

“Kallista Perintöä — *Precious Legacy!*”: *Finnish-Canadian Archives, 1882-1985*

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The contours of the Canadian archival establishment have been traditionally defined by the upper strata of Canadian society. In other words, those public and private archives sponsored by the Canadian elite have become captive to the interests of their particular benefactors. Symptomatic of this has been the Canadian archival establishment's constant emphasis on the jurisdictional insularity of its member institutions and its lack of historical consciousness of a common archival heritage as well as its striking indifference to the communal memory and public service. The prevailing archival tradition in this country — if such exists — is elitist rather than popular and democratic in nature.

Yet, as the history of Finnish-Canadian archival activity indicates, this country also has other, more popular archival traditions which developed outside the pale of the Canadian archival establishment and its ranks of professional archivists. From the time they trickled into Canada in the 1880s, the immigrant Finns brought with them a well-defined awareness of a native Finnish archival tradition, one which can be traced back at least to the fifteenth century. In addition, they had an acute sense of self-identity as a people and, as well, a remarkable degree of historical consciousness concerning their past and present in both individual and communal terms, elements of which were to become further accentuated in the course of their settlement here. They also possessed a high rate of literacy and great respect for the written word. Finally, they had great desire and capacity for organization — especially in the matter of providing themselves with those community services that were non-existent in the “new land” and which they deemed to be essential for their commonweal. All these ingredients combined to create a popular archival heritage and tradition that arose from the grassroots of the Finnish-Canadian community.

Even so, it should be stressed that the Finnish-Canadian community has not had a monolithic structure. Although the members of the Finnish-Canadian community have shared many ethnocultural features from their European past, they have evolved divergent views and competitive institutions. Central to their development as a community has been the immigration process. The bulk of Finnish immigrants came to Canada in three

* This article is a revised and expanded version of the paper originally delivered at “Finn Forum '84: Finns in North America” held in September 1984 in Turku, Finland. The assistance of the Public Archives of Canada in its preparation is gratefully acknowledged by the author.

waves, each of which increased the size of the community by approximately twenty thousand persons. The first wave arrived between 1900 and the outbreak of World War I, the second in the 1920s, and the third in the 1950s. Because each wave of immigrants was subject to widely differing sets of historical circumstances prior to departure abroad, the Finns came here with major generational differences in their cultural baggage. To a large extent, these inconsistencies account for the serious ideological splits within the Finnish-Canadian community.

When the first Finns arrived here before the turn of the twentieth century, they tended to be an agrarian, conservative, God-fearing folk. But, after 1899, when the entire Finnish nation resisted the new "russification" policies of its sovereign, Tsar Nicholas II of Russia, its rage was also directed against its own governmental bureaucracy and state church which continued to support the tsarist policies. The resulting distrust of the ruling elite contributed to the radicalization of the Finnish working-class which had been squeezed by the twin traumas of the agricultural and industrial revolutions. Hence, when Finnish workers emigrated abroad, they took with them their anti-clericalism and socialism. That, too, was reflected here in the deepening rift between "Church" and "Red" Finns. In 1918 Finland suffered through an extremely vicious civil war between "White" and "Red" Finns. When veterans of that struggle immigrated to Canada in the 1920s, this led to further intensification of the conflict between conservative and radical elements in the Finnish-Canadian community. During World War II, Finland fought against the Soviet Union in The Winter War of 1939-1940 and The Continuation War of 1941-1944. Afterwards, when Finns who had been affected by these crises came as immigrants to Canada, they vented their spleen against the resident "Red" Finnish Canadians who had supported Russia during the war. Thus, the history of the Finnish-Canadian community sounds these echoes from its European past; however, these often discordant notes ultimately added to the depth and diversity of its archival tradition.

The Evolution of Finnish-Canadian Archives

Of Canada's many ethnocultural groups, the Finnish-Canadian community lays claim to one of the richest archival heritages. That is all the more remarkable because the Finns who settled in this country possessed neither the advantages of weight of numbers nor superior education and social status to account for the disproportionate size of their archival legacy in comparison with that of most other immigrant groups.¹ Nonetheless, the mass of the immigrant Finns either brought with them or developed in this country certain characteristics which led them to create and preserve vast reserves of documentation relating to their presence in the new land. In other words, the current availability of Finnish-Canadian archival material in public and semi-public repositories in Canada and

1 For example, if we compare the Finns with some of their fellow Nordics (that is, the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes), the latter appear not to have created anywhere near the quantity and quality of documentation produced by the former although these groups have been either as numerous or more so than the Finns (who number about 59,000 according to the 1981 census) and have had a longer historical presence in Canada. Indeed, the extent of the holdings of the Finnish-Canadian community in public repositories here is rivaled only by those of the much larger Jewish- and Ukrainian-Canadian communities (reported in the 1981 census figures as comprising of 264,020 and 529,615 persons respectively). Even so, the secular organizations in neither of these two communities seem to have actively sponsored self-supported and self-sustained archives programmes as early as did their Finnish counterparts. For this, see Lawrence F. Tapper, *A Guide to Sources for the Study of Canadian Jewry/Guide des sources d'archives sur les Juifs canadiens* (Ottawa, 1978) and Myron Momryk, *A Guide to Sources for the Study of Ukrainian Canadians/Guide des sources d'archives sur les Canadiens ukrainiens* (Ottawa, 1984).

abroad has not altogether occurred as the result of the fortuitous acquisition and copying activities of such institutions over the last decade or so, but more as the culmination of an ongoing historical process that has been central to the Finnish-Canadian community itself.

While this interpretation of Finnish-Canadian archives and their development in Canada may seem hardly revolutionary, the fact remains that most archivists, administrators, and other professionals associated with the "mainline" repositories in this country adhere to a very different viewpoint. They tend to assume that none of the ethno-cultural communities had ever developed any sort of independent archival tradition of their own and, therefore, could be easily victimized by those "empire builders" in public and semi-public institutions who have sought to profit from the "new" politics of multiculturalism. For example, in one case of "the pot calling the kettle black," a prominent official in one of these competing institutions summed up the situation in this way:

It [that is, the acquisition of "ethnic" archives] has more often been sneaky, unreasonable, inchoate and inconsiderate of the very people from whom materials are sought and on whose behalf we profess to preserve them. It has led to the illogical removal of materials from regions in which they are relevant and would be consulted regularly to Ottawa or Toronto or some other distant metropolis where they are barely accessible to community members and those younger, less well funded, academics who should be able to gain easy familiarity with such resources.²

By implication, this argues that these institutions (among them, the Public Archives of Canada, the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, and a number of provincial, university, and other archives) have successfully acquired "ethnocultural materials" entirely through their own efforts (however motivated and directed) and without reference to the wishes of the donors. Whether or not that has been the case in their dealings with other ethnic groups, clearly it has not been so with the Finnish-Canadian community. Indeed, a study of that community's historical development in relation to its documentary resources and archival activities reveals the workings of an indigenous process of creation, preservation, and divestiture of archival materials, a process which includes the following characteristics:

1. the creation of personal, family, and business papers;
2. the creation of corporate records;
3. the creation of printed documentation by an indigenous Finnish-language press;
4. the conscious establishment and maintenance of "organic" archives. Here "organic" archives refers to those archival repositories which were given exclusive jurisdiction and responsibility in the custody and care of all the dormant records proper of their own parent (i.e., "sponsoring") organizations;
5. the establishment and maintenance of synthetic "research" archives. In contrast to "organic" archives, it should be emphasized that "research" archives refers to those archival repositories whose mandates specify the

² Quoted from Robert F. Harney, "Ethnic Archival and Library Materials in Canada: Problems of Bibliographic Control and Preservation," *Ethnic Forum*, 1/2(1984), p. 23.

acquisition of records of organizations and papers of individuals not necessarily associated with their own parent organizations or sponsoring agencies for varied research purposes;

6. the transfer of accumulated archival material to external repositories.

Personal Papers

The origins of the first phase coincided with the arrival of the first Finns in Canada about 1882. Although most of the documentation brought or created by the first of these newcomers to this country has not survived, contemporary reports of Canadian immigration authorities indicate that the Finns carried on a lively correspondence with their relatives in the "Old Country," sent them money, and otherwise tried to persuade them to settle here.³ Since these letter-writers did not normally retain copies of their own correspondence, most of the personal correspondence originating in Canada during the early period of the Finnish settlement is now in Finland. One can find no better evidence of that process than in the "America Letter Collection" housed at the Institute of General History of the University of Turku.⁴

On the other hand, the retention within Canada of personal correspondence by Finnish residents only took place as these immigrants became attached to this country and spread across its wide expanse. The vast distances involved in keeping up personal contacts naturally meant the use of the mails. Moreover, as the immigrant Finns settled down, they sent for their families from Finland or married here and established new families rooted in this country. That, too, led to the creation, accumulation, and retention of Finnish family papers in Canada. Likewise, the generation of business papers and records here resulted from the efforts of some of the newcomers to found commercial enterprises to service the needs of the Finnish-Canadian community and the Canadian society at large.

Since such personal, family, and business papers were not linked to the immigrant's past life in Finland, they were not generally "exported" there and, for that reason, have tended to remain in this country.⁵ Unfortunately, this has been somewhat of a mixed

3 See W.J. Wills, "Annual Report of the Ottawa Immigration Agent," in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1884, No. 14, Appendix 3, p. 21, and "Report of Professor James Mavor," *ibid.*, 1900, No. 13, p. 224.

4 This collection includes some 18,000 letters from correspondents abroad — principally from the United States and to a lesser extent from Canada — to kinfolk and friends in the Provinces of Satakunta, Varsinais-Suomi, and Etelä-Pohjanmaa in Finland. For further information on this material, see Keijo Virtanen, *Letters to Finland: The Finns in the United States: The Project on Finnish Immigration of the Michigan Historical Collections* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1975), pp. 7-23, and his "Sources for the Study of Migration in the Archives of Finland," in Francis X. Blouin, Jr. and Robert M. Warner, eds., *Sources for the Study of Migration and Ethnicity: A Guide to Manuscripts in Finland, Ireland, Poland, The Netherlands, and the State of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979), p. 195; and Marsha Penti-Vidutis, "The America Letter: Immigrant Accounts of Life Overseas," *Finnish Americana* 1 (1978), pp. 22-40.

5 Based on interviews with the late Sven Stadius (a long-time Finnish consul in Toronto) and Pastor Markku Suokonautio (then minister of St. Michael's Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church of Montreal), exceptions to this occurred only when immigrants left their estates to heirs in Finland or died intestate and relatives could be located there. Then, their personal effects (including papers) were shipped abroad by their executors or executors *pro tempore* (such as consular officials, clergymen, or officers of other Finnish associations). Otherwise, personal papers unclaimed or unwanted by the families of the deceased have usually remained with these executors until being donated to institutions such as the Public Archives of Canada (hereinafter, PAC). Examples include the Sven Stadius Papers (PAC, MG 30, D 239 — donated by the Finnish Consul in Toronto) and the series of "Estate Papers" found in the St. Michael's Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church Collection (PAC, MG 8, G 62, vol. 12, files 18-26; vol. 13, files 1-5; vol. 20, file 8), and the Vapaus Publishing Company records (PAC, Finnish Organization of Canada [hereinafter, FOC] Collection, MG 28, V 46, vol. 88, files 30-37, vol. 89, files 1-12; vol. 145, file 30).

blessing. The sad fact is that the belated interest of Canadian archival repositories in “ethnic archives” has meant that only a relatively few examples of the very early material of this type has been preserved for the benefit of historical research.⁶ In other words, as crassly politically-motivated and self-serving as their new concern for “ethnic archives” is reputed to have been, these external repositories have nevertheless succeeded in alerting the Finnish-Canadian community to the potential historical value of personal, family, and business papers of “ordinary folk” in documenting the communal experience. Their intervention in the rescue and preservation of such material for posterity has been of particular importance to the Finnish-Canadian community because its members clove to a sense of modesty and privacy for ideological and cultural reasons which led them to consider their own personal past of no interest or concern to the community at large.

Corporate Records

On the basis of the available evidence, the earliest organizational records of the Finnish-Canadian community can be dated at least as far back as the founding of the “*Lännen Rusko*” *Raittius-Seura* (“Western Glow” Temperance Society) at North Wellington, British Columbia in 1890.⁷ Although *Lännen Rusko* itself did not long survive, it was quickly succeeded by a string of other Finnish temperance societies, churches, and local and national cultural associations wherever the Finns had managed to plant a foothold for themselves across the breadth of the country. Moreover, these new Finnish-Canadian associations were then destined to perpetuate and elaborate upon that tradition of records keeping set by *Lännen Rusko* — a tradition which continues to the present.

In part, that tradition was a product of necessity. None of these associations — however rudimentary, informal, and loosely structured — could have operated without the creation and maintenance of organizational records. At the very least, each association had to keep its own minutes of meetings, membership lists, correspondence files, and financial records just to establish the minimum conditions under which it could pursue some semblance of organized activity. Furthermore, whenever one of these associations wished to expand its membership services, to acquire property, or to incorporate itself under provincial or federal jurisdiction, records of those activities also had to be kept.⁸ That is to say, the growth and diversification of Finnish organizational records could

6 Several unidentified critics of the “mainstream” archival repositories in Canada have declared this still to be the case. See a Multiculturalism Canada publication compiled by Elizabeth Boghossian and edited by Dorothy Weld, *Ethnic Archives Workshop Report*, (Ottawa, 1985), pp. 11-12. Moreover, as I have also suggested in a letter to the editor of *Archivaria*, the “professional” archivists of this country exhibit a disturbing myopia in discerning any other archival tradition here than that associated with the “mainstream” institutions; see “No Anglo-Saxon Monopoly in Canadian Archival Tradition,” *Archivaria*, 18 (Summer 1984), pp. 17-19. For a recently published overview of the Canadian archival tradition as it is still generally understood and appreciated, see Ian E. Wilson, “Archives,” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 1 (Edmonton, 1985), pp. 84-86.

