

THE KALEVAN KANSA COLONIZATION COMPANY,  
LIMITED: A FINNISH-CANADIAN MILLENARIAN  
MOVEMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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## Abstract

This thesis is primarily concerned with the activities of a group of Finnish-Canadians in British Columbia. They attempted to found an utopian community on Malcolm Island between 1901 and 1905. The activities of these people, the Kalevan Kansa or descendants of Kaleva, an ancient Finnish mythological figure, were millenarian in nature. During this period there were distinct changes in their social relations and their new undertakings predicted the arrival of a different and more ideal form of social organization. The content of that organization was revealed to them by their leader, Matti Kurikka, who proposed to make a joint-stock company the basis of the new community. The subsequent settlement scheme was known as the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited. Indicative of their aspirations, Kurikka and his followers named their new community Sointula, the place of harmony. In order to explore more fully the millenarian activities this thesis also investigates their roots in the historical development of Finnish identity and the ability of Finns to fulfill those perceptions in day to day activities. In addition, the thesis focuses on the related problems concerning identity encountered in the aftermath of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company by those settlers who remained at Sointula.

The activities which were undertaken in the relatively brief period between 1901 and 1905 represented a rapid coalescing of ideas and aspirations into activities. Among the Vancouver Island Finns who were primarily coal miners the new society appeared immanent. To them and to others who came from various parts of the United States, Canada and Europe the vision of the joint-stock company encompassed recognizable characteristics of a more ideal form of social organization. As such the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company provides an empirically accountable and distinctive aspect of the Kalevan Kansa movement. From its description and aims it is possible to make suggestions about the intellectual and charismatic appeal of Matti Kurikka and about some of the aspirations of the participants themselves. However, the fundamental nature of the energy released by the utopian vision largely remains to be inferred.

The first chapter of the thesis presents a brief ethnographic introduction to the activities of the Kalevan Kansa during this period. In addition, it proposes some relevant methodological considerations reflective of the content of millenarian situations. These considerations influence the direction and content of the following chapters. The approach which is taken remains open ended inasmuch as the activities of the Kalevan Kansa are seen as part of a much broader historical process which is reflective of the ethnographic situation as well as of certain more universal



anthropological problems. The method adopted cannot provide an explicit account of why the activities took the direction they did nor why they occurred at a particular time. However, it does focus on the dynamics inherent within a continuing set of problems and contradictions to be resolved. As such it has permitted a form of discussion which has not been totally bound to the contingencies of the situation. Yet, the character of the utopian activity of the Kalevan Kansa remains significant in terms of its all consuming nature and its attempt to institute an idealistic social order. As such, it was clearly religious in nature and represented a societal rite of passage.

The second chapter is primarily historical. By taking into account the historical background of the Kalevan Kansa, further light is shed onto the goals and activities of the group. The past has provided only a partial answer to questions of origin since the movement in many aspects remained independent of its historical legacy. However, it provided a point of departure. Inasmuch as the method employed and suggested by the content and focus of this chapter remains applicable to other situations it is anthropological.

The third chapter explores the utopian activities in detail. Chronologically, the discussion moves from a point where the Finns were regarded as being morally and materially inferior to others. From there the chapter moves to a discussion about the redefinition of power and the

nature of individual obligations articulated by the chosen leader, to the eventual attempt to realize the new way of being in terms of appropriate social relationships. Progressively it was apparent among the Kalevan Kansa that the vision of the joint-stock company could not provide the emotional and intellectual unity which could overcome individual and ideological differences. As increasing numbers of the participants began to ignore their obligations without sanction the energy of the movement was consumed by conflicting interests. The activities of the Kalevan Kansa can, however, be differentiated from the more mundane forms of political and economic unrest among disparate groups by the sudden emergence of emotional and moral passion focused and activated by their leader, Kurikka.

The final chapter looks at Sointula during an active period of socialist politics after the failure of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited. In conjunction with these activities which were largely group-oriented, the chapter also focuses on the content of individual experiences among a particular group within the community. Insights are derived from fieldwork interviews and from a thematic and structural analysis of a corpus of narrative songs.

