets in Finnish.
Photo: Tammi Publishers / Bonnier Books.



Anne of the Island in Finnish.
Photo: WSOY / Bonnier Books.



Alias Grace in Finnish.
Photo: Otava Publishing Company Ltd.



ÉDUCATION ET RECHERCHE EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

For both Canada and Finland, education is the key to their success, and educational exchange ties the countries together. Education and educational exchange means people. This segment begins with Lieutenant-Colonel Allan Best's touching eulogy of his mother, Professor Varpu Lindström, one of the key scholars to promote Finnish-Canadian relations, research, and exchange. The segment ends with a short description of Finnish Studies in Canada by Varpu's husband, Börje Vähämäki. Other articles deal with mostly personal memoirs and commitments to education and research in both countries.

Pour le Canada comme pour la Finlande, l'éducation est la clé de leur succès et les échanges éducatifs unissent les deux pays. L'éducation et les échanges éducatifs portent sur les gens. Cette section commence par l'éloge touchant que fait Allan Best de sa mère, le professeur Varpu Lindström, l'une des principales universitaires promouvant les relations, la recherche et les échanges entre la Finlande et le Canada. Elle se termine par une brève description des études finlandaises au Canada faite par le mari de Varpu, Börje Vähämäki. Les autres articles traitent principalement de mémoires personnelles et des engagements des deux pays dans l'éducation et la recherche.

Professor Varpu Lindström, 1948–2012

Allan Best

Dr. Varpu Lindström is recognized both nationally and internationally as an expert in Canadian immigration history, particularly that of Finnish-Canadians. Born in Helsinki, Finland in 1948, she immigrated to Canada with her parents Karl and Hilja Lindström in 1963, settling in Niagara Falls, Ontario. In 1968, she became both a Canadian citizen and a student at York University, where she pursued her university education, completing a general BA (History) in 1971, followed by an Hons. BA (History) in 1977, an MA (Social History) in 1979, and culminating with her PhD (Social History) in 1986.

Varpu Lindström had a distinguished career as a teacher and scholar at York University. She was appointed as an Assistant Professor in 1984, was promoted to full Professor in 2001, and University Professor in 2006. She served in a variety of administrative and service capacities including Chair of the Department of History in 1991–1992; Master of Atkinson College in 1994–1997; Chair of the School of Women's Studies in 1999–2001; and as a member of York University's Board of Governors. She was also a docent at the University of Turku in Finland.

Dr. Lindström's academic work was recognized with numerous awards including an Atkinson Fellowship (2002); Finlandia Prize, Non-fiction, Honourable mention (1991); and the first annual Atkinson Alumni Award for Teaching Excellence (1989). Her research manifested itself in several publications, and in the critically-acclaimed National Film Board production *Letters from Karelia*, for which she served as historical consultant. Dr. Lindström was also a key founder of the Cana-

dian Friends of Finland. In 1992, she was awarded the Knight of the Order of the White Rose of Finland, First Class, in recognition of outstanding service to Finland and Finnish-Canadians. In 2012, Dr. Lindström was the recipient of the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal for a lifetime of academic excellence. She was married to Prof. Börje Vähämäki, founding professor of Finnish Studies at the University of Toronto, and had two sons, Allan and Martin Best. Dr. Varpu Lindström passed away during the summer solstice on June 21, 2012.



Varpu Lindström. Photo: Allan Best.

Lieutenant-Colonel Allan Best is Varpu Lindström's son.

Maple Leaf and Eagle Conference

Markku Henriksson

In the spring of 1986, I worked as Assistant for Non-European History in what later became the Renvall Institute for Area and Cultural Studies at the University of Helsinki. The Canadian Embassy contacted me, expecting a group of visitors from York University in Toronto, and I promised to organize them a program at the University of Helsinki. Soon, the American Embassy informed me that a few U.S. scholars were coming to Finland in April at the same time as the Canadians. Now I was in trouble. The only reasonable solution was to organize a conference around the visits. So I called some of my colleagues at the History, English, and Political Science Departments and the Finnish Canadian Society to help me organize the event. It was relatively easy to get a few more speakers, but it proved difficult to find a venue, as civil servants went on strike at the time of the conference, closing much of the university.

We also had a hard time inventing a name for the conference. Looking at the emblems of Canada and the United States, I finally came up with "Maple Leaf and Eagle." We all agreed that it was not a good name, but it would just have to do for the time being. I thought that if I ever organized another conference it would certainly not be called the Maple Leaf and Eagle. Two years later in 1988 I did organize another conference on North American Studies, and it, too, was called a Maple Leaf and Eagle Conference.

The 16th Maple Leaf and Eagle was organized at the University of Helsinki in May 2016. From a modest beginning the event has grown to be

one of the largest North American Studies conferences in Europe, and it is the oldest continuously and regularly met international conference of the Helsinki University. Among many scholars of Canadian and American Studies, Maple Leaf and Eagle has become a household name. I have also changed my mind: I think that Maple Leaf and Eagle is a great name for a conference.

In 1986 the first speakers were Varpu Lindström and Peter Such, both working at York University in Toronto at the time. The evening ended with a great reception by Canadian ambassador J. Ross Francis at the Munkkiniemi residence. It also set a kind of precedent, as quite often the first day of the conference has since ended with a Canadian reception.

Some of the first conference members celebrated the closing of the event with a sauna and dinner at the home of the American cultural attaché Richard Lundberg. In the sauna, we began to talk about representative animals. At the final talk of the conference, Professor J. Donald Wilson had quoted a story about Pierre Trudeau comparing the United States and Canada with an elephant and a mouse. If the elephant or the eagle represented the United States, what animal represented us? After a long and serious discussion we came to the conclusion that an owl would be the best choice, as it is used both as a symbol of wisdom and as a symbol of stupidity.

At the 16th Maple Leaf and Eagle, speakers of the first conference Professor William Chafe, "the Baby Owl," and J. Donald Wilson, "the bald-headed Canadian owl," were honoured guests.

Markku Henriksson is former McDonnell Douglas Professor of American Studies at the University of Helsinki. A political scientist by training and a North Americanist at heart, he also holds an honorary doctorate from York University, Toronto.

Professor Exchange: Personal Experience

Peter Such

One of the luckiest days of my life happened over thirty-five years ago when a young graduate student named Varpu Lindström visited my office. I was at that time a founder of the York University Canadian Studies Division, and we were busy trying to incorporate a modern multicultural component into the prevailing "Deux Nations" and indigenous peoples theories of the time.

My own interest was in the dynamics of multi-ethnic interactions and the processes not only of immigrant integration into the matrix of the larger dominant culture, but the influences these new arrivals had on Canadian culture overall.

What Varpu laid out to me was a course on the history and culture of the three major waves of Finnish immigration, whose comparatively small numbers were belied by the tremendous influence Finns had on creating many of the cultural differences that continue to distinguish Canada and the United States. I immediately proposed Varpu be hired. Thus began my education in Finnish culture and my deep and abiding love for its people and their country. This article is dedicated to Varpu in remembrance, since she passed away recently, her married name being Varpu Lindström-Best.

In 1986, Varpu invited me to participate in a new development going on in Helsinki University's Renvall Institute which she and Finnish colleagues had been promoting. Their notion was to include Canadian Studies as part of the existing "American" studies program. She wanted me to give an inaugural address at what was being called "The Maple Leaf and Eagle Conference."

At that event I met Markku Henriksson, organizer of the conference. This biennial event has since continued, growing in size every time. From the lectures, seminars, and back-and-forth research trips and visiting professorships this conference gen-

erated, Markku and many of his graduate students learned an enormous amount about all aspects of Canadian history and culture and vice versa. During these conferences, my colleague Dr. Harold ("Skip") Bassford and I extended our stay in Finland by giving lectures and seminars in Tampere and Turku Universities and also Tartu University in Estonia.

The apex of my involvement with Finnish academia came, as most significant and magical events often do, by accident, in 1997.

Markku, appointed McDonnell Douglas Chair in American Studies, visited York University and many of us individually numerous times, from Newfoundland to Victoria, later publishing two seminal books in Finnish on Canadian history and on Canadian First Nations. Nearing the end of my academic career, and by now in a senior academic position and a member of the York University Senate's Honorary Degree committee, I was able to recommend Markku for an Honorary Doctorate.

The apex of my involvement with Finnish academia came, as most significant and magical events often do, by accident, in 1997. I had been long overdue for a sabbatical leave and realized under the regulations I was forced to take it or lose it almost immediately. I decided to spend some time in Europe, part of which would be visiting places of interest in Finland I wanted to discover and once again delivering a speech for the Maple Leaf and Eagle conference.

Much to my surprise, Markku arranged for a Finnish Academy award for me to teach graduate North American Studies students for three months through Tampere's history department. He wanted to add a Canadian component to what was almost

entirely studies of the USA taught mainly by U.S. Fulbright Fellows.

I immediately accepted, and thus began my last great adventure in Finland which lasted almost eighteen months. Somewhat in return, my last futuristic novel *Earthbaby*, where Finland takes centre stage in the final chapters, features thinly-disguised characters, such as "General" Prof. Olli Vehviläinen, past chair of History at Tampere University from whom I learned an enormous amount about Lenin, Finnish independence, and the Winter War. Later on, I was proud to help Dr. Vehviläinen's book on that subject to be translated from the Finnish and published in English by Oxford University Press in the UK.

On my arrival in Tampere I donated over 300 recently published books on all aspects of Canadian culture to the Tampere library to reinforce the Canadian section of the North American collection. This research resource helped many young students to advance their studies, and also generated a pleasant surprise: present at the welcoming ceremony was newly-appointed Canadian ambassador Craig MacDonald with his wife Rosemary. This was our ambassador's very first event and led to a very productive and enduring friendship.

Little did I know that one of my shy male students Tero Mustonen, whose English was quite basic at the time, would become so inspired by

pere who were willing to take part in an experimental course in Canadian history, part of a suite I had developed as the first in the Canada group of web-based credit courses at York University. It was amazing how the experts at Tampere were able to connect to the York University server, by dedicated phone lines in those days, and keep a flawless communication for three months.

I found I was now giving talks on internet usage for education, including a discussion with the Minister of Education. The end result was I was asked to stay in Finland and move to Helsinki, where I was to assist in developing a Canadian component for the North American Studies program at the Renvall Institute. It was thus my visa was extended, and the Finnish Academy supported my stay once again.

To cut a long story short, Tero kept in touch and actually moved to Victoria, where he took MA studies in Indigenous Governance, eventually earning his PhD at Joensuu University. His work in British Columbia led to his being adopted as a full-status member of the Kwakwaka'wakw First Nation.

But this was not his only adoption. With the untimely death of his father, Tero asked me to take his place as is a Northern Finnish tradition. Thus I became, at a ripe old age, the proud father of a son to add to three daughters. Tero's good works,

Little did I know that one of my students, Tero Mustonen, would become so inspired by Finnish/Canadian cultural comparisons, especially concerning the Sami and the indigenous peoples of Canada, that he would become one of the world's leading ecologists and a champion of indigenous peoples throughout the Arctic and elsewhere."

Finnish/Canadian cultural comparisons, especially concerning the Sámi and the indigenous peoples of Canada, that he would become one of the world's leading ecologists and a champion of indigenous peoples throughout the Arctic and elsewhere.

Finland at that time was at the leading edge of internet usage and new discoveries. Keen to be on the leading edge of internet development and usage, I found a group of thirty students at Tam-

per recognized in several human rights and environmental awards, will continue to resound throughout the world from the Snowchange Cooperative headquarters and the village of Selkie in North Karelia, where Tero lives with his pre-eminent fellow researcher and his wife, Saiku, without running water, in the company of ten chickens, two goats, and the endemic sacred time/space his very presence assists in preserving.

Peter Such is Professor and Senator Emeritus of York University, Toronto. He is President of both Victoria College of Art and the Victoria Arts Council.

The Hart House Finnish Exchange Celebrates over 65 Years of Finnish and Canadian Collaboration

Lisa Monozlai, Hart House

In 1950, sixty-five students of the Polytech Choir (from what was then the Technological University of Finland) visited Hart House, the co-curricular centre of the University of Toronto, as guests of the International Student Service (ISS). Now known as the World University Service of Canada, ISS worked to provide post-secondary students with relief and rehabilitation support following the Second World War. Nicholas Ignatieff, Warden of Hart House from 1947 to 1952, learned that the Finnish students were undertaking construction of a student village in the university's new campus in Otaniemi, a suburb of Espoo. Inspired by their diligence and the opportunity to demonstrate bilateral cooperation, Ignatieff enlisted eight University of Toronto students to help build the Otaniemi residence.

In 1951, Ignatieff and the Canadian students travelled to Finland and started work on the foundations of the campus sauna. This reciprocity between Finnish and Canadian students was celebrated by many, including the Duke of Edinburgh, who unveiled a Canadian copper plaque placed on the sauna in 1952, commemorating Ignatieff and the others who helped build it. Ignatieff had passed away due to an unexpected heart attack before he could witness the plaque's unveiling, but his efforts to strengthen Hart House's relations with Finland greatly influenced its new Warden, Joseph McCulley. In 1954, McCulley wrote that he "could think of nothing that would do more good for the general name of Canada in Finland" than continuing what is now called the Hart House Finnish Exchange.

More than 60 years after, the Hart House Finnish Exchange has remained a significant international program between the University of Toronto and the three Finnish partners, Aalto

University, the University of Helsinki, and the Hanken School of Economics. Participating students experience a three-month immersion into their host country's culture through a comprehensive two-week orientation, networking with alumni from past exchanges, and a ten-week work period. Students are also welcomed to their host country by prominent diplomats and politicians, offering students the opportunity to engage in Canadian and Finnish politics, international relations, and current affairs. After the orientation, students enter into internships that often complement their university education in fields such as architecture, tourism, law, pub-



Visiting Helsinki's islands, 1968. Photo: Hart House.

lishing, engineering, sports, and agriculture.

The Hart House Finnish Exchange has involved more than 250 Finnish and Canadian students since 1951. Alumni play a pivotal role in welcoming incoming students, raising funds for the Exchange, and finding students paid work placements. These work placements foster a diversity of international talent, and provide students with another avenue into cultural immersion along with their travels and social networks.

Toronto-based civil litigator Sabrina Adamski travelled to Finland in 2009 after completing her first year of law school at the University of Toronto. Two weeks into her exchange, she began an internship in a non-profit copyright clinic for visual artists called Kuvasto ry. "It was a small workplace with about three or four people in the whole office," says Adamski. "I had a lot of independence ... [Kuvasto ry] had a project set up for me to work on and I worked on it without a lot of micromanagement." While Adamski no longer works in copyright law, she said that she enjoyed her work placement and that it was incredibly beneficial to gain international experience in a non-profit legal environment.

Matti Karvanen, a Finn who took part in the Exchange in 2007, also spoke highly of his summer job. While staying in Toronto, Karvanen worked as an accounting administrator for Ticketmaster Entertainment, Inc., a multinational ticket sales and distribution company, which he said had given him "a great deal of social capital: new knowledge and skills, friends and experiences." At the time of his exchange, Karvanen was pursuing a Bachelor of Social Science in development studies at the University of Helsinki. He has since worked for several international organizations based in Australia, Belgium, South Africa, and Kenya.



Helsinki Harbour, June 1955. Photo: Hart House.

Achieving success after graduation today depends on many factors, including the nature and extent of the experiences one gathers outside the classroom. The kind of cross-cultural work experience offered by the Hart House Finnish Exchange is even more important to students' futures than it once was, although students' deep appreciation of that experience is nothing new. James Sim, one of the first Canadians to participate in the Exchange in 1955 wrote that it "accomplishes more in international understanding ... than a congress of students meeting over a conference table." Also in Sim's Canadian Exchange group was Donald Sutherland, a now prominent Canadian actor. Sutherland, who studied engineering and business at the time, found work with the Otanmäki iron and ore mine, where he performed surveys on hydraulic equipment with a young German mining engineer. Sutherland wrote in the 1955 Hart House Finnish Exchange Report that his work with Otanmäki Oy allowed him to meet many people from places outside of Finland: "The mine is an attraction for students from all over Europe and Scandinavia, and during our period of stay we were very fortunate in that respect."

While the Hart House Finnish Exchange matches students with paid work placements that help fund their time abroad, some of the most

notable moments for the students have come from the two-week orientation period that commences their arrival in their host country. "I had an amazing orientation," says 2009 Canadian Exchange participant Michelle Ekuban. The day after Ekuban and seven other Canadian students arrived in Finland, they took a train up to Rovaniemi, a city just south of the Arctic Circle, accompanied by Finnish alumni of the Hart House Exchange. They then visited trenches situated close to the Russian border that had been used in the Second World War, and travelled through various small towns that reminded Ekuban of Canada's 1000 islands. The 2009 Exchange students also had the opportunity to dine with the Canadian Ambassador to Finland and his family. "I wouldn't trade anything for the experience,"



At Kukkola Rapids. Photo: Hart House.

said Ekuban, who remains close friends with many of the people she met while living and travelling in Finland.

The Exchange's lasting influence on Finnish and Canadian students' cultural understanding, personal relationships, and experiences has been considerably strong. Past Exchange participants have helped improve university curriculums, such as the 1989 Finnish Exchange students who helped the University of Toronto establish its Finnish Studies Program, now the largest of its kind in North America. The Exchange has also led to several marriages between Finns and Canadians, such as that of Katri and Gordon West, who met each other in Finland in 1959 and have since celebrated over 50 years of marriage. Katri West is one of the many past exchange participants and affiliates who was inspired by the program's focus on encouraging bilateral cooperation to join the board of the Canadian Friends of Finland, an organization promoting friendship between the two countries.

The Hart House Finnish Exchange has left many of its Canadian and Finnish alumni feeling deeply connected to their host countries and committed to reinforcing the connections that brought them such an invaluable experience. Riikka Iivanainen, a Finn who took part in the program in 2015, says that "there will always be a part of [her] heart that belongs to Canada."

For more than six decades the Hart House Finnish Exchange has provided Finnish and Canadian students with a new environment where they can feel free to explore and discover the unexpected. "It is so well conceived," said Margaret Hancock, Warden of Hart House from 1997 to 2007. "Through travelling and working together, a group of students connect with one another so that when they return they are eager to keep the Exchange going. It has a timeless appeal because people love to be with other people. All of us want that experience of living in a true community."

Lisa Monozlai is a Media Analyst in the Ontario Cabinet Office and a Communications Assistant at Hart House, University of Toronto.

Toronton Suomen Kielen Koulu

Tarja Ylänkö

Tervehdys maailman ensimmäiseltä ja vanhimmalta Suomi-koululta! Onnen ja menestyksen toivotukset yhteistä juhlaa yhdessä juhliville suomalaisille ja kanadalaisille!

Toronton Suomen Kielen Koulu on toiminut vuodesta 1960 ja on edelleen täynnä elämää, energiaa, innovatiivisuutta ja suomalaista sisua. Suomalaisiirtolaiset ovat osanneet arvostaa juuriaan, kieltä, kulttuuria, historiaa ja suomalaisuutta kokonaisuudessaan. Paikalliset järjestöt sekä yksityiset lahjoittajat ovat avustaneet ja kannattaneet kouluamme.

Olemme erittäin kiitollisia Suomen valtiolle tuesta, joka mahdollistaa koulumme ylläpidon ja jonka avulla voimme välittää tätä rikasta ja rakasta kulttuuriperintöä jo kolmannelle polvelle. Suomen valtion avustus puolestaan on Suomi-Seuran sisukkaan työn ja lobbauksen ansiota. Yksi merkittävä asia globalistuvassa maailmassa on vuonna 1997 perustettu ulkosuomalaisparlamentti, jossa Suomi-Seura on toiminut sihteerinä ja jonka ansiosta saamme nauttia kaksoiskansalaisuudesta. Useat Kanadassa syntyneet koulumme oppilaat ovat nyt Suomessa joko töissä tai opiskelemassa, avioituneet ja perustaneet perheen. Advokaattimme, 90-vuotias Suomi-Seura, tekee mahtavaa työtä tekemällä ulkosuomalaisuutta tunnetuksi Suomessa ja toisaalta suomalaisuutta tunnetuksi maailmalla. Me ulkosuomalaiset olemme voimavaara Suomelle.

Kanadalainen monikulttuurisuus mahdollistaa siirtolaisten nopean kotoutumisen, sillä täällä elää monista eri kulttuureista olevia henkilöitä. Kanadassa hyväksytään eri kulttuurit ja suhtaudutaan eri kulttuureista oleviin kunnioituksella. Oman kulttuurin ylläpitämistä ja säilyttämistä kannustetaan. Kanadan monikulttuurisuuden ansiosta täällä asuvat suomalaislapset ovat rohkeita ja ylpeitä suomalaisuudestaan, ja on ensivarvoisen tärkeää,

että he tietävät, missä heidän juurensa ovat. Elämä tuo tilanteita, joissa he saavat ovat pieniä Suomen suurlähettiläitä.

Oppilaiden mietteitä lukuluokalta S-2 ja esikoulusta:

”Kanadassa on kivaa, kun on monta kaveria, hyvä koulu, se on turvallinen maa, puistot, oma koti. Suomikoulussa on kivaa, koska siellä on kavereita, siellä opitaan, siellä voi tehdä hauskoja juttuja artissa.” – *Joonas*

”Kanadassa on kivaa, koska on paljon kivoja kavereita ja suomikoulussa on kivaa, koska on kivoja tehtäviä ja voi oppia tosi paljon suomea ja sen jälkeen voi leikkiä.” – *Silja*

”On kiva asua Kanadassa, koska on monta kaveria, on kiva koti, hyvä koulu ja hyvä ruoka. Suomikoulu on tärkeä siksi, kun voi muistaa suomen kieltä ja opin lisää Suomesta. On kiva oppia suomea.” – *Eljas*

”Minä tykkään asua Kanadassa, koska kaikki on isompaa kuin Suomessa. Koulussa on paljon urheilua ja urheilujoukkueita ja se on kivaa. Täällä voi pelata jääkiekkoa ja pääsee turnauksiin eri puolille Kanadaa ja Usaa. Suomikoulussa on kivaa. Minä opin lukemaan ja kirjoittamaan suomeksi suomikoulussa. On kivaa osata lukea hyvin myös suomeksi vanhoja Aku Ankkoja.” – *Markus*

”Kaverit ovat kivoja. Koulu ja kotini on ihan kiva. Kanada on ihan kiva, kun tulee ehkä senttimetri enemmän lunta. Suomikoulu on kiva. Perheeni on tärkeä. Kirjani on tärkeä. Oppii äidinkieltä enemmän. Ruoka on kiva. Terveys on kiva.” – *Lassi*

"Minä tykkään asua Kanadassa siksi kun on hyvää ruokaa ja ihana ratsastaa. Minusta hevosratsastus ja kaverit on tärkeitä Kanadassa. Suomikoulu on minusta kiva kun saa uusia kavereita ja oppii uusia juttuja." – Emma

"Kanadassa on kivaa, koska on kiva puhua ja kirjoittaa englantia. Kun minä muutin tänne, opin englantia nopeasti, koska se ei ole niin haastava kieli." – Noora

"On hyvä käydä suomikoulua ja oppia puhumaan ja kirjoittamaan niin voi jutella mummien kanssa ja kirjoittaa tietokoneella mummille Suomeen." – Stefan

"Kanadassa on kivaa, kun mulla on paljon kavereita. Koulussa on kivaa. Suomikoulussa opin lukemaan ja kirjoittamaan suomeksi. On kiva osata lukea kahdella kielellä. Suomikoulussa on kiva leikkiä salissa koulun jälkeen ja tehdä tehtäviä." – Tuomas

"I love Finnish school! The teacher is really nice and makes learning fun with games and stories. I am learning lots of new words by labelling

things around home. I want to learn the Finnish language so that I can communicate with family and friends who visit from Finland and hoping that I have an opportunity to visit Finland."

– Anniina

"Finnish School is fun. Games and stories are fun." – Teppo

"I like going to Finnish School. I want to learn to speak Finnish so I could know another language. I am labelling things at home and learning new words fast." – Mikke

Mistä pienet pitävät Suomi-koulussa? Simo, Liina ja Elsa pitävät askartelusta – leikkaa, liimaa ja maalaa! Siiri ja Kaius pitävät piirretyistä tarinoista. Yasmine ja Eeli pitävät piirtämisestä ja värittämisestä. Lilianan lempiväri on violetti. Emily tykkää syömisestä (totta kai, onhan hän leipurin tytär) ja Kaisa tykkää lauluista, joita hän laulaa myös koulussa. Lucy puolestaan toteaa, että kavereiden kanssa on kiva olla. Juuri näin Lucy – yhdessä/ together!

Hyvä Kanada 150 vuotta! Hyvä Suomi 100 vuotta!

Tarja Ylänkö on opettanut Toronton Suomi-koulussa jo yli 30 vuotta.



Christmas party at Toronto Finnish Language School.
Photo: Minna Temisevä.



Teacher Anna Tikkanen / Toronto Finnish Language School.
Photo: Minna Temisevä.

Finnish Studies in Canada

Börje Vähämäki

Finnish Studies has been a part of the rich offerings of world language and culture courses at the University of Toronto's Faculty of Arts and Science since 1989. Established as a result of an innovative partnership among the University, the Finnish government and the Canadian Friends of Finland (a Canadian philanthropic organization devoted to promoting friendship, understanding, and cooperation between the people of Canada and Finland), it is the only fully accredited degree program in Finnish language and culture in Canada, and one of only six in North America. Also, it is one of only two institutions of higher learning in the country to offer any courses in Finnish (alongside Lakehead University in Thunder Bay).

Under the leadership and commitment of the program's first director, Professor Börje Vähämäki, the University of Toronto program has gained a reputation for excellence in North America and Finland. Indeed, the last external review that was conducted of the program concluded with the following assessment:

"We believe that the Finnish Studies Program is a rich and valuable asset for the University of Toronto, a unique program in Canada, a builder of good will between the University and the local Finnish-heritage community and ultimately between Finland and Canada."

Following Professor Vähämäki's retirement in 2009, Professor Pia Päiviö led the program until 2013, and the current director is Professor Anu Muhonen.

The Finnish Studies Program is primarily an undergraduate Bachelor of Arts program of accredited courses leading to a major or minor. The program is engaged in teaching the Finnish language – a three-year sequence together with a linguistics course – and in offering other courses on literature

and culture, including a whole course devoted to the Kalevala, the Finnish national epic. Of special significance for mutual cultural understanding is the course on Finnish Immigrant Experience in Canada.

In the program, students of Finnish descent get to explore their heritage – there are more than 130,000 Canadians today of Finnish descent – while non-Finnish students decide to broaden their experience with Canada's linguistic and cultural mosaic. The students become intrigued by the non-Indo-European Finnish language and indeed by Finnish achievements in film, music, architecture, literature, and the arts. They seek to gain insight into the relations with other world cultures. Finnish culture and language within the Canadian perspective is of vital significance. The Finnish Studies Program at the University of Toronto serves as a most appropriate and dignified legacy of the substantial contributions of Finnish immigrants to Canada over more than a century.

A resounding testament to the importance of the Finnish studies Program at the University of Toronto for the Canada–Finland relations is the fact that two Presidents of Finland, Dr. Mauno Koivisto in 1990 and Sauli Niinistö in 2014 included in the schedule of their official State visits to Canada stops at the Finnish Studies program at University of Toronto. Thanks to a serious panel discussion during President Niinistö's visit, plans are now under way to increase the relevance of Finnish Studies in Canada by further diversifying the course offerings to include economic, trade, and business relations. Discussions have also been initiated to include Finland's bilingualism in the course offerings, maybe even incorporate Swedish language courses as no Swedish courses are taught in Ontario universities.

Börje Vähämäki is Emeritus Professor of Finnish Studies, and led the University of Toronto Finnish Studies program in 1989–2009.

Our Canadian Affinity Is Deeply Rooted

Kevin McCormick

About a decade ago I relocated from southern Ontario to Greater Sudbury, a community of 160,000 people in northern Ontario, to assume the role of President and Vice-Chancellor at Huntington University. Our institution, although small by some standards, has enjoyed many successes over the years. We've experienced tremendous growth – class sizes are peaking, new courses are constantly being developed, community and educational partnerships are evolving, academic partnerships with institutions of higher learning at the provincial, national, and international level are multiplying, and students are benefitting from a generous scholarship and bursary program that has nearly doubled over the past 10 years. The university has also established several successful projects, including centres of excellence focused on teaching and learning, studies in aging and international policing. However, it is our latest endeavour which I am most proud and passionate about.

In October 2015, Huntington University announced the creation of the Canadian Finnish Institute, a new organization aimed at highlighting the contributions of Finnish people to Canada. The Finnish community in Greater Sudbury is a big part of our local history and played a key role in transforming our city from a rail town to what it is today. Many transplanted Finns have called Greater Sudbury home since the early 1880s, settling here as farmers, railway workers, miners, and more. They opened businesses, established churches and community halls, built athletic fields, and of course, saunas.

Much of their influence still lives on today through historic buildings and other such landmarks. Among them, the Anderson Farm Museum is a heritage site that serves to preserve the area's Finnish history and act as a gathering place



Dr. Kevin McCormick, President and Vice-Chancellor, Huntington University.

for cultural exhibits, fairs, and more. The Finnish culture is so prevalent that today Finnish is among the top five non-official languages spoken in our community. Finnish delicacies, such as "pulla," are the order of the day at Leinala's Bakery, and Greater Sudbury's aged community can choose a continuum of care offered through Finlandia Village, a seniors' living facility maintained in the Finnish tradition. Residents of the facility are often entertained by the Sudbury Finnish Male Choir, a choral group that was formed in 1960 and continues to perform locally and internationally.

Many prominent Finns hail from Greater Sudbury, including Judy Erola (née Jacobson), a member of Canada's federal cabinet (1980–1984); Hannu Piironen, who has held the role of Honorary Consul of Finland for more than 25 years; and music instructor Karl Pukara, who trained



Huntington University and Canadian Finnish Institute event, Sudbury, Ontario. April, 2016.

thousands in this community to play the piano and accordion, including his wife and former pupil, Iona Reed, who went on to win the 1962 World Accordion Championships.

The concept of the Canadian Finnish Institute was born from the realization that Finns and the Finnish culture have played a significant role in shaping our communities, Northern Ontario and this great nation we call Canada.