7 Matti Halminen, *Sointula: Kalevan kansan ja Kanadan suomalaisten historiaa* (Helsinki, 1936), pp. 12-13. For the minute book of “*Lännen Rusko*” *Raittius-Seura* (which includes the 5 February 1890 minutes of its founding convention), see PAC, FOC Collection, MG 28, V 46, vol. 143, file 64.

8 According to Halminen, *Sointula*, pp. 18-19, even those Finns wishing to establish a utopian socialist settlement at Sointula, British Columbia, found it necessary to incorporate themselves as the Kalevan Kansa Colonisation Company, Limited, under the laws of that province. For a transcript of the “Memorandum of ‘Kalevan Kansa’ Colonisation Company, Limited” and “Kalevan Kansan peruslait ja säännöt — including the “Articles of Association of ‘Kalevan Kansa’ Colonisation Company, Limited” — apparently written in Halminen’s own hand, see PAC, Vancouver FOC Local No. 55, MG 28, V 113, vol. 2, files 8 and 9 respectively.

be occasioned by external as well as by internal operational requirements. For example, as occurred during World War I, the Canadian government obliged the “provisional” Finnish Organization of Canada to conduct its meeting and record its minutes in English.⁹

The central theme in the records management practices of most of these associations is to keep a “good set of books.” Though they were almost unanimously working-class in background and in possession of little or no formal schooling, the records keepers of these associations seemed to share an exceptional belief in the value of the written word. When that notion was combined with another characteristic idea of theirs — the conviction that their associations had a definite historical as well as a temporal significance — the keeping of a “good set of books” went well beyond the practical needs of good records management.

Indeed, these records keepers occasionally could be so obsessed with achieving total accuracy and completeness of “the record” that they would assume responsibilities far beyond the mere task of maintaining the records of their associations. No better example of this can be cited than the careful census of local Finns undertaken by the Finnish Society of Toronto (*Toronton Suomalainen Seura*) during the first decade of this century. This census not only recorded the number of Finns who lived in Toronto, but also included their names as well as a variety of personal data and vital statistics related to them.¹⁰

This sort of striving for the fullness of the historical as well as organizational record by associations such as the Finnish Society of Toronto has greatly enlarged the documentary sources now available to researchers for the writing of the “ethnic history” of the Finnish-Canadian community. Moreover, with the diversification and integration of the various Finnish associations into the mainstream of Canadian society, their records took on an added richness as a resource for Canadian history in general. Since many of these associations also maintained vigorous contacts with their counterparts in Finland, the United States, and other countries, their records may also be of some use to historians abroad in the study of their national histories.¹¹ The matter of accessibility to that documentation, hopefully, will become clearer as we proceed.

Printed Documentation

The founding of Matti Kurikka’s *Aika* in 1901 at Nanaimo, British Columbia, marks the beginning of the Finnish-language press in Canada. Because some might argue that the earlier appearance of the *nyrkki-lehti* (handwritten newspaper) in this country suggests

9 Edward W. Laine, “Finnish Canadian Radicalism and Canadian Politics: The First Forty Years, 1900-1940,” in Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, eds., *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada*, (Toronto, 1981), pp. 99, 108.

10 For this census, see the Finnish Society of Toronto (hereinafter, FST) records in PAC, FOC Collection, MG 28, V 46, vol. 35, file 39. Note, too, that periodic censuses were undertaken by these Finns at least until 1914 (see Canadian Suomalainen Sosialistijärjestö, *Canadian Suomalaisen Sosialistijärjestön ensimmäisen edustajakokouksen pöytäkirja*, ed. Aku Päiviö [Port Arthur, 1914], p. 28).

11 Reino Kero’s *Neuvosto-Karjalaa rakentamassa: Pohjois-Amerikan suomalaiset tekniikan tuojina 1930-luvun Neuvosto-Karjalassa* (Helsinki, 1983) is an important landmark in Finnish scholarship on migration studies because it establishes the fact that the Finns from North America had a cultural and technological impact on the “Old World” — albeit Soviet Karelia rather than Finland. By way of contrast, none of the essays in a recent symposium on “New World” influences upon Finland — Eero Kuparinen and Keijo Virtanen, eds., *The Impact of American Culture* (Turku, 1983) — have linked the transmission of “American” cultural influences there with the Finnish communities in North America.

an even earlier beginning to this phase,¹² the word “press” here means the printing or mechanical reproduction of publications in multiple copies intended for public distribution. Thus *Aika* represents a milestone in the remarkable saga of the Finnish-language press in Canada.

Originally published as a weekly newspaper, *Aika* showed the way first to *Työkansa*, *Canadian Uutiset*, *Vapaus*, and other newspapers that were to follow in its wake. Although forced to suspend publication at the end of 1902 because of serious financial difficulties, *Aika* was resurrected at Sointula, British Columbia in the following year. In this reincarnation as a twice-monthly magazine, *Aika* pioneered the development of the Finnish-language periodical press in Canada. As well, the handful of monographic works issued by *Aika*'s publishers foreshadowed the growth of Finnish-language book publishing in this country.¹³ Before it ceased publication altogether in 1904, *Aika* had truly laid the foundations of the Finnish-language publishing industry in Canada.

Thereafter, Finnish-Canadian publications began to proliferate in number and variety. All told, the tally of such publications includes about ten different newspaper titles, some sixty-to-eighty periodicals and other serials, as well as a larger multitude of books, pamphlets, and the like.¹⁴ Indeed, the whole of this considerable enterprise was supported on a readership so small that it would astound the “struggling” English-Canadian publishers of today (were this aspect of their industry’s past better known to them). “How is it,” they might well ask, “that the Finnish Publishing Company Limited (also known as *Suomalainen Kustannusyhtiö*) of Port Arthur, Ontario, could hope to sell five thousand copies of a ‘general interest’ title in 1910 to a potential readership based on a total population here of no more than ten thousand Finns when an equivalent English-language publication is deemed to do very well today should it sell the same number of copies to a population some two thousand times greater?” Obviously, here again we are struck by another example of the veneration of the written word by the Finnish-Canadian community.