Throughout the thesis the focus remains on the central issues of identity and the moral implications that its varying definitions have implied. The ethnographic detail provides an indication of how a particular group of people

chose to confront the problem and of how its constituents were reformulated through a series of encounters in a historical time span. In this series the millenarian activities of the Kalevan Kansa were the most unique and profound in their intensity and appeal.

A comprehensive bibliography of relevant sources in English and Finnish follows the text.

The thesis also contains six appendixes. The first is my translation of Matti Halminen's first hand account of the utopian activities at Sointula and his role in them. The next four appendixes contain copies of documents relevant to the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited. The last appendix is a collection of Finnish song texts recorded at Sointula in 1973.

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## Chapter 1      Introduction

In the five years between 1900 and 1905 a group of Finnish-Canadians set about creating an idealistic community on Malcolm Island on the coast of British Columbia.<sup>1</sup> During this period they thought of themselves as the Kalevan Kansa, a people descended from Kaleva, an ancient mythological figure associated with the genesis of Finnish culture.<sup>2</sup> The settlement they started under the guidance of their charismatic leader, Matti Kurikka, was called Sointula or place of harmony. Although the community was formally organized on the principle of a joint-stock company, registered as the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited,<sup>3</sup> its character was determined more by elements drawn from Finnish tradition, Christianity and the experience of immigrant life in early British Columbia.

This thesis attempts to focus not only on the scope of the Kalevan Kansa activity but also on the accumulated legacy of Finnish history which formed the early experience of Finnish immigrants and determined to a degree the goals of the movement. In addition, the final chapter is concerned with how the legacy of experience including the Kalevan Kansa activity was reconciled with the necessities of obtaining a livelihood after the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited collapsed.

The Kalevan Kansa movement brought together a collection of ideas about the nature of society and these were translated into activities intended to bring about and eventually define an utopian community. The goals as well as the means proposed to obtain them stood apart from the pursuits of Finnish immigrants elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> Under the visionary leadership of Matti Kurikka the Kalevan Kansa undertook to redefine the basis of their ethnic character by participating in the formation of an idealistic community. In their enthusiasm to create a more equitable social order they simultaneously advocated a way of life which would require the refashioning of individual personalities.

It remains difficult to articulate with certainty all the origins of the strength and ideals of the movement. However, it can be suggested that, while the activities which occurred during the four years appeared enigmatic, they were uniquely drawn from the experiences of being Finnish and of being an ethnic minority. In the mining camps at Wellington, Extension, Ladysmith and Nanaimo, and later in the new settlement on Malcolm Island, the Kalevan Kansa set out to form a society whose principles were engendered by the legacy of their indigenous culture, their recent familiarity with revivalist forms of Christianity, the stress on education, nationalism and socialism in Finland, and the difficulties of immigrant and frontier life in western British Columbia. The popularity of the vision of a better society into which these elements were combined

attracted participants from Finland, Australia and the United States. From these reservoirs of content the Kalevan Kansa proposed to establish the moral guideposts for a society which could exploit the natural wealth of the environment to the spiritual and material advantage of its members.

It is unlikely that single theoretical explicans can account for all the varying features the the Kalevan Kansa activity.<sup>5</sup> Rather than dogmatically relying on the structures of specific explanatory paradigms it appears more fruitful to concentrate first on the activities themselves. In this context a relevant discussion encompasses some consideration of events prior to the rise of the Kalevan Kansa movement and subsequent to its collapse. The activities then appear as a process where ideas and experiences are accumulated, acted upon and modified.

In this investigation the event (the Kalevan Kansa movement 1900-1905) is constituted not only by the activities themselves but also by the discussions and orations about them.<sup>6</sup> That collection of information is expanded by placing it into the more elaborate context of Finnish history and cultural development. Still other facts are revealed by exploring the relationship between conditions current in British Columbia at the turn of the century and the Finnish immigrant's sense of tradition, history and identity.<sup>7</sup> The idealistic projections of the Kalevan Kansa were reflections of how that relationship was perceived and eventually

translated into a set of founding principles for ordering community life. The experiences of Sointula residents after the failure of the utopian scheme not only highlight its shortcomings but they focus on the enduring aspects of some of their aspirations which continued to influence their relationships with contemporary society elsewhere.