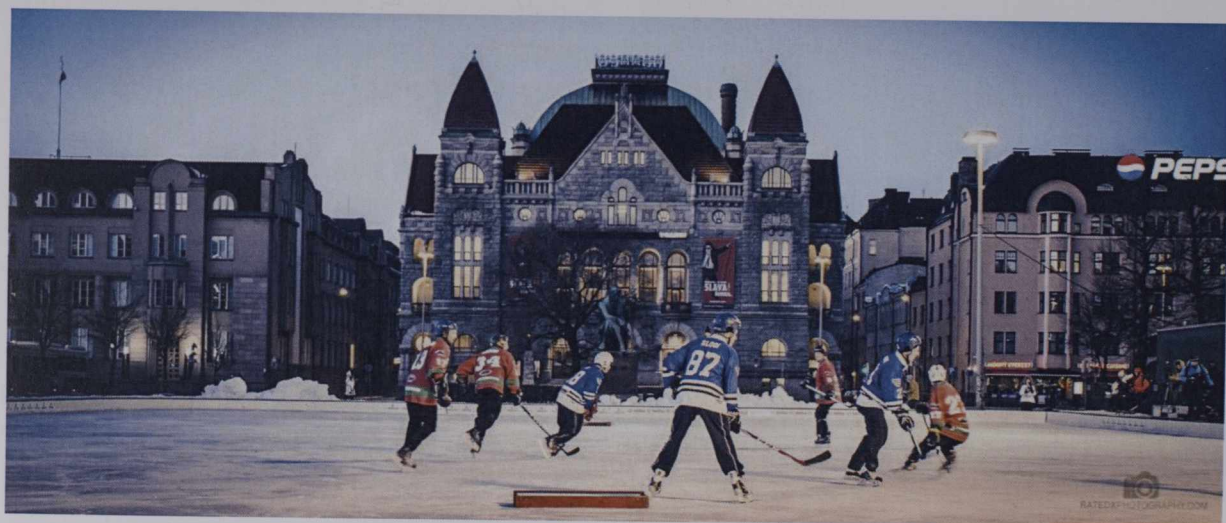
A personal investment on my part, in support of the endowment to establish the Canadian Finnish Institute, has resulted in the bringing together of amazing leaders from the Finnish Canadian community. In addition, I'm proud to report that the Canadian Finnish Institute has been embraced by the local Finnish community and is highly praised by officials from the Government of Finland, including His Excellency Charles Murto, Ambassador of Finland to Canada, as well as Canada's Ambassador to the Republic of Finland, Andrée Noëlle Cooligan.

Since its launch in 2015, the Canadian Finnish Institute has hosted dignitaries from Finland

and Canada, hosted events to publicly recognize Finnish Canadians who have made rich contributions to Canada, and celebrated with our community in honour of the Finnish national holiday, Vappu. Our university also continues to work to establish academic partnerships between Canadian and Finnish educational and cultural institutions. Undergraduate students can also apply for an Award of Excellence established in honour of Charles Murto, who was installed as a Fellow of the Canadian Finnish Institute in 2015. In late 2017, the Canadian Finnish Institute is planning an event to celebrate the centenary of Finland's independence and to once again profile the rich contributions of the Finnish people to the Canadian landscape.

I have been inspired by the passion and dedication which Finnish Canadians continue to show throughout Northern Ontario, Canada, and the world. I am extremely proud that Huntington University, through the Canadian Finnish Institute, will play a significant role in bringing these stories to the forefront for many years to come.

Dr. Kevin McCormick is President & Vice-Chancellor of Huntington University and Chair of the Canadian Finnish Institute Advisory Board.



SPORT SPORTS

Sport is something that easily unites people – and at times pulls them apart. This is certainly no exception when you put Canadians and Finns into the same room. Hockey will always dominate any sporting conversation between Canadians and Finns, but let's not forget where else common sporting connections lie between our two nations: ringette, floorball, curling, speed skating, cross-country skiing, alpine skiing, snowboarding, volleyball, Paralympic sports, and many others.

Le sport est quelque chose qui unit facilement les gens – et parfois les déchire. C'est assurément le cas quand vous mettez des Canadiens et des Finlandais dans la même pièce. Le hockey dominera toujours toute conversation sportive entre Canadiens et Finlandais, mais n'oublions pas les autres liens sportifs unissant nos deux nations : la ringuette, le floorball, le curling, le patinage de vitesse, le ski de fond, le ski alpin, le snowboard, le volley-ball, les sports paralympiques et bien d'autres encore.

Sisu through Sport: The Finnish-Canadian Sporting Legacy

C. Nathan Hatton

At the turn of the twentieth century, Finland was undergoing an athletic revolution, with interest in sport blossoming throughout the nation. Many Finnish immigrants took this interest with them and continued to nurture what was becoming a national passion. They added richly to the Canadian sporting tapestry, and subsequent generations of Finnish immigrants as well as their descendants have continued to add to this legacy.

Vigorous physical activity had long been embraced by the people of Finland. Skiing, for example, which was a practical means of travelling across the snow during the winter months, dated to pre-Christian antiquity. However, organized sporting activities in Finland began in the mid-nineteenth century. Swedish gymnastics, practised according to the principles developed by Pehr Henrik Ling, were introduced in the 1830s. The Ling system, which stressed floor exercises and postures, was joined three decades later by German-based gymnastic systems with the use of apparatuses. By the 1870s, Finland was developing its own unique approaches to gymnastics, and thereafter clubs proliferated.¹ During the 1880s, over 40 gymnastics clubs were formed across the country, followed by numerous other clubs devoted to such varied activities as running, skiing, swimming, rowing, and cycling.² The last decade of the nineteenth century saw wrestling, practised according to Greco-Roman rules, blossom as an-

other favourite indoor activity.³ Although early sports clubs tended to be socially exclusive and primarily the preserve of the middle class, working-class sports organizations were also beginning to develop by the early 1880s, and proliferated after 1900.⁴

Finnish immigrants who arrived in Canada around the turn of the twentieth century brought with them their budding interest in athletics. However, pursuing competition and developing formal sports clubs were not the main priority among the first settlers. Some of the earliest organizations founded by Finns in Canada were temperance societies, such as the *Pohjankukka* (Flower of the North), established in Fort William, Ontario, in 1896. A second, and larger, temperance society, *Uusi Yritytys* (New Attempt), was founded six years later in nearby Port Arthur, a city which was fast becoming a popular destination for new arrivals from Finland.⁵ During

Finnish immigrants who arrived in Canada around the turn of the twentieth century brought with them their budding interest in athletics.

1903, a gymnastics club opened up briefly in association with *Uusi Yritytys*, but it does not appear to have developed beyond an embryonic state. Though *Uusi Yritytys*

is credited as the first Finnish-Canadian organization with sporting ties, it took another three years for Finnish-Canadians to begin establishing their own sports clubs.

The first Finnish-Canadian sporting club, *Yritytys* (Endeavour), was founded in Toronto in the spring of 1906, followed by *Jyry* (Determined)

1 Martti Jukola, *Athletics in Finland* (Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1932), 127.

2 Leena Laine, "Sport for the Nation: Class and Gender in the Formation of Finnish Sporting Life," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, 14 (2013): 1621, 1628.

3 For an overview of this period, see Heikki Lehmusto, *Painin historia* (Helsinki: Otava, 1939), 156-164.

4 Jim Tester, ed., *Sports Pioneers: A History of the Finnish-Canadian Amateur Sports Federation, 1906-1986* (Sudbury: Alerts AC Historical Committee, 1986), 3.

5 Tellervo Kahara, "The New Attempt Temperance Society 1902-1909," in *Project Bay Street: Activities of Finnish-Canadians in Thunder Bay Before 1915*, ed. Marc Metsaranta (Thunder Bay: Finnish Canadian Historical Society, 1989), 55; Christine Kouhi, ed., *A Chronicle of Finnish Settlement in Rural Thunder Bay* (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Finnish Canadian Historical Society, 1975), 23.

6 Tester, *Sports Pioneers*, 7.

in Port Arthur and a club at Copper Cliff, near Sudbury, also in 1906. With many Finns coming to Canada to work in the mining and forestry industries, itinerant sporting clubs also sprung up in the many bush and mining camps that dotted the Canadian landscape.⁶ By this time, temperance organizations were being subsumed in popularity by workers organizations, and many of the early clubs had close, if not formal, ties to the labour movement. Port Arthur's *Jyry*, for example, which took its name from a Helsinki-based workers' sports club founded in 1902, was affiliated with the local *Imatra #9* union.⁷ In British Columbia, the socialist colony *Sointula* (Place of Harmony) also formed sporting clubs.⁸

Finnish settlers began to construct their own halls in the decade before the First World War, the most striking and enduring example being the Finnish Labour Temple at 314 Bay Street in Port Arthur (current-day Thunder Bay). Sports became a vital part of hall life during this period.

After the First World War erupted, immigration from Finland came to a virtual halt. Though sports continued, the Finnish community faced pressures from the Canadian government that tested their ability to effectively organize. The Canadian *War Measures Act*, implemented when hostilities commenced in 1914, became increasingly restrictive. Finnish-Canadians, particularly those within the labour movement, came under government surveillance. Publication bans were instituted against Finnish-language newspapers, even those of a conservative nature, and during 1918, any non-church related organizations were prohibited. This included athletic clubs.⁹ Despite censure and persecution levelled against their community, Finnish-Canadian athletes lent support to Canadian war-related causes such as the Halifax Relief and the Great War Veterans' Association Benevolent Fund.¹⁰

In the years following the end of the European conflict, the doors were once again opened to new arrivals, and a second wave of Finnish immi-

gration to Canada commenced. Immigrant numbers far exceeded those seen during the years before 1914. Many who landed on Canadian shores were fleeing persecution in their homeland as a result of their involvement in the Finnish Civil War. As a result, a large number of left-leaning individuals, many of whom were talented athletes, came to the country.

Throughout the 1920s, sports flourished in the Finnish-Canadian community and many new clubs came into being. In addition to operating out of halls, large tracts of land were purchased by clubs for outdoor activities. Sport also became more organized. In 1924, the rather long-titled Central Ontario Gymnastic and Athletic Clubs Co-ordinating Organization convened to direct

Many who landed on Canadian shores were fleeing persecution in their homeland as a result of their involvement in the Finnish Civil War.

activities between clubs. The following spring, it was superseded by the pan-national Finnish Canadian Workers Sports Federation (FCWSF), which was allied with the Communist-affiliated Finnish Organization of Canada. The FCWSF eventually became the Finnish-Canadian Amateur Sports Federation (hereafter, with the FCWSF, collectively the Federation). With a central organization to oversee things, there were many opportunities for competition. In British Columbia, which was too distant to allow for travel to Federation meets, worker athletes were organized under the banner of the Workers' Sports Association in 1932 and eventually merged with the provincially-sponsored sporting program Pro Rec.¹¹ Historian Bruce Kidd, in his book *The Struggle for Canadian Sport* notes, "The Finnish Canadians were the best organized and most athletically gifted of the worker sports participants in Canada."¹²

7 Marc Metsaranta, "Activities of the Workingmen's Associations 1903-1914," in *Project Bay Street: Activities of Finnish-Canadians in Thunder Bay Before 1915*, ed. Marc Metsaranta (Thunder Bay: Finnish Canadian Historical Society, 1989), 120-121; Laine, "Sport for the Nation," 1622.

8 Tester, *Sports Pioneers*, 25.

9 C. Nathan Hatton, *Rugged Game: Community, Culture and Wrestling at the Lakehead to 1933* (Thunder Bay: Lakehead University Centre for Northern Studies, 2012), 58-59.

10 For example, the *Fort William Daily Times-Journal*, December 29, 1917; *Port Arthur Daily News-Chronicle*, May 25, 1918.

11 Tester, *Sports Pioneers*, 7, 13, 25.

12 Bruce Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 160.

Despite the influx of many athletes from Finland and new opportunities for competition, the interwar years were also characterized by ideological schisms that had a direct impact on sport. Between its founding and 1939, Federation athletes were prohibited from participating in mainstream, non-labour amateur competitions because these were deemed to promote bourgeois values. The 1920s and 1930s also saw the emergence of competing halls with different ideological leanings. Those not affiliated with the FOC (even if politically “left” in orientation) were excluded from membership in the Federation. Nevertheless, many Finnish athletes belonging to clubs outside the Federation, including the Industrial Workers of the World-affiliated *Nahjus* (Slacker) Club, which operated out of Port Arthur’s Finnish Labour Temple, made a remarkable impact on Canadian sport.

The Second World War once more halted Finnish immigration to Canada. By the time immigration resumed, much of the ideological zeal of the earlier waves of settlement was spent. The postwar third wave of Finnish immigration also tended to be less inclined toward worker-based ideology. As a result, the new sports clubs were more conservative or more in line with mainstream Canadian political culture. With no fourth wave of Finnish immigration to Canada emerging in the twenty-first century, culturally-based sports clubs have waned and most have disappeared altogether.

Athletes of Finnish extraction have carved out an indelible presence on the Canadian sporting mosaic at the local, national, and international levels. Even during the period between 1925 and 1939, when many athletes were not able to participate in Federation-sponsored events, the Finnish-Canadian talent pool remained sufficiently deep to make a significant impact on “mainstream” Canadian sports.

The first generations of Finnish immigrants brought with them a tradition that put a greater emphasis on individual, as opposed to team,

sports. Fittingly, skiing is the earliest activity with documented evidence of competition. Contests involving both men and women were being organized in the Thunder Bay district by 1902.¹³

Though many skiers have captured widespread acclaim for their efforts, Lauri Huuki did so against considerable odds. As a member of the Federation, Huuki entered the 1947 Dominion (Canadian) Ski Championships at the age of 42. *The Winnipeg Free Press* later recalled, “Huuki had to sign a special paper releasing the Canadian Amateur Ski association of any responsibility in case of injury because he was considered too old. He signed the paper and won handily.”¹⁴ The next year, at Banff, he repeated his victory.¹⁵

Numerous Finnish-Canadians have since claimed national ski titles, including Sudbury’s Arvo Ayranto, who won five individual titles between 1954 and 1959, and the incredible Antero Rauhanen, winner of sixteen individual and relay gold medals between 1958 and 1967.¹⁶ As Finnish-Canadian men were dominating the sport, much the same could be said of women, including Sudbury’s Mary Juoksu, who took back-to-back titles in Senior Cross-Country in 1956 and 1957.¹⁷ Beyond their stellar performances, skiers have also carved out a lasting legacy as builders for the sport in Canada. Thunder Bay’s Reijo Puiras, a 1976 Olympian and inductee into the North Western Ontario Sports Hall of Fame, founded the Lappi Nordic Ski Club in 1979. It now serves as one of three National Development Centres for skiing in Canada.¹⁸

While Finnish-Canadian athletes donned skis during the winter, many also laced up running shoes during the summer months. Without question, track athletes drew some of their inspiration from the record-breaking achievements of the “Flying Finns,” Hannes Kolehmainen and Paavo Nurmi, during the 1910s and 1920s. Canada could claim its own “Flying Finn” in Taavi “Dave” Komonen, who arrived in Toronto in 1929. In 1933, he placed second in the Boston Marathon, which earned him the Lionel Conacher Award

13 Tester, *Sports Pioneers*, 105.

14 *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 25, 1948.

15 Tester, *Sports Pioneers*, 107.

16 Oiva W. Saaranen, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place: A Historical Geography of Finns in the Sudbury Area* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997), 227–28.

17 Saaranen, *Between a Rock*, 228.

18 http://www.nwosportshalloffame.com/inductees/inductee_builders.aspx?id=206 (Accessed September 13, 2016).

for Canada's Outstanding Athlete. The following year, while employed as a carpenter in the Sudbury mining industry and being sponsored by the local Lions Club, he returned to Boston and won

Finland's greatest export to
Canada appeared during the
postwar period.

the race.¹⁹ In a curious melding of Finnish athletic prowess and Indigenous Canadian technology, Komonen stated to the Associated Press after his win, "I trained for this race on snowshoes, running 15 and 20 miles a day. When you take them off and run on bare ground, your feet feel like feathers."²⁰

In communities such as Thunder Bay (until 1970, Fort William and Port Arthur), both Finnish-Canadian and visiting Finnish athletes have been very prominent on the local running scene. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the Ten Mile Road Race, one of the oldest events of its kind in North America. The Finns first established their presence during the 1930s, and in some years, such as 1935 and 1936, monopolized the podium.²¹ Over an incredible two-decade period spanning between 1980 and 2001, Thunder Bay's Sue Kainulainen placed first in the female division a record nine times. The best female time for the race, which has stood since 1994, is held by Finland's Erja Ervonen, and the best male time, unbroken since 1975, is held by Pekka Päivärinta.²² Both Ervonen and Päivärinta came to Canada to run under the sponsorship of the local *Reipas* (Fast) Sports Club, demonstrating the enduring link between athletics in the Old and New Worlds.²³

Wrestling is not a major sport in Finland today, but between the 1910s and 1930s, the nation produced the best amateur Greco-Roman practi-

tioners in the world. Many Finnish wrestlers also immigrated to Canada during the first and second waves of settlement. Karl Lehto was among the earliest champions to arrive and sought accolades in the professional ranks. Lehto challenged for the world's heavyweight title in catch-as-catch-can (similar to freestyle) wrestling, but came up short to reigning champion Frank Gotch in 1911.²⁴ He then opened a men's clothing store in Sudbury, wrestled periodically, and helped to train another generation of wrestlers.²⁵ Lehto also authored one of the earliest Finnish-language instructional manuals on the sport. August Jokinen, a veteran wrestler who had coached to the 1920 Swedish Olympic team, immigrated to the Sudbury area in 1923 where he had a hand in training many athletes. Jokinen returned to Finland to coach their 1936 Olympic team and once again returned to Canada after the Second World War.²⁶ Arvo Linko (Lindén), 1908 Olympic bronze medallist in Greco-Roman wrestling, also came to Canada in the 1920s and coached members of the Port Arthur *Nahjus* Club.²⁷

With many world-class grapplers offering coaching in Canada, wrestling in the Finnish-Canadian community prospered. While some of the best wrestlers were members of the Federation and competed only in workers' meets during most of the interwar period, athletes in non-affiliated clubs also had considerable success. Karl Maki of the Port Arthur *Nahjus* won the Dominion lightweight title in 1923 (prior to the Federation's founding) and in 1927, and Hans Lindborg claimed heavyweight honours in 1929.²⁸ However, Finland's greatest export to Canada appeared during the postwar period. Just as the sport was declining in popularity in his country of birth, Matti Jutila arrived on the scene and quickly proved to be a dominant force in Canadian amateur wrestling. Competing for Sud-

19 C.M. Wallace and Ashley Tomson, eds. *Sudbury: Rail Town to Regional Capital* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993), 161.

20 *Lowell Sun*, April 20, 1934.

21 Ron Lappage, "Competitive Spirit in Sports," in *Thunder Bay: From Rivalry to Unity*, eds. Thorold Tronrud and Ernie Epp (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 1995), 171; <http://www.10mileroadrace.org/article/top-finishers-through-the-years-308.asp> (Accessed September 13, 2016).

22 <http://www.10mileroadrace.org/article/top-finishers-through-the-years-308.asp> (Accessed September 13, 2016).

23 Diane Imrie et al. eds., *A Century of Sport in the Finnish Community of Thunder Bay* (Thunder Bay: Northwestern Ontario Sports Hall of Fame and Thunder Bay Finnish Canadian Historical Society, 2013), 39.

24 *Humboldt Independent*, March 9, 1911.

25 Frank Pagnucco, *Home Grown Heroes: A Sports History of Sudbury* (Sudbury: By the author, 1982), 131-32; Mandy Kinnonen et al., *Enterprising Finns: A Collection of Finnish Business Stories from Greater Sudbury 1900-2013* (Sudbury: Finnish-Canadian Historical Society of Sudbury, 2013), 74-75.

26 *Tester, Sports Pioneers*, 198.

27 Lauri Lahti interview, interviewer unknown, June 10, 1976, Thunder Bay, Ontario, Lakehead University Library Archives, Thunder Bay Finnish Canadian Historical Society Collection, MGB.A.III.4.6.14.

28 *Hatton, Rugged Game*, 67, 71, 72.

bury's *Sampo* Club, Jutila earned a total of ten national freestyle and Greco-Roman wrestling titles between 1957 and 1970, as well as silver medals at the 1962 British Empire and Commonwealth, and 1963 Pan-Am Games.²⁹ He was voted into the Wrestling Canada Hall of Fame in 1987.

of the year. An eye injury contributed to an early retirement in 1953. Lund is enshrined in both the North West Ontario Sports Hall of Fame and the Finnish Ice Hockey Hall of Fame.³²

Since Lund's time, many Canadian-born hockey players of Finnish descent have played

More than any other sport, hockey has proven to be a cultural bridge between Canada and Finland, with many Finnish athletes, such as Jari Kurri and Teemu Selänne, earning legendary status from their tenure on Canadian-based NHL franchises.

Individual sports have been a conduit for Finnish-Canadian athletic achievement since the beginning of the twentieth century. By the 1930s, though, inroads were also being made into team sports. The quintessential Canadian game of ice hockey was not introduced to Finland until 1927, but those who arrived in Canada in the preceding decades were inevitably exposed to it. Beginning in the 1930s, Finnish names were appearing on high-level hockey rosters, among them Gus Saxberg, a member of Canada's silver medal 1936 Olympic hockey squad.³⁰ The team was coached by Port Arthur's Albert Pudas, formerly of the 1926–1927 Toronto St. Pats roster and the first Finnish-Canadian to play in the National Hockey League (NHL).³¹ Pudas broke new ground for others such as Pentti Lund to follow. Lund immigrated to Port Arthur from Karijoki as a young child and excelled as a junior hockey player. After playing a few games for the Boston Bruins during the 1946–47 and 1947–48 playoffs, he signed with the New York Rangers in 1948. Lund excelled in the NHL. In his first full season, he not only became the first Finnish-Canadian player to score a goal in the league, but went on to earn the 1949 Calder Cup trophy for rookie

in the NHL, among them Hart Trophy (league MVP) winner and two time Olympic gold medalist Chris Pronger, who was enshrined in the Hockey Hall of Fame in 2015, and his brother Sean Pronger, an inductee into the North West Ontario Sports Hall of Fame. More than any other sport, hockey has proven to be a cultural bridge between Canada and Finland, with many Finnish athletes, such as Jari Kurri and Teemu Selänne earning legendary status from their tenure on Canadian-based NHL franchises. Numerous Canadian players have also added their skills to *Liiga* (Finnish Elite League) rosters.

From field athletic standouts such as George Wala, who claimed multiple Dominion titles and podium finishes in javelin, shot put, and discus during the 1930s, to Paralympic swimming standout Ken Bjorn, to bowler Anne Saasto, the Finnish-Canadian influence can be felt in virtually every corner of sport. Clubs, founded and run by vibrant immigrants with a passion for health, fitness, and competition laid the foundations, and although economic barriers, ideological division, war, and government censure sometimes emerged as impediments, Finnish *sisu* weathered the challenges to carve out a profound sporting legacy.

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29 Pagnucco, *Home Grown Heroes*, 133; Glynn Leyshon, *Of Mats and Men: The Story of Canadian Amateur Wrestling from 1600 to 1984* (London: Human Dynamics, 1984), 113, 114.

30 Imrie, *A Century of Sport*, 125.

31 Imrie, *A Century of Sport*, 57; www.legendsofhockey.net/LegendsofHockey/jsp/SearchPlayer.jsp?player=1406 (Accessed September 14, 2016).

32 Imrie, *A Century of Sport*, 51; *Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal*, April 18, 2013.

A Finnish-Canadian Life in Sport

Bill Heikkilä

Canada is largely a nation of immigrants and their descendants. I'm one of them. My mother, Salli Ida Viitala, left Keuruu, Finland in 1923, when she was 17. She landed at Pier 21 in Halifax to begin a new life in a new country with no proficiency in the English language. She found a home in Toronto, which already had a well-established community of Finnish Canadians. My father Wilho Kaarlo Heikkilä, then in his early twenties, left his home in Forssa at about the same time, and also arrived in Toronto, where my parents met and married several years later.

I was born in Toronto in 1944 and although Finnish was my first language, I stopped speaking it to my parents once I began playing with neighbourhood kids. Thankfully, my parents continued to speak to me almost exclusively in Finnish. Since Finnish is such a phonetic language, I managed to understand the spoken words – so much so that when I decided to speak the language again in my twenties, it came back rather well even though my vocabulary was basically drawn from the 1920s.

Toronto was a base for many Finnish Canadian undertakings. The *Yritys* (Endeavour) Athletic Club began in Toronto in 1906, and became one of close to 80 clubs that existed across Canada over the history of the Finnish Canadian Amateur Sports Federation (FCASF, 1906–1986). The rich history of the FSASF is beautifully described in words and photographs in *Sports Pioneers* (1986), a book created by a Sudbury Alerts A.C. publication team under the leadership of Jim Tester and supported financially by both the federal and Ontario Governments.

Tarmola (derived from the Finnish word for energy) was a magical place in northwest Toronto where Yritys A.C. held their summer activities. The building of Tarmola started in 1927. By my

time, there was a large parking lot, a 300-metre clay track and grass infield with concrete throwing circles and jumping pits, many sleeping cabins, the largest sauna I've ever seen (with separate women's and men's sections), the Yritys cabin, a large restaurant, croquet and horseshoe pitches, and an outdoor bandshell for concerts and dances, some starting at midnight following a full day of athletics.

We also had the largest swing that I have ever seen, so strongly built that ten or more daring riders could stand on the large wooden platform holding for dear life onto the vertical supports connecting it to a bar that was attached high above to two very large trees.

As kids, we attended summer camps at Tarmola, learning to swim in the Humber River and how to run, jump, and throw at the track. We often competed in the same meet with our parents. As we grew up, track and field became more serious and we all looked forward to attending competitions at other FCASF clubs in Ontario cities and towns, in Sudbury, South Porcupine/Timmins and Port Arthur (now Thunder Bay) where 25,000 Finnish Canadians lived in the 1950s, the largest Finnish population outside Finland at that time. The most exciting event was the *Suurjuhla* (Big Festival) that was held in different locales each summer. (Tarmola was expropriated in 1968, and all that remains to commemorate the activities of these Finnish immigrants is a plaque at the bottom of Rowntree Mills Park.)

Before my time there were so many participants that annual sports and music festivals were organized separately. As immigration subsided, however, and activity began to dwindle, it led to the consolidation of the sports and music festivals into the annual *Suurjuhla*. A popular feature was the annual mass gymnastics routine which in-

volved participants from most of the active clubs. They would work over the winter on choreography developed every year by the tireless and multitalented Elsie Jokinen.

On Sunday mornings during the winter months we were taught tumbling, parallel bars, and indoor jumping activities at Don Hall (located at 957 Broadview Avenue), which was built by volunteers in 1927. There we practised the coordinated movements for the mass gymnastics demonstration that was performed at the *Suurjuhla*. Throughout the winter many concerts and plays were performed Sunday afternoons at the hall for the enjoyment of all.

Like many Canadian boys, hockey was my main preoccupation. At 16, I was good enough to make the triple-A midget Toronto Marlboros, a team sponsored by the Toronto Maple Leafs of the National Hockey League (NHL). We practised in Maple Leaf Gardens every Saturday morning before the NHL team Leafs came on for their pre-game skate. Of the 70 games we played that year, we lost only five on our way to becoming All-Ontario champions. Our captain was Brit

Selby, who won the Rookie of the Year Award in the National Hockey League a few years later.

At season's end I had come to the realization that my future in hockey was somewhat limited so I began to look for some other sport to challenge. This is when I turned to javelin, which had been introduced to me at Tarmola. Not having a coach, I researched books on javelin technique to discover that Finland had by far the greatest tradition of success in this event in the Olympic Games.

A few years later at a Labour Day competition in September of 1963 in South Porcupine, I threw the javelin far enough to earn a sports scholarship at the University of Oregon under legendary coach Bill Bowerman, who later became the co-founder of Nike.

After placing second, achieving All-American status, and breaking the Canadian record on my final throw in the 1967 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Championships, I decided to return to Oregon for a final year to obtain my Master's Degree in Physical Education and to train in the hopes of making the 1968 Canadian Olympic Team.



Bill Heikkilä and Tarmola Plaque.

At Oregon I met and trained with Harry Jerome, who was one of Canada's greatest sprinters. We did graduate school work together at Oregon and were teammates on the Canadian Team at the Games in Mexico City, where I had the honour of meeting two Finnish legends of javelin throwing, Jorma Kinnunen and the defending Olympic Champion Pauli Nevala.

During the Mexico City Games, Canadian 1968 Olympic Downhill Skiing gold-medallist Nancy Greene Raine was one of three notables commissioned to compile a major report for the federal government entitled *The Report of the Task Force on Sport for Canadians*. Prior to this, the government budget earmarked \$5 million for sport development but due to a lack of viable programming, that modest amount could not even be spent.

Unlike most commissioned reports, all but one of the Task Force's close to 70 recommendations were approved and implemented. This set the foundation for plans that have led to Canada now being a very successful country in the world of international sport.

Although I trained to become a physical education teacher, I opted to work with Harry Jerome and other track and field athletes and two female gymnasts to implement one of the Task Force recommendations. The members of the Cross-Canada Sports Demonstration (CCSD) spent nine months driving over 5 000 kilometres across Canada, visiting 300 schools to encourage students to get involved in athletics and gymnastics. Once the tour was over, we were invited to work for the government to implement the Task Force recommendations. I worked for Sport Canada for 33 years and retired in January 2004.

Following the 1970 Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh, Scotland, my wife (née Pat Hunnako) and I made our way to Finland to attend a major international track meet. In Otaniemi, Espoo, I tracked down my hero Jorma Kinnunen, who asked me in Finnish what I was doing in Finland. I told him about wanting to learn how to throw the javelin, and Jorma promptly said, "Tomorrow, after the competition, you come with me to Aänekoski."

I spent 10 days training and competing with Jorma and living with his family. A wonderful

experience! I met Pauli Nevala again as well as Mikko Paananen, who was coach of both of these legendary throwers.