Yet, the emergence of a vital Finnish-language publishing industry in Canada signified something more than the desire on the part of the Finns to have reading matter in their own native language. Had it been otherwise, the Finnish-Canadian community could have simply satisfied itself by importing publications from the far larger Finnish-American community and from Finland (which it also did to no small degree). Nevertheless, it chose the more difficult course of establishing and maintaining an indigenous press to minister to its own informational needs within the political, social, and cultural context of its existence here and, as well, to serve as a medium of self-expression and self-identity. Consequently, the Finnish-language press in this country has incorporated a wealth of material relating to the Finnish-Canadian past in all of its various publications.

12 See Varpu Lindström-Best, “‘First Press’: A Study of Finnish Canadian Handwritten Newspapers,” *Polyphony* 3 (Fall 1981): 65-73.

13 Arja Pili, *The Finnish-Language Press in Canada, 1901-1939: A Study in the History of Ethnic Journalism* (Turku, 1982), pp. 40-57; J. Donald Wilson, “A Synoptic View of *Aika*, Canada’s First Finnish-Language Newspaper,” *Amphora*, 39 (March 1980), pp. 9-14.

14 For bibliographies of Finnish-Canadian publications, see Kaarina Kotiranta, *Amerikansuomalaisen kirjallisuuden yhteisluettelo/Union List of Finnish American Literature* (Helsinki, 1970); Ruth Bogusis, *Checklist of Canadian Ethnic Serials* (Ottawa, 1981), pp. 95-104; Olavi Koivukangas and Simo Toivonen, *Suomen siirtolaisuuden ja maassamuuton bibliografia/A Bibliography on Finnish Emigration and Internal Migration* (Turku, 1978), pp. 157-68; Edward W. Laine, “Finding Aid to the FOC Collection (PAC, MG 28, V 46)” (unpublished manuscript), pp. 247-66, 290-304, 327-33.



The nyrkki-lehti or "handwritten newspaper" was the precursor to the Finnish-Canadian press. Toivo — the organ of the Finnish Society of Toronto — is one of the finest examples of this type of "publication." It appeared as single manuscript copies on a fairly regular basis from 9 November 1902 to December 1904. PAC, Finnish Organization of Canada Collection, MG 28, V 46, vol. 46, file 23. Photo Courtesy: PAC C-124699.

The fact that these publications were produced in multiple copies means that representative specimens have usually survived to the present day despite the ravages of time and circumstance and, therefore, may now exist in one Canadian repository or another. Among the exceptions are those publications which were purposely destroyed by their owners during World War I when, after having declared Finland to be an enemy power, the Canadian government prohibited the possession of almost all Finnish-language publications in this country together with like material produced in the other "enemy languages."¹⁵

In that regard, two cases of the damage this caused immediately spring to mind. The first concerns the newspaper *Työkansa* (1907-1915), of which — with the exception of one hidden run — only a few scattered issues escaped destruction in Canada. For the missing issues, we must now look to Finland where that newspaper's subscribers were not faced with the same constraints as were placed upon its readers here. The second involves the newspaper *Vapaus*, in which case a considerable number of copies of its World War I issues have survived only because they had been kept in the files of Canada's Chief Press Censor.¹⁶ If there is any lesson to be drawn from this experience, it is that changing political attitudes in Canada have been sometimes hazardous not only to the health of the Finnish archives here, but also to that of the archivists themselves.

Note, too, that this was no isolated incident, for much the same happened again during World War II. The Canadian government seized records along with the other possessions of the Finnish Organization of Canada and its locals, and some of that material was never returned to its owners.¹⁷ In other instances, the ex-members of the "illegal" Finnish Organization of Canada buried their records to hide them from the authorities. These inhospitable storage conditions led to their rapid deterioration and eventual destruction.¹⁸ A few even burned their records. Thus, significant gaps occur in the written as well as published record of the Finnish-Canadian community as a consequence of the federal government's actions against some of its members.

"Organic" Archives

The Finnish-Canadian community has been able to create prodigious quantities of archival material or "archives" largely as the result of the almost universal literacy of its members and their propensity for organizing themselves into temperance societies, churches, and cultural and political associations on both the local and national scenes. In addition, the community's willingness to support a broad variety of publications and

15 See P.C. 2381, 20 September 1918, in PAC, Records of the Privy Council Office, RG 2, 2, vol. 841. While P.C. 2381 allowed the possession of publications "of a literary, scientific, religious or artistic nature," the definition of such material was left solely to the discretion of the Secretary of State. Under the circumstances, the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada (hereinafter, FSOC) and *Vapaus* found it prudent to hide or destroy their records and stocks of publications, according to the recollections of the National Secretary of the banned organization; see J.W. Ahlqvist, "Muistelmia sosialistilehtien julkaisemisesta," in *Vapaus 1917-1934* (Sudbury, 1934), pp. 15-16. Affiliated locals did much the same with their records; see Larry Warwaruk, *Red Finns on the Coteau* (Saskatoon, 1984), p. 21.

16 See the records of the Chief Press Censor for Canada in PAC, Records of the Department of the Secretary of State, RG 6, E 1.

17 William Eklund, *Canadian rakentaja: Canada Suomalaisen Järjestön historia vu. 1911-1971* (Toronto, 1983), pp. 599-600.

18 For example, in a personal interview several years ago with the former *Vapaus* agent in Montreal, the author was informed that the records of that city's FOC local had been buried during World War II and did not survive the ordeal.

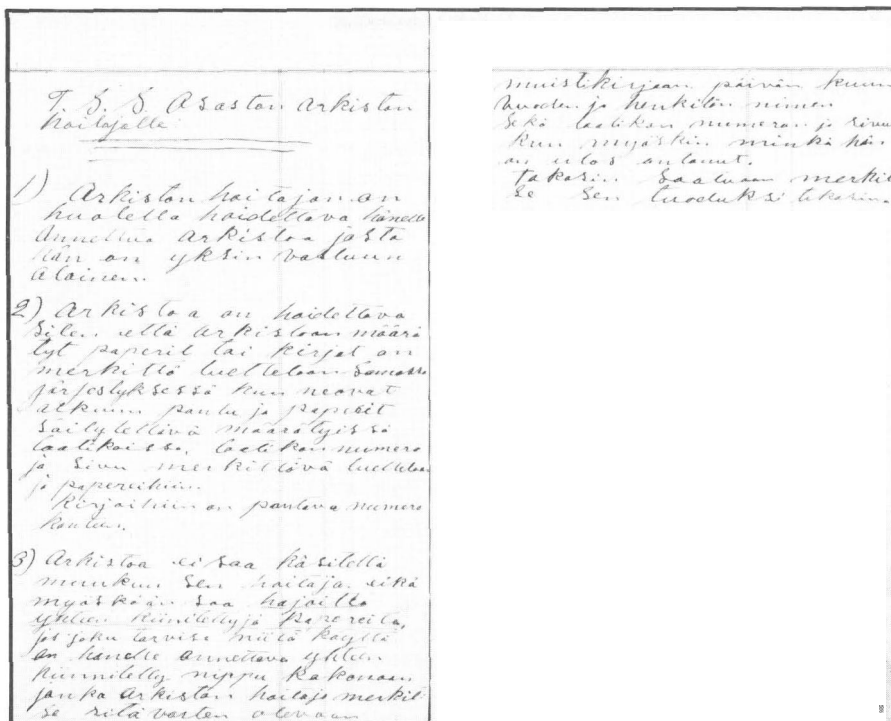
publishing ventures generated even more records, as well as a host of print and near-print material. Indeed, the creation of so much documentation leads us to the second aspect in the evolution of Finnish-Canadian archives: what about the “archives” or repositories where all of this archival material was being accumulated and preserved by its creators?