The members of the Kalevan Kansa did not inherit an understanding of their tradition and history which was unique from other Finns. However, it was among these individuals that specific aspects of their heritage were discussed, re-evaluated and eventually incorporated into a vision of an idealistic society. The majority of the early participants who formed the core of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited, readily accepted the visionary ideas articulated by their leader, Kurikka. Later, on the basis of the ideas being expressed, the following grew to include prospective settlers from elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> The appeal of Sointula was not bound solely to local economic disadvantages or even to the ethnic peculiarities which helped to generate it. Instead, the impetus was lodged in the question of identity. The utopian ideals expressed a social context in which it appeared possible to recognize the moral delineations by which people could become individuals of worth.<sup>9</sup> Espousal of the new principles of order put forth by Kurikka in his conception of an egalitarian community demanded the appraisal of contemporary notions of moral responsibility. As such, the Kalevan Kansa movement shared

characteristics with other social phenomena which attempt to question and alter epistemological paradigms.<sup>10</sup>

Despite its popular appeal, even among some non-Finns, the origins of the Kalevan Kansa movement cannot be isolated from the legacy of Finnish experience. It would be short-sighted to discuss the energy and priorities assumed by the Kalevan Kansa without reference to the historical growth of Finnish identity and sovereignty in Europe.<sup>11</sup> Placed in this context, the activities of the Kalevan Kansa fall into a broader category of concern. In the brief four year period of utopian activity on Malcolm Island the Kalevan Kansa attempted to consolidate a gamut of ideas about society and people into a coherent functioning community. The residual question hinged on organization. How could the desired egalitarian relationships among its members be fostered within a social setting in which the values of a hierarchical society were increasingly intruding? How could the socialist aspirations of some of the participants be fulfilled within a capitalist framework like the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited? How might the individual obligations which defined its organization be manipulated so that they would continue to express the identity of all the participants concerned in a meaningful way?

In the historical sequence outlined above the Kalevan Kansa activity of 1900-1905 appeared as one of a series of attempts, albeit unusual in its strength and imagination, at coming to terms with the question of identity.<sup>12</sup> Of this

series at least three instances warrant discussion. The first predates the Kalevan Kansa activities in British Columbia and centres around Lonnrot's publication of the Kalevala, a series of narratives about Finland's mythical past.<sup>13</sup> The second encompasses the activities of Matti Kurikka and the Kalevan Kansa on Vancouver Island and later at Sointula. The third arises from the content of a corpus of song texts collected from a Sointula singer which reflect the experiences of some of the members of the community after the demise of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited.<sup>14</sup>

In the following discussion of the Kalevan Kansa's utopian ideals and their attempted implementation into a viable form of social organization, the terms egalitarian and hierarchical correspond to the categories of oppositions which Burridge has categorized under the headings of subsistence and complex.<sup>15</sup> He argues that in situations where one series is dominant factors will arise which evoke consideration of the other. The applicability of this is clearly evident in the aspirations and undertakings of the Kalevan Kansa since they were concerned with instituting the primacy of egalitarian values within a substantially hierarchical ambiance. Consideration of these oppositions within the period in question provides a point of departure. From there it is possible to suggest that the Kalevan Kansa was predominantly interested in instituting new kinds of social relationships which they felt could better define

individual identity and worth. As Burridge has suggested, such a movement from one form of being to another results when there is an "engagement of one or more of the series of oppositions."<sup>16</sup> This then "constitutes the 'mise en scene' of a millenarian movement."<sup>17</sup>