After retiring from competition in 1971, I became a volunteer javelin coach and educator of coaches, which I continue to do to this day. In 1976, I sent John Corazza, the best athlete I ever coached to live for two weeks with Mikko Paananen and his family at their farm in Myrky. John went on to make our ill-fated Olympic Team that boycotted the 1980 Games in Moscow. He and several other athletes in my group became Canadian Champions and also participated in international competitions such as Pan American Games, Commonwealth Games, World Championships, and more.

I have had the honour of serving as National Coach to many Canadian Teams. The most exciting event of this career was the First World Championships in Athletics held in Helsinki 1983. I almost felt like a host given how strongly I feel about my Finnish heritage. There, I filmed Tiina Lillak winning the gold medal in front of a knowledgeable and excited home crowd on her final throw, certainly one of the greatest moments in javelin history.

I have been very fortunate in that my coaching and work life has taken me to the Olympic Games in Munich, Montréal, Los Angeles, Seoul, Barcelona, and Atlanta. In Seoul it was great to see Tapio Korjus win gold on his final throw while Seppo Rätty won bronze. Other great Finnish javelin throwers I have met and/or watched in competition include Hannu Siitonen, Jorma Jaakola, Seppo Hovinen, Aimo Aho, Arto Härkönen, Kimmo Kinnunen, Juha Laukkanen, Aki Parviainen, Matti Närhi, Esa Utriainen, and Tuula Laaksalo. In addition, I have learned so much from other coaches such as Leo Pusa, Peteri Piironen, Mauri Auvinen, Eino Maksimainen, Hannu Kangas (coach of Tero Pitkämäki), and Kari Ihalainen. Many have become lifelong coaching colleagues and good friends. Through their wonderful openness in sharing information, I continue to be in a unique and enviable position of remaining current on modern javelin technical and training trends for the benefit of athletes and coaches in Canada.

Looking back, I realize that I was lucky to have been born into the Finnish-Canadian Yrityts A.C. sports club and the Finnish Canadian Amateur Sports Federation. Although my generation only caught the tail end of this powerful sporting movement, the activities and experiences offered to us in the 1950s have had a significant and positive impact on the rest of our lives.

The height of FCASF activity occurred during the 1920s through the 1940s. One of the Yrityts A.C. stalwarts was my father-in-law Ake (Alec) Hunnako, who immigrated to Montréal in 1926. Ake was very pleased when his father's work took the family to Toronto, where he continued competing in track and field until 1955.

Ake retained his interest through leadership roles as Chairman of Yrityts A.C. and later as President of the FCASF until his death in 1982.

In 1969, Ake Hunnako was honoured by the Government of Finland with the second highest Honorary Award (Silver Cross) in recognition of "distinguished service for the furtherance of Finnish sports" – the first time this award had been given to a citizen of another country.

I still find it difficult to believe these working-class immigrants from Finland had the time, energy, vision, and commitment to building facilities and organizing programs for the benefit of their members.

Their love for amateur sports is worthy of our respect and heartfelt thanks.

Bill Heikkila is a man of sports. As an athlete, he was a javelin thrower at the 1968 Olympics, 1967 Pan Am Games, and the 1970 Commonwealth Games. Bill has over 45 years of coaching in Ontario, and is a javelin coach with the Ottawa Lions TFC. He has served as a coach at the 1982 Commonwealth Games, 1983 IAAF World Championships, 1986 Pan Am Junior Championships, 1987 Pan Am Games, 1990 Commonwealth Games, 1993 World University Championships, and 2001 Jeux de la Francophonie. Bill Heikkila was inducted into the Athletics Ontario Hall of Fame in 2014.

Baby Brother Wants to Play Ice Hockey Too

Kimmo Leinonen

Canada has been on the Finnish radar for well over a century. This long-standing relationship is rooted in a similar geography and similar societal values. Both countries have benefitted from a mutual “transfer of knowledge” – including the sport of ice hockey!

Ice hockey originated in Canada, and Finns wasted little time to try their hand at it. Ice hockey soon opened doors to engaging with Finnish-Canadian relations, both culturally and in business.

One of the ice hockey ambassadors was Yrjö Salminen, Chairman of the Finnish Skating Union, who in 1926 saw first-hand the game of ice hockey played in Canada. He witnessed not only the speed and intensity of the game but also noted the enthusiastic passion of the spectators. Shortly thereafter, Salminen placed an order for two dozen CCM hockey sticks and 10 pucks, which he took to a skating rink in Tampere for a group of youngsters. Ice hockey had found its way to Finland. The building blocks of the game

were solidified that same season when the rules were translated into Finnish.

The year 1926 also carries another Finnish-Canadian hockey link. Albert Pudas, born in 1899 as Albert Putaansuu in Siikajoki, immigrated to Port Arthur, Ontario in 1900. Pudas was the first Finnish-born player in the NHL in 1926, making his debut in the colours of Toronto St. Patricks against the Boston Bruins.

In 1949, the Boston Bruins player Pentti Lund won the Calder Memorial Trophy as the NHL Rookie of the Year as the first Finnish-born player. Lund, born in 1925 as Pentti Rönnlund in Karijoki, immigrated to Port Arthur, Ontario in 1932. In 1950, Lund won the Stanley Cup playoff scoring title.

The many Finnish immigrants in Port Arthur, Ontario were well aware of the postwar dilemmas that Finland was dealing with and wanted to help the people back home restore and rebuild their lives. Well-organized fundraising led by Ed Sandblom, Vaino Kuikka, A.R.M. Ritari, and Lauri



Albert Pudas, 1926. Photo: Finnish Hockey Hall of Fame.



Finnish Elite League, semifinal game, 1928. Photo: Finnish Hockey Hall of Fame.



Tampere, Champions of the Finnish Elite League, 1929. Photo: Finnish Hockey Hall of Fame.

Tuikku turned into a donation to the Finnish Ice Hockey Association. The donation was a trophy made in Canada, hence called *Kanada-malja* (Canada Bowl). This trophy has been presented annually to the winning team of the Finnish national ice hockey championship ever since and is the most prestigious award in Finnish sports culture, governed by Finland's Hockey Hall of Fame & Museum.

During the 1950s, Finland continued to develop its hockey skills both nationally and internationally. It was in Paris at the 1951 International Ice Hockey Federation World (IIHF) Championship that Finland first competed against Canada. The reigning world champions humbled Finland with a resounding 11-1 victory. Big brother sent the little brother a clear message...

Finland's ice hockey took a step further, when the Finnish Ice Hockey Association recruited Joe Wirkkunen, a Port Arthur-born hockey coach, to take over Finnish National Team coaching position in preparations for the 1960 Olympic Winter Games in Squaw Valley in the U.S. Wirkkunen transformed the Finnish game with a visionary grassroots approach. He formed a junior national team scouting and development system, the groundwork for building consistency within the program. He also travelled across the country, spreading his knowledge of the game during lectures from city to city in his hockey clinics. During Wirkkunen's term, which saw him lead the national team at four IIHF World Championships and two Olympic Winter Games, Finland

became much more competitive and narrowed the gap to elite ice hockey nations.

After Wirkkunen, the Finnish Ice Hockey Association chose the 22-year-old Canadian Derek Holmes as coach of the Finnish National Team at the 1961 IIHF World Championship in Switzerland. This is the only time in the history of ice hockey that the head coach was younger than his players at this level of international competition.

Finland was beginning to show results of its ice hockey progress.

At the 1968 Olympic Winter Games, Finland upset Canada by a 5-2 victory. The little brother was growing up. The big brother was not overly offended, however. In 1972, Frank Geoffrey Hooton, then Ambassador of Canada to Finland, donated a trophy to the Finnish Ice Hockey Association with the engraving "The Canadian Ambassador's Trophy for Individual Sportsmanship and Playing Ability." This became the Rookie of



Ed Sandblom and Canada Bowl, 1950. Photo: Finnish Hockey Hall of Fame.

the Year award in its inaugural year. It was named after Jarmo Wasama, a leading national team defender, who was killed in a car crash at the age of 22 in 1966 after having represented Finland in the Winter Olympics and three IIHF World Championships.

By now, Finland was committed to building a consistent ice hockey program through junior development. Jari Kurri is a great example of this endeavour and became Finland's first ice hockey superstar in the NHL. In 1984, Kurri was the first Finnish-born ice hockey player to win the Stanley Cup when the Edmonton Oilers recorded their first ever championship title. Kurri famously added four more Stanley Cup rings during his Canadian hockey years.

Finland's Hockey Hall of Fame and Museum was established in 1979, conceived and modelled after the original Hockey Hall of Fame and Museum in Toronto. By 1985, the Finnish museum formalized the Hall of Fame portion in accordance with the Canadian Hockey Hall of Fame, recognizing and honouring players, builders, coaches, and game officials for special achievements to the game of ice hockey in and for Finland. The museum is strategically situated in Tampere, the birthplace of Finnish ice hockey.



Wayne Gretzky and Jari Kurri. Photo: Finnish Hockey Hall of Fame.

Toward the end of the twentieth century, Canada would again serve as a hockey pioneer – this time with the development of the women's game. The sheer registration numbers of Canadian girls as well as the numerous rinks provided a competitive advantage against international competition. The inaugural IIHF Women World Championship was held in Ottawa in 1990. Canada bested the Finnish squad, and both teams ended up on the tournament podium, Canada clinching the title and Finland in the third place. Interestingly, on January 10, 2003 Hayley Wickenheiser, from Saunavon, Saskatchewan became the first female hockey player to score a goal in men's profes-



Finnish Hockey Hall of Fame. Tampere. Photo: Finnish Hockey Hall of Fame.



Jarmo Wasama Memorial Cup. Traditionally presented to the Finnish Rookie of the year by the Ambassador of Canada.

sional ice hockey. Wickenheiser played for Kirkkonummen Salamat in the *Suomi-sarja* league, Finland's third level of championship.

After a visit to the Hockey Hall of Fame Finland and Museum in 2009, Canada's then Ambassador to Finland Christopher Shapardanov decided to donate a Canadian trophy also to Finnish Women's Hockey League. The Aurora Borealis trophy was designed and manufactured in Canada, and fundraising took place in the Finnish community in the same fashion as with *Kanada-malja* in 1950.

Aurora Borealis Trophy honours the hard work for women's ice hockey in Finland as well as the long-lasting cooperation between Canada and Finland. The trophy was handed over to the Finnish Ice Hockey Association in March 2011. HPK (Hämeenlinnan Pallokerho) was the very first team to hoist the trophy as the new Finnish women champions only two weeks after the donation.

Kimmo Leinonen has been involved in hockey in Finland and internationally all his life, as a player with Ilves Tampere, and as a coach and scout. He has a long history with the Finnish League and the International Ice Hockey Federation, and in broadcasting. Kimmo Leinonen is Chairman of the Finnish Ice Hockey Museum Association.



Kalervo Kummola, Emma Terho, and Christopher Shapardanov with Aurora Borealis Cup celebrating Espoo Blues victory. Finnish women's top-level hockey league, 2013. Photo: Finnish Ice Hockey Association.

More recently, Finnish Canadians once again stepped up to support Finland's ice hockey program by donating The Legacy Bowl (Perintömalja) to the Finnish Ice Hockey Association in 2013 as a permanent challenge cup Championship trophy. This trophy was funded by donations from Canada, the United States, Sweden, and Finland. The trophy was brought to Hockey Hall of Fame and Museum Finland by Reijo Viitala, a Sudbury Finn-Canadian who played a key role in the project.

Over the years hundreds, perhaps thousands of hockey enthusiasts have crossed the Atlantic in the name of the game. Canada has created a special relationship with Finland by inventing and introducing the sport. It has created an addiction which the fans cannot get enough of. In this match between two great hockey nations, there are two winners.



Jyväskylä-JYP celebrating victory with Canada Bowl. 2009. Photo: Finnish Ice Hockey Association.



Women's Elite League final, Jyväskylä-JYP celebrating with Aurora Borealis Cup. March, 2016. Photo: Finnish Ice Hockey Association.

A Shared Love of the Game

Tom Renney

My heart has always belonged to three priorities: my family, my country, and hockey, the game that I love and have had the privilege of turning into a career.

As a player, coach, and now lead steward of the game as president and CEO of Hockey Canada, I have come to understand that hockey is about more than developing on-ice skills; hockey teaches everyone who is associated with the game the life lessons that make us great citizens.

As a Canadian, I am fortunate to live in a country of like-minded individuals who share a passion for our game and all that it brings to the fabric of our society.

But I saw that same passion and understanding of the game's broader meaning in my travels in the 1990s as coach of Canada's National Men's Team during a delay-plagued trip to Oulu, Finland.

Now I must clarify that Finland was not to blame for the circumstances of our delays. Our team had its usual harried, hectic, don't-stay-in-one-place-too-long schedule we were used to. One day, we were meant to be in Oulu to play Team Finland, but our plane, and all of our equipment, were hopelessly delayed due to weather.

We landed in Helsinki and drove to Oulu hoping we'd have the equipment we needed to suit up, and that we wouldn't arrive to find the arena doors locked.

We were exhausted. The players were grumbling. It had been a long stretch, and knowing we were running well behind was not helping matters.

We arrived in Oulu and were led to a change hut to get ready. After our trip, I was hoping the guys would still have enough gas to put together a half-decent game.

I will never forget heading down the ice path from the change hut into the arena, and hearing the crowd inside. The arena was packed. You couldn't fit more Finnish hockey fans in that rink if you tried. And they were all chanting; they'd waited, patiently, despite the delays. Hockey-crazy fans that I didn't realize existed outside of our Canadian borders. Yet here they were – and their roar was deafening.

The change in our team was palpable. I could almost sense the fatigue evaporate from our players as they became energized hearing the crowd. Sure, the crowd wanted us to lose; they wanted the Finnish National Team to come out on top. But more than that, they wanted to be part of

Hockey-crazy fans that I didn't realize existed outside of our Canadian borders.

something special. Pure and simple. They loved the game, appreciated the effort, and respected Team Canada for being one of the game's powerhouse nations. We had made the trip, and they were going to make sure we left knowing they appreciated the skill, the grit, the emotion our team left on the ice that night.

They loved the game. Finland loves hockey, just as much as Canada does.

Tom Renney is president and CEO of Hockey Canada, the national organizing body responsible for growing the game from the grassroots to its elite national teams. Tom has turned his passion for the game into a life-long career: he has coached Canada's National Men's Team and won a silver medal at the Olympic Winter Games in Lillehammer, Norway, and moving on to coach in the NHL before accepting his current role with Hockey Canada.



President Niinistö visiting the Hockey Hall of Fame in Toronto with Saku Koivu. October 10, 2014.
Photo: Juhani Kandell/Office of the President of the Republic of Finland.

Pond Hockey Tackles Climate Change

Steve Baynes

Save Pond Hockey was founded by a passionate group of hockey players in Helsinki during the winter of 2014 in response to climate change and concerns for the future of outdoor hockey. Our primary goal is to raise awareness about the challenge of our generation, including such consequences as shorter and warmer winters, which will pose a threat to future generations of hockey players worldwide.

Thus far, we have organized two annual pond hockey tournaments in Helsinki, donating all proceeds from sponsors and team registration to campaigns against climate change. In the winter of 2016–2017, we'll organize tournaments in

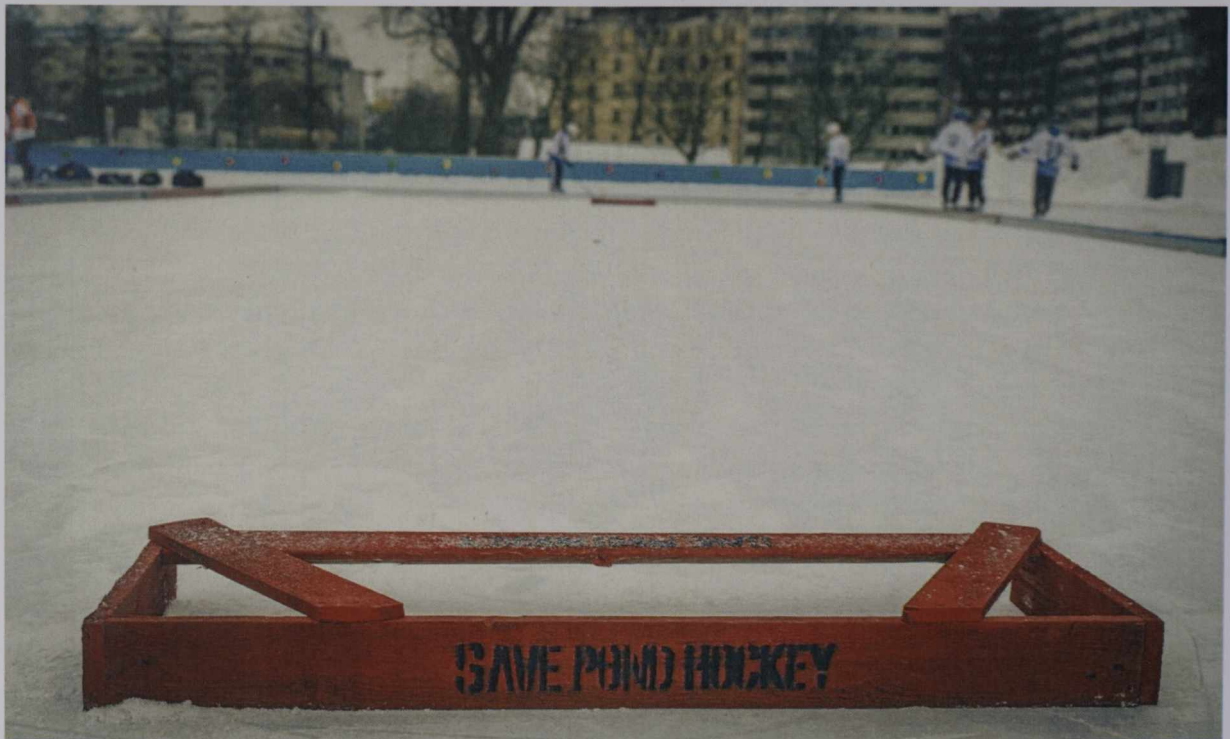
Helsinki and Mikkeli, the latter in collaboration with EKOenergy, Etelä-Savon Energia, and Mikkelin Jukurit, the new local Finnish League team.

We believe we need

to act together immediately to prevent irreversible damage to this great game loved by both Canada and Finland. We hope you will support our efforts and take action against climate change today!



Steve Baynes is the Tournament & Sustainability Manager of Save Pond Hockey.



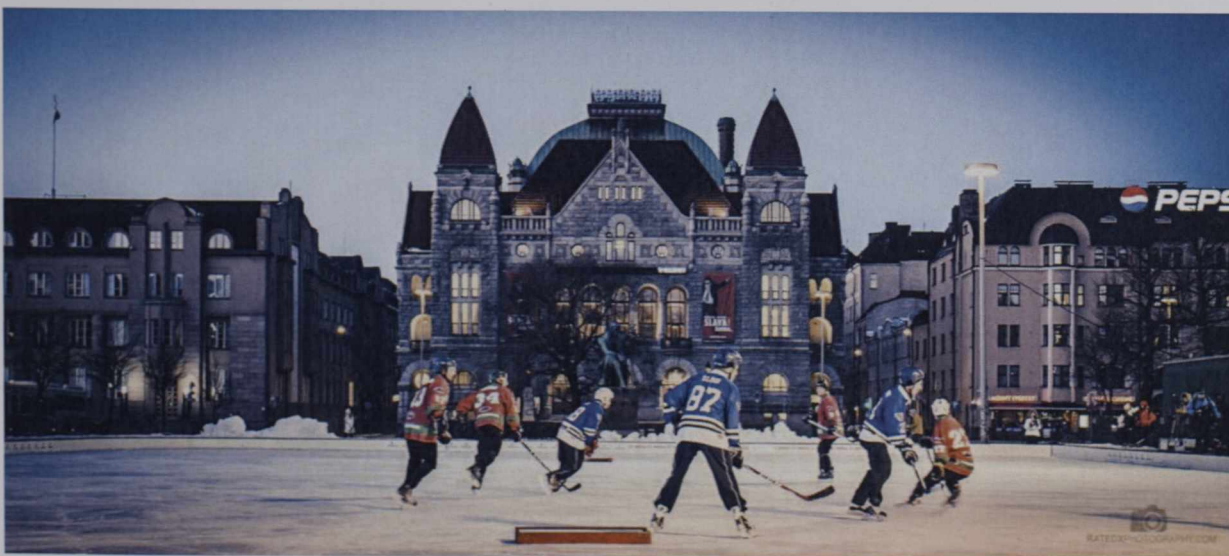
Pond hockey tournament in Helsinki, 2016. Photo: Save Pond Hockey.



Pond hockey tournament in Helsinki, 2016. Photo: Save Pond Hockey.



Pond hockey tournament in Helsinki, 2016. Photo: Save Pond Hockey.



Pond Hockey game with Finnish National Theatre as backdrop. Photo: Save Pond Hockey.

Ringette: Linking Finland and Canada for over 30 Years

Sini Forsblom

Ringette made its way to Finland from Canada in 1979, thanks to Finnish ice hockey coaching dads. Fascinated by the speed and character of ringette, they wanted to offer Finnish girls the opportunity to play ringette too. And Finnish ringette has since gone from strength to strength.

Ringette was developed in 1963 by Sam Jacks from North Bay, Ontario. He was an innovator, eager to develop new possibilities for young people to participate in sport. Jacks wanted to create a game especially for girls, because back then, girls didn't play ice hockey. As his biography at the Ringette Canada Hall of Fame says, Sam always looked to the future. So true! This Canadian still has an impact on young people's lives, as

ringette offers a fun way to participate in sport in Finland and is now emerging in other European countries too.

After Sam Jacks' untimely passing in 1975, his widow Agnes Jacks continued to promote and support ringette. Agnes was a true ringette ambassador and also travelled to Finland to show her support. She donated an award bearing her name to the Finnish Ringette Association, and the Agnes Jacks Trophy is presented to the Most Valuable Player of the Finnish National Ringette League at the end of every season.

Sam and Agnes Jacks had three sons, who continue to support the ringette community. Barry, Bruce, and Brian and their families donated the



World Ringette Championships in Helsinki, 2nd Gold medal game Canada vs Finland. January 3, 2016. Canada #9 Shaundra Bruwall from Calgary, Finland #12 Siiri Kallionpää from Raisio. Photo: Jouni Valkeenniemi / Pakkalan Mediatalo.

beautiful Sam Jacks Trophy to the International Ringette Federation to be presented to the ringette World Champion.

I started playing ringette as a little girl in 1990. I never thought I would get to experience so many great things with this Canadian sport. I have made many great friends, visited many places, and felt hundreds of different emotions playing the game.

One of my dearest and most overwhelming ringette memories is from a few years ago when the 2013 World Ringette Championships were organized in North Bay, Ontario. I got to visit the hometown of the Jacks family and meet Bruce Jacks and his lovely wife Barbara, and Barry Jacks and their families, visit the Sam Jacks Arena, present the Sam Jacks Trophy to the 2013 World Champion in his hometown, and also had an opportunity to visit the graves of Sam and Agnes Jacks. All this happened on the 50th anniversary of ringette. I will always remember that week in

North Bay and the hospitality of the North Bay community and Bruce and Barbara Jacks.

Over the past years Finland has dominated the game at the international level, but in the bigger picture I see the role of Canadian ringette as crucial for the overall development of the sport. Ringette in Canada has been established for over 50 years, whereas the game has a 30-year history in Finland. Compared to many other sports, ringette is still a young game. The ringette community is nevertheless proud of its history and very grateful to Canada for this magnificent import!

As a Canadian sport, ringette has fostered a strong relationship between the Finnish and Canadian sport community over the years. Not only in international games and tournaments, but outside rinks and arenas in creating lifelong friendships and experiences from other cultures. That is the true legacy of ringette, and the true legacy of Sam Jacks and his wife Agnes.

Sini Forsblom is the President of the International Ringette Federation.



Sam Jacks Trophy. Photo by Jouni Valkeeniemi, Pakkalan Mediatalo.



Sini Forsblom, President of the International Ringette Federation.

Ringette, a Winning Sport

Salla Mäkelä

Ringette, a Canadian invention, has become one of the fastest team sports on ice. Sam Jacks, a recreation director and sports enthusiast from North Bay, Ontario, invented the sport in 1963 when he saw the need for a winter team sport for girls. He was also responsible for the development and introduction of floor hockey in 1936.

In 1979 hockey-player-turned-coach Juuso Wahlsten brought ringette to Finland, and the Finnish Ringette Federation was established in 1983. The International Ringette Federation was

founded in 1986 with Finn Antti Simola as the first President.

The World Ringette Championship has been held on a regular basis since 1990. Canada and Finland are the game's predominant challengers, so much so that Finland has held the title of World Champion since 2004.

Ringette is played in several countries around the world, including Canada and Finland – of course – as well as Sweden, the United States, France, Slovakia, Russia, the Czech Republic, and Abu Dhabi.

Salla Mäkelä is the Executive Director of Rinkball and Ringette Finland.



Anneli Levander. Photo: Rinkball and Ringette Finland.

Finland: Curling Is Here to Stay

Carmen Pekkarinen

Since its sixteenth-century Scottish beginnings, the game of curling has evolved into an elite sport. The hotbed of the sport is in Canada, with a number of men's and women's teams who can duly represent the country internationally at any given time. The running joke in Canada is that curling became popular among farmers because they had nothing better to do in the winter time.

Curling arrived in Finland in 1909 when a Scot named Geoffrey W. Easton introduced the sport in Viipuri. It nearly disappeared for a time, but the first curling club was established in Helsinki in 1962. Hyvinkää (1971) currently claims the title of being the biggest club in the country.

The height of curling popularity in Finland was probably in 2006 at the Winter Olympic Games in Torino when Markku Uusipaavalniemi skipped his team to silver medal, losing to Canada's Brad Gushue 10–4 in the gold medal game. The sport has enjoyed a renaissance of late with Aku Kauste and his men's team doing well on the world curling circuit and causing a stir with their heavy metal rock band hair. Kauste has enjoyed a lot of success both as a junior and mixed team player. Look for him and his teammates to make a run for the 2018 Olympic Winter Games in South Korea.

The Finnish women's national team is currently led by Oona Kauste, who is Aku's sister. She also has deep roots in the sport having represented Finland in five European curling cham-

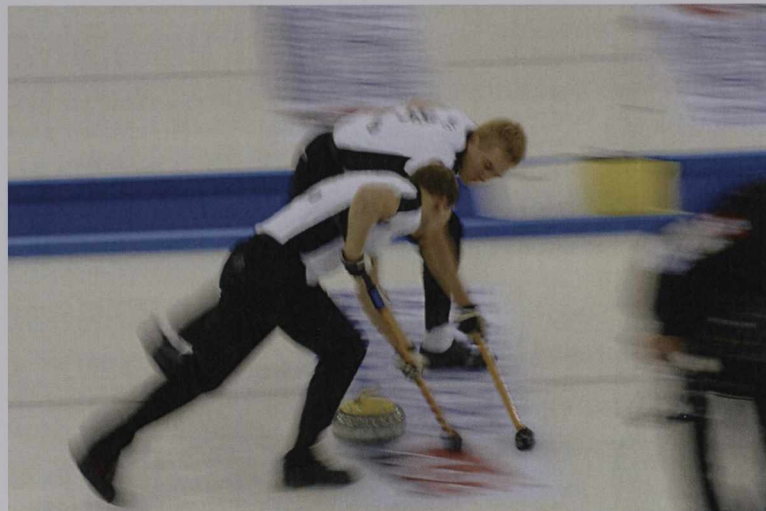


Photo: Jermu Pöllänen

pionships. The Finnish women have not enjoyed as much success as the men, but are consistently in the top ten of many large European championships and tournaments.

The sport of curling has grown to be ever-inclusive, with wheelchair curling making its debut on the world stage in 2002 when the first world championship was held in Switzerland. In 2006 wheelchair curling debuted as an event at the Winter Paralympic Games in Torino, Italy. Today wheelchair curling is played in some 25 countries, Finland included, where the national squad is captained by Markku Karjalainen. He and his teammates Sari Karjalainen, Mina Mojtahedi, Tuomo Aarnikka, and alternate Vesa Leppänen finished fourth at the 2015 World Wheelchair Curling Championship, which was held at the Kisakallio Sports Institute in Lohja, Finland. While Karjalainen's team was relegated to the B championship series, the sport continues to enjoy incredible growth.

Carmen Pekkarinen was born and raised in Northern Ontario and has lived and worked in Finland since 1998. She is a former Chair of the Finnish-Canadian Society and now spends a lot of time volunteering on the youth sports front in Espoo.

Behind Kytäjä Golf Is a Story of Canadian and Finnish Cooperation

Antti Vaalas

The Laakkonen family bought Kytäjä estate in 1994. When I met Yrjö Laakkonen shortly after, we joked that Kytäjä had enough land to build ten golf courses if they ever wanted to get into the golf business. Still I was surprised when Yrjö called five years later. His message: let's start thinking about building at least two courses.

I was given the job of finding a suitable golf course architect. We wanted Kytäjä Golf to be bigger, better, and bolder than anything else in Finland. Thus we decided to look for an international and well-established name, but none seemed perfect for our project. Yrjö Laakkonen kept asking – reasonably enough – how any of these well-known names could be the right choice when most of their experience was in climates found, for example, in Florida. What would happen when they were presented with Finnish landscape and climate?

Then one day I visited with Lassi Tilander, Finland's best-known golf writer and historian. We were discussing the Kytäjä project when Lassi mentioned that a Canadian designer Thomas McBroom had visited him a few months earlier. Thomas had travelled to Finland with his son's hockey team. During the trip he had looked to meet with local golf personalities and had found Lassi.

The brochures Thomas had left behind included stunning images of beautiful golf courses – in landscapes that could have been from Finland. Thomas McBroom was then the hottest name in Canadian golf architecture; several of his works were ranked among the top courses in the country. The more I researched him, the more convinced I became that he should be our choice. Yrjö was pleased as well. A Canadian made sense. After all, our winters are similarly harsh and most



Kytäjä Golf Course designed by Canadian Tom McBroom. Photo: Kytäjä Golf.



Hole 7, South East Course. Kytäjä Golf Course designed by Canadian Tom McBroom. Photo: Kytäjä Golf.

of the courses in both countries are built on clay. Moreover, Kytäjä had numerous outcrops of rock, while McBroom had had plenty of experience integrating rock into his designs in Ontario.