When the first immigrant Finns came to Canada in the 1880s, it is likely that their first “archives” consisted of little more than the sturdy suitcases and steamer trunks that they had brought with them. There they could store their personal and family papers along with the rest of their valuables under “lock and key” with some measure of security. Indeed, even now some Finnish homes adhere to the custom of using the steamer trunk as the family archives. Perhaps the most significant consequence of that continuing tradition was the change in attitude that it engendered, for the caches of documents initially created and preserved by the immigrants as their “working papers” subsequently came to be regarded as the “historical record” of their “new” lives in this country as well as of the families that they had established here.

The spread of Finnish archives and diversification of their contents beyond the purview of home and hearth was soon occasioned by those newcomers who, in being persuaded to open a variety of commercial enterprises such as boarding houses and hotels to meet the needs of their compatriots, created and stored business records in these establishments. The appearance of the first Finnish-Canadian temperance societies and church congregations in the 1890s led to the creation of other kinds of records and places to store them. But, as long as the directors of those associations were allowed to treat the organizational records much as their own “working papers,” the “archives” of a local temperance society or church congregation was as likely to be located in an officer’s home or place of business as in the temperance hall or church. Given the extent of this sort of dispersal of organizational records during the nineteenth century, we can well understand why the surviving documentation dating from that period is so “spotty” and fragmented and why that situation does not materially improve until the appearance of “organic” archives after the turn of the century.

The Finnish Society of Toronto (also later known in Finnish as the *Toronton Suomalainen Sosialisti Osasto*, the literal English translation of which — “Toronto Socialist Finnish Local” — was not used for political reasons), appears to have been the first Finnish-Canadian association both to implement and articulate the concept of “organic” archives. Although the precise date when the Finnish Society of Toronto formally introduced this concept to its records-keeping practices has yet to be ascertained, it would seem that this development occurred sometime after the society’s founding in 1902 (probably between 1907 and 1912).¹⁹ By that time, the society itself had acquired a

19 The first possible date for the beginning of the Archives of the FST is suggested in the actual organization of its holdings, that is, by the arrangement and listing of an item dated 1907 together with earlier material (see PAC, FOC Collection, MG 28, V 46, vol. 35, file 35, listings of 1902-1903 items). A second date is indicated in the 4 November 1909 minutes of meeting of the FST’s Executive Board wherein the complaint was raised that too many of the Executive Board’s “old minute books” have been lost and it was decided to commission I. Heinonen and E. Pirtinen to locate the missing volumes (*ibid.*, vol. 38, file 11). While the collection and arrangement of the society’s archives had probably commenced at some point between those two dates, the listing of that material seems to have been undertaken later. In any event, the archives’ undated register (“T.S.S.O. Arkiston Luettelo,” *ibid.*, vol. 35, file 35) could not have been started before 1912, that is, the year when the society first adopted the Finnish name of *Toronton Suomalainen Sosialisti Osasto* and celebrated its tenth anniversary (an auspicious occasion for starting such a register).



The written instructions and mandate for the Archivist of the Finnish Society of Toronto are shown here as they appear in the "T.S.S.O. Arkiston Luettelo" (Register of the Archives of the Finnish Society of Toronto). These pages represent the earliest known evidence of a conscious, distinctly articulated archival tradition in the Finnish-Canadian community. PAC, Finnish Organization of Canada Collection, MG 28, V 46, vol. 35, file 35. Photo Courtesy: PAC C-124692.

sense of permanence regarding its prospects for the foreseeable future and its members saw themselves as constituting an important element in the historical evolution of this country in the vanguard of the "working-class struggle" which, in view of their Marxian beliefs, would lead to the ultimate victory of the toiling masses here. Their optimism in this regard had been particularly heightened by the recent activities of their comrades in the "Old Country" who, in having successfully staged the *Suurlakko* or "General Strike" of 1905, had wrung from Nicholas II — that is, from none other than the notoriously autocratic "Tsar of All the Russias and Grand Duke of Finland" — the concession of a unicameral *Eduskunta* or "Parliament" elected by universal suffrage (the first in Europe).²⁰ Hence, to ensure that the documentation relating to its own activities would

20 In his 1975 memoirs, Vilho Säilä, a participant in the *Suurlakko* who became an influential member in the FST and FSO following his arrival in Canada in 1907, still evokes something of the power and sense of accomplishment that all working-class Finns shared in the wake of Finland's General Strike of 1905: "This week of the *Suurlakko* was an historical week not only for Finland, but for the whole world. Finland was the first country which obtained universal suffrage" (translated from his 'Muistoja elämästäni,' in PAC, Vilho Säilä Papers, MG 31, H 118, vol 1, file 3).

also be preserved for posterity in the coming post-capitalist era, the society decided that it should establish a repository for its historically significant records.

Whereas the earlier temperance societies and church congregations had almost wholly depended upon the individual member's sense of history as well as the functionality of the documents concerned (for example, registers of births, marriages, and deaths) in ensuring the preservation of their archival material, the membership of the Finnish Society of Toronto had evolved a shared sense of history that enabled them to undertake a collective approach to safeguarding their records for future generations. Therein lay the genesis of the first "organic" archives in the Finnish-Canadian community, an agency which was not fully articulated until the occasion of the society's tenth anniversary. At that time, it became known as the Archives of the Finnish Society of Toronto (actually *Toronton Suomalaisen Sosialisti Osaston Arkisto* or "Archives of the Toronto Finnish Socialist Local"). A custodian was then appointed to the archives who, naturally enough, was given the title of *Arkistonhoitaja* or "Archivist." To complete the picture, the archivist was also provided with a written mandate and set of instructions as follows:

To the Archivist of the Finnish Society of Toronto

1. The Archivist must carefully look after those Archives entrusted to him and for which he alone is responsible.
2. The Archives must be managed in such a manner that papers or books directed to the Archives are to be entered into the catalogue in the same order as they had been originally placed and the papers are to be stored in specific [filing] cases. The case [volume] number and page [file number] are to be entered in the catalogue and on the [bound sheafs or files of] papers.

With respect to books, the number is to be put on the cover.