In New Heaven New Earth Burridge further suggests that "there is no human activity which cannot assume religious importance" and that "when it does so it has an overriding importance. It points to that which permeates and informs a whole way of life, and, more crucially, it indicates sources or principles of power which are regarded as particularly creative or destructive."<sup>18</sup> In such instances, as an awareness grows among a particular group, some communal truths which demand consensus give way to new assumptions which will form the basic truths of the following generations. From these are derived the rules of conduct to which men in community are bound. The process is continuous and this thesis focuses primarily on this aspect of the historical sequence of which the Kalevan Kansa activity is a part. Existence in community entails existence in a network of obligations and the process by which individuals attempt to discharge their obligations in relation to the moral rules of the community is the redemptive process.<sup>19</sup> When assumptions about power and the rules governing its use and control can no longer guarantee individuals the truth about things, the kinds of activity represented in the Kalevan Kansa movement are generated. This activity attains



religious importance because it is of overall importance and concerns the ordering of power. At the centre of the Kalevan Kansa activities was a concern for finding a more adequate way of gaining prestige and of defining the criteria by which the content of manhood could be measured.<sup>20</sup>

In this context it is important to consider aspects of the physical situation as well as the activities themselves. In the two decades prior to 1900 many Finnish immigrants to British Columbia sought and found work in the coal mines on Vancouver Island. The work was heavy and hazardous, accidents occurred with regularity and the wages were low. The only accommodation for the miners and their families was to be found in the camps around the mines. The housing had formerly been occupied by Chinese workers who had left it in a state of squalor. To many of the Finnish miners it appeared pointless to repair the houses since they were continually moved from one mine site to another according to the demand for labourers. Within the settlements there were no readily perceptible norms by which individual behaviour and activity could be judged. Drunkenness, fighting and factional rivalries were common among the Finns and a large proportion of their wages was channeled into these pursuits. In turn, the mine owners eagerly extended credit in order to maintain a constant source of cheap white labour. In an ambience characterized by a multiplicity of races, ethnic backgrounds, languages, customs and interests it was impossible to win benefits from the employers which would

promote the well-being of the miners generally.

The situation was particularly acute for the Finnish workers since most of them had a direct link with the agrarian lifestyle current in the subsistence communities of Finland. There the character of daily affairs had been judged more by qualitative standards than was the case in the moneyed ambiance of Vancouver Island. Participation in a society where social worth was determined by the ability to acquire and use money was foreign to most of them. The continued focus on money increased the distinctions they perceived between the comparatively simpler life in rural Finland and the present situation of chaos. Since money and its control is capable of creating, breaking, ennobling and enforcing relationships, virtue appeared to be a matter of choice exercised by those in control, the employers.<sup>21</sup> Self worth and community status reckoned by the old values of their agrarian background appeared worthless. Hard conscientious work brought minimal returns and irresponsibility was often rewarded by an extension of credit. Many Finnish miners thought of themselves as inferior to those other workers and employers who prospered better under the system. Since there appeared to be little likelihood of finding common objectives it appeared that the Finnish settlements were embarked on a path leading to the disintegration of personal relationships and values.

However, in the 1890s changes began to occur among a small group of the miners. After a series of informal

meetings and discussions they organized a temperance society, library and a Finnish marching band. These associations were clearly reflective of changing perspectives concerning the circumstances of camp life. As a group these miners became more persistent in their desire to change the conditions they construed as being responsible for the oppression. Their spirited discussions during the meetings reaffirmed their willingness to participate in new kinds of relationships which could effectively change their situation and guarantee them access to what Burridge has referred to as the redemptive process.

In the course of events which led to the formation of the temperance societies and the band, the stressed values encompassed notions of brotherhood and independence, qualities denied to them in their present existence. In order to carry these sentiments further into actual activities they encouraged Matti Kurikka, a contemporary Finnish reformer, socialist and author, to join them on Vancouver Island. After receiving passage money Kurikka eagerly left Australia, where he had tried to form a Finnish colony, and arrived in Nanaimo in the late summer of 1900. Kurikka immediately undertook a series of lecture tours in the nearby as well as the more distant Finnish settlements. In all his affairs with Finns and non-Finns alike he appeared capable of judging correct avenues of activity from the wrong. His undertakings with the public, businessmen and politicians met with considerable success. The circle of

ardent supporters which had gathered around him recognized in him qualities of a superior person, revealing to them something of the nature of the new society which awaited them.

Kurikka's standing as an acceptable leader depended on his ability to present alternative ideas about social organization in a manner which seemingly could be understood by those around him and on his ability to operate successfully within the structures of the larger society. In addition, he appeared to share many of the life experiences of the miners.