I reached out to Thomas in the summer of 2000. A few emails and phone calls later Thomas visited Kytäjä for the first time in August. We spent three days walking the property and getting to know each other.

The third day of the visit included a lively contract negotiation. Thomas was concerned about how the courses would actually be built. Understandably he did not want his name associated with anything not built properly. As a businessman, Yrjö wanted to save some money but he was also after quality work. Finally, Thomas relented a bit and said he would agree on Yrjö's price as long as he promised to build the best golf courses possible. Yrjö leapt up, extended his hand and said: "I promise."

Building two golf courses simultaneously is a massive undertaking. It rarely if ever happens anywhere in the world. But Yrjö knew he wanted

himself with local guys on the job. He knew they were not as experienced in golf course construction as the Canadian firms. But he was confident a Finnish team would learn on the job and be capable of doing the work properly. Eventually a model was reached where a few key Canadians would spend significant time at Kytäjä but most of work was done by the Finns.


It turned out to be a successful model in at least two ways. First, both of the courses at Kytäjä – South East and North West – have been critically acclaimed not only in Finland but also in Europe. South East has dominated the rankings of the best golf course in Finland since opening day in 2003. Second, Finland's whole golf construction industry learned a great deal from the building at Kytäjä. In fact, most of the men and women in the business played at least small roles in the process. They were introduced to how courses are built when seasoned professionals are in charge. Undoubtedly they learned a lot and have used that experience in subsequent golf projects in Finland.

two courses without having to look at a construction site for any longer than necessary. The project certainly kept McBroom's office busy for a couple of years.


Initially, Thomas had wanted to bring a Canadian construction firm he was familiar with to Kytäjä to do all of the work. But Yrjö wanted to act as a general contractor


Antti Vaalas is the Head Golf Professional at Kytäjä Golf. He spent 1983 and 1984 in Vancouver, British Columbia, playing on the golf team at Magee Secondary School.

CANADA




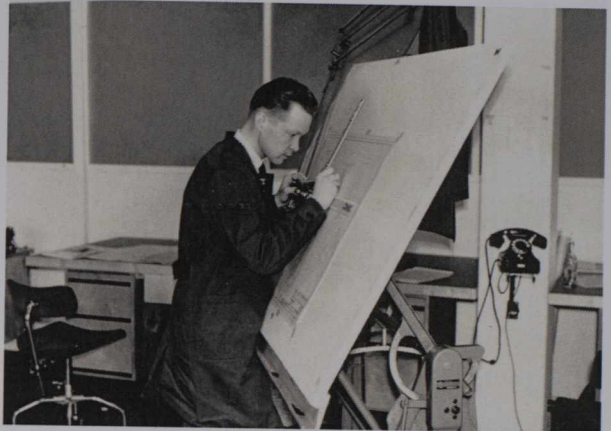
**Canadian Arctic Capabilities
by Sector**



 Government of Canada
Trésor, Commissioner Service

Gouvernement du Canada
Service des délégués commanditaires





INDUSTRY

INDUSTRIE

Canada and Finland are both northern countries with cold climate, plenty of lakes and rivers, and a vast reserve of forests. A similar environment and similar needs to survive in that environment have created similar types of entrepreneurship but also trade and “industrial exchange” of ideas and skills between the two countries. Forestry and mining have dominated much of the two-way economic partnership, as they also dominate the articles of this segment. These traditional industries have paved the way for today’s bilateral trade, investment, and scientific cooperation, whereby robotics, alternative energy solutions, and composites are central product offerings.

Le Canada et la Finlande sont tous deux des pays nordiques ayant un climat froid, beaucoup de lacs et de rivières et une vaste réserve de forêts. Les similitudes dans l’environnement et les besoins de survivre dans cet environnement ont donné naissance à des types d’entrepreneuriat semblables, mais aussi au commerce et à l’« échange industriel » d’idées et de compétences entre les deux pays. La foresterie et l’exploitation minière dominent une grande partie du partenariat économique bilatéral, et c’est aussi le cas dans les articles de cette section. Ces industries traditionnelles ont ouvert la voie au commerce bilatéral, à l’investissement et à la coopération scientifique d’aujourd’hui, avec la robotique, les solutions énergétiques alternatives et les composites comme offres centrales de produits.

Forests: The History of a Staple of the Canadian and Finnish Economies

Ronald N. Harpelle

In a speech to the House of Commons in 1936, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King observed that "if some countries have too much history, we have too much geography."¹ What was true then remains true after 150 years of Confederation. Canada is a vast land with a history that predates Confederation. It was First Nations, French, and British history before it became Canadian history. Also, most of what is now urban Canada was relatively untouched by the impact of European colonization until the late nineteenth century when ever increasing numbers of European immigrants began to arrive.

Canada at the time was dependent on a "staple economy." Since the arrival of the first Europeans in the sixteenth century, Canada's role in the world economy was to supply staple products like fur, fish, lumber, agricultural produces, and minerals. Accordingly, Canada's economic development prior to Confederation was based on these commodities and largely remained so until the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of industrialization. The staple products were generally produced in remote regions and were primarily exported to Britain and the West Indies.

By the turn of the twentieth century the Canadian economy had begun to diversify with a resultant shift to markets elsewhere in the world. The geographic expansion of the United States, with its rapid economic growth and expanding population provided new opportunities for Canadian exporters. Canadian staples began to flow southwards at the turn of the century to meet this new demand. The outbreak of the First World War disrupted world trade and accelerated Canada's shift to markets in the United States

further. At the time, the United States economy was undergoing rapid industrialization near the Canadian border, and one of the key sectors of the Canadian economy to benefit from economic prosperity in the United States was forestry.

Canada ranks third, behind Russia and Brazil, in terms of forest cover. Canada's boreal forest region is enormous, covering 53% of the country's land mass, stretching 5 000 kilometres from coast to coast. It is 5 million square kilometres in size and is home to 1.5 million lakes. Forest products for export consist of lumber and paper with the pulp and paper sector being the more labour intensive of the two. This is because lumber is shipped as a raw material to be processed elsewhere, whereas pulp mills are generally twinned with paper mills that provide work for hundreds of people in one location.

First Nations traditionally depended on forest resources for their livelihoods. Forests provided the first peoples with food, shelter, medicines, and most of the other necessities. The arrival of the Europeans led to the commodification of forests in Canada; wood products were suddenly given high commercial value. The boreal forest was gradually incorporated into the Canadian economy, rationally and systematically reshaped to intensify the production of wood and other products that supported the growth of the colony. The Canadian fur trade was the first and most important animal by-product of the forest, but lumber and by the end of the nineteenth century, lumber and pulp wood became staples of the Canadian economy. The first Canadian lumber barons emerged in the southern parts of Ontario and Quebec, and in neighbouring New Brunswick during the nineteenth century. How-

1 William Lyon McKenzie King, quoted in Nicholas Mansergh, ed., *Documents and Speeches on British Commonwealth Affairs, 1931-1952*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 145.

ever, by Confederation the forests of the south had all but been cleared and the industry began shifting north and eventually all the way to the West coast and Vancouver Island. Exploitation of the forests also took a different shape because growth in the United States fuelled a demand for paper products. Canada's forest economy diversified to include both lumber and pulpwood production.

While lumber remained important, the development of modern pulp and paper technology by the late 1800s allowed for the substitution of wood pulp for cloth fibre in the production of paper. As a result, trees that were not as suitable for lumber could be used to make paper products. Both industry and governments became aware of the potential for this new industry. The first chemical pulp mill in North America was built in Québec in 1864. The independence of Canada through the British North America Act of 1867 saw the allocation of Crown lands to the provinces. Significantly, these Crown lands came with forests and the minerals below the ground.

The construction of pulp mills in the newly constituted provinces of Canada was combined with legislation to protect the industry through a prohibition of the export pulpwood from Crown lands. Then, the removal of the U.S. tariff on newsprint in 1913 catapulted Canada into the position of being the world's largest exporter of pulp and paper by the end of World War I. As mills were established across Canada, the pulp and paper industry began to grow exponentially. Many of the new mills were owned by newspapers and dedicated to newsprint production. In the first decades of the 1900s, Canadian mills captured about two-thirds of the newsprint market in the United States. As new paper products were introduced to consumers, mills diversified their production to accommodate new market opportunities, attracting investors from the United States who soon became dominant in the industry.

The boreal forest is not limited to Canada. It stretches, almost uninterrupted from Northern Canada across Russia, to Finland and Scandinavia and makes up a quarter of the world's forest cover. The resources found in the boreal

forest in Canada are thus similar to those of all of the other countries that host this ecosystem. Not surprisingly, so are the histories of forest exploitation in these countries. The boreal forests were historically a source of life's necessities for their

By the turn of the twentieth century the development of the modern pulp and paper industry was well underway in Canada and Finland and they developed into two of the most important producers in the world.

original inhabitants before becoming a source of resources like furs, minerals, and wood products for the expanding economies of Europe and the Western world. The introduction of modern technologies from the 1840s onward enabled the use of wood as a raw material in papermaking, and across the boreal forest both lumber and pulp became staple products in the national economies.

Finland was no exception to these general trends. With its relatively recent independence, its small population concentrated in the southern reaches, and its vast northern forests, Finland very much resembles the northern sub-arctic regions of Canada. Like Canada, Finland has a history of existing on the fringes of European empires and, although linked to the supply chain of European commerce, remained isolated from the industrial mainstream. Similar to Canada prior to 1867, Finnish history was not their own until independence. Prior to 1917, Finnish history was Swedish and then Russian history.

While both Finland and Canada had much to offer the imperial powers of the day, their forest resources were a primary attraction. They did not offer much in terms of a market for manufactured goods, but both enjoyed an abundance of natural resources. The nineteenth-century European industrialization increased demand for resources. What enabled the Canadian and Finnish forest industries to prosper were cheap resources like energy, wood, and the labour required to produce export commodities. The lumber industry

in Finland was a historical constant, joined in the nineteenth century by the pulp and paper industry as a primary sector in the country's economy. By the turn of the twentieth century the development of the modern pulp and paper industry was well underway in both countries and they developed into two of the most important producers in the world.

The collapse of imperial Russia, combined with Finnish independence, caused Finnish industry to lose access to the Russian market. The Finnish Civil War of 1918 further exacerbated the challenges, such as developing the trade in traditional forest products with the devastated economies of Western Europe. Both the Finnish and Canadian domestic markets were far too small to absorb the output of the forest industries. Fortunately, both countries existed in the shadows of the world's most dynamic economies of the time, which made the development of trade in wood products straightforward. Finland in 1917, like Canada in 1867, embarked on a nation-building program based on its natural resources and Europe was its primary target market.

Another by-product of Finnish independence and the civil war was a massive wave of emigration to North America. Many went to the United States before settling in Canada, where they could join Finnish communities established in previous decades. These immigrants brought skills but little else with them. For the most part, the newcomers were working-class men and women with working-class skills. In Canada and the northern United States, they found themselves in the boreal forest region which was in the process of rapidly opening up. Thousands ended up in resource-dependent communities in places like Northern Ontario where the pulp and paper industry was taking off.

The decades after World War I were generally a time of growth for the global forest industry. The 1920s was a decade of speculation and

urban growth in Europe and the United States, leading to increased demand for forest products. The 1930s were marked by depression, which suppressed growth but did not alter the direction of the forest sectors in Finland and Canada. The workers absorbed the shock of lower wages and fewer opportunities as a result of the economic decline. The advent of World War II did not change the general direction of growth in the forest sector, but it did cause disruption. Finland suffered much more than Canada because it was a theatre of war. Finland, with a third of the Canadian population, had twice as many deaths as Canada among military personnel and suffered destruction from both the invading Soviet forces and the retreating German forces. Forest industries were brought to a standstill during the Soviet invasion in 1940, but recovered slightly during the continuation of hostilities until 1944. The main export market for Finnish forest products during this period was Germany, which was an important political ally of Finland at the time.

After the war Finland's industrial recovery was slow because the country was obliged to pay millions of dollars in war reparations to the Soviet Union while at the same time rebuilding its war-ravaged industrial capacity. In addition to the burdens of reconstruction and reparation, the traditional European markets Finland had depended on changed. Eastern Europe had fallen into the Soviet orbit and in addition to paying

The growth in forest industries also led the governments to support economic development in remote regions. In Canada and Finland new towns popped up in distant forests, and old villages became vibrant economic centres.

reparations to Moscow, their economies shifted almost exclusively to the east. As a result, several countries disappeared temporarily or permanently as an export market for Finnish wood products. As western markets began

to open up, Finland's prosperity began to return, but not before thousands of Finns migrated to North America.

A new wave of Finnish immigration hit Canadian shores and many of the new immigrants again turned up in the vibrant Finnish communities of Northern Ontario. As immigrants look-

ing for work, they went where the jobs were: in resource extraction. Finnish immigrants therefore arrived in mining towns like Sudbury and forestry towns like Thunder Bay.

The post-WWII situation in Canada was different because not only did the national territory not suffer damage, but the war industries that boomed between 1939 and 1945 had increased the demand for natural resources. The wartime economy ensured that demand for forest products remained steady and the end of hostilities resulted in the restructuring of the Canadian economy, which extended the economic boom to the end of the 1960s.

The Depression of the 1930s and the outbreak of war in 1939 saw a rapid decline of the British Empire and the subsequent drying up of the British market. Canada's response was to shift its focus from conducting most of its trade with Britain to conducting most of its trade with the United States.

The toll that World War II had on Finland caused the country to focus on export markets. As reconstruction in Europe led to the revival of industry, Western Europe became the most important market for the Finnish forest industry. As in Canada, the return of industrial growth in the European economy fuelled the need for raw materials from Finland. Forest industries in Finland and across the boreal forest region grew significantly after 1945. Lumber was important, but the pulp and paper sector, which produced finished products for export, required large investments in infrastructure, training, and labour. The production of lumber continued apace, but lumber mills produced products that had value added elsewhere. The pulp and paper sector also went from smaller scale to larger scale production with larger paper machines and a wider variety of paper products.

The growth in forest industries also led the governments to support economic development in remote regions. In Canada and Finland new towns popped up in distant forests, and old vil-

lages became vibrant economic centres. Mills were privately owned but they relied on access to forests for supply and transportation hubs for export. In both countries roads, bridges, railway lines, and port facilities were built or enhanced to facilitate the development of new and

old forest economies.

Both countries also worked at developing export markets. The European and the U.S. markets were different, but access to both required the negotiation

While there are many similarities between the Canadian and Finnish forest industries, a key difference is the question of land ownership and, by extension, land stewardship.

of trade agreements. While Canada was able to focus on the United States as its single biggest market, the protracted and winding road to the creation of the European Union made it a bit more complicated for Finland, but successive governments in both countries negotiated agreements that reduced tariffs and increased access to different markets. In addition to the gradual liberalization of trade in Europe, the Finnish government also maintained and enhanced the country's trade links with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Canada traded primarily with the United States, but also maintained and enhanced trade with other countries in the hemisphere and, increasingly, with Asia.

Despite the increasing value and importance of wood products to both countries, governments did not attempt to systematically manage the exploitation of forests until the mid-twentieth century. By the 1960s Finland and Canada began to focus on reducing the environmental harm caused by deforestation and the impact of industrialization in remote regions. Programs were introduced to clean up the industrial process, to limit the environmental destruction caused by tree cutting, and to re-plant forests that had been cleared. Until the 1960s tree planting was carried out by governments on an experimental basis. When forests began to be replanted, the effort was to limit the number of species of tree in order to increase profitability in future harvests.

The mechanization of the forest industry in the 1950s and 1960s, combined with a post-

1945 economic boom, put increasing stress on the boreal forest. In the 1940s the kraft process became the leading method of producing pulp. This involves "cooking" wood chips in a sodium sulfate solution and meant that more of the forest was taken in to maximize profits.

The pulp and paper industry also became more destructive because the products were shaped by science, turning trees that were once considered to have little commercial value into marketable products. The term "waste wood" captures general attitudes toward tree species seen to compete with those that had a commercial value. One of the biggest preoccupations of the pulp industry has always been to develop means of using every possible tree as fibre for paper products. The northern bleached softwood kraft-produced in Canada, the USA, and northern Europe became the benchmark grade of pulp. As a result of these technological advances at the mill, selective logging of specific high-value trees gave way to the practice of clearcutting sections of forest.

While there are many similarities between the Canadian and Finnish forest industries, a key difference is the question of land ownership and, by extension, land stewardship. The unification of British colonies in North America through the British North America Act in 1867 was followed by the rapid westward expansion culminating in the completion of a national railway in 1885. These two events, the creation of the Dominion

The forestry sector of the boreal forest region experienced unprecedented challenges at the turn of the twenty-first century because of the emerging competition from the Global South.

of Canada and the introduction of a trans-continental railway, combined with the rapid rise in the economic fortunes of the United States at the end of the 1800s to create the conditions for dramatically increasing the exports of wood products from Canada. With Confederation the provinces were allocated jurisdiction over Crown lands, which were mainly forested areas;

private landholding was uncommon. The control of Crown land by provincial governments resulted in the development of separate and distinct land use and natural resource policies in each province. In Canada, 89% of the land area is Crown Land either under Federal or Provincial jurisdiction. Only about 11% is privately owned. Therefore, in Canada the government controls the forests and Crown Land is leased to forest companies.

In Finland, the more remote regions of the country are exploited by corporations in the same way as in the forests of Canada, but a more sustainable model of forestry exists in more densely populated areas. Finnish farmers own woodlots, which makes stewardship more of an immediate matter of economic survival. Unlike in Canada, where the divide between agriculture and forestry is clear, forestry and farming are closely linked in Finland. The reasons for these differences are both geographic and political. In Finland during the twentieth century governments oversaw a number of redistribution programs that resulted in a rise in the private ownership of forests. By the 1980s, farmers controlled 35% of Finland's forests, other individuals 27%, and the government 24%.

The forest industry in both countries grew exponentially in the second half of the twentieth century. Yet, the forestry sector of the boreal forest region experienced unprecedented challenges at the turn of the twenty-first century because of the emerging competition from the Global South. Paper product producers began investing in eucalyptus and pine plantations in South America, Africa, and Asia. This shift in the global industry was marked by mass layoffs and facility closures throughout the north and massive investment by pulp and paper producers in new mills, infrastructure, and land in the southern hemisphere. The forest companies in Canada and Finland, and the communities that depended on them, saw a significant downturn.

The current state of northern forestry-based economies is dire. Formerly thriving communities across the boreal forest zone are adjusting to competition from emerging markets. Even though Canada and Finland, along with the

United States and northern Europe, continue to dominate the global industry, the new pulp producers have taken a large share of the global market. Today more than 25% of the world's total forest production originates in South America and Asia. Brazil has emerged as the world's third largest pulp and paper producer, and China has become the third largest consumer of paper products.

Despite the bleak forecast in the forest sectors in Canada and Finland, northern economies are showing signs of revival. Governments in both countries have invested in forest communities and

the forest industry, and new resource-based industries are showing promise. For example, mining, which has long been a staple of the Canadian economy, has increased significantly in Finland in recent years. The mines provide opportunities for former forest workers and the communities they live in. The slowdown in the forest industry has also meant that the trees are coming back, providing the material required to make lumber and pulp mills viable again. Northern communities in Finland and Canada continue to adjust to new economic realities, and do so with experience of the history of the forest industries.

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Great Forest Countries with Different Forestries

Lauri Sikanen

The forests have been a remarkable source of welfare for both Canada and Finland. They have provided shelter, game, berries, mushrooms, fuel, logs, timber, paper, fibres, chemicals, antioxidants, and ecosystem services. From a distance, the forests in these two countries have a lot of common, but a closer look reveals very interesting differences.

In Canada, the forests have an interestingly bipolar role: they are a nature reserve, and an untouched habitat is strongly emphasized and valued. Forest industries and timber harvesting are also important for Canada, but operations take place in remote locations out of sight. In Finland, forest operations are present and visible. Nature protection and forest use exist side by side, with confrontations and disagreements, but still in the

midst of people. There is also broader public acceptance of forestry and forest operations in Finland, possibly because forestry has been relatively more important for Finland than for Canada, which has massive resources of oil, gas, and coal.

Finns and Canadians live next to forests, and are not afraid if they need to spend some time in the woods. And yet there are differences again. The Finnish forest is friendly (and too often too uniform). The breathtaking British Columbia forests are something else! These forests are rough and let you know that you may enter if you have the guts.

Both Canada and Finland have been able to offer a lot of work in their forests. So much so in Canada that in the early 1900s and later, thousands of young men left the Finnish forests to harvest



British Columbia Interior, with pine-beetle damage. Photo: Province of British Columbia.



Golden fall colors in espen (*Populus tremuloides*) stand in boreal forest of Yukon Territory, Canada. © Pi-Lens/Shutterstock.com



Lookout Trail, Algonquin Park, Ontario. © Elena Elisseeva/Shutterstock.com



Fall forest and lake with colorful trees from above in Algonquin Park, Canada. © Elena Elisseeva/Shutterstock.com

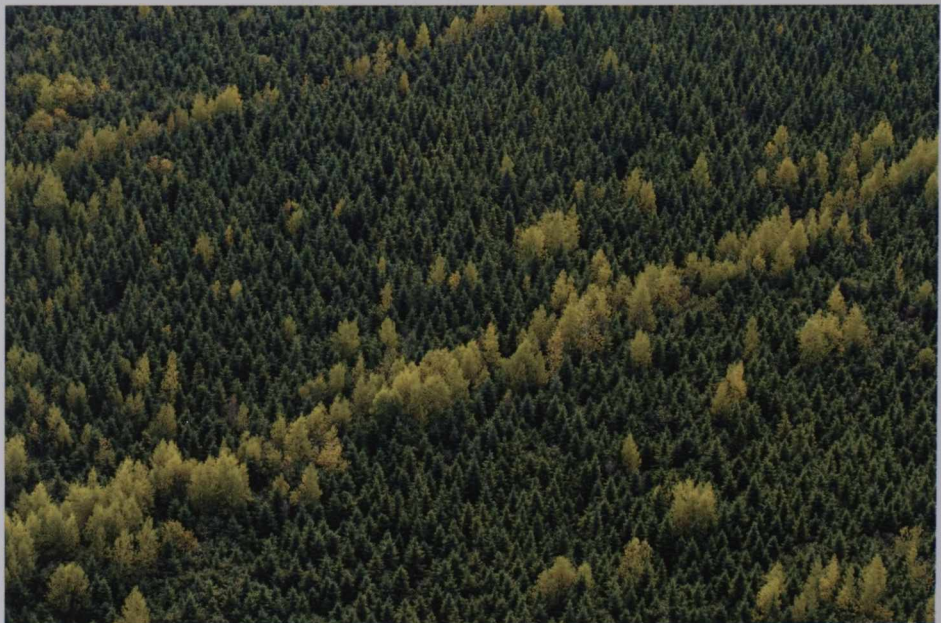
bigger trees in Canada, especially in Ontario. The similarities of the landscapes are striking. When my Canadian colleague and good friend was travelling in Eastern Finland, she said: "Nobody'll believe that I've been abroad, if I show these pictures back home in North Bay."

Now that Finland is celebrating 100 years of independence, we can also celebrate a new boom within the forest industries. At the heyday of Nokia we began to look down on forestry, thinking that it would no longer be as important as it had once been. But now, huge new investments and a leap to the bioeconomy have opened up new opportunities.

Canada's endless forest areas are mainly owned by the provinces and territories; only less than one tenth is privately managed. In Finland, most of the forests are owned by private individuals, while the government controls around a third of the forest land. A solid logistic infrastructure and private ownership create added value

to the trees in the forest. In Canada, trees, those magnificent renewable bioeconomy resources, are mainly cut in the outback, where huge distances and transportation costs kill the value of the material. In Finland, interestingly enough, Finnish companies need to pay twice or even five times more to the forest owners to get their raw material. At the mill gate, the logs cost the same, and the companies compete successfully on the global markets.

Wildlife is plentiful in the Canadian forests, especially bears and eagles. In Finland, the number of bears has been increasing and small-scale hunting is nowadays possible. Still, you need to be really lucky to see bears in a Finnish forest and you do not need to be afraid of them. The limited infrastructure in Canadian forests may be the reason behind the robust wildlife populations. In some provinces you need to return the forest road back to nature after timber harvest, while in Finland, forest roads are everywhere. This is a result of private forest ownership; you must have access to your forest to be able to manage it. This helps the timber procurement,



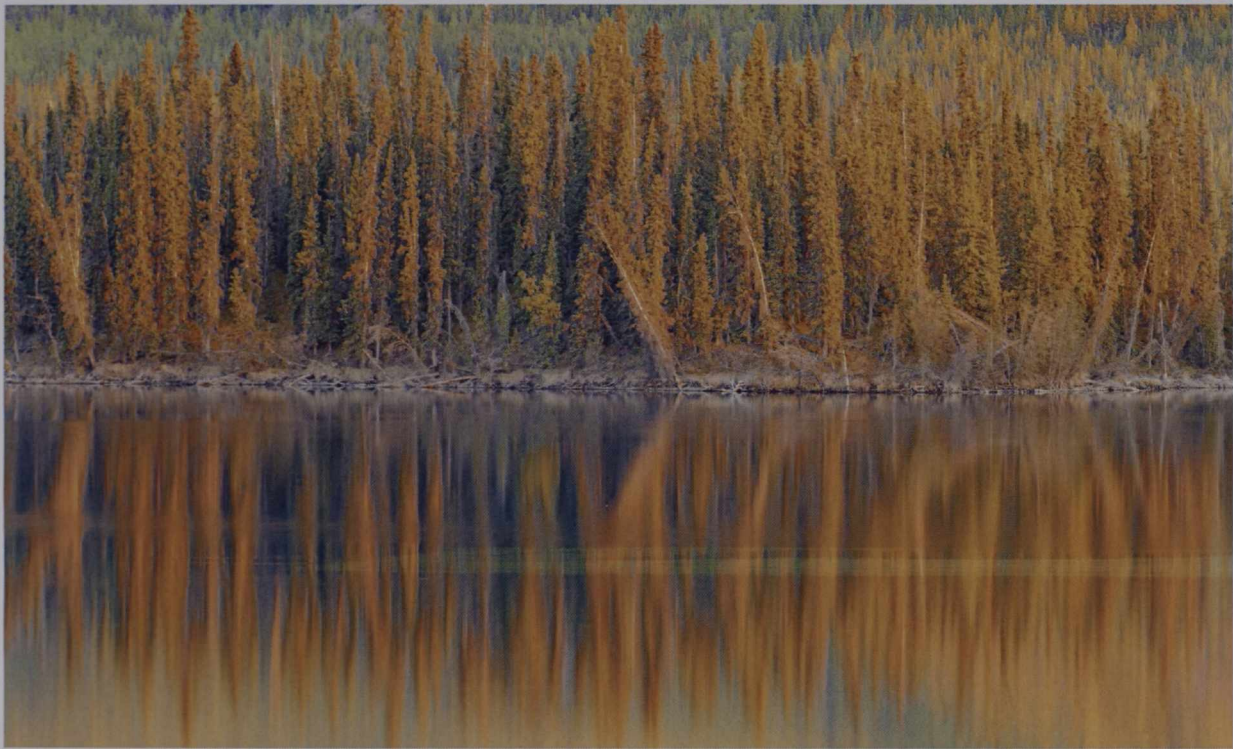
Aerial view of a boreal forest in Quebec, Canada at fall. © FOTOimage Montreal/Shutterstock.com

forest fire prevention, and all kinds of recreational uses but decreases the extent of untouched outbacks.

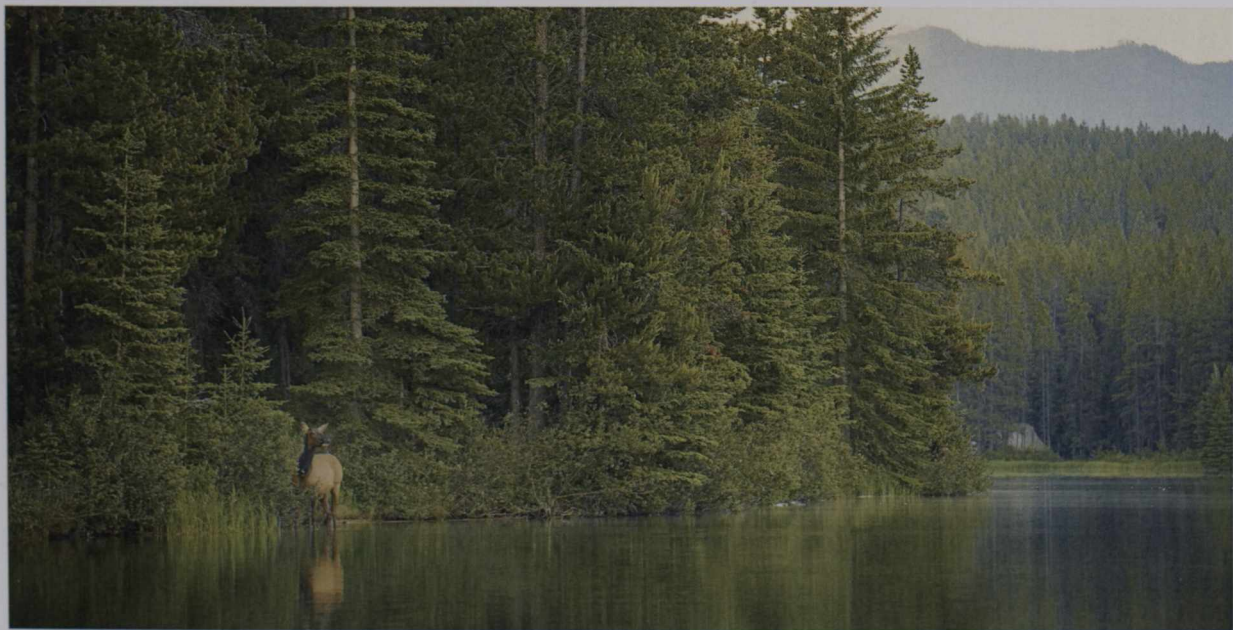
We look forward to an expanding bioeconomy. It's good for us, because forests will be even more important in the future. Our boreal forests

are an endless source of welfare also in years to come. And I mean endless, renewable, dynamic, always changing. Canada and Finland have a promising future ahead of them, sharing ideas and benchmarking practices in order to enjoy all the good that forests can give.