3. The Archives may not be handled by anyone else other than its custodian. Neither is it permitted *to separate those papers that have been fastened together* [emphasis in the original]. If someone needs to use them, they are to be given to him as one bound sheaf in its entirety, and of which the Archivist will note in a register established for that purpose the day as well as the year and the person's name and both the case number and the page as well as [the contents of] that which he has lent out. Upon their return, he will note that they have been brought back.²¹

The significance of these instructions cannot be overemphasized, for they clearly indicate that the Finnish Society of Toronto was fully aware of such fundamental archival principles as provenance and respect des fonds — and wished its archives to function on that basis. Moreover, in having thereby premeditated the role of its archives and archivist to that degree, the society's concern with records keeping had transcended the more mundane concerns of maintaining its records for purely day-to-day administrative reasons. In sum, the Finnish Society of Toronto had developed a special agency analogous to what we now would call a "corporate archives" — and one which, it should be

21 "T.S.S.O. Arkiston luettelo," in PAC, FOC Collection, MG 28, V 46, vol. 35, file 35.

emphasized, sought to preserve the historical record of the entire Finnish community in Toronto as well as the organizational records of its particular sponsor.²²

Moreover, if we analyse the society's archival operations on the basis of the evidence contained in its holdings (now held by the Public Archives²³) together with the above-noted instructions which it gave to its archivist, we find that the operations of the Archives of the Finnish Society of Toronto differed little in principle and substance from the operation of any small corporate archives even by today's standards. To wit: the "inactive records" of the society were to be turned over to the archives for processing and preservation and, thereafter, these records were made available to the society's members as required.

Insofar as the archivist was concerned, his first task was to identify and select the historically significant material from the mass of old office files that he received. After having determined what was to be retained, he then had to assign identity/location numbers to each historical record/file/item; write record/file/item descriptions of the contents of these documents; catalogue and arrange each record/file/item in chronological order; and finally store them (in their proper order in containers suitable for the purpose) so that they could be put to later use by the membership of the society. The archivist's duty, therefore, was to preserve and make available the holdings of the archives of the society in the same way that archivists still claim to do today for their sponsors and clients.

However, to understand better just how remarkable the society's archival achievements actually were, it is not enough simply to compare the operations of its archives with similar contemporary institutions or those in our own time. Before making any such comparisons, one would have to note that this Finnish archival effort was entirely supported without aid of public monies by persons who were not only recently arrived immigrant "foreigners" and generally bereft of any advantage of formal education (those counted themselves lucky if they had had a year or two of public schooling in Finland), but also without social standing, wealth, or economic stability. Indeed, virtually all of the society's members were blue-collar men and women — the "aristocrats" among them being the tailors of the *Iso Paja* or "Big Shop"²⁴ — who invested in the building of their

22 For example, the archives kept the minutes of the founding convention of the Temperance Society of Christian Morality (*ibid.*, vol. 36, file 15) as well as other material unrelated to the records proper of its sponsor. This concern for documenting the affairs of the larger Finnish community has also been characteristic of most other "organic" archives in the community, for example, as seen in the "Archival Holdings" of the Montreal Suomi Society (*Montrealin Suomi-Seura*) and Central Organization of Loyal Finns in Canada (hereinafter, COLFC; in Finnish, *Kanadan Kansallismielisten Suomalaisten Keskusliitto*) in PAC, Montreal Suomi Society, Inc., Collection, MG 28, V 68, vol. 7, files 9-39, and vol. 8, files 40-44, respectively. Like the archives of the FST, other "organic" archives were willing to preserve any records of rival associations that came into their possession, for example, as seen in that extraordinary mix of Finnish-Canadian organizational records — including those of the social democratic "yellows," the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) "reds," and the conservative "whites" — which fell into the hands of one contending faction after another and yet succeeded in being preserved until they were eventually donated by the Finlandia Club of Port Arthur to Lakehead University Library (Finlandia Club Collection, MG 3).

23 In particular, see *ibid.*, vol. 35, files 35-45, and vol. 36, files 1-34, as well as Laine, "Finding Aid to the FOC Collection," pp. 115, 120-29 *passim*, 380-81.

24 The "Big Shop," a cooperative workshop operated by Jaakko Lindala for Toronto's Finnish tailors, is described in J.W. Ahlqvist, "Iso Paja," in Canadian Suomalainen Järjestö, *Canadian Suomalainen Järjestö 25 vuotta: Kuvauksia ja muistelmia 25-vuotiselta toimintataipaleelta 1911-1936* (Sudbury, Ont., 1936), pp. 5-8, and Säilä, "Muistoja elämästäni."

association all the spare “free time” and resources that they could wrest from Toronto’s notorious sweatshops. Given the many other activities sponsored by the Finnish Society of Toronto and its tiny resource base of immigrant Finns, it is really quite astonishing that so much attention would have been paid to archival matters.

Perhaps herein lies part of the reason that the post-1914 records in the archives were not processed to the degree that the earlier records were or, for that matter, even maintained in the systematic fashion as originally prescribed in its sponsor’s instructions to the archivist.²⁵ It could well be that, once the Finnish Society of Toronto offices also became the headquarters of the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada in 1914, the society’s resources were too strained to allow the continuing development of the archives in the same manner as before. Of course, it is far likelier that the society’s archival programme ground to a halt towards the end of World War I, that is, at the time when Finnish was declared an “enemy language” and all current records had to be kept in English upon the pain of severe penalties under the War Measures Act. Under those circumstances, it was much more prudent for the archivist to leave the “backlog” of the society’s Finnish-language records unprocessed. In any event, the society’s records were carefully preserved after 1914, although they were once again kept more or less as dormant files rather than treated as archival documents *per se*. Even so, the completeness of these post-1914 records — especially given the fact that they constituted a potentially serious threat to their creators and possessors until the expiry of the government’s emergency wartime measures in 1920 — shows the extent of the society’s commitment to its records-keeping tradition.

The Finnish Society of Toronto was not alone in this regard. In its 1915 minutes, the Finnish Society of Vancouver (*Vancouverin Suomalainen Sosialisti Osasto*; literally, the “Vancouver Finnish Socialist Local”) also appointed an archivist to care for its records.²⁶ Had all the later associations in the Finnish-Canadian community been as scrupulous in the care of their records, the integrity and utility of their archival materials would have been greatly enhanced. Certainly, the most serious problem of the “alienation” of an association’s records — as so often happened when individual officers of the association kept their “working files” at home — would have been largely curtailed.²⁷ On the other hand, it was rather difficult for a society to insist that its officers conduct all of its business on its premises as long as these officials were unpaid volunteers and it was more convenient for them to work at home. Hence, we find that a society’s lack of the resources was the major factor leading to the alienation of its records and the eventual breakdown in its concept of “organic” archives and, as well, its acceptance of a centralized “research” archives as the logical solution for the maintenance of its important historical records.