A further element of Kurikka's appeal among the landless poorly rewarded wage workers arose from the circumstances which characterized Finland during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The society was clearly divided by class distinctions, yet the authority for those distinctions was being increasingly questioned. Within this milieu Kurikka rose from a rural background and gained both an education and a position of acceptance and influence in upper class Helsinki society. Through a series of encounters with various people and groups he came to regard the upper classes with contempt, although they had nurtured him. Nothing in his education, his knowledge of traditional Finnish culture and particularly his commitment to Christian brotherhood could any longer substantiate the existent situation. As he began to disseminate this understanding, erasing the distinctions between classes, power was gradually

transferred to him by the situation itself. The decision by the Vancouver Island miners to bring Kurikka to British Columbia arose from their recognition of the singular nature of his foresight. He alone appeared capable of fulfilling their aspirations.

Throughout Kurikka's talks he spoke of intellectual problems and of religious figures; of knowledge and understanding which, to those denied his educational opportunities, appeared as the property of a man with access to powers beyond their grasp. Kurikka was efficient and capable in the early negotiations for land with the provincial government. His settlement scheme quickly gained support from all quarters. To the Finns who were involved in these transactions he appeared as an extraordinary individual who had a vision for their salvation. But he also appeared eminently able to cope with the larger society for the common good of those he represented. To the outsider he seemed to pose no direct threat, on the contrary, he was as concerned as they were about the future prosperity of Vancouver Island and its environs.

Kurikka's arrival in the area precipitated the translation of sentiments into action. His confidence extended to others. It was reported that when he entered a room where "disorder held sway; his manner brought harmony."<sup>22</sup> At times he was harshly critical about the conditions around him and about the inadequacies he perceived in his supporters. Their dependence on him for leadership became an avenue for

procuring further favours as was the case in the founding of the Aika [The Time] newspaper in 1901 which soon became the main vehicle for his plans. The newspaper, like the proposed colony he spoke of, was to be founded on the principles of a joint-stock company into which investors initially bought a membership. Kurikka's first references to the company were in terms which had little to do with the legalities by which it would operate. In these discussions he would regress to ideas he had earlier expressed in the pamphlet The Godless Church.

"If the whole universe, such as we see it and conceive it to be, is one great being, whose spirit visibly or invisibly appears in us; then, is it difficult for us to know what that love is which must be uppermost in us? Just as the great celestial bodies of the universe form one harmonious entity so nature in us, human beings seeks harmony. Wherever we find harmony in sound, colour, in gatherings, we are conscious of a lofty poignant spiritual satisfaction that we cannot explain."<sup>23</sup>

In an early edition of Aika he continued:

"Do unto others what you wish them to do unto you. But what prevents us from doing unto others as we wish them to do unto us? A society based on competition and internal strife and our instincts. The problem is to set about harmonizing society and the conflicting instincts."<sup>24</sup>

The elusive vision presented in the first statement was translated into a more materialistic idiom which could not contain it but nevertheless attempted to explain it in the second. His supporters were asked to accept on faith the first by comprehending the second.

Throughout his speeches and writings Kurikka maintained that spiritual values should dominate over materialistic

concerns as a measure of man's worth. But, it was the emphasis on the glowing rewards derived from the proposed lifestyle based on the supreme values which brought the vision into focus in the minds of many of the Kalevan Kansa. The understanding that social well-being presupposed a society in which labour and its products are justly distributed explained in material terms the physical direction needed to gain the spiritual rewards which would define individual integrity. In the initial confusion and enthusiasm which accompanied the settlement scheme Kurikka's description of the capitalist-oriented joint-stock company seemed to encapsulate the aspirations of the ardent socialists as well.

Throughout the early part of 1901 support for the Kalevan Kansa settlement scheme continued to increase among the Finns on Vancouver Island. Several trips were made to Victoria by representatives of the Kalevan Kansa until finally they selected Malcolm Island as a desirable location; inexpensive, removed but not completely isolated from shipping routes and markets. After a delay by the government in granting the island to the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited, Kurikka attempted to maintain the euphoria by making some pragmatic disclosures about the company's and the settlement's day to day operation.