Lauri Sikanen is a Senior Research Scientist at the Natural Resources Institute Finland (Luke).



Warm sunset light reflections on calm surface of boreal forest wilderness pond, Twin Lakes, Yukon Territory, Canada. © Pi-Lens/Shutterstock.com



A cow elk emerges from the forest on a lake's edge in Banff National Park, Alberta. © Chase Dekker/Shutterstock.com



Snowy boreal forest taiga winter wilderness landscape of Yukon Territory, Canada, north of Whitehorse. © Pi-Lens/Shutterstock.com



The black spruce trees of Canada's boreal forest produce enormous amounts of yellow pollen. © Pi-Lens/Shutterstock.com

Castor Canadensis, the Canadian Beaver

Carmen Pekkarinen

Castor fiber, the European beaver, was hunted to extinction in Finland in the mid-1800s. Many Finns know about the introduction of the Canadian beaver into the Finnish environment in the 1930s. *Castor fiber* was also reintroduced into Finland at the same time, with a small population of beavers brought over from Norway. At the time the two species were introduced to the country, no one really understood that they were in fact two unique species.

Today, some 4000–7000 Canadian beavers exist in Finland, and, being beavers, they do damage to forest and the environment in which they live. Because they were introduced to Finland, the Canadian beaver has also earned the title “invasive



European Beaver. © Rudmer Zwerver/Shutterstock.com

species.” Yet the Canadian beaver also benefits other species in Finland such as birds, fish, amphibians, and various insects.



Canadian Beaver. © fotofactory/Shutterstock.com

From Canada with Love: Jaakko Pöyry

Henrik Ehrnrooth

Finland has gone from being a largely forestry-based economy to one based on technology, and is now undergoing a further transition to become a service-oriented society.

Pöyry, the Finnish engineering and consulting company, is rooted in the forest industry and was the dream of its founder Dr. Jaakko Pöyry (1924–2006). His energy and natural curiosity for learning new things live on in the company's DNA. This curiosity led Jaakko to take an extensive tour of Canada and the United States in the early days of his career in the 1950s and sowed the seeds for his future success.

The aftermath of the Second World War was an era of robust growth and reconstruction. In both Finland and Canada, the agricultural sector was being overtaken by the rapid development of industrial and manufacturing sectors. In Finland, it was also a time of immense pressure. In a relatively young nation state with a small industrial base, and with the financial obligations imposed by war reparations, industry had to grow. Technology was mainly purchased from overseas using licences from major manufacturers.

Jaakko Pöyry later said: "The Finnish industry learned there and then that in order to survive it had to deliver top-quality products on time."

The strong demand for paper products, produced in Finland in outdated mills, exceeded the capacity of the Finnish industry. However, foreign currency income opened up the possibility of finding new technologies and new ways of working.

Seeking out new technological developments through out-of-box thinking was close to Jaakko's heart throughout his life. He knew that the place to learn was North America. Canada, like Finland, was a young country with a small population, a similar climate as well as forest resources

and other commodities. The Canadian forest industry had expanded into the vast boreal forests between the 1920s and 1940s, and North American technology was showing the way.

Flying over the Atlantic Ocean 60 years ago was something of an adventure in itself. The flight from Helsinki to New York took 28 hours, as the plane had to land for repeated fuel refills. Jaakko's epic journey of the North American continent lasted six months and took him to 66 pulp and paper mills.

The knowledge and the contacts that Jaakko acquired during his North American tour stood him in good stead in The Pöyry Group, the company he founded in 1958. What he saw in Canada and the United States led him to designing complete mill departments instead of isolated machines or equipment. Technologies in areas such as wood handling and bleaching were on a totally different level to what was taking place in Finland. The insights gained in Canada went on to shape the future of the Finnish forest industry.

Today, the Pöyry Group is still known as number one in the forest industry, but has also expanded into delivering management consulting and engineering services to other process-based industries such as chemicals and biorefining, and mining and metals. Pöyry is also a world leader in power generation and has acquired strong infrastructure engineering capability in areas such as tunnelling. What once was a twinkle in Jaakko's eye is today a global engineering and consulting company.

Pöyry is present both in Canada and in the United States. Pöyry's engineering offices in Appleton and Montréal deliver engineering solutions for the pulp and paper sectors as well as for the renewable energy and chemical sectors in North America. Pöyry's management consulting

services focus on corporate, product and market strategies, corporate finance, due diligence, business intelligence services, and performance management, delivered through regional offices in Atlanta and New York.

Pöyry's ties to the Canadian pulp and paper industry have remained strong. Starting from the mid-1960s with the first pulp mill assignment for Stora Port Hawkesbury, Pöyry has continuously worked with all the key players in the Canadian pulp and paper industry. Typical assignments range from studies to engineering assignments of significant rebuilds or major upgrading investments. With the growth of the company service portfolio, the Canadian client base has also expanded into biofuels, power generation, chem-

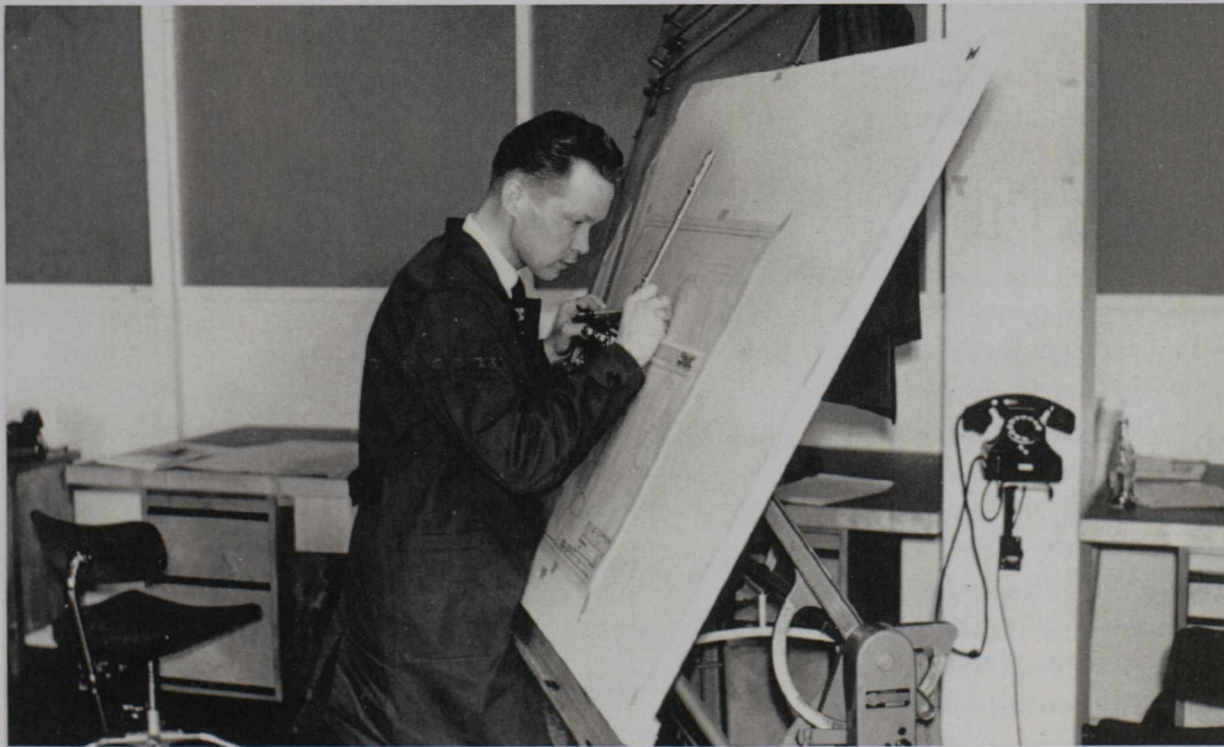
icals, and mining. A good example is the mining sector in Finland, where many Canadian companies are active. Companies such as Agnico Eagle and First Quantum Minerals have trusted Pöyry's engineering expertise and knowledge of the local conditions.

Both the Canadian and Finnish pulp and paper industries have proven to be remarkably resilient and adaptable – and continue to learn from one another. A modern pulp mill is a biorefinery with a variety of side-stream products. Jaakko's pioneering spirit lives on across the industry which remains key to both Canada and Finland. And looking to the future, new ground-breaking products and services are derived from forest biomass, opening a new era of opportunities.

Henrik Ehrnrooth, Chairman of the Board, Pöyry PLC.

Pöyry delivering consulting, engineering, and project management globally

- Founded in 1958
- 150 offices globally
- 6 000 experts, 200 in the United States and Canada
- 10,000 projects yearly
- trusted by 25% of global Fortune 500 companies



Pöyry Office in early 1960s. Photo: Pöyry.

Early Canadian Presence in Finnish Lapland: The Kolosjoki Mine

Compiled by **Seppo Vihersaari**

Contributions by Riitta Muhojoki, FEM Project Manager, Regional Council of Lapland

The Petsamo area in Lapland was officially merged into Finland in the 1920 Peace Treaty of Tartu signed with the newly formed Soviet Union. Finland, or rather the Finns living in Northern Finland had documented historical access rights to the Barents Sea already between 1751 and 1826. In 1864 Tsar Alexander II of Russia confirmed this right and unofficially decreed this area to Finland, which served as the basis of Petsamo's annexation to Finland in 1920.

An early study on utilizing the natural resources of the area concluded that forestry and fishing operations would be costly and risky. Attracting enough employees into the area from elsewhere in Finland would have been a challenge as well. The proposal to build a railway connecting Petsamo with Rovaniemi was abandoned. Mineral sources, however, seemed promising, but there was no reliable survey data of the area in 1920.

The Finnish government sent a geological expedition party to Petsamo in 1921 and discovered a nickel-copper ore body some 40 km from the coast. The Kolosjoki body was deemed rich enough to warrant mining, estimated to have some two million tons of ore with 1.3% nickel (later established at 3.9%) and 1.6% copper content.

The discovery was first offered to the Finnish mine operator Outokumpu Oy, but they were already investing into their own copper production and did not have the resources to start another project.

In the early 1930s many international mining companies became interested in the discovery, including Krupp, IG Farbenindustrie A.G. (IGF) from Germany, and the International Nickel Company of Canada (Inco), which controlled 90% of global nickel markets and owned most of the known nickel mines.

An agreement was signed between the Finnish Government and Inco on June 22, 1934 for the concession of Kolosjoki mine. The actual signatories to the contract were the Finnish Government and Inco's London-based subsidiary Mond Nickel Company, which received a 50-year mining permit to the Kolosjoki ore body. As Finnish law required a Finnish company to operate the mine, Mond established a Finnish subsidiary – Petsamon Nikkeli Oy (PNO) – for this purpose.

Infrastructure development for the mine started in 1937 under Canadian management and plans. Excavation work began in three shifts, and



Kolosjoki nickel and copper mine area and buildings, Petsamo. Smelter with 165-metre smokestack (highest in Europe at the time). Photo: Kalervo Rankama, 1942. Source: Open licence of the Geological Survey of Finland. Old photos #5810.

the smelter's chimney, built by American masons and standing at 163 metres, was the tallest in Europe at the time.

Initially, the ore was supposed to be shipped to the U.S. for smelting, but when they discovered that the ore was suitable for electric furnace smelting and there was readily available hydro-power nearby, INCO decided to build a smelter in Petsamo. The Jäniskoski hydropower plant construction was started in 1938, some 80 km northwest of the mine site.

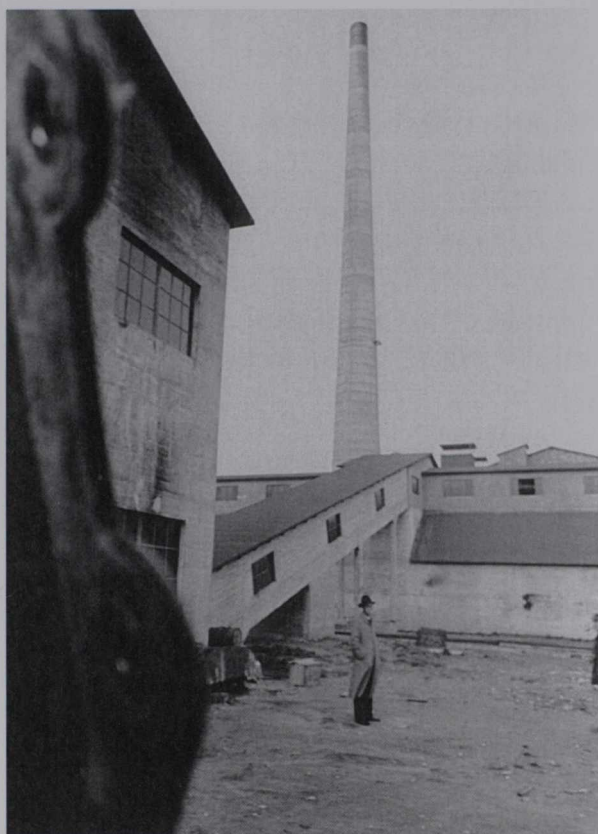
Between 1938 and 1940, a whole mining community was built in Kolosjoki. It had a modern town plan, including roads, a market, a cinema, tennis courts, work shops, offices, functionalist apartment blocks with central heating, etc. The area took on an urban look.

By 1937, Kolosjoki nickel and the Petsamo area had caught the attention of the German government. A German fishing company offered to purchase the fish meal factory in the nearby port of Liinahamar. This was interpreted as an extension of German military policy by the Finns and the British. Further, in 1938, a representative from OKW, the German Defence Staff Economic Division, visited Finland to review defence materiel procurement possibilities.

When Germany attacked Poland on September 1, 1939, the United Kingdom declared war on Germany, and the supply of Canadian nickel to Germany ceased immediately. At once, this escalated Germany's interest in all nickel sources within Europe.

As the Second World War broke out, Finland desperately needed to purchase arms at post haste. Already in September 1939, during arms sales negotiations in Berlin, Germany proposed that the Finns take over the Kolosjoki nickel mine and give it to the Germans. Alternatively, the Finns could operate the mine and sell the nickel to Germany, which only had 5% of the required production in Germany itself.

By the time the Soviet Union launched its attack on Finland on November 30, 1939, the tunnel to the ore body was ready, and the smelter and Jäniskoski hydropower plant were almost complete. The Soviet army invaded Northern Petsamo and began moving south. Due to mea-



Kolosjoki nickel and copper mine buildings, Petsamo. Smelter with 165-metre smokestack (highest in Europe at the time). Photo: Kalervo Rankama, 1942. Source: Open licence of the Geological Survey of Finland. Old photos #5813.

gre defence forces, the Kolosjoki mine site was lost to the Soviet advance without a fight already on December 15, 1939. The mine site and all the equipment were left intact, but all other infrastructure was destroyed by the retreating Finns. Jäniskoski hydropower plant was also left intact, but all removable equipment was shipped south.

After the Winter War, the nickel mine became of great interest both to Britain and Germany. The British demanded the upholding of legal rights of Mond, the owner of the concession, but were acutely aware of the need not to upset the Soviets. Germany in turn considered the Kolosjoki mine a strategic asset and the Petsamo area a necessary bridgehead toward Murmansk. Oddly enough, the Soviets displayed no interest toward the nickel mine or the Petsamo area at this time.

The mine site, despite the Winter War and brief Soviet occupation, seemed fully intact. Mond Nickel Company could not, however, consider further activities in Petsamo due to the occupation of Norway by German forces. By the end of 1939, Mond had invested US\$7 million into the

project and needed a further US\$3.5 million for completion. With little alternative, Mond agreed to let the Finns complete the construction of the mine while the British Government threatened to embargo Liinahamar port should the Germans be allowed into the area. The Finnish Government accelerated the completion of the mine by throwing all necessary resources into it. Meanwhile, the Brits lobbied the Swedish ASEA company to delay deliveries of ordered machinery to the mine site.

The situation changed abruptly in July 1940 with the signing of a contract between Finland and German IGF. Negotiations for ore delivery had been carried out since the spring of 1940, with 60% of production intended for shipment to Germany. By now, the Germans estimated the mine to be able to supply all of Germany's nickel requirements for the next 20 years.

The Soviets were now awakened and demanded that the Kolosjoki mining operations be subjugated to them. To emphasise their point, the Soviets marched their troops to the border and

fortified nearby Kalastajasaarento. Likewise, the British began to enforce an embargo around the port of Liinahamar, as a protest to the negotiations with IGF. Finland was politically in a tight spot. Finnish government representatives visited Moscow on seven different occasions to negotiate with the Soviets, without resolving the issue. The Soviets also held talks with the Germans, to no avail.

In autumn 1940, construction works accelerated under German management. The workforce was very diverse, including German forced labour, Soviet prisoners-of-war, German (criminal) prisoners, as well as Finnish, Estonian, Swedish, Dutch, Yugoslavian, and Danish labourers.

By the summer of 1943, the mine was in full production. Between December 1940 and September 1944, the Kolosjoki mine produced 462,000 tonnes of ore and 16,250 tonnes of pure nickel. A small portion of the produced nickel remained in Finland, some was sold to Sweden, but 80%, or 12,900 tonnes of pure nickel, went to Germany.

In 1941, the nickel from Petsamo was insignificant to German needs, but by 1943, when production was at full capacity, 73% of Germany's Nickel requirements came from Petsamo. By 1944 German dependence on Petsamo Nickel was 87%. Petsamo fulfilled about a quarter of Germany's wartime needs for nickel.

Before the beginning of the Soviet-Finnish Continuation War on June 25, 1941, Hitler ordered the German Mountain Army, stationed in Norway, to prepare for operation Renntier. Its objective was to secure Nickel production for Germany under all conditions and to occupy the Kolosjoki mine site. This was done on June 22, 1941 as part of operation Barbarossa.

Petsamo's nickel production became an obsession for the Germans. On Hitler's personal orders, massively disproportionate defence



Map of Petsamo. Source: Wikipedia Commons.



*Kolosjoki nickel and copper mine. Workers on scaffolding. Photo: Kalervo Rankama, 1939.
Source: Open licence of the Geological Survey of Finland.*

preparations were constructed against potential Allied aerial attacks. Europe's strongest anti-aircraft defence system seen in the whole of WWII was constructed to defend the mine and the power plant. Not even the German mainland strategic industrial sites had anything equivalent. Neither the hydropower plant nor the Kolosjoki mine site were ever bombed during the war.

After a summer of heavy fighting, hostilities between Finland and the Soviet Union ceased between September 4 and 5, 1944. As a precursor to the armistice, Finland had agreed to cut off relations with Germany already on September 2.

On September 4, 1944, Finland officially broke off relations with Germany. On that very same day, Hitler announced that Petsamo shall remain in German hands and nickel production will continue. Fearing for the safety of Finnish labour in Kolosjoki and citizens in Lapland generally, evacuation procedures started immediately. PNO's CEO Count Wrede travelled to Kolosjoki, where non-working women, children, elders and the sick, with their hand luggage, were evacuated on the morning of September 4. With the help of the German Wehrmacht, the rest of the Finnish evacuees were evacuated down South. Ironically, the Wehrmacht also drove the newly formed and armed Finnish army battalion, made up of Kolosjoki male labourers, down to Rovaniemi as late as September 13. The Germans seemed to

be completely unaware of the military and political situation unfolding at that time. The very last Finns to leave Kolosjoki were a small group of Finnish officials and Lottas (a Finnish voluntary auxiliary paramilitary organization for women), who departed on September 15.

The orderly evacuation of Lapland stopped on September 23. The atmosphere between Germans and Finns cooled as September drew to a close and all co-operations soon

stopped. The Germans began the unparalleled systematic destruction of Lapland as they retreated to Norway.

Finland had made an armistice with the Soviet Union and was obliged to remove all Germans out of Finnish Lapland. By this time, the defence of Petsamo had become difficult for the Germans. In addition, Albert Speer had concluded that chromate was the strategic metal for Germany, not nickel, which Germany had already stored in great quantities. By October 4, Hitler had decided to abandon Kolosjoki, and the defence of Petsamo lost its importance.

The Kolosjoki mine and Jäniskoski hydropower plant were destroyed on October 17, 1944, but the fate of Petsamo was already sealed in December 1943 when the Allied leaders met in Tehran. As early as December 1941, Stalin had insisted that the postwar Soviet-Finland border follow the June 22, 1941 armistice border with the additional annexation of Petsamo to the Soviet Union. Stalin reiterated his demand in Tehran, where U.S. President Roosevelt thought it fully justified, although British Foreign Secretary Eden had strongly noted British interests in Petsamo.

Hence, the Moscow Armistice of 1944 demanded that Finland cede the Petsamo area to the Soviet Union. This was further enforced in the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty. The Soviet Union realised the huge potential of the nickel deposits,

rebuilt the mine, and continued to extract minerals from the site. The Soviets also demanded the right to "rent" and control the Jäniskoski hydropower plant, which they later "purchased" as a part of war reparations. Ironically, the construction of the new hydropower plant was ordered from the Finns in May 1947.

In September 1944 Norman Robertson in Canadian Foreign Affairs phoned up Inco's Executive Secretary Henri S. Wingate and requested a value estimate for their Petsamo operation within two hours. The ongoing Québec conference was addressing the issue and presumed Soviet takeover of the area. Wingate could not get hold of CEO Robert Stanley, and given the little information he had on the operation gave an estimate of US\$50 million.

Stanley and Robertson later met in Ottawa, where Inco said they would prefer to continue to develop the mine, even if the territory was being taken over by the Soviet Union. If this was not possible, Inco could give up the mine concession for US\$35 million.

In the ensuing Canada-Soviet negotiations, the Soviets ridiculed the idea of Inco carrying on their operations in Petsamo and offered US\$20 million for the concession. Robertson advised Inco to accept this deal – which they did – as Canada was in no position to put pressure on the Soviets for a better deal.

In extended negotiations, the Soviets proposed that the sum be paid off through Finnish war reparations, but Canada refused as it was the Soviets that would benefit from the concession rights. Besides, the Canadians doubted whether Finland could actually pay the amount in question. It was agreed that the sum be paid in US dollars over a six-year period.

In the early 1950s, the Soviets announced unilaterally that they would no longer pay what was owed in dollars, but in pound sterling. This was not acceptable to the Bank of England. By 1951, Inco was missing US\$3 million. As a result of negotiations, the Bank of England accepted the Soviet payment in pound sterling, provided that Inco invest the equivalent amount into their British operations. The final payment of the US\$20 million was made in 1953.

Inco also received the balance left in PNO, which was 300 million Finnish Marks. This almost amounted to the US\$7 million Mond had invested into the mine in the first place. The last PNO payment was made in 1956. Thus Inco came out of this venture with a comfortable profit, but lost out on a significant nickel development site which would have compounded Inco's wealth manifold if Petsamo had remained in Finnish hands.

Today, the town of Kolosjoki is called Nickel and is linked to the nearby Norilsk Nickel plant, where many of its citizens are employed. The Soviet-built plant causes grave environmental and health concerns for the population. The nickel smelter has been an eyesore in Norway-Russia relations for decades due to its extremely high pollution levels. The deposits of sulphur dioxide usually settle to the south of the town, where the countryside is a brown moonscape of bald hills, barren of all life for several square kilometres. In the summer, the toxic fumes are occasionally blown northwards, toward the town of Nickel, making breathing difficult and even burning holes in umbrellas. What could have been a great and sustainable business success became a sombre case of putrid corporate citizenship.

Seppo Viheraari works for the Canadian Trade Commissioner Service in Finland.

Agnico Eagle Finland: Building More Than a Mine

Dale Coffin

Agnico Eagle Finland Oy is a subsidiary of Canadian gold-mining company Agnico Eagle Mines Limited. It owns the Kittilä mine and engages actively in mineral exploration in Finland and other Nordic countries.

The Kittilä mine is the largest primary gold producer in Europe. It is located in the Lapland region of northern Finland, approximately 900 kilometres north of Helsinki and 150 kilometres north of the Arctic Circle.

Agnico Eagle Mines has been in the precious metals business for 60 years. It began in 1957 as a silver company in Cobalt, Ontario and is now one of the largest gold-producing companies in the world. It operates eight mines located in Canada, Finland, and Mexico, with exploration and development activities in each of these regions, as well as in the United States and Sweden.

The Geological Survey of Finland first discovered gold mineralization in the Kittilä area in 1986. Initially, the development of the deposit was thought to be impossible because of the nature of the gold in the ore deposit. The Suurikuusikko deposit is a "refractory" gold deposit: the gold occurs as very small grains trapped within the sulfide minerals and the gold is thus hard to separate and recover from the ore.

In April 1998, the State sold the property through an auction process to Swedish exploration company Riddarhyttan Resources. Agnico Eagle Mines acquired Riddarhyttan in 2005 as it was seeking new gold projects in mining-friendly jurisdictions outside of Canada, preferably exploration projects with the potential to grow and where Agnico Eagle could use the mining skills it had perfected at its LaRonde mine in Canada. The Kittilä mine became Agnico Eagle's first mining venture outside Canada.

The Kittilä mine poured its first gold on January 14, 2009 and achieved commercial production four months later. In February 2016, it produced its one millionth ounce of gold. Today, the mine is producing more than 5 000 tonnes per day and is expected to produce about 200,000 ounces of gold a year.

Operations at the Kittilä mine began with open-pit mining in 2008 from two open-pits and operated until 2012. Today, mining operations are conducted solely from underground with a network of ramps and tunnels that extend more than 60 km.

Agnico Eagle Finland has discovered significant new gold reserves and resources at Kittilä since it first invested in the project in 2004. Today, Kittilä is one of the largest known gold deposits in Europe, with reserves containing almost 4.8 million ounces of gold and a mine life estimated through to 2035.

The Kittilä property covers 252 square kilometres, stretching 25 kilometres along the Suurikuusikko Trend, a major gold-bearing zone. The mine area includes a group of six gold deposits along a 4.5-kilometre segment of the Trend.

The largest of the deposits are the Suuri, Roura, and Rimpi zones that contain most of the current reserves and resources. The other deposits are the Etelä and Ketola zones. Around 15 kilometres north of the mine is the Kuotko deposit, which is being studied through exploration and metallurgical testing as a potential satellite open-pit mine to the Kittilä operations.

In 2015, a new mineralization zone called the Sisar Zone was discovered 100 to 200 metres east of the main Kittilä ore zone through exploration drilling from the underground ramp. The Sisar Zone lies at a depth of about 800 to 1 800 metres below surface.



Kittilä mine, Finland. Photo: Agnico Eagle.

Agnico Eagle Finland's focus on sustainability is embedded in their day-to-day business. Their approach is supported by Agnico Eagle Mines' Sustainable Development Policy and Responsible Mining Management System, along with the integration of sustainability-focused standards and codes of practice.

Over its 60-year history, Agnico Eagle Mines has built a strong culture of responsible behaviour, achieving high standards of sustainability performance with a long-term goal of being a responsible miner.

To help achieve these high standards of performance, Agnico Eagle has adopted the Mining Association of Canada's Towards Sustainable Mining (TSM) initiative at all of its operating mines. TSM helps the mining industry sustain its position as a leading economic contributor, while protecting the environment, and helps the industry maintain its social licence to operate by providing a framework for companies to become proactive and socially responsible operators.

In recognition of their efforts to achieve a higher standard of performance, the Kittilä mine was recognized by the Mining Association of Canada for their outstanding performance in the

TSM initiative and for raising the bar in environmental and social performance.

Agnico Eagle Finland also helped to facilitate the adoption of the TSM initiative by FinnMin, the Finnish Mining Association. This was the first time that TSM was adopted by a mining association outside of Canada.

At the core of Agnico Eagle's sustainable development program is a commitment to create value for its shareholders while operating in a safe, socially and environmentally responsible manner, and contributing positively to the prosperity of its employees, their families, and the communities in which Agnico Eagle operates.

The Kittilä mine is located in a developed region of northern Finland, close to a popular ski resort. The Company benefits from local infrastructure, including an international airport. Agnico Eagle Finland values its relationship with the nearby communities of Kittilä and Levi, and aims to create benefits and opportunities that contribute to the region's economic, social, and environmental sustainability.

The Kittilä mine contributes to the social and economic development in northern Finland in many ways. It is one of the largest employers in Lapland, employing more than 800 permanent



Environmental testing, Kittilä mine. Photo: Agnico Eagle.

employees and subcontracted employees. Over 50% of the employees of the mine live in Kittilä with their families, with more than 90% of the personnel hailing from Lapland.

In accordance with Agnico Eagle's Sustainable Development Policy, the Kittilä mine strives to purchase all the services and products it needs as near as possible to the mine site location. On average, the Kittilä mine purchases about 27% of all materials and supplies locally for a value of about Euro 47.7 million annually. The goal is to foster the development of the community and boost local businesses.

Thanks to the Kittilä mining operations, the local economic structure has diversified. The

mining investments have had a positive effect and have attracted more people to fill new jobs in other sectors such as hospitality and hotel services and health care.

Agnico Eagle Finland believes the biggest contribution it can make to the well-being of the communities is through the creation of long-term employment opportunities and the provision of economic development opportunities.

The success of the past has set the stage for Agnico Eagle Finland's next phase of growth which will create new opportunities for its employees and allow the Company to continue creating value for the communities where it operates.

Dale Coffin is Corporate Director, Communications & Public Affairs, at Agnico Eagle Mines Ltd.



AGNICO EAGLE

Sharing a Vision for Sustainability in Mining

Pierre Gratton

The mining industries in Canada and Finland have a lot in common. Both countries depend on mining to help drive their economies, share similar geographies and enjoy abundant mineral resources, but it is their commitment to sustainability that is becoming their most striking commonality.

The year 2015 was a proud moment for Canada's mining industry, and particularly significant for the Mining Association of Canada (MAC). It was a year that saw FinnMin, the Finnish Mining Association, adopt MAC's sustainability program Towards Sustainable Mining (TSM). With its adoption, FinnMin became the first mining association outside of Canada to take on TSM.

MAC launched TSM in 2004, but its development had started nearly a decade before. The idea was born out of growing recognition that sustainability in mining is integral to maintaining the industry's social

licence to operate. More than a decade later, TSM has proven to be an effective set of tools that drive mining operations' performance in protecting the environment and engaging with their communities of interest.