“Research” Archives

The origins of the “research” archives within the Finnish-Canadian community can be traced to the establishment of the Finnish Organization of Canada Play Inventory

25 For example, the archives’ register ceased to be kept in any sort of systematic manner for materials created after 1914, and it was abandoned altogether after 1923 (see PAC, FOC Collection, MG 28, V 46, vol. 35, file 35).

26 PAC, Vancouver FOC Local No. 55 Collection, MG 28, V 113, vol. 1, file 2, pp. 119-20, minutes of the Executive Board, Vancouver Finnish Socialist Local No. 2, 2 January 1915.

27 The effect of this practice of “borrowing” organizational records and taking them home can be seen in the William Eklund and Einar Michael Jouppi Papers (PAC, MG 31, H 80, and MG 31, H 105, respectively).

(*Canadian Suomalaisen Järjestön Näytelmävarasto*) which, in fact, was a play-lending library.²⁸ The reason for choosing to date the appearance of the “research” archives with the Play Inventory rather than one of the earlier appearing book-lending libraries is that, in principle, this play-lending library operated much more like an archives. For example, it acquired both published and unpublished scripts of plays from a variety of sources within and outside the organization. Since royalties had to be paid for the performance of many of these plays, the source or provenance of these “acquisitions” had to be recorded. The plays were then described, catalogued, and, whenever the need arose, lent out for use by the organization’s locals and other groups wishing to stage them.²⁹ In effect, the Finnish Organization of Canada Play Inventory was a true precursor to the two rival “research” archives that were later established — one by the Finnish Organization of Canada on the premises of Vapaus Publishing Company Limited in Sudbury, Ontario, and the other by the Finnish Canadian Historical Society at the home of the Lutheran pastor in neighbouring Copper Cliff.

The Finnish Organization of Canada (FOC), in fact, had begun discussing the establishment of a “research” archives at least as early as 1939.³⁰ The purpose of the proposed archives was to document the full spectrum of the Finnish-Canadian heritage, with emphasis, of course, on the FOC and the left-wing faction in the Finnish community. However, the actual implementation of this archives was brought to a halt by the outbreak of World War II which saw the banning of the FOC and the confiscation of its properties from the spring of 1940 to the end of 1943. The federal government had again been prompted to move against the Finnish radical movement (as it had done in World War I) in response to great public outrage provoked by the signing of the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact of 1939 and the subsequent Soviet military action carried out under its provisions against Finland in The Winter War of 1939-1940. Hence, the establishment of the Finnish Canadian Archives (*Canadian Suomalaisen Arkisto*) had to await the return of peace and, therefore, did not become fully operational until 1947.

Hannes Sula, the first Archivist of the Finnish Canadian Archives, had been a veteran of the *Muurmannin Legioona* (also known as the Murmansk or Finnish Legion), a military unit of “Red” Finns operating under British command against the “White” Finns and their German allies in northwestern Russia in 1918-19. He had also been one of Finland’s champions in track-and-field. At the time of assuming the role of archivist, he was a newspaperman with *Vapaus* (“Liberty”), the principal organ of the Finnish

28 The FOC Play Inventory consists of scripts for more than five hundred different plays (PAC, FOC Collection, MG 28, V 46, vols. 19-21, 96-118, 121-22), as listed in Laine, “Finding Aid to the FOC Collection,” pp. 57-110. The actual extent of the original “working” Play Inventory was three to four times larger in extent than now preserved at the PAC because multiple sets of typewritten scripts were maintained for each title. Moreover, a typical set would have consisted of a director’s copy (playbook) with the entire text of the play, abridged actors’ copies (rolebooks) for each part, and, possibly, a music book.

29 For this, see PAC, FOC Collection, MG 28, V 46, vol 18, files 44-45 (minutes of the Drama Committee), and vol. 31, files 7-11 (correspondence and register concerning play rentals).

30 See *ibid.*, vol. 89, file 13, for the FOC questionnaire that was circulated in 1939 concerning the collection of archival material for the purpose of writing a history of the Finns in Canada.

Organization of Canada and its adherents.³¹ If these qualifications and experience had little prepared him for his new responsibilities, he more than made up for any deficiencies “on paper” through his love of historical detail, dedication, and hard work. As a result, he managed to amass great stores of historical data and archival material for the Finnish Canadian Archives before his death in 1955. The result of his considerable efforts are found in portions of the holdings of the Finnish Canadian Archives in the Finnish Organization of Canada Collection now at the Public Archives of Canada.³²

The origins of the Finnish Canadian Historical Society Archives (*Canadian Suomalaisen Historia-Seuran Arkisto*) can be dated to approximately the same period as those of the Finnish Canadian Archives. It is claimed that an article was published in February 1940 which suggested that all the records relating to those Finnish-Canadian associations collecting aid for beleaguered Finland (which was then fighting The Winter War) be gathered together and preserved for the sake of future research.³³ In Canada’s dichotomized Finnish community, the above-mentioned associations naturally included those right-wing elements that had vigorously pressed the federal government to ban the Finnish Organization of Canada for its support of Russia and condemnation of Finland at that time. Given the history of “bad blood” between the two factions, neither could have been satisfied supporting a common archival repository. Therefore, it naturally followed that both would found rival pantheons in which they could memorialize themselves and justify their own contributions to Canadian society.³⁴

Such undercurrents of thought led to the founding of the Finnish Canadian Historical Society in 1944. With its establishment, the society fell heir to the records dealing with the various campaigns to raise funds and material assistance for Finland during The Winter War.³⁵ This provided the society with the core of archival material around which it could build its own “research” archives. It also meant the society now required a custodian and a storage place for these holdings. Pastor Lauri T. Pikkusaari of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Wuoristo-Church in Copper Cliff, Ontario became the first Archivist of the Finnish Canadian Historical Society Archives — and the basement in the manse of his church became the archives’ storage facility.

Like Sula, Pikkusaari was an amateur historian and archivist in the fullest sense. He, too, made up for any lack of historical and archival training with his love of the work. Indeed, the extent of his inborn historical predisposition and talent is documented in the jubilee publication that he wrote for the fiftieth anniversary of his church, a book which

31 See Suksi’s funeral eulogy to the memory of Sula, in PAC, Edwin Suksi Papers, MG 31, H 129, vol. 1, file 85; Finnish-Canadian Amateur Sports Federation, *Canadian Suomalaisen urheilukirja: Suomalais-Canadalaisen Amatööri-Urheiluliiton 25-v. toiminnan johdosta* (Sudbury, Ont., 1950), p. 17; “Given Life Sentence as ‘Red’ Communist Finn Sent Here,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, 31 December 1928; Jukka Nevakivi, *Muurmannin legioona: Suomalaiset ja liittoutuneiden interventio Pohjois-Venäjällä 1918-1919* (Helsinki, 1970), p. 319 (n. 100).