1. Everything will be done co-operatively including the sharing of meals, child rearing and the various necessary tasks.
2. The company will employ all its men and women at an equal rate of pay, one dollar per day.

However, some tasks which are more strenuous will require fewer hours per day.

3. The company will meet the needs of all the children, the infirmed and the aged.
4. All meals, washing and clothing will be supplied by the company and they will be considered as part of the pay.
5. The wages in terms of cash will not need to be high since the majority of the daily needs will be met by the company. However, each individual will receive a dividend of 5% on his share of stock. Half of that amount will be put aside into a common fund for recreation, cultural pursuits and other benefits.
6. Every member will be expected to pay \$200.00 for his share of company stock. Of this amount \$50.00 will go toward membership rights in the community.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, by the end of November 1901 the provincial government had straightened out its commitments with the Industrial Pulp and Power Company which had earlier been promised timber rights on Malcolm Island. On the 29th of the same month the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited, was granted rights to the 20,000 acre island under a number of stipulations:

1. The company must obtain one settler for every 80 acres of land.
2. It must complete \$2.50 worth of improvements per acre.
3. It must construct its own wharves, bridges, roads and public buildings according to government specifications.
4. The settlers must become British subjects and the children must be educated in English language schools.
5. If after seven years all the stipulations were met the company would receive full title to the land.<sup>26</sup>

In the meantime several factors had started to work against the proposed colonization scheme. The undue delay of the land grant had dampened the spirits of Kurikka and



some of the others. For a time it appeared that if the Finns were granted rights to the island it would not include rights to the natural resources, and some prospective settlers became skeptical about the opportunities for obtaining a livelihood. Kurikka's competence was in question among some of those who had earlier committed their money and there were discussions about abandoning the scheme altogether in favour of another location in the United States. In light of the pessimism expressed by some Finns on Vancouver Island others were more reluctant to contribute \$200.00 until the plans were more definite. Others paid the minimum entry fee of \$50.00 with a promise to discharge the remainder of the obligation through labour. Still others came without any financial resources at all and had to be accepted into the fold. Further consideration about Kurikka's stipulations about the company led to speculation about the nature of equality in a community characterized by different classes of memberships and varying values placed on tasks.

However, when Kurikka proclaimed to the present and future members of the Kalevan Kansa the news of the land grant many shared his feeling of jubilation. He wrote in the Aika that "we have reached the summit of the hill after a year's arduous climb. The harmonious vision of an utopia is at hand. What say now the oppressed people of Finland."<sup>27</sup> Shortly thereafter the first group of Kalevan Kansa men left for Malcolm Island. During the trip their sailboat was damaged, the weather proved to be inclement and the

captain of the vessel was injured and eventually needed hospitalization after a firearm accidentally discharged. Upon reaching the island the rest of the crew found a meager shelter in an abandoned shack. For the remainder of their stay the weather was bad and they left the island cold, wet and hungry.

Despite the initial misadventures, bleak reports and confusion about the nature of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited, enthusiasm continued to thrive and additional members were attracted to the settlement scheme. Most, however, either chose not to or could not make the \$200.00 payment, which heightened the tension between those who recognized it as a capitalist venture and those who anticipated a socialist utopia to emerge. What had started out as an idealistic quest for a community based on brotherhood was slowly becoming a venture embroiled in organizational difficulties reflective of the different perspectives of the participants. The first annual report in 1902 indicated that the company was already burdened with a substantial debt. Years later in his memoirs Makelä, an ardent socialist and the company's secretary, recalled that:

"Proudly though we turned our backs to the capitalist world, we were nonetheless dependent upon it in every way. The first boat load of goods brought to the island was bought on credit. We were always in the same predicament: purchases had to be made first, payments dragged even father and farther behind."<sup>28</sup>

His statement clearly emphasizes the confusion. They never turned their backs to the capitalist world since the

joint-stock company was itself a representation of capitalist ideology.

In response to the government stipulations and Kurikka's own statements the colony was forced to accept the poor, the misfits, the untrained and the poorly equipped. Still others arrived expecting to see a thriving company, and upon finding a few shacks and a little clearing either remained to criticize or left to spread news of their discontent. Since the venture was handicapped from the start by a lack of capital there were continuing shortages in supplies, equipment and food. In addition to the poor financial management by Kurikka and the other officers, the company was forced to provide facilities and materials for poorly trained cobblers, tailors and other craftsmen. Often the supplies were as expensive as the finished product elsewhere. Attempts at sawmilling were hampered by a lack of knowledge about mill construction and operation, the quality of timber available, the quality of equipment, the distance from markets, the ill feeling which arose when attempts were made to organize work crews. Whenever there were specific allocations of duties, rights or property, disputes proliferated.

In the midst of these shortcomings some of the initial enthusiasm managed to survive, partly because organizational matters were often left aside and the majority of the colonists worked at their random interests. Work was started on all fronts. A visitor to the island later told the Daily Colonist that in "five years they will overrun the

whole country up there. You never saw such men to work . . . the settlement is rapidly taking shape".<sup>29</sup> In the interim Kurikka's and Makela's diverging philosophical viewpoints had grown into fundamental confrontations concerning the affairs of the company. Since it had become increasingly apparent that some of Kurikka's idealistic achievements could not be met, many of the settlers were starting to look toward Makela for more pragmatic suggestions. His observations were, however, only slightly less ephemeral than Kurikka's. He thought of bringing Finland's persecuted socialists to Sointula on board a vessel especially constructed for that purpose, while Kurikka was willing to have them drawn there by the strength of his intellectual and spiritual appeal.<sup>30</sup> Neither seemed to appreciate that many of the prospective settlers were drawn to the island community by the possibility of economic advantages.

The annual report for 1903 suggests that the colony was having its most successful year despite its constantly increasing debts. Work on the myriad projects related to agriculture, fishing and lumbering had progressed and indicated some chance of success. The irreconcilable quarrels over the size and location of home sites, the allocation of work, the nature of recompense, constitutional matters, education, child rearing, the status of women and women's occupations and the issue of free love were lulled by participation in other kinds of pursuits. A band and choir had been inaugurated, a library and reading room

started, the Aika was again in print and two volumes of idyllic songs about the utopian aspirations were created and prepared for publication. For a time it appeared that Kurikka had been able to turn the minds of the colonists toward the kinds of nonspecific ideals which had engendered and helped foster the initial fervour.

The renewed enthusiasm was short-lived. Kurikka's efforts to obtain further credit brought an inspector to the colony to audit its financial records and holdings. During the audit a fire broke out in the only substantial building in the colony, the three storey communal living and crafts quarters. The majority of the settlers escaped as did Kurikka and the auditor. However, eleven people were killed, and the records of the company were destroyed.

The destruction of the communal building which was the prime representation of their collective and ideological achievement reflected the fate of the community. The fire brought to an end what little cohesion existed among the settlers. Suspicion and blame was cast upon Kurikka and his supporters by those who had lost all their material possessions and, in some cases, their family members. For many the fire appeared to confirm the failure of the colonization scheme and it substantiated their earlier suspicions about mismanagement and the company's dubious financial status.

Makela's dream of an idyllic village with treed streets, parks, promenades along the seashore, schools, public

buildings and picturesque farms and workshops populated by enthusiastic and spirited people proved to be as unrealistic as Kurikka's vision of a ring of harmonious Sointulas which would cure the blemishes of the existent larger society.<sup>31</sup> Life in the pristine wilderness had resulted in only a small number of the cultural achievements anticipated by Kurikka. It had not provided the cradle from which man's true spiritual concern for one another would arise. Instead, in the continual controversy over matters of personality and property self-interest assumed precedence over concerns for brotherhood.

After the fire the more ardent socialists among the Kalevan Kansa began to recognize in Kurikka the characteristics of a stereotypic evil entrepreneur. The arrangement he had made with Dunsmuir, the largest local mine owner, was again brought to the attention of the membership. Kurikka was strongly rebuked for misappropriating his authority over the Kalevan Kansa workers. By making a secret agreement with the capitalist employers to supply cheap labour for their mines he had contradicted the essence of socialist aims, the control over labour. Additionally, he was accused of having a secret bank account, of embezzling company funds and of selling the Sointula song books strictly for his own profits.

The final confirmation of Kurikka's inept entrepreneurial nature came with his attempts to secure a contract to build two bridges in North Vancouver. In truth, Kurikka

saw it as the last opportunity to keep the company in operation and himself in a position of authority. However, he miscalculated badly. The Sointula sawmill supplied the best of its wood products for the project. Between eight to nine thousand Kalevan Kansa man hours went uncompensated. The \$3,000.00 received in payment did not cover the cost of the other supplies which were purchased. Upon his return to Malcolm Island the old issues which had plagued the colony since its inception once again flared up. Presently they focused around matters related to free love and motherhood outside of wedlock, and in the resultant turmoil Kurikka and his supporters were forced to leave.

After Kurikka's departure in 1904 Makela and his supporters attempted to keep the colony alive. But it was clear that the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited, could not survive. After some of their prime lumber was embezzled by their manager, and the rest seized by creditors in Vancouver, the company was liquidated on May 27, 1905.

The activities which transpired between 1901 and 1904 on Malcolm Island represented a coming into synthesis of a dialectic relationship between the failure of the existing assumptions about society to offer access to the redemptive process and the simultaneous revelation of a new order envisioned by Kurikka. Sointula was to become a model socialist community where day to day activities would be able to guarantee meaningful relationships among its members. According to Kurikka, discharging obligations in such a

manner would result in a personal knowledge of the unity which exists in all things. The period characterized by the activities associated with the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited defined a transitional phase in a societal rite of passage for the proposed community. It was a time given for testing and instruction. A span of activity which attempted to put the individuals and the group temporarily in a close rapport with the generative powers of the universe which seemed to transcend human secular activity in purpose and spirit. Like all transitional phases it was a time of potency and power, and simultaneously a period inherently destructive and unpredictable since it required the laying bare of the newly acquired moral assumptions held by its participants and by the accredited leader, so that they could be validated through use.

In such transitional rites there is a period when those passing from one situation to another are temporarily subject to no rules at all.<sup>32</sup> Such activity occurs when the participants are becoming acquainted with the new rules but are not yet acting within them.<sup>33</sup> The utopian activity on Malcolm Island represented such a social genesis. It required the suspension of the human condition, the subjection to rules, be they capitalist or socialist in origin, as a necessary stage in the progression to a new set of moral discriminations.

The problem faced by the Kalevan Kansa is present in the broader historical context of which their activities



form a part. In it neither category of oppositions, subsistence nor complex, as referred to earlier, has operated to the exclusion of the other. At specific periods one has appeared dominant over the other. Diagrammatically the fluctuations can be represented as follows.

<u>Kalevala</u>	Kalevan Kansa	Post Kalevan Kansa Sointula
subsistence---complex (egalitarian) 1850	sub---com. 1900-1904	--- complex (hierarchical)

While the headings do not reflect absolute distinctions, they do indicate predominant social values and therefore point toward the desirability of specific kinds of social organization. The Kalevan Kansa activity of 1900-1904 represents a dramatic attempt to reorder assumptions about power. While not providing the final solution it moved the question in such a way that it could be expressed in a different idiom. The situation necessarily generated conflict since the individuals operating within one set of assumptions only partly comprehended those of the next. Furthermore, the issue of power was brought into the open by its association with Kurikka, the appointed leader.

In all three instances under consideration; the publication of the Kalevala, the activities of the Kalevan Kansa and the performances of local singers, such an individual has been present. First Lonnrot, then Kurikka and later a narrative singer and story teller from Sointula were able to articulate aspects of a shared tradition and

their experience of the immediate situation in a manner which seemed meaningful to those around them. In their activities and being each confirmed what others held to be true and worthwhile. Their activities and individual attributes provided an integrated model of the content of their ideas. In turn, each was rejected as their actions ceased to guarantee the truth of the situation.<sup>34</sup>

For the Kalevan Kansa, tradition helped define the immediate problem to be confronted and Kurikka the new directions to be tried. For these Finns tradition encompassed not