Today, there are a multitude of corporate social responsibility (CSR) standards, but TSM stands out for a few reasons. First, implementation is mandatory. Membership requires participation in the program. Second, it's transparent. Mining facilities must publicly report their performance against environmental and social indicators. Annual assessments are conducted at the facility level and are externally verified every three years. As a result, communities have a meaningful view

of how a nearby mine is faring in areas that are important to them, be it tailings management, community outreach, biodiversity conservation, crisis management, safety, or energy use. Finally, the involvement of an external, multi-stakeholder Community of Interest Advisory Panel ensures that TSM continues to evolve to meet society's expectations of the industry, and provides an additional challenge function. These strengths and attributes are what ultimately attracted Finland to TSM when it was searching for sustainability solutions.

The path leading to Finland's adoption of TSM involved an unprecedented level of engagement between Canada and Finland's national mining associations. Also, FinnMin's eventual adoption of TSM in 2015 would not have been possible without the involvement of many players. It was Agnico Eagle Mines Limited and First Quantum Minerals Ltd. that initially identified TSM as a possible contender based on their positive experiences with the program at their Canadian and Finnish operations. Sitra, the Finnish Innovation Fund, contributed considerable support throughout the process, starting with involvement with the Canada-Finland Green Mining Seminar in 2012, where TSM was a major focus of discussion. The Government of Canada also played a key role by providing resources and support to help move this collaboration forward.

The next few years were spent deepening the dialogue to work out just how TSM could be brought to Finland. This collaboration made it clear that TSM was fully exportable with some

Today, there are a multitude of corporate social responsibility standards, but sustainability program Towards Sustainable Mining (TSM) stands out for a few reasons.

minor adjustments to take into account domestic circumstances and priorities, which Finland has

This Canada–Finland partnership on sustainability is an example of what can be achieved by putting competition aside to advance a mutual goal.

made. In fact, FinnMin has already developed new performance indicators to address water and closure issues, expanding TSM's breadth in response

to local stakeholder and community concerns. MAC will now be able to look to FinnMin's leadership to help move TSM forward in Canada.

This Canada–Finland partnership on sustainability is an example of what can be achieved by putting competition aside to advance a mutual goal. It has also sparked both of our countries' interest to continue working together to convince mining industries in other countries to follow our lead. Together, Canada and Finland can work to raise the global public's confidence in mining and pave a way for a successful, sustainable future.

Pierre Gratton is President and CEO of The Mining Association of Canada.



The Mining Association of Canada | L'association minière du Canada

Winpak neljä vuosikymmentä Kanadassa

Juha Hellgrén

Suomalaisen perheyhtiö Wihurin pakkausteollisuuteen kuuluva Winpak on toiminut Kanadassa jo 40 vuotta. Winpakilla on Pohjois-Amerikassa kymmenen tehdasta, ja yhtiö noteerataan Toronton pörssissä. Yhtiö on kasvanut pakkausalan merkittäväksi toimijaksi Pohjois-Amerikassa.

Wihurin pakkausteollisuuden juuret ulottuvat vuoteen 1966, jolloin Wihuri osti pienen pakkausalan yrityksen. Yritys muutti pian Nastolaan ja kasvatti osaamistaan Wipak-nimellä. Vuosikymmenten aikana Euroopassa ja Aasiassa toimiva Wipak ja sen sisaryhtiöksi Kanadaan rakennettu Winpak ovat kasvaneet maailmanlaajuisiksi toimijoiksi, joiden liikevaihto on yli miljardi euroa.

Wihurin pakkausteollisuuden laajentuminen juuri Kanadaan oli sattumien summa. Wipak oli toiminut Nastolassa jo vuosikymmenen ja hankkinut vahvan kokemuksen muovikalvoista, kun laajentumismahdollisuuksia haluttiin lähteä kartoittamaan ulkomailta, lähempää potentiaalisia uusia markkinoita. Suomalaisyrietykset eivät vielä 70-luvulla kovin helposti lähteneet perustamaan tehtaita ulkomaille, mutta Wihurilla oli ulko-

maankaupasta pitkät perinteet. Yrityksen perustajista Hjalmar Aarnio oli tukkukauppaa perustaessaan tehnyt pitkiä matkoja itään jo vuosisadan alussa, ja merenkulkuneuvos Antti Wihurin perustama varustamotoiminta oli aikanaan maailmanlaajuisista.

Wihurin ja Wipakin askel perustaa tehdas Kanadan Winnipegiin oli rohkea, mutta taustalla oli vankka osaaminen pakkausteollisuudesta. Wipak oli myös saanut kokemusta Pohjois-Amerikan markkinoista, sillä ensimmäiset vakuumpussit oli toimitettu Kanadaan jo muutama vuosi aiemmin. Tavoitteena oli päästä toimittamaan vakuumpakkausiin tarvittavaa kalvoa etenkin alueen juustojen ja lihateollisuudelle. Ensimmäisen tehtaan sijaintipaikaksi valikoitui Winnipeg, sillä se sijaitti lähellä merkittävää lihakarja-aluetta.

Wipakin tuotanto on vuosikymmenten aikana laajentunut Winnipegistä Quebecin ja Toronton tehtaille, sekä Yhdysvaltoihin ja Meksikoon. Samalla se on kasvanut merkittäväksi pakkausalan toimijaksi, etenkin monikerroskalvojen, kutistepakkausten, rasioiden sekä alumiinipohjaisten



First vacuum products to Canada in 1972.



Winpak brochure from 1995.

kansien kehittäjäksi ja tuottajaksi Pohjois-Amerikassa. Winpak valmistaa ja myy korkealuokkaisia pakkausmateriaaleja helposti pilaantuvien elintarvikkeiden ja virvokkeiden pakkaamiseen sekä terveydenhuollon tarpeisiin. Yhtiön osake-enemmistö on edelleen suomalaisomistuksessa.

Winpak on onnistunut esimerkki suomalaisten ja kanadalaisten yhteistyön ja kulttuurien yhdistämisen tuloksista. Suomalaisten ja kanadalaisien yhteistyö toimii hyvin, asiat voidaan sanoa ja sanotaan suoraan. Huumori on paljolti samanlaista ja moni asia yhdistää: kylmät talvet, pitkät etäisyydet, järvien suuri määrä ja tietysti jääkiekko.

Etenkin Winnipegissä on helppo olla suomalainen. Johtamiskulttuuri toimii myös samojen arvojen pohjalta.

Jo Winpakin alkuvuosista lähtien tavoitteena on ollut saada synergiaa mm. teknologisesta kehitystyöstä. Tehtaan kaksi ensimmäistä tasokalvokonetta rakennettiin Wipakin Nastolan tehtaalla, jossa oli tuolloin alan parhaat osaajat. Wipakin suomalaiset pakkausalan pioneerit olivat merkittävässä roolissa myös Winnipegissä tehtaan perustamisessa ja kanadalaisen henkilöstön kouluttamisessa. Myöhemminkin osaamista ja kokemuksia on jaettu yli Atlantin.

Juha Hellgrén on Winpak-ryhmän hallituksen varapuheenjohtaja ja Wihuri International Oy:n toimitusjohtaja.

Winpak Ltd.

- 1975 Winpak Ltd., Kanada
- 1988 Winpak Films Inc., USA
- 1993 Winpak Portion Packaging Inc., USA & Kanada
- 1996 Winpak Lane Inc., USA
- 1997 Winpak Heat Seal Packaging Inc., Kanada
- 1999 American Biaxis Ltd., Kanada
- 2002 Winpak Heat Seal Packaging Inc. (Webkote), USA
- 2012 Winpak Portion Packaging Inc., uusi tuotantolaitos, Illinois, USA
- 2012 Winpak Heat Seal, uusi tuotantolaitos, Querétaro, Mexico



Celebrating Winpak's 40th Anniversary.

Successful Finnish-Canadian Entrepreneurs

Veli Niinimaa

The Finnish-Canadian community has produced not only notable sportspeople and prominent labour activists. There is also a long list of successful business leaders. Some of their achievements, past and present, are highlighted below.

Marja Hillis is CEO of Molok North America and the co-owner of Molok Ltd., a builder of containers offering a more hygienic, efficient, and sustainable means of collecting waste, recyclables, and even organics. After 30 years Molok has expanded to over 40 countries around the world as a trailblazer for a new way of thinking about managing waste. Molok is listed among the 500 Canada's Fastest Growing Companies, while Marja Hillis is among the Canada's Top 100 Female Entrepreneurs.

Risto Laamanen (1948–2009) was one of Greater Sudbury's most successful entrepreneurs and community leaders. He is best known for the Wallbridge Mining Company Ltd. and Laamanen Construction. A graduate of Cambrian College's civil engineering technology program in Sudbury, he was among the college's most influential supporters. Laamanen was a member of the Cambrian College Board of Governors and the founding chairperson of the Cambrian Foundation Board of Directors. He received the 2007 Chair's Award from the Greater Sudbury Chamber of Commerce, and was also nominated for the Premier's Award for his social and economic contributions.

Antero (Andy) Laitila immigrated to Canada in 1974, first to Sudbury and then to Peterborough, Ontario. There he set up Laicor Fixtures Inc. in 1999 to design and manufacture metal checkout

counters for customers in the supermarket and retail industries. Laitila started as the sole employee, but as orders grew, his staff increased to over 30 employees. Sales focused initially in the Toronto region, and grew to cover North America with occasional sales to Latin America and the Caribbean. Laitila's success is partially due to the use of reliable FinnPower equipment built in Kauhava.

Elizabeth Lapointe, née Leskinen, founded Service Instukem Ltée in Montréal with her husband Bob in 1980 to serve the commercial cleaning needs in Québec and Ontario. Their clientele consists of major hospitals, hotel chains, restaurants, and other commercial cleaner users. The company, which also manufactures cleaning agents, has a staff of over 30 employees.

Peter Nygård is a fashion designer and businessman from Winnipeg. Nygård International is Canada's largest fashion house. Nygård was rated by *Canadian Business* as the 93rd richest Canadian in 2015 with a net worth of \$857 million. He now lives mostly in the Bahamas.

Arne Ernie Wicks (1896–1956) was seven years old when he immigrated to the United States with his mother. The next year the family moved to Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Wicks was involved in the lumber business since 1920, when he founded a company of his own. This eventually became the A.E. Wicks Ltd., which was very successful, employing up to 1,000 men in a busy season at three sawmills and in numerous logging camps. His company was the biggest employer in his hometown of Cochrane, Ontario. A.E. Wicks served as the Mayor of Cochrane in 1938–1940.

Dr. Veli Niinimaa is former Professor of Exercise Physiology; Executive Board Member of the International Biathlon Union; and current Chairman of the Canadian Region of the Finnish Expatriate Parliament.

Samples of Finnish investments in Canada and
Canadian investments in Finland

Uponor

NOKIA

Kemira

WIHURI

RAUTE

metso

Aker Arctic

NESTE



WÄRTSILÄ

CGI

CCM



AGNICO EAGLE

BOREALIS
Infrastructure

Mitel

BOMBARDIER
the evolution of mobility



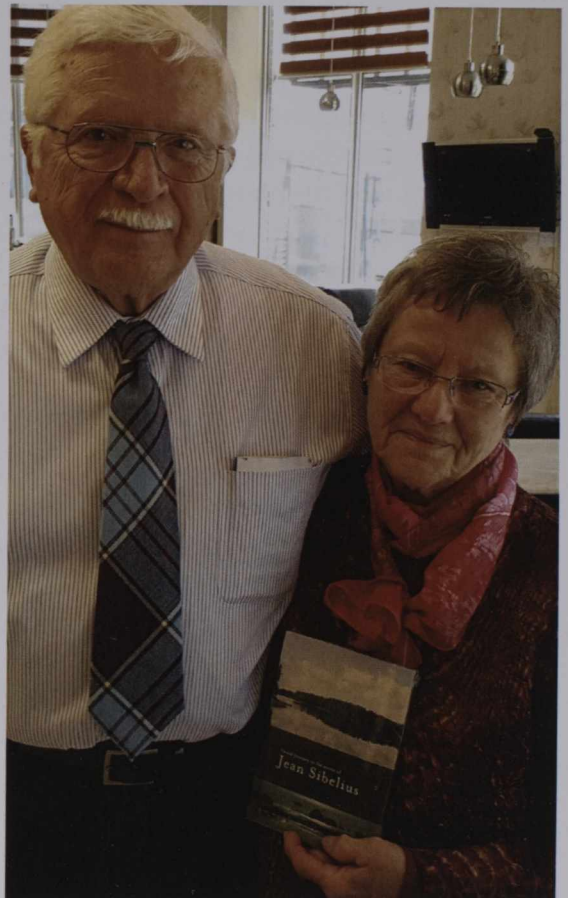
BRP FINLAND OY

OPENTEXT

The Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) is a priority for both the Canadian and Finnish governments. It is a progressive free trade agreement which covers virtually all sectors and aspects of Canada-EU trade in order to eliminate or reduce barriers.



Freight Train through western Canada. © Serjio74/Shutterstock.com



FAMILLE FAMILY

The saying goes, "Children are our future." The world has become a smaller place thanks to technological advances and the increasing ease of overseas travel. This has led to more love and relationships between Finns and Canadians, ushering in a new generation of little people who share a dual identity.

Comme le dit l'adage : « Les enfants sont notre avenir. » Le monde s'est rétréci grâce aux progrès technologiques et à la facilité croissante de voyager à l'étranger. Cela a conduit à plus d'amour et de relations entre les Finlandais et les Canadiens, et à l'émergence d'une nouvelle génération de petits partageant une double identité.

Lucas Rannikko

Interview and transcription by **Kirsten Campbell**

What is your name?

Lucas.

And how old are you?

Four.

Do you have a favourite place to visit in Finland?

I have one place that I like.

Do you have a birthday message to Finland for its big birthday next year?

Ya.

Do you want to say happy birthday to Finland?

Ya.

Where do you think Santa Claus is from, what country, do you think he's from Finland or Canada?

I think he is from Finland.

Why do you like Canada, do you know a lot about Canada?

Ya.

What do you like about Canada?

It is bigger than Suomi.

Have you ever visited Canada before?

Ya.

Did you like it there?

Ya.



Lucas Rannikko and Aleksi Rannikko. Victoria Day gathering of the Finnish-Canadian Society. Seurasaari Park, Helsinki. May 2016. Photo: Paul Vendrasco.

Olivia Pekkarinen

Interview and transcription by **Kirsten Campbell**

What is your name and how old are you?

I'm Olivia and I'm 9 years old.

Where are you from?

I was born in Finland.

Why do you like Finland?

Well because, I live here, and it is fun to be here.

Have you ever visited Canada before?

Ya, because my grandmother and my grandfather live there.

And did you like Canada when you visited it?

Ya.

What are three things that remind you of Finland?

There's lots of amusement parks, and there's lots of places to visit, and it is fun to be here.

Next year Finland and Canada both have big birthdays. Do you have birthday message you want to say to them?

Happy Birthday to both and it's fun that you can be in both countries.

Do you have a favourite place to visit in Finland?

I have a favourite amusement park, it's in Kouvola, Tykkimäki.

Do you do any activities, such as playing any sports?

I play ringette and hockey and handball, and at school I play floorball.

Who do you think is going to win the World Championships hockey game, Canada or Finland?

I don't know, I can't watch!

Where does Santa Claus come from, Finland or Canada?

I would say he is from Korvatunturi.



Olivia Pekkarinen, Victoria Day gathering of the Finnish-Canadian Society, Seurasaari Park, Helsinki. May 2016. Photo: Paul Vendrasco.

Miko Crouse

Name: Miko Crouse

Age: 11

Halifax, Nova Scotia

1. Why do you like Finland?

Siellä on paljon erilaista samassa paikassa, esim. Linnanmäki ja akvaario. Tykkään käydä puistoissa ja kivoissa kaupoissa ja toreilla.

2. Why do you like Canada?

Paljon kavereita ja tilaa leikkiä.

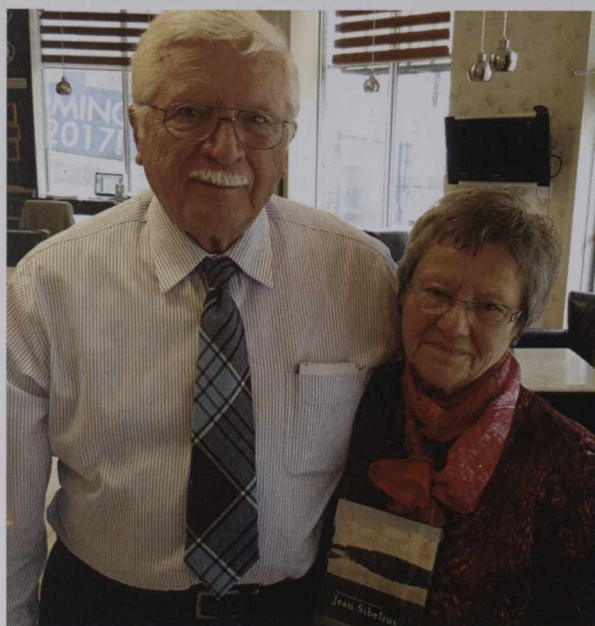
3. What's the most important thing about Canada and Finland?

Canada – Kaverit.

Finland – Perhe, eli mummi ja ukki ja serkut ja eno.

4. What 3 things remind you of Finland?

- a. Jouluretki Korkeasaaren eläintarhaan katsomaan lumileopardia.
- b. Mökkikeikat kesäisin.



Bob and Inge Ruohoniemi, grandparents of Miko and Luka. Gathering of Finlandia Club of Nova Scotia. April 2016.

5. What 3 things remind you of Canada?

- a. Muutto takaisin Ranskasta Kanadaan.
- b. Veneretket perheen kanssa Nova Scotian South Shoresissa.

6. What birthday message (for 2017) would you like to say to Canada?

Tykkään olla kanadalainen.

7. What birthday message (for 2017) would you like to say to Finland?

Olen ylpeä olla suomalainen.

8. In Finland, do you have a favourite place to visit, food to eat, TV show, athlete, sport, book?

- a. Visit – Korkeasaari.
- b. Food – Mustamakkara ja karjalalanpiirakka.
- c. TV –
- d. Athlete –
- e. Sport – Leikkipuistoissa kiipeily ja uinti.
- f. Book – Mummilta lahjaksi saatu ”Mauri ja vähä-älypuhelin”.

9. Where does Santa Claus come from?

Suomesta Korvatunturilta.

10. How do you think Canada and Finland will change in the future?

Canada and Finland: Turvallinen paikka lapsille, esim. kadun ylityksille.

11. Any comments?

On kiva olla mukana tässä projektissa!

Luka Crouse

Name: Luka Crouse

Age: 8

Halifax, Nova Scotia

1. Why do you like Finland?

Minun mummi ja ukki asuvat siellä.

2. Why do you like Canada?

Paljon ihmisiä puhuvat englantia ja minä puhun englantia paremmin kuin suomea.

3. What's the most important thing about Canada and Finland?

Canada –

Finland – Karjalanpiirakka ja lempijuusto Oltermanni.

4. What 3 things remind you of Finland?

a. Eurot.

b. Linnanmäki.

c. Koulu alkaa kun olet seitsemän.

5. What 3 things remind you of Canada?

a. Dollarit.

b. Maple syrup.

c. Me sanomme "soccer", ei football.

6. What birthday message (for 2017) would you like to say to Canada?

Mä aion ehkä tehdä party kaverin kanssa.

7. What birthday message (for 2017) would you like to say to Finland?

Toivon, että aikoo olla parempi maa.

8. In Finland, do you have a favourite place to visit, food to eat, TV show, athlete, sport, book?

a. Visit – Mummila Espoossa, kaverien mökit, Linnanmäki huvipuisto.

b. Food – Karjalanpiirakka, mustamakkara ja myöskin lettu.

c. TV – Pikku Kakkonen.

d. Athlete –

e. Sport –

f. Book – Tatu ja Patu-kirjat, Mauri Kunnas-kirjat, Muumit.

9. Where does Santa Claus come from?

Korvatunturilta.

10. How do you think Canada and Finland will change in the future?

Canada and Finland: Paljon akvaarioita kaikkialla. Ihmiset menevät tuubeilla.

Luka Crouse 2017 Commemorative Book

NAME Luka AGE 8 Halifax, NS

1. Why do you like Finland?
Minun mummi ja ukki asuvat siellä.

2. Why do you like Canada?
Paljon ihmisiä puhuvat englantia ja minä puhun englantia paremmin kuin suomea.

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...2



CULTURE AND DIVERSITY

CULTURE ET DIVERSITÉ

Early Finnish communities in Canada were alive with dance, drama, music, and sports clubs; networks of newspapers; as well as temperance societies, congregations, and co-operatives to meet the needs for community. As ties between the two countries flourished and grew, so did the economies and pockets of culture and regional identities. The articles in this section touch on some of the unique intricacies of culture, like a shared sense of humour, an appreciation for film and architecture, and the many Canadian musicians that have gained a strong Finnish following.

Les premières communautés finlandaises au Canada étaient pleines de vie : clubs de danse, de théâtre, de musique et de sport ; réseaux de journaux ; sociétés de tempérance, congrégations et coopératives ; tout cela répondait aux besoins de communauté. Et alors que les liens personnels entre les deux pays prospéraient et se développaient, il en était de même pour les économies, et aussi des poches de culture et d'identités régionales. Les articles de cette section abordent quelques subtilités culturelles uniques, comme un sens partagé de l'humour, l'appréciation du cinéma et de l'architecture et les nombreux musiciens canadiens ayant acquis une forte popularité auprès des Finlandais.

My 19 Years in Finland (And Counting)

Brett Young

Most Canadians – and foreigners, more generally – usually find themselves in Finland for one of two reasons: love or work. Of the two, the former may be more common for Canadians given the smaller size of the Finnish labour market and the difficulties of finding a job with a non-EU passport. Throw in the propensity of Finns to travel, the thousands of Finns with Canadian roots, and the scenario of the Finn finding someone in Toronto, Vancouver, or Sudbury, bringing them back home is both common and understandable.

Unfortunately, this makes it a little harder for me to tell my story. I grew up in Toronto with parents of Canadian and South African heritage, with no connection to Finland whatsoever. As a result, over the years I've been asked on more than one occasion what sparked my interest in Finland and how I ended up here.

The answer is a typical Canadian one: hockey. I grew up burdened like most Torontonians with a passion for the Maple Leafs, but luckily we fans could occasionally trade our blue and white jerseys for red and white ones when tournaments like the Canada Cup came around, giving us a rare taste of victory every four years. At these tournaments, the archenemy was clear – the Soviet Union – but I came to realize there was another team participating that played in a style quite similar to Canada: gritty, tough, and talented. These guys in blue and white, with a yellow lion on their jersey, never gave up. Never. On more than one occasion, they would hand Canada a loss.

Who the heck were they? Sure people knew about the Soviet Union and Sweden (there was a Swede on *The Muppets*, right?), but wasn't there a country sandwiched in between them? A strip of land on the map at the northeastern fringe of Western Europe? And what was up with their

names? Pekka Rautakallio? Reijo Ruotsalainen? Ilkka Sinisalo? Clusters of consonants that would make your head spin. They spoke a language that no one understood, and even when these guys spoke English, like Esa Tikkanen, you still couldn't figure them out.

I was hooked.

This was the pre-Internet days, so I couldn't Google to find out more. I gathered scraps of information where I could, sometimes helped by expat Finns who visited the dentist's office where my mom worked. I finished high school, settled on history in university, and it was then I got my chance to really find out more about this mysterious Finland.

Using Russian studies as a backdoor into Finnish history, I did my Master's thesis at the University of Toronto on the Soviet puppet government set up in Terijoki during the Winter War. It was at the University I got a chance to meet Börje Vähämäki, popping by his room on occasion to chat about Finnish history and borrow the odd book in English (usually written by Max Jakobson). I left the University of Toronto in 1994 with a Master's degree under my belt and a determination to make it to Finland, one way or the other.

The mid-1990s were a tough time to crack the Finnish nut. The collapse of the Soviet Union wiped out Finland's largest export market with shocking speed, and unemployment soared. I got close, though, spending time in St. Petersburg in 1996 and honing my Russian language skills as I waited for word on my applications to PhD programs, my goal being to focus on Finnish and Russian history. While in St. Petersburg, I started doing piecemeal work at the local English-language paper, *The St. Petersburg Press* (later *Times*), and was offered the chance to work there full time.

It was the summer of 1998 when I finally got my chance to get to Finland: a three-month contract with the Reuters News Agency in Helsinki, which focused much of its resources on covering the story of a Finnish company about to become the world leader in mobile phones. Three months turned into another three months, after which I got a permanent contract. I not only had my foot in the door, I was finally on the inside.

There were many things to keep me occupied. Finland was growing by leaps and bounds, with Nokia leading the way. The company had its hand in many parts of the Finnish economy then, not just all things electronics. Nokia wasn't just the flavour of the day, it also had a great backstory: from paper to rubber boots, cables to televisions, the company had done it all during its long history, finally focusing on mobile telephony with impeccable timing. From Barcelona to Beijing, people wanted to hear this story.

But Nokia was doing more than just selling phones and telecommunications gear; they were selling the Finland brand as well. It was often via Nokia that the world would get a window onto those "quirky Finns" who held wife-carrying contests in the summer, and not only made mobile phones, but held a competition to see who could throw them the farthest. Oh, and let's not forget "air guitar" contests, either. For a journalist trying to sell the Finland story, these were golden years, and the country punched well above its weight in making it online or into newsprint.

Years of writing about Nokia brought me into almost daily contact with people from the company, so the next step was in many ways logical: work for Nokia. The transition was not too difficult, really; in many ways I was still doing the same job – telling the story of Nokia and, more broadly, Finland – just from the other side of the interview table.

Brett Young is Head of External Communications at Nokia.

As I write this, I continue to work for Nokia, which is now 151 years young and has reinvented itself once again, this time purchasing Alcatel-Lucent to become a giant in the mobile and fixed networking business. It also has its toe in fast-growing markets like virtual reality and digital health.

Personally, I put the cart in front of the horse by first coming to Finland, then meeting the Finn of my life. I met my future wife in 1999, we got married in 2002, and now have two lovely daughters. I realized another dream by applying for citizenship and obtaining it in 2012. I can now wave two flags with pride, although dual citizenship does present its problems when the puck drops and the blue and white face the red and white. Luckily, two passports also means twice the chance to win.

Given my desire to get to Finland, and the roots I have now put down here, it's clear that there's no going back to Canada. The quality of life, including Finland's renowned schooling system, have made this decision easier, and thanks to technology staying in touch with family in Canada is immeasurably easier than when I left the country in the 1990s. The question is what will our kids decide: stay in Finland, or use their Canadian citizenship to explore the land of their father?

So, decades after I first asked the question who are these Finns with their long last names and difficult language, I think I have come to know the answer: they are a fiercely proud nation of 5.4 million people who often eschew chest-beating and self-promotion and simply get to work, whether it's cleaning up at the cottage after winter, picking berries in the summer, or, when on the ice, digging the puck out of the corner to set up a scoring chance. I'm proud to say that I am now one of them.

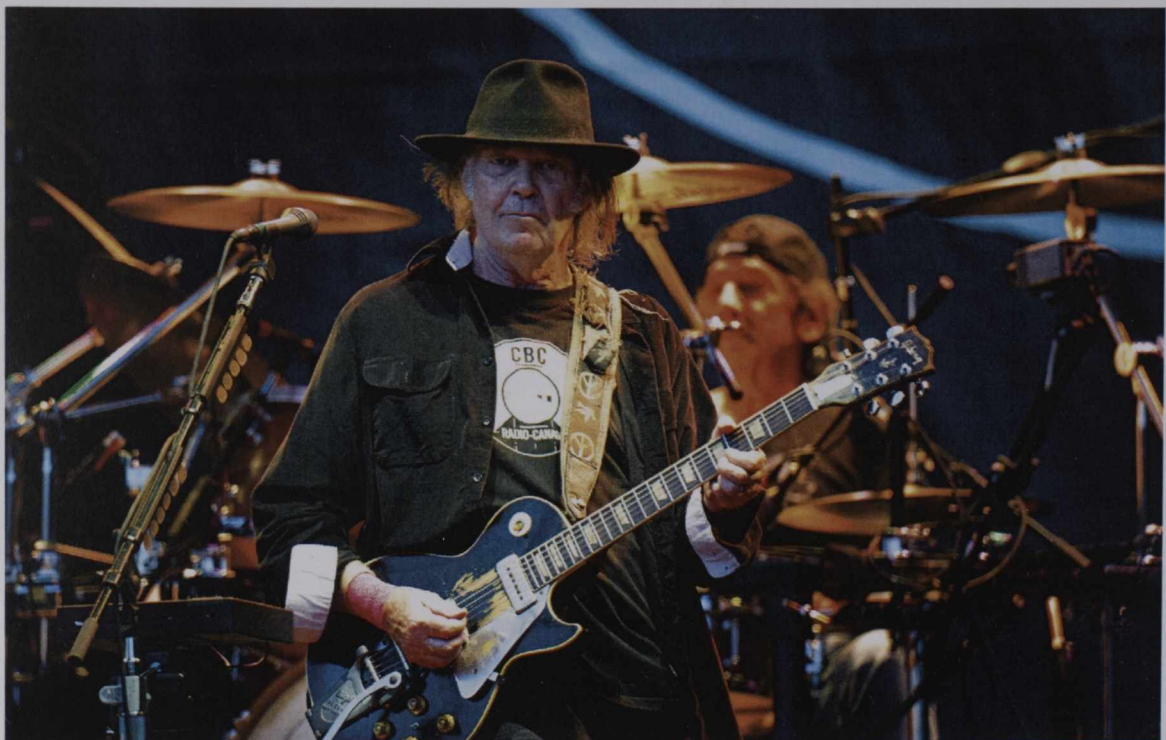
From Paul Anka to Drake: Canadian Pop Artists Inspiring the Finns

Paul Anka visited Finland for the first time in 1959 at Helsinki's Linnanmäki amusement park. The postwar baby boomers still remember stories about how Paul Anka's tour to Finland caused dramas in Finnish homes when a daughter in her teens was desperate to travel to Helsinki. Since then Paul Anka has visited Finland several times, Lappeenranta in 1989, Pori Jazz in 2007, and Tampere in 2008 and 2009.

Leonard Cohen's melancholy speaks to Finns, so no wonder the maestro himself has visited Helsinki seven times between 1985 and 2012. Many of Cohen's poetry books have also been translated into Finnish: *The Energy of Slaves* (1972), in Finnish *Rakkauden orjat*, translated by Jarkko Laine (Otava, 2012); *The Spice-Box of Earth* (1961), in Finnish *Lauluja*, translated by Jarkko Laine (Otava, 1974); *Book of Mercy* (1984), *Armokirja* in Finnish, translated by Seppo Pietikäinen (Rockadillo Publishing, 1986); *Let Us Compare Mythologies* (1956), in Fin-

nish *Vertailkaamme mytologioita* (Sammakko, 2014); and *Book of Longing* (2006), in Finnish *Kaipauksen kirja*, translated by Ville-Juhani Sutinen (Sammakko, 2008). Of Cohen's novels, *The Favourite Game* (1963) came out in Finnish as *Lempileikki* in Helena Lohtaja's translation (Sammakko, 2004), and *Beautiful Losers* (1966) as *Kauniit häviäjät* by the same translator (Sammakko, 2003).

Favourites like Neil Young, Alanis Morissette and Céline Dion have performed often in Finland and Justin Bieber has a huge following. Groups of teenagers, perhaps as desperate as those wanting to see Paul Anka in 1959, spent a night in sleeping bags, queuing in front of Hartwall Arena to get a ticket. In September 2016, the Canadian Embassy scored a record number of likes and retweets with "The other great #Canadian Justin is in town for two days". In the fall of 2016, the rap artist Drake inspired restaurants in Helsinki to organize a Drake Dinner.



Neil Young, Hartwall Arena, July, 2016. Photo: Juha Metso.



Justin Bieber, Hartwall Arena, Helsinki, September 2016. Photo: Jonne Heinonen.

Ja vastaus on Kanada!

1990-luvulla suomalaisia televisiokatsojia nauratti Kummeli-show ja sen suosittu musavisa, jossa kysyttiin musiikkinäytteen kotimaata. Studiojoukkue antoi aina ankarasti pohdittuaan saman vastauksen: Ja vastaus on Kanada. Se oli hauskaa, sillä musiikki oli katsojista niin tunnistettavasti venäläistä, ranskalaista tai ruotsalaista. Vastausfraasi alkoi pian elää omaa elämäänsä, ja se on nyt osa tuon sukupolven yhteistä muistia.

Vaan tiedätkö sinä, mikä on näiden muusikoiden kotimaa? Céline Dion, Justin Bieber, Alanis Morissette, k.d. lang, Paul Anka, Neil Young, Tegan and Sara, Michael Bublé, Avril Lavigne, Shania Twain, Joni Mitchell, Nelly Furtado, Leonard Cohen, Buffy Sainte-Marie, Jane Siberry, Rufus Wainwright, Bryan Adams? Ja vastaus on...

And the Answer Is Canada!

In the 1990s Finland was laughing at the Kummeli television show and its Music Quiz, where the questions were always about the origin of various songs. After long and serious thought the show's studio team invariably provided the same reply: And the answer is Canada. It was funny, as the spectators could immediately recognize the music as Russian, French, or Swedish. This phrase soon took on a life of its own, and it is now a shared memory for that generation.

How about you? Do you know where these musicians come from? Céline Dion, Justin Bieber, Alanis Morissette, k.d. lang, Paul Anka, Neil Young, Tegan and Sara, Michael Bublé, Avril Lavigne, Shania Twain, Joni Mitchell, Nelly Furtado, Leonard Cohen, Buffy Sainte-Marie, Jane Siberry, Rufus Wainwright, Bryan Adams? And the answer is...

Uutta yhteistyötä Suomen ja Kanadan välillä

Minna Korttesmaa

HeSeta ry edistää seksuaali- ja sukupuolivähemmistöihin kuuluvien ihmisten yhdenvertaisuutta, osallisuutta ja hyvinvointia monipuolisella sosiaali- ja nuorisotyöllä, koulutus- ja konsultointipalveluilla sekä vaikuttamistyöllä. Tavoitteena on, että kaikki ihmiset olisivat yhdenvertaisia riippumatta seksuaalisesta suuntautumisesta, sukupuoli-identiteetistä tai sukupuolen ilmaisusta.

HeSeta järjestää vuosittain Suomen suurimman sateenkaaritapahtuman, Helsinki Priden. Se on monipuolisesta ohjelmasta koostuva kulttuuri- ja ihmisoikeustapahtuma, joka huipentuu kulkeeseen ja Puistujuhlaan.

HeSeta ja Kanadan Suomen suurlähetystö ovat tehneet yhteistyötä Helsinki Priden merkeissä

vuodesta 2015. Yhteistyö on sujunut erinomaisesti. HeSeta ja Kanadan Suomen suurlähetystö ovat olleet yksimielisiä siitä, millaista Pride-yhteistyön tulee olla: ihmisoikeuksia ja kulttuurien välistä kommunikaatiota edistävää. Molemmille osapuolille on ollut tärkeää, että järjestetyt tapahtumat ovat olleet kaikille avoimia ja osallistumiskynnys on ollut matala.

Suurlähettiläs Andrée Cooligan on välittänyt HeSetalle arvokasta tietoa Kanadan lhbtq-tilanteesta sekä Pride-tapahtumista. Näkökulmien ja ajatusten vaihto lhbtq-kysymyksistä on molemmille osapuolille tärkeää. Kanadan suurlähetystö on HeSetalle merkittävä ja tärkeä yhteistyökumppani.

Minna Korttesmaa on HeSeta ry:n H-lehden päätoimittaja. HeSeta on pääkaupunkiseudun seksuaali- ja sukupuolivähemmistöihin kuuluvien ihmisten etu- ja virkistysjärjestö.



Canada continues to be a leader for human rights. Helsinki Pride Festival, June 2015.



The parade and festivities in a park are the highlights of Helsinki Pride. Photo: Hannu Hurme, 2015.



Helsinki Pride is a cultural and human rights event. Photo: Helsinki Senate Square. Alejandro Lorenzo, 2015.

Immigrants under Pressures of Past

Juhani Niinistö

"The *Vapaa Sana* Board will certainly fire you once they find out you have been here, and you'll be sent back to Finland." This is what I was told by a very concerned group of Finnish Canadians at the Wanup Hall in Sudbury on a sunny day in June 2006. I had shown up at Wanup as the new editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Vapaa Sana*, to cover the Midsummer festival of the local Finn-

Helsinki had become the only European capital with CBC on the FM dial late evenings.

ish Organization. The welcome was warm, but I was told no *Vapaa Sana* editor had visited the Hall since the 1930s; Wanup was considered to be politically off limits to editors of the *Vapaa Sana*.

Ours was a small-c conservative paper, and I had recognized the need to give it a more liberal slant, but the agenda turned out to be much more. In my previous role in managing Radio Finland, the international service of the Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE), I had paid regular visits to major emigration areas, including Canada, and knew their leaders and key issues. What made Canada special to me was a broadcast relay cooperation with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) that we had been able to launch in the mid-1990s. Helsinki had become the only European capital with CBC on the FM dial late evenings.

CBC/Radio Canada International (RCI) also invited me to attend seminars in various Canadian cities to convince Foreign Affairs and key politicians of the sensibility of spending on RCI. I was there as a European expert, but in the process I learned a lot about the way politics functioned in Canada.

It also serves as a background reminder that Canada has twice during the last hundred years welcomed Finns who have felt unsafe, or politically uneasy, in their home country. After the 1918 Civil War in Finland, many who had supported the conquered Reds moved to Canada and many rose to leading positions in Finnish immigrant communities. After the Second World War, people who were uncertain about the wisdom of the Finnish postwar relationship with the Soviet Union (USSR) again turned to Canada. Many were veterans of the Finnish war with the Soviets. Canada had in fact been an ally of the USSR and had (unlike the United States) declared war on Finland in 1941, but this had no effect now that the Cold War had taken over. The new arrivals embraced with enthusiasm the western rhetoric and values of the Cold War in their adopted country.

A rift had developed already in the early 1930s among the Finnish Canadians, as those with more moderate socialist values left the Finnish Organization of Canada (FOC). The postwar wave of emigration found common ground with them. Soon there were two parallel Finnish immigrant scenes, both with their own clubs and sports

Soon there were two parallel Finnish immigrant scenes, both with their own clubs and sports organizations. And theatres on both sides usually arranged their performances at the same time.

organizations. Theatres on both sides usually arranged their performances at the same time.

The two camps were nicknamed as the "church Finns" and "järjestöläiset" ("those of the Organization"). The main newspapers were

Vapaus (Freedom) of the FOC and *Vapaa Sana* of the more moderates. The founding editor of *Vapaa Sana* Rheinold Pehkonen had worked in *Vapaus* before the split of the Finnish scene in the early 1930s and knew the colleagues. But as Lauri Toiviainen, the long-standing editor of *Vapaa Sana* writes in his history of the paper, *Vapaa Sana* stopped writing about the “other side” in the 1960s. This meant that new arrivals possibly did not even learn about the parallel Finnish scene. A joke has it that a Finn once took a taxi to make it in time to the Finnish theatre in Toronto. The cab driver did reach a Finnish theatre, but one the customer had not meant – and had not even heard about.

During my first weeks at *Vapaa Sana* several persons advised me in passing to avoid contact with the “left,” at least beyond the casual level. This was tricky, as some of these people were among those who had given me that unexpected opportunity to work in Canada and had gone through the difficult process of obtaining a work permit. After some weeks of talking to a wide array of people, I decided to test the ground.

As one of the first measures, the Finnish Organization of Canada was included in the Directory of Finnish Associations published in *Vapaa Sana* and was thus given a public existence on this side of the invisible frontier. From the Midsummer 2006 event at Wanup, *Vapaa Sana* also started covering FOC events. The policy change was within my rights as the Editor, and no grumblings from the Board reached me – although I heard the new arrangements had been debated.

There was positive feedback from a number of readers, who said that the paper was now covering “things they had never heard about.” Such statements were not just platitudes, as the exclusion of the “other side” had indeed become dense over the years.

It is probably correct to conclude that the collective demonization of the FOC had been partially caused by “peer pressure.” It was a vicious

circle maintained by some community leaders with little general backing at this stage. I was also told that if a locally recruited editor had enacted the change, the reaction would have been hard. But I came from the outside.

Until the FOC appeared in the *Vapaa Sana* Directory, the only national organization listed had been the Finnish-Canadian Cultural Federation, the organizer of the annual festival (suurjuhlat). The FOC had for decades tried to become a member, but had always been rejected. Even as late as 1994 *Vapaa Sana* had reported that the Cultural Federation could not admit the “communist” FOC.

Still, the situation had already started to change. In the 1980s, the FOC had contributed financially to a senior citizens’ residential project in Toronto. In return, seniors from an FOC background had been admitted as residents. In 2000, Hans Myrskog, organizer of the Toronto FinnGrandFest

had shown vision and included FOC persons “as individuals” in some functions. For example, the chairman of the FOC, Elsie Joki-

By the time of the 2009 annual festival in Sudbury, the mental barriers had already vanished to the extent that part of the scheduled program was in Wanup Hall. For many of the participants, it was the first time they ventured to the hall.

nen, was the secretary of the organizing committee.

By the time of the 2009 annual festival in Sudbury, the mental barriers had already vanished to the extent that part of the scheduled program was in Wanup Hall. For many of the participants, it was the first time they ventured to the hall. The Canadian Friends of Finland Associations also brought people together from various backgrounds in many cities, and in Toronto, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CFF) collected major funds for University of Toronto Finnish Studies. The CFF events were refreshing, as old frontlines had simply ceased to exist.

Interestingly, the political divisions hardly existed on the Finnish scene in Quebec. The main reason may be that after the introduction of the language laws Quebec lost much of its Finnish population as many chose to move to Ontario. Those who remained were well-integrated into Quebec and Canada and were not driven by intra-Finnish Canadian politics.

One of the characteristics of the Finnish Canadian scene has been the observance of the Finnish Memorial Day for those who died in combat, while the Canadian Remembrance Day has been paid less attention. However, some 150 Finnish Canadians died in action while serving in Canadian Forces in the Second World War.

In 1946, *Vapaus*, the FOC competitor of *Vapaa Sana*, published a memorial book for the war dead of Finnish extraction. Many of them had served in the Navy, and some were buried in England, where their bodies had washed ashore. Some died when their bombers were shot down over the skies of Germany. But while these men had chosen Canada as their new home, the postwar arrivals in Canada concentrated on observing the sacrifices for Finland in 1939–1945.

As a part of the process of increased Finnish-Canadian cohesion, leaders of the Toronto Finnish War Veterans – mainly Veikko Kallio and Ben Järvenpää – decided that Toronto war veterans should arrange an event also on Remembrance Day and honour those who had lost their lives for Canada.

On that Remembrance Day in 2009 it was nevertheless touch and go. When I went to the Finnish church hall just before 11am, the noise level was high and there were explicit protests against “honouring those who have helped Russia.” The event looked uncertain just minutes before the hour. But Veikko Kallio and Ben Järvenpää showed leadership, stood up and, walked out to the Memorial – and the rest followed. The legacies and pressures of the past were lifting.

After 25 years as the Head of International Radio at the Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE), Juhani Niinistö worked as Editor-in-Chief of Vapaa Sana in 2006–2011.

The Reciprocal Influence between Canadian and Finnish Cinema

Kelly Saxberg

Canada is a vast geographical area and many of the firsts in its cinema history were made in various regions. The first films shot in Canada, in 1897, were made at Niagara Falls. The first documentaries, also shot in 1897 and used to promote immigration, were made by James Freer, a farmer from Manitoba. The first scripted film was *Hiwatha, the Messiah of the Ojibway* (1903) by Joe Rosenthal, while the first feature film, *Evangeline*, was filmed in 1913 in Nova Scotia. In 1922, Robert Flaherty made *Nanook of the North*, shot in Northern Quebec.

By 1910, movie houses and the story film had become part of the Canadian landscape from coast to coast. No less than 10 movie theatres were built in a few years in Port Arthur and Fort William, the twin cities that later became Thunder Bay. The city has some of the oldest film footage in the country and a special connection to Robert Flaherty. The thriving twin cities made

booster films; the Ontario government promoted the great lakes and the ports of Thunder Bay as the future Chicago of the North. Films were used to draw the immigrants needed to build the grain elevators, the railroad, and the most important trans-shipment centre in the country. Thousands of Finns heeded the call. Finnish men dominated the Ontario bush camps, cutting and hauling lumber. They introduced the sauna, unions, and socialist politics.

Finland's first film was produced and exhibited in 1907. Few films were made until the aftermath of Finnish Independence and the Civil War but in the 1920s a Finnish film culture began to evolve. A few documentaries were made in Tampere, and Teuvo Puro filmed the first feature film, *The Moonshiners*. In 1911, he made a film version of *Sylvi*, written by 19th-century Finnish playwright Minna Canth. Her working-class plays were performed by Finnish immigrants, especially

across Ontario, where several professional theatre troops toured the Finn halls. Port Arthur's Finnish Labour Temple not only boasted a live-in paid theatre director, they also showed films in later years.

The silent movie, accompanied by music performed by local musicians, took every town by storm. Finland and Canada experienced the same onslaught of Hollywood movies. Yet at the same time amateur or independent cinema was



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blossoming. The middle classes could afford motion picture cameras to document their travels and important local events. Literary classics and plays were popularized with this new form of entertainment. In the 1920s, companies such as Erkki Karu's Suomi-Filmi directed silent movie masterpieces like *The Village Shoemakers* (1923) based on Aleksis Kivi's play. The first Finnish-language talkies, such as the Suomi-Filmi comedy *The Foreman of Siltala Farm*, were immensely popular and seen by thousands. Film studios emerged and film production flourished. Toivo Särkkä alone produced or directed 200 feature films.

Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* was previewed in the Prince Arthur Hotel in Port Arthur before the New York premiere which established Flaherty as the "father of documentary." Flaherty had a strong connection to Northern Ontario. When he was twelve, his family moved to Port Arthur from Houghton, Michigan, another important Finnish immigrant community with strong ties to Northern Ontario. He went to school in Toronto and Port Arthur and finally spent a few months back in Houghton training as a mining engineer and prospector. His exploration work put him in intimate contact with the Indigenous people of Northern Canada and the Arctic, where he made *Nanook of the North*, a film that influenced filmmakers in both Finland and Canada and is still being shown today. The film has been screened at Finland's Midnight Sun Film Festival, and orchestras from around the world have played live to the classic film. In Canada, Tania Taguq, Inuk throat singer, tours with her band offering live concerts with the film.

Contracted by the Canadian Pacific Railway as an explorer and prospector, Flaherty travelled and lived in Northern Quebec along the Hudson Bay for two decades. On his third expedition to the region he brought a film camera, a portable developing and printing machine, and some lighting equipment. He shot hours of film documenting Inuit life. Back in Toronto while editing, he lost most of that footage to fire and decided to return and capture a story, not a travelogue. According to John Grierson, "He was the initiator

of the naturalist tradition in cinema."¹ Flaherty's insistence on the beauty of the natural, his disdain for Hollywood and commercial cinema has found its echo in Finnish filmmakers years later.

Flaherty realized he needed to focus on one family and find a main protagonist for his story. He started a Canadian documentary tradition of casting his documentary subjects. Allakariallak, a celebrated hunter of the Itivimuit tribe was his most important collaborator to help find the essential story and to literally capture and dramatize daily life in the far North. The Inuit crew learned as much about film production as Flaherty, who had only taken a three-week technical course before he embarked on his first project. There was no tradition of documentary storytelling, and Flaherty along with his Inuit crew developed what has now become an important genre and style of film-making that has clearly had an impact on fiction films as well.

Flaherty did not hide the fact that this was a docudrama. The film begins with a humorous scene in which Nanook's numerous "stage family" emerge one at a time from the bottom of a very small Kayak. The audience is shown from the beginning that the protagonists of the story were helping shape the telling of the story. They were also overcoming technical difficulties with creative shooting – low light, extreme cold, and tight spaces – which film-makers in both Canada and Finland have struggled with successfully in order to share the dramatic reality of living in a northern environment. Despite the fictional elements, *Nanook of the North* remains a non-fiction film with a style of intimate storytelling that led to a new form of cinema. Early documentary was simply the recording of events, but even the "purest form" of documentary often reveals the choreography behind the unfolding scene.

The first amateur feature-length film made in Canada came from Port Arthur, Ontario (now Thunder Bay) in 1929, at that time home to the largest concentration of Finnish immigrants in Canada. A Northern Ontario story, *A Race for Ties* told the story of love and timber contracts lost. The main theme of the comedy was the perse-

1 John Grierson, *Grierson on Documentary* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 29.

verance of the pioneer family versus the big town lumber barons and their big city bosses. It was a theme that almost every Finnish immigrant to Canada knew first hand.

Originally the group had sent away for Hollywood scripts but deemed them too short and not exciting enough. Dorothea Mitchell, a woman known fondly as the Lady Lumberjack, was a writer and an avid amateur theatre actor, so she decided she could come up with a better script based on her own life experiences. She did the casting and acted in the film as well as tackling the tricky editing process via projector. The film was a huge success and toured Northern Ontario, where the dog Laddie became an audience favourite.² Despite the boom of independent film-making, the Great Depression of the 1930s and the rapid domination of all theatres by American distributors led to the collapse of amateur film groups and the rise of quota quickies, films shot on location in Canada to fulfil content regulations for the British Commonwealth to stave off a Hollywood invasion at theatres across the empire.

In the early 1930s, Scottish film-maker John Grierson described a "documentary movement" that embraced the idea of film as a tool for social comment. He saw the value of putting the common person, the mundane, on screen. He saw the camera-eye as a magical instrument – both the discoverer of an unknown world and the re-discoverer of a lost one. Grierson called Robert Flaherty a poet of cinema who spent years getting to know his subjects to avoid a pre-conceived structure and allow for the capture of the spontaneous and natural moment informed by his affection and knowledge of the people he was trying to portray.

In 1938, Grierson was invited by the Canadian Government to found the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) and be its first commissioner. He shaped the first generation of Canadian documentary film-makers, animators, and later television producers, and even fiction film-makers. Grierson left a lasting legacy inspiring the Québécois film-makers who pioneered the cin-

ema vérité movement of the late 1950s. Federal government support for a feature film industry was launched in the late 1960s. Veteran film editor and writer Robert Lower's film *Shameless Propaganda* tells the story of the creation of the National Film Board and its first commissioner John Grierson's mission to sell Canada to Canadians via documentaries. With so much competition from south of the border, Canadian film-makers embraced the documentary as an art form. Although a few independent Canadian films have won international recognition, the National Film Board has won more Academy Awards for both animation and documentary films than any other institution in the world.

Without a doubt, Aki Kaurismäki and older brother Mika Kaurismäki are Finland's best known filmmakers. International recognition and success allowed them connect with many of the world's finest film directors and bring them to a remote community in northern Lapland to showcase their work and give a chance to emerging Finnish directors to learn and be inspired. The Midnight Sun Film Festival (Sodankylän elokuvajuhlat) takes place in June during the summer solstice, Finland's most important family holiday. While the Tampere Film Festival is world-famous for its fine selection of the world's best short films, the Midnight Sun Film Festival is non-competitive and by invitation only. Since 1986 invitees include Jim Jarmusch, Krzysztof Kieslowski, Giuseppe Bertolucci, Terry Gilliam, Francis Ford Coppola, and Mike Leigh. The two Canadian directors featured are Denys Arcand and Atom Egoyan.

Aki Kaurismäki's first film *Crime and Punishment* (1983) was inspired by Dostoyevsky's novel but set in Helsinki in the early 1980s. The cult classic, *Leningrad Cowboys Go America*, was made in 1989. Aki Kaurismäki writes, directs, and often edits his films, which characteristically employ classic Finnish understatement and subtle humour. His naturalist visual style has many parallels with the visual style of American film-maker Jim Jarmusch, who not only appeared in Kaurismäki's *Leningrad Cowboys Go America* but whose visual

2 Michel S. Beaulieu, *Celluloid Dreams: An Illustrated History of Early Film at Lakehead 1900-31* (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 2012).



Toronto International Film Festival. © ckchiu/Shutterstock.com

representation of the industrial wasteland of the United States, down-and-out characters, and love of music make for interesting comparisons. Jarmusch's *Night on Earth* ends in Helsinki and features a few of Kaurismäki's favourite actors.

Much of Kaurismäki's work, his proletariat, and the Finland trilogy are set in Helsinki. So was his film *The Man Without a Past*, which won the Grand Prix at the 2002 Cannes Film Festival and was nominated for an Academy Award in the Best Foreign Language Film category in 2003. Mika Kaurismäki, who now lives in Brazil and whose current body of work is dominated by stories from his adopted country, still continues to make films in Finnish for Finnish audiences.

Zacharias Kunuk's 2001 Inuktitut-language feature *Atanarjuat (Fast Runner)* was the first non-English or French film to receive an Oscar nomination. It won the Palme d'Or at Cannes Film Festival. *Atanarjuat* was voted Canada's best film of all time, beating out *Mon Oncle Antoine* for the first time. Zacharias Kunuk was born in Kapuivik on Baffin Island in Nunavut. He learned how to carve soapstone and loved movies, spending his earnings on cameras. With Norman Cohn

he founded Igloolik Isuma, an online broadcaster of Indigenous films from around the world.

His second film, *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*, was a co-production with Denmark, which he co-wrote and co-directed with Norman Cohn. Kunuk, who spent two decades making documentaries, is the co-founder of the Inuit Knowledge and Climate Change Project that offers an Inuit perspective on the impact of climate change. He was the executive producer of *Before Tomorrow* directed by Marie-Hélène Cousineau and Madeline Ivalu, founders of the Igloolik women's film collective Arniat. His film *Searchers* is an Inuit retelling of a John Ford western of the same name, and it received a standing ovation when it premiered at Toronto International Film Festival this year.

Toronto's imagineNATIVE is the world's largest film festival that features the work of Indigenous film-makers and has proven an important showcase for Sámi-made films from Finland. In addition to the growing contributions of Indigenous film-makers, many of Canada's most successful film-makers are immigrants or the children of first- or second-generation im-

migrants: Atom Egoyan (Armenian Egyptian), Deepa Mehta (India), and David Cronenberg (all of his grandparents from Lithuania).

Norman Jewison is Canada's Hollywood director par excellence, directing dozens of movies and winning five Oscars for *In the Heat of the Night*. He remains the country's most successful export: his long and stellar career had made him recipient of Canada's highest awards. Yet despite making it in Hollywood, he returned home to Canada to found the Canadian Film Centre, which has helped keep Canadian talent at the forefront of global cinema.

Hollywood's most successful film director James Cameron was born in Northern Ontario. *Terminator*, *True Lies*, *Titanic*, and *Avatar* are just some of his blockbuster movies. When he was inducted into Canada's Hall of Fame, Cameron said, "Canada's not the place you're from; it's a state of mind, a set of values; it's a spirit and it's a way of seeing the world."

Recent Finnish films with international success include *Lapland Odyssey* directed by Dome Karukoski, and the short film *Do I have to take care of everything?* (*Pitääkö mun kaikki hoitaa?*) by Selma Vilhunen was nominated for an Oscar. The women-led production company Tuffi Films also received honours at the Sundance Film Festival for *The Date*. When Juho Kuosmanen won the 2010 Cannes Film Festival Cinéfondation Prize with his student film *The Painting Sellers*, it was the jury president Atom Egoyan who introduced the film to the Canadian public in Toronto. *Steam of Life* by Joonas Berghäll and Mika Hotakainen also played at Hot Docs in Toronto. The film had huge resonance with Canadian audiences who, especially in Northern Ontario, have embraced sauna culture since the first Finns immigrated to

Canada. Thunder Bay, Ontario probably has the most saunas per capita in North America.

Canada-Finland co-productions may have been slow at developing, but in 2002 the NFB produced my own first feature-length documentary *Letters from Karelia*. Shot in Canada, Finland, and Russia, it tells the story of Finnish Canadian immigrants who abandoned their new country to move to Soviet Karelia, where they hoped to build a socialist utopia. Thousands of Finns were also part of the exodus called Karelia fever. Their fate was a tragic one. The film won several awards and was broadcast in Canada and Finland. Ville Haapasalo, Finland's most famous actor in Russia, played the main character in dramatizations based on the research of the late Varpu Lindström, Canada's foremost historian on Finnish Canadian immigrant history.

Lindström also acted as consultant on *Under the Red Star*, a prequel to *Letters from Karelia* that focused on Thunder Bay's Finnish Labour Temple. The docudrama stars Finnish actors Elena Lieve and Jussi Nikkilä, and features local amateur actors from the still vibrant Finnish Canadian community. The film tells the story of Finnish Canadian immigrants who built the Finnish Labour Temple in 1910.

In 1995, Canadian and Finnish experimental film-makers Philip Hoffman and Sami Van Ingen made *Sweep*, "a road movie to memory, a realization of the need to review footsteps and past events which build myths." The connection again is Robert Flaherty, Van Ingen's great-grandfather and Hoffman's mother's northern Ontario hometown of Kapuskasing. The connections and reciprocal influences of Finland and Canada are made in the physical and conceptual idea of north.

Kelly Saxberg is an award-winning film producer, director, and editor, who has worked on over 80 films. Her credits include both dramas and documentaries.

Synchronicity: Common Themes in Finnish and Canadian Architecture

Erin Swift-Leppäkumpu

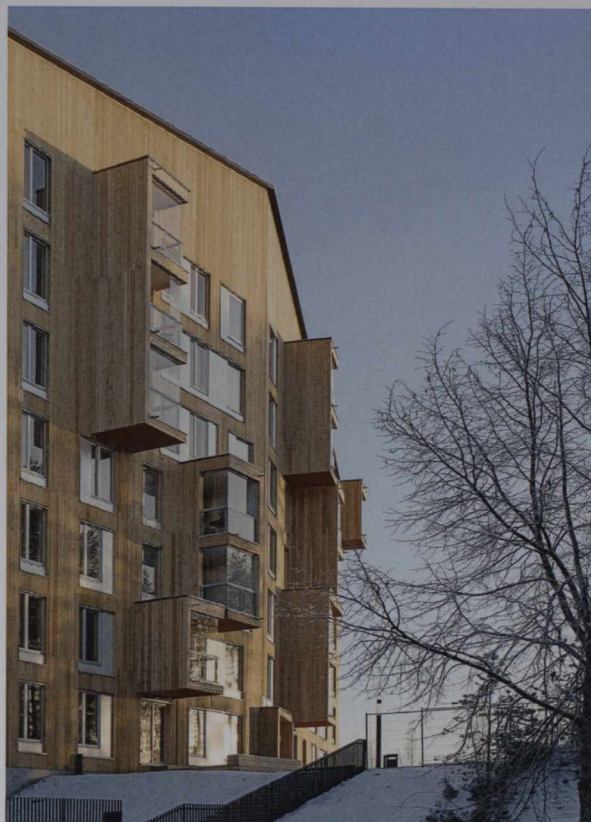
The topic of Finnish and Canadian architecture may bring to mind some historic national superstars of the field such as Finland's Alvar Aalto, Eliel Saarinen, Reima and Raili Pietilä, and Canada's Arthur Erickson, Moshe Safdie, and Bing Thom. There are plenty of great examples in each nation, but what about the synthesis, the connections between the two?

We can look back to the iconic Toronto City Hall, a competition-winning composition by Finnish architect Viljo Revell, which opened in 1965 and stands as an important landmark in downtown Toronto today. Eero Saarinen's graceful Gateway Arch in St. Louis is another classic example of Finnish architecture in North America. While these examples hint at some commonalities, I believe the heart of the matter lies in the process and practice of architecture itself, across cultures.

While it is impossible to generalize the breadth and variety of Finland's 100 and Canada's 150 years of architectural history into one neat definition, there are some key traits that may lend some understanding of the nations and the links between them. Having studied and practised architecture in both countries, I have come to realize some common themes and have found the nations to be far more similar than different with respect to the built environment and the architectural profession.

Finland and Canada are both large landmasses with relatively small populations. Both have four distinct seasons that can impart difficult environmental conditions. Buildings in both Canada and Finland must be strong enough to withstand these elements, and time and time again architecture in both nations has risen to the challenge.

Sensitive site planning is one key to addressing these environmental challenges, situating build-



Puukuokka - 2015 Finlandia Prize Winner. Photo: Mikko Auerniitty / Oopeaa Architects.

ings according to their relationship with the land and responding to fluctuations in temperature and daylight. Such considerations are critical in the design of energy-efficient buildings cognizant of their surroundings.

The focus on materiality in architecture – particularly the use of wood and stone – remains prominent in both Canada and Finland. Using sustainable materials such as timber framing is another similarity. Canada and Finland are two of the world's leaders in timber construction, where revised building codes and fire regulations, along with developments of building technologies, have allowed timber structures to reach new heights. Recent examples of prowess in timber construction are the *Puukuokka* housing block in Jyväskylä-



Moshe Safdie's Habitat 67, Montréal. Photo: Alexandre Guilbeault.



Moshe Safdie's Habitat 67, Montréal. Photo: Alexandre Guilbeault.

lä, winner of the prestigious 2015 Finlandia Prize, and the University of British Columbia's Brock Commons Student Residence in Vancouver, which at 18 storeys (53m or approximately 175 feet) is set to become the world's tallest wooden building.¹

A classic adage by Mies van der Rohe states that form follows function – a phenomenon which can also be observed throughout Finnish and Canadian architectural design. The clear arrangement of space is given precedent over ornamentation in fulfilment of the most fundamental task of architecture to meet the spatial needs of its users as efficiently as possible. Beyond simply getting the job done, good architecture contributes to both the functionality in the larger cityscape as well as to the cultural narratives of cities themselves. The architecture of a place tells much of how it functions and contributes greatly to how it feels.

Vernacular architecture in particular offers the subtle beauty of practical solutions built to last. The resilience of weathered farmyard fences, the

scattered arrangements of homesteads, a hunting shack in the woods – these fundamental rural building types offer a look into a similar agrarian past, each nation with their own regional nuances. In her article "Toronto City Hall: How Finnish Architecture Rebranded a city" for *The Globe and Mail*, Lisa Rochon describes the Finnish aesthetic as "one that privileges craft, innovation and the pleasure of pure graphic form."²

The reliance on strong, simple forms is a theme that continues across time, in both Canadian and Finnish architecture. Neither Finnish nor Canadian architecture is known for being particularly decorative. While both nations have examples fitting into broader international trends such as Romanticism, arguably our most emblematic architecture is based in local/national culture and has discernable form. Clear shapes are the focus of some of Finland's no-fuss landmarks such as the Helsinki Cathedral by Carl Ludvig Engel (c.1852) and the Parliament Building by Johan Sigfrid Sirén (c.1931). The works of Alvar Aalto and Reima and Raili Pietilä hold inter-

¹ "New UBC student residence to be among world's tallest wood buildings," UBC Media Release, last modified October 1, 2015, <http://news.ubc.ca/2015/10/01/new-ubc-student-residence-to-be-among-worlds-tallest-wood-buildings/>.

² Lisa Rochon "Toronto City Hall: How Finnish Architecture Rebranded a City," *The Globe and Mail*, September 17, 2010, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/toronto-city-hall-how-finnish-architecture-rebranded-a-city/article4328993/>.



Arthur Erickson's Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, British Columbia. Photo: Jessica Cullen.

national appeal for their strong shapes and cohesive ideas characterized by a marked lack of ostentation. Canadian architect Moshe Safdie's iconic residential development Habitat '67 and Arthur Erickson's stoic Museum of Anthropology similarly illustrate a focus on form.

Colour appears to be used sparingly in public buildings in both Finland and Canada, with most existing on a spectrum from white and grey in perhaps another manifestation of the prevailing attitude against overtly decorative programs.

In both nations, the field of architecture is highly regulated in all levels of education, professional practice, and construction standards. It is with humour and great affection that I note these codified and law-abiding systems. They are an easy fit for people that love and follow the rules as much as Finns and Canadians. All jokes aside, the rigour maintained in our regulation and inspection procedures lead to buildings of a very high quality.

Both of our nations should be proud of their standing as world leaders in terms of gender equality in architecture. Interestingly, Finland was the first nation in the world to allow women into schools of architecture with Signe Hornborg (1862–1916) being credited as the world's first female architect and Wivi Lönn (1872–1966) as the first independently practising female architect in Finland, internationally recognized for winning architectural competitions already in the 1800s.³ According to studies by the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, more than 40% of architectural graduates in western nations are female, no doubt thanks to the ground-breaking efforts of nations such as Finland and Canada.⁴ Beyond this, national statistics from Finland and Canada consistently show an increase of women in architecture well beyond the global average.

The recognition of Finland's centenary and Canada's 150-year anniversaries has inspired a

³ "List of Women Architects," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_women_architects.

⁴ Lian Chikako Chang, "Where Are the Women? Measuring Progress on Gender in Architecture," Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, last modified October 2014, <http://www.acsa-arch.org/resources/data-resources/women>.

reflection on the synchronicities in architecture across the two nations. Looking ahead to the next century of architecture, one can see the possibility for even more correlation and cooperation, particularly surrounding global topics such as sustainability, ecological footprint, green building technologies, digitalization, and fabrication. It will be interesting to see how buildings and

the practice of architecture itself will respond to the changing dynamics of our nations as well as to the ever-increasing internationalization of the design and construction industry. Finland and Canada have a great opportunity to learn from one another and to use our combined knowledge and experience to bring northern architecture to the world stage.

Erin Swift-Leppäkumpu is a "prairie girl" and a Canadian architect from Regina, Saskatchewan. She graduated at the top of her class with a Master of Architecture from the University of Calgary in 2010. Her studies included two semesters abroad: one in Barcelona, Spain and one in Finland. Erin has long been fascinated by Finland and Nordic design, and completed her thesis work under the supervision of Juhani Pallasmaa. She has been happily working in Finnish architectural offices since September 2010.



Viljo Revell's Toronto City Hall. Photo: Markku Henriksson.

The Northern Dimension: Tomson Highway's Visit to Finland

Mark Shackleton

Award-winning playwright and novelist Tomson Highway (Cree) is Canada's best-known First Nations writer. From 1986 to 1992 he was Artistic Director to Native Earth Performing Arts, Toronto's only professional Native theatre company, and the crucible and catalyst for a whole generation of talented First Nations dramatists. His early plays, *The Rez Sisters* (1986) and *Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing* (1989), established him as a major First Nations dramatist. In 1994 he was awarded the Order of Canada. In 1998 his novel *Kiss of the Fur Queen* became a Canadian best-seller. In the same year, *Maclean's magazine* named him as one of the 100 most important people in Canadian history.

Tomson Highway's work continues to attract attention and debate with such plays as *Ernestine Shushwap Gets Her Trout* (2005), and his writing for children is of considerable importance. Significantly, all his storybooks for children (*Caribou Song/atihko nikamon*; *Dragonfly Kites/kiweeginapiseek*; and *Fox on the Ice/mahkesis miskwamihk e-cipatapit*) are told in both English and Cree. It is through the pioneering efforts of First Nations writers like him that Aboriginal creative writing as well as Aboriginal literacy and education have undergone a renaissance in the last few decades.

I invited Tomson Highway to be a plenary speaker at the Canada Seminar 2002 at Helsinki University, an international symposium entitled "First Nations: Symbolic Representations," jointly organized by the Nordic Association for Canadian Studies (Finland), the Department of English, Helsinki University, and the Canadian Embassy.

Fascinated by the presence of the Cree/Ojibway Trickster figure Nanapush/Wesageechak in his major work, which chimed with my own research into the Trickster figure in world

literature as an emblem of humour and survival in the face of historical adversity, I had first contacted Tomson in the late 1990s. He was extraordinarily generous with his time and interest. On the basis of the articles I had by that time written on him, he sent me the typed manuscripts of two of his plays, *Rose* and *Ernestine Shushwap Gets Her Trout*, before they were published.

Although a world traveller, Tomson had not previously been to Finland, and was particularly excited about the idea of meeting with Sámi peoples. An itinerary was drawn up, a whirlwind tour that would include the Canada Seminar in Helsinki, and talks and piano performances at Tartu University, Estonia, and St. Petersburg as well as a journey to Northern Lapland.

On March 1, 2002 over 150 people flocked to the Festival Hall of Helsinki University to listen to Tomson Highway deliver his plenary "The History of the World in 60 Minutes Flat." Curiously, there is a cross-cultural coincidence that links Highway's work and Finnish literature. A key scene in Highway's work, represented in both *Kiss of the Fur Queen* and *Caribou Song*, is where two brothers escape from being trampled by a herd of caribou by climbing on a large rock. It is strangely similar to a well-known scene from Aleksis Kivi's *Seven Brothers*, where the brothers scramble to the safety of a rock to avoid a herd of marauding wild bulls. These two scenes are coincidental, no allusion is implied, but it illustrates the power of the mythic imagination which transcends cultures. In effect, this was also the theme of Tomson Highway's talk. Contrasting Greek, Christian, and Cree mythological worldviews, he argued that to destroy mythology was, ultimately, to destroy ourselves.

Tomson Highway's delivery is extraordinarily fast, words and ideas shooting forth like meteors,

but the audience was right with him. Music, a common denominator between us all, was another theme he developed. Musical structures and counterpoint, he pointed out, underpinned all his writings. Highway's talk, illustrated by excerpts on the grand piano from his plays and musicals, was the highlight of the seminar.

As he likes to remind us, Tomson Highway was "born in a snowbank" near Maria Lake, Manitoba, close to the border with Nunavut. He knows from personal history the significance of the Northern dimension. After Helsinki, Tartu and St. Petersburg, Tomson's Baltic tour took him to Northern Lapland. Accompanied by Keith Battarbee, the Finnish Chair of the Nordic Association for Canadian Studies, he travelled up to Rovaniemi by overnight train from Helsinki. In Rovaniemi they spent the day visiting the Arctic Centre, Finland's national institute for Arctic expertise, and the Arktikum Science Museum.

The journey progressed by rented car to Inari and from there to Utsjoki on the Finnish-Norwegian border, where they were invited to the home of a reindeer herder on the banks of the Tenjoki River. Tomson, the son of a champion dogsled racer and caribou hunter of some note, must have felt like he was coming home. He wrote to me: "Loved meeting all those people... especially the Saami reindeer people of the north, mostly because I, too, come from a caribou-based culture in Canada's far north where, by the way, the terrain is very similar to Finland's north." Supper that evening was served in the reindeer herder's *laavu* (*tiipii*) with fresh reindeer meat cooked over the fire and accompanied by smoked salmon caught from the river the previous day.

Serendipity characterized that journey North. Quite by chance, Keith and Tomson were invited to the Sámi Council event to be held at the Pohjan Tuli Hotel in Utsjoki, where they were stay-

ing. Delegations from Sámi communities in Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia were present along with governmental and non-governmental organizations such as the Indigenous Peoples' Secretariat based in Copenhagen. Its Executive Secretary at the time was Canadian John Crump. During that evening, and as part of the proceedings, a special lifetime achievement award was given to Kirsti Paltto, a highly respected Sámi author, who writes mainly in Northern Sami.

Tomson wrote: "And I appreciated meeting all those Sami writers ... in Utsjoki. So glad to know that they are doing the same kind of work over there that we Indigenous people of Canada are doing over here, that is, writing about our people, our culture, our perspective as northerners, the importance of our voice, etc. I think an important 'lien,' as they say in French (tie? connection?) was made there that week. And long may it continue to be held and developed."

On the following morning Keith and Tomson drove 125 kilometres south to Inari to visit the impressive Sámi Museum at Siida. In Canada the main Aboriginal collections are in the Canadian Museum of History in Ottawa. In Finland the most important Aboriginal collection is found in the heart of the Sámi area. It was here that their Lapland adventure ended. From Rovaniemi they took the overnight train back south.

Tomson Highway is still extraordinarily generous with his time, and still remembers Finland. He wrote: "My trip to Finland? Loved it. Loved every second of it. I'd go back in a second." Indeed, he is planning to come back in 2017. And every Finnish Independence Day I remind him of the link. I write the same thing each year. In 2016 it was this: "Happy Anniversary: Tomson's 65th and Finland's 99th." The dates may change, but the sentiment remains the same.

Mark Shackleton, PhD, is Senior Lecturer/Adjunct Professor at the Department of Modern Languages (English) of the University of Helsinki.

Sharing the Dance Floor with Pierre Trudeau

Jussi Pajunen

In 1975, Helsinki was a focal point in the world, hosting the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The CSCE process had been going on since the 1950s and was about to reach its culmination point on August 1, 1975 in the signing of the Helsinki Final Act.

The act, signed by 35 nations, addressed a range of global issues and had a lasting impact on the Cold War and relations between east and west. It was also without doubt the highlight of the period in office of President Urho Kekkonen in Finland.

Heads of States were pouring to Helsinki for the signing ceremony. Then as now, security was a major concern, and the special occasion could not go unnoticed with motorcades transporting dignitaries and their delegations between the central conference facilities.

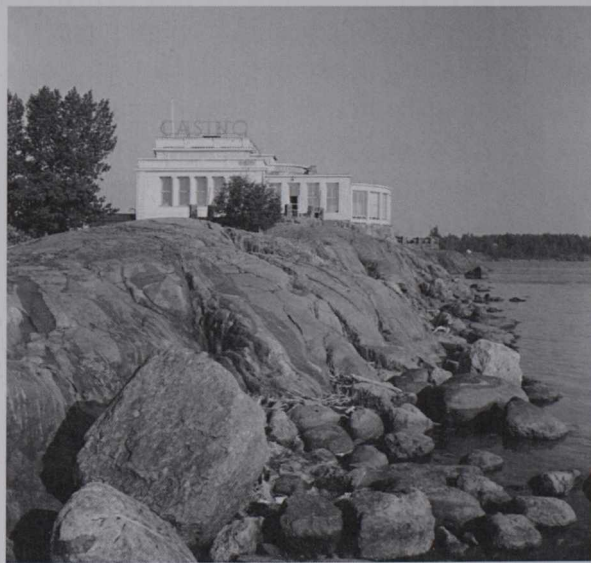
The year before the Helsinki conference, I had spent two months studying French as an exchange student at the University of Montpellier in France. During my stay, I had become acquainted with a South American girl, whom I invited to visit Helsinki. She arrived in late July in 1975, and we met at my family home, then in Kulosaari, a small idyllic island community adjacent to the city. The place to go to in those days (and now, too) was a restaurant called Kulosaaren Casino. We went there for a drink and on arrival noticed a host of police vehicles and officers outside the building.

Probably thanks to my international companion, we passed the parking space and security zone without being asked a single question,

let alone stopped or searched. We were received cordially in the bar and melted into the crowd of CSCE delegates enjoying a night out.

After a drink at the bar, I asked my companion to a dance. And there we were, sharing the dance floor with such dignitaries as the Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, the President of Portugal Francisco da Costa Gomes, and many others.

When we decided to continue our tour of Helsinki, we left the restaurant just as we had entered: unnoticed and unhindered. This moment on the dance floor with Pierre Trudeau has left a lasting impression on my mind. It also speaks volumes for the kind of society that Finland was at the time: a haven of safety and tranquillity. I hope we are able to keep something of this spirit alive also in the future.



Kulosaari Casino, where Pierre Trudeau attended the reception and dance event in 1975. Photo: Helsinki City Museum.

Jussi Pajunen is the Mayor of Helsinki.

Affinity through Art

Marc Mayer

Canadians and Finns have a long history of friendship, cultural exchange, and the sharing of ideas. Since the nineteenth century, Finnish immigrants to Canada have made remarkable contributions in many domains, especially in politics, business, sports, and the arts.

The National Gallery of Canada is proud to have in its collection numerous works by artists of Finnish origin, among them prominent contemporary artists such as Roy Arden, Carol Wainio, and Shirley Wiitasalo. The intriguing work by the Sámi artist Marja Helander was included in our ambitious 2013 exhibition *Sakahán: International Indigenous Art*.

I myself grew up among Finnish immigrant families in the Northern Ontario mining community of Sudbury. I grew to know that Finns are warm people and models of civic engagement, embodying such values as justice for all, fair play, and openness. Among the best-known and respected members of our community was Judy Erola, a Finnish-Canadian business woman and politician, and the first woman to be appointed

Minister responsible for the Status of Women.

In architecture and design, Canada and Finland share great affinities. After all, it was a Finnish architect, Viljo Revell, who was chosen in 1958 to design Toronto's new City Hall. When it opened in 1965, it was the city's most forward-looking building, quickly acquiring iconic status and remaining to this day a symbol for Canada of architectural adventurousness.

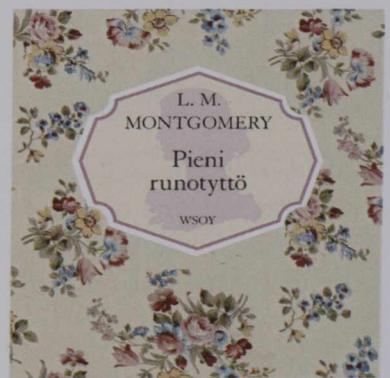
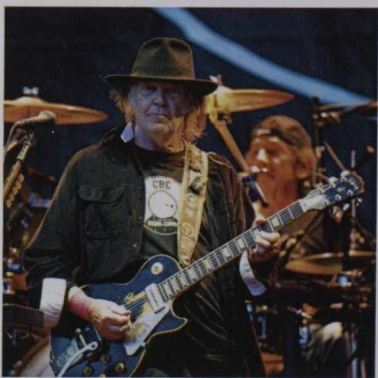
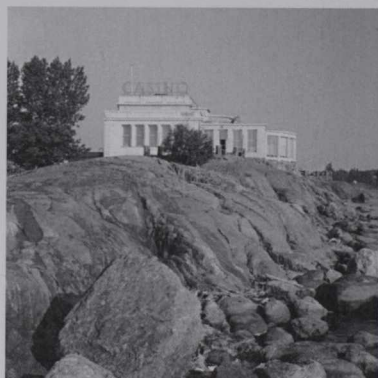
Recently I had the pleasure of visiting Helsinki, where I was impressed by the cultural infrastructure, the architectural beauty, and, particularly, the quality of the art in the Helsinki Art Museum, Museum of Contemporary Art Kiasma, and Ateneum. My visit to Hvitträsk, the house built by Herman Gesellius, Armas Lindgren, and Eliel Saarinen, was memorable. And Alvar Aalto's remarkably preserved Restaurant Savoy underscored for me the undeniable influence of the Finnish sensibility on Canadian design.

With such strong links, Canada and Finland will maintain a close and rewarding relationship indefinitely.

Marc Mayer is Director and CEO of the National Gallery of Canada.

Art from Canada Finds Way to Kiasma

The art collection of the Finnish National Gallery is the backbone of Finland's cultural heritage. Although its Museum of Contemporary Art Kiasma focuses mainly on works by Finnish and European artists, it has added a few important Canadian names to the collection: John Rafman, a multimedia artist from Montréal, and Jeff Wall, a photographer and graphic artist from Vancouver.

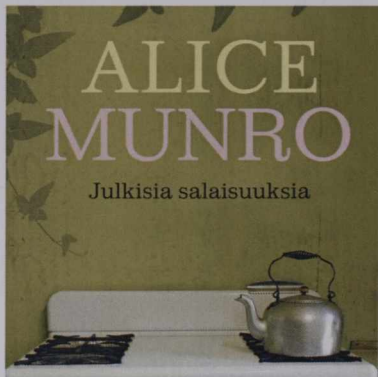
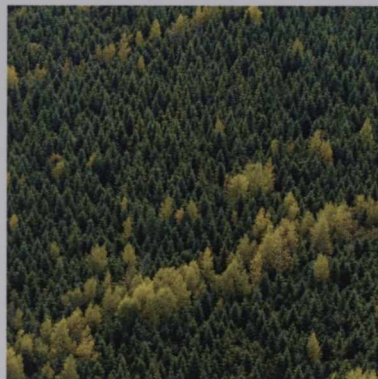


Grattis Finland och Kanada!
Congrats Finland and Canada!

Helan går
sjung hopp faderallan lallan lej
helan går
sjung hopp faderallan lej!
Och den som inte helan tar
han heller inte halvan får
Helan går
(Drink)
sjung hopp faderallan lej!

Here's the first
Sing "hup fol-de-rol la la la la"
Here's the first
Sing "hup fol-de-rol la la"
He who doesn't drink the first
Shall never, ever quench his thirst
Here's the first
[Drink]
Sing "hup fol-de-rol la la"

More verbatim, the song translates to:
The whole one goes down
Sing "hup fol-de-rol la la la la"
The whole one goes down
Sing "hup fol-de-rol la la"
And he who doesn't take the whole
Doesn't get the half one either
The whole one goes down
[drink]
Sing "hup fol-de-rol la la"



Acknowledgments

When we decided to celebrate Canada and Finland by publishing this book for 2017, we knew we would have to rely greatly on many friends and collaborators. We asked more than 100 people to submit articles in the official language of their choice, and we were grateful when articles started to arrive *en masse* in the fall of 2016. Not all submissions made it to press, and many articles and images were sliced and diced to avoid duplication and to ensure readability and flow. The end result is a series of articles and images which cover a variety of topics, but in no way represents a complete overview of the Canada–Finland relationship; such an overview would be a much larger undertaking.

Thanks for the effort of the volunteer editorial board – Michel S. Beaulieu, Markku Henriksson, Carmen Pekkarinen, and Mari-Anna Suurmunne – and in particular for the editorial guidance of our master editor, Pirkko Hautamäki. Thanks are due, also, to Dominique Pivard for his French-language editing skills. Without their commitment this book could not have been published.

Heartfelt thanks goes to Canadian historian Margaret MacMillan for her insightful *Foreword* message, to the office of the President of Finland for sharing photographs, and to the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs for their support and contributions.

Sincere thanks to Global Affairs Canada, specifically the Europe and Eurasia Bureau for constant encouragement and for breathing life into the Canada–Finland relationship; to the employees of the Embassy of Canada in Helsinki who came up with this idea and who saw it through to fruition; to Greg Donaghy, Head of the Department's Historical Section and departmental historian Joel Kropf, two individuals who supplied the material on Tommy Stone, thus the inspiration for the title of the book.

And for texts and so many photos, thanks to the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, the Thunder Bay Finnish Canadian Historical Society, the Lakehead University Archives, the Greater Sudbury Heritage Museums, the Finnish Canadian Historical Society in Sudbury, and the Finnish Hockey Hall of Fame. And to Paul Vendrasco for his regular and cheerful volunteer photography work. And thanks to Arctia Ltd. and to Kelli Hennessy for allowing us to use their images on the front cover.

Andrée Noëlle Cooligan
Ambassador of Canada, Helsinki

Mike Kempf, Chairman
Finnish-Canadian Society, Helsinki

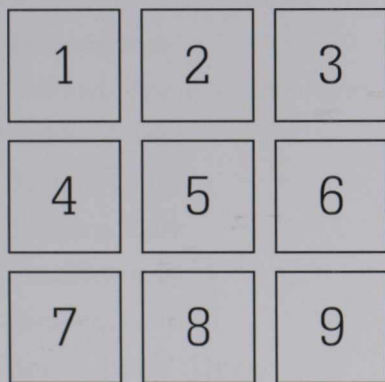
A note on images

As was our original intention, most of the article submissions arrived to us with related imagery. Still, we needed to pursue many partners in an attempt to fill the gaps and to bring even more life to the pages. A handful of photos were taken “in-house” by Embassy colleagues. Then Shane Neville, Senior Graphic Designer at Global Affairs Canada in Ottawa came through by supplying many images of forests and even Paul Anka. How wonderful to receive such a positive reaction from friends of Canada and Finland. But the big thanks goes to our layout designer Riina Viitanen, of Bookcover Publishing Ltd.

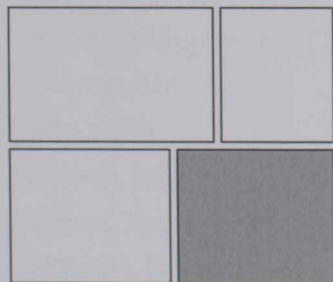
Front-cover photo

Constable Kelli Hennessy, Royal Canadian Mounted Police with Finnish icebreaker SISU. Helsinki. July 1, 2015.

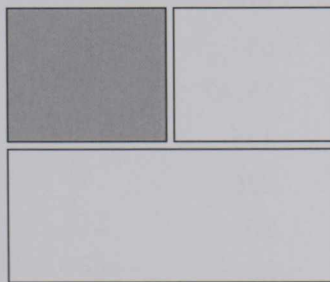
Back-cover photos



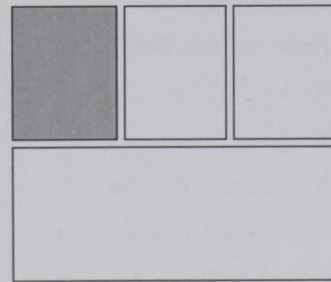
1. Oulu City Hall. February, 2016.
2. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and President Niinistö. United Nations, New York, September, 2016. photo: Katri Makkonen/Office of the President of the Republic of Finland.
3. Invitation to “Canada Day Happening in the Park.” July, 2016. Image: Natasha Viitasaari, Global Affairs Canada.
4. Carmen Pekkarinen, Mike Kempf, Anna Martikainen, Victoria Day celebration of Finnish-Canadian Society. Helsinki, May, 2016. Photo: Paul Vendrasco.
5. Celebrating 2017. Art by Olivia Pekkarinen. November, 2016.
6. André Chaker hosting Canada Day, Espan Lava, Helsinki, July 1, 2015. Photo: Paul Vendrasco.
7. Ambassador of Canada arriving to Finnish Presidential Palace, December 6, 2016.
8. President Niinistö visiting the Hockey Hall of Fame in Toronto with Saku Koivu. October 10, 2014. Photo: Juhani Kandell/Office of the President of the Republic of Finland.
9. Pride Festival. Helsinki, June 2015.



Page 144 – Zainab Feroz, Embassy Intern. Studia Fair, 2016.



Page 158 – President Niinistö, Mrs. Haukio and Saku Koivu with the Stanley Cup at the Hockey Hall of Fame. Toronto, October 10, 2014. Photo: Juhani Kandell/Office of the President of the Republic of Finland.



Page 220 – Paul Anka was appointed to the Order of Canada in 2005, in Ottawa, his hometown. © Art Babych/Shutterstock.com

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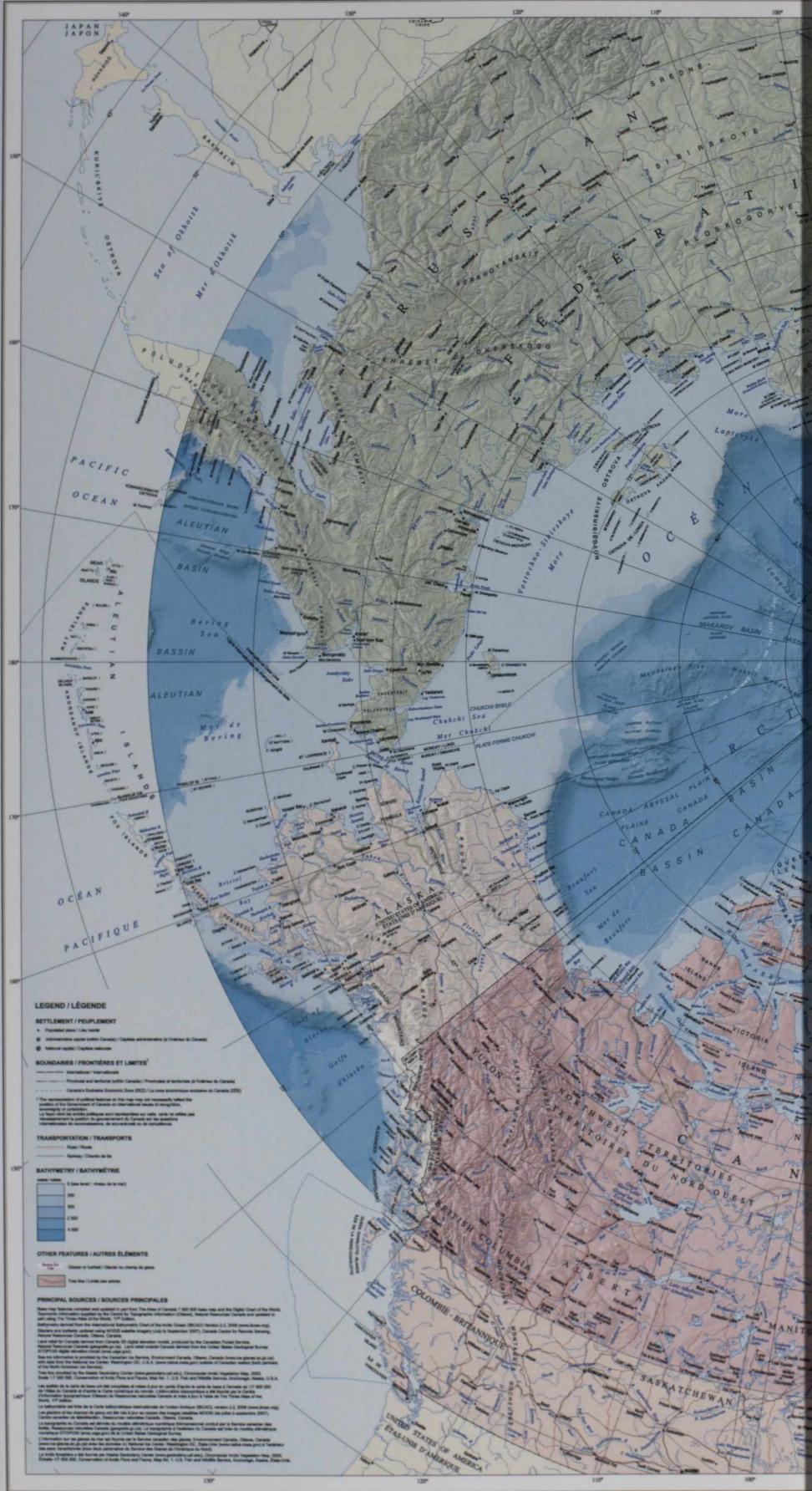
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