32 As Edwin Suksi, the late Chairman of the FOC Archives Committee, aptly put it in his eulogy to Sula’s memory (translated from PAC, MG 31, H 129, vol. 1, file 85) “Sula was the custodian of the FOC’s national archives and its guiding spirit!”

33 Yrjö Raivio, *Kanadan suomalaisten historia* 1 (Vancouver, 1975), p. 27. The COLFC, whose main archives was later destroyed in a fire at its Sudbury headquarters, also may have considered the writing of such a history before the outbreak of World War II.

34 Edward W. Laine, “Archival Resources Relating to Finnish Canadians,” *Archivaria* 7 (Winter 1978), p. 111.

35 Raivio, *Kanadan suomalaisten historia*, p. 27.

serves as a surprisingly good history of the Finns in Copper Cliff.³⁶ He was equally successful as an archivist, a fact which can be ascertained from the fascinating documentation that he was instrumental in acquiring for the archives. That material is now preserved in the Finnish Canadian Historical Society Collection at the Archives of Ontario.³⁷

"Ethnic" Archives

On the Canadian archival scene of late, there has been much discussion of the "propriety" of "separating" the archives of various ethnic communities from the communities themselves by external archival institutions under the rubric of their "ethnic archives" programmes.³⁸ Even should we put aside the obvious benefits accruing to the users of such materials in professionally staffed, centralized, dedicated archival repositories as a justification for the acquisitions policies of such institutions, the fact remains that in the Finnish-Canadian community at least the precedent in the movement of its archival material in such a direction had been set long before "ethnic archives" became a priority for public and semi-public repositories. Indeed, as we have noted, the two "national" archives of the community itself — that is, the Finnish Canadian Archives and the Finnish Canadian Historical Society Archives — had solicited archival materials from local Finnish communities across the country for more than thirty years. If the argument for "non-centralization" holds in the case of external, non-Finnish-Canadian archives, were not these two Finnish-Canadian repositories also guilty of "tearing" archival records out of their regional context? Parenthetically, the same question might well be asked of the present attempt of The Finnish Canadian Cultural Federation (*Kanadan Suomalainen Kulttuuriliitto*) to acquire all the locally held records of the Finnish Canadian Grand Festivals (*Kanadan Suomalaisten Suurjuhlat*) and other related materials from its member associations.³⁹

There can be no doubt that, from the perspective of the champions of locally kept archives, the national acquisitions programmes of these Finnish-Canadian archives have torn or seek to tear locally generated archival materials out of the hands of their immediate creators. But, in having done so, the Finnish Canadian Archives and the Finnish Canadian Historical Society Archives were able to secure and preserve a great deal of archival material which probably would have been lost without their intervention. Also, in turning over their respective collections to the Public Archives of Canada and the Multicultural Historical Society of Ontario respectively, they have performed the ultimate service in

36 Lauri T. Pikkusaari, *Copper Cliffin Suomalaiset ja Copper Cliffin Suomalainen Evankelis-Luterilainen Wuoristo-Seurakunta* (Hancock, Mich., 1947).

37 For the holdings of the Finnish Canadian Historical Society Collection in the Archives of Ontario, see Varpu Lindström-Best, "Preliminary Finding Aid of the Finnish Canadian Historical Society Collection" (unpublished manuscript, 1979). Note that Lindström-Best's work does not correspond with the microfilm copy of the collection as retained by the Multicultural Historical Society of Ontario because the arrangement and microfilming were done subsequent to the completion of her finding aid. Also, Mauri A. Jalava has said that he transferred additional material belonging to the collection to the Multicultural Historical Society of Ontario in 1980 after both the finding aid and microfilming had been completed.

38 Harney, "Ethnic Archival and Library Materials in Canada," pp. 22-28; Multiculturalism Canada, *Ethnic Archives Workshop*, pp. 8-9.

39 For more concerning this latest archival project of the Finnish community, see Mauri A. Jalava, ed., *Suunnitelmista järjestelyihin* (Ottawa, 1985) and The Finnish Canadian Cultural Federation, "Kanadan Suomalainen Kulttuuriliiton vuosikokouksen pöytäkirja, 29. kesäkuuta, 1985, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario," *passim*. Jalava, it should be noted, is currently the Archivist of the Archives of the Finnish Canadian Grand Festival (*Kanadan Suomalaisten Suurjuhlien Arkisto*).

encouraging the growth of Finnish-Canadian studies not only among scholars of Finnish origin, but also among others of wholly non-Finnish backgrounds. For proof of this, one only has to peruse the kind of work that has been done since the convocation of the last Finn Forum in 1979.⁴⁰ Hence, one expects that similar benefits should accrue from the current acquisition activities of the Archives of the Finnish Canadian Grand Festival.

If the end result of this last phase in the development of Finnish-Canadian archives has seemed so promising to date, the same cannot be said for its beginning. For example, much Finnish-Canadian archival material was exported to Soviet Karelia in the early 1930s. Among the many items sent there was the only complete run of *Työkansa* in existence.⁴¹ That, in itself, has been an irreparable loss to the record of the Finnish-Canadian heritage because, according to the Soviet authorities, those issues of the newspaper were destroyed during the last war.⁴² Since then, there has been a similar leakage of archival materials abroad — whether to Finland, the United States, or elsewhere — until passage by the Canadian Parliament in 1975 of the Cultural Property Export and Import Act, legislation which now prohibits the unauthorized export abroad of materials deemed to be a part of the Canadian heritage.⁴³ It is hoped that, given such means as these, as well as the continued interest in the preservation of Finnish-Canadian archival materials by the major research archives in Canada, any further loss of this valuable part of the country's national heritage shall be prevented.

Conclusion

Through this analysis of the various phases in the historical development of Finnish-Canadian archives, it is clear that the Finnish-Canadian community has desired to ensure that its rites of passage into Canadian society are well documented and preserved for the annals of history. If the “interventionist” repositories external to the community take up the challenge that has been presented to them by the Finnish-Canadian archival tradition as readily as they have accepted (and fought over) its treasures, then researchers will be the ultimate beneficiaries of the foresight of those enlightened Finnish Canadians who committed themselves to saving the *kallista perintöä* or “precious legacy” of their community's archival materials.

40 For this, see Edward W. Laine, “A Select Bibliography of Publications Relating to the Finns in Canada” (paper distributed to the participants at Finn Forum '84, Turku, Finland), 4 pp.

41 For lists of archival material sent by the FOC to Soviet Karelia and other related documentation, see PAC, FOC Collection, MG 28, V 46, vol. 17, file 15.

42 This information was provided in interviews with Edwin Suksi and William Eklund (both now deceased, but who once served as members of the FOC Archives Committee).

43 *Statutes of Canada*, 23-24 Elizabeth II, Chapter 50, assented to 19 June 1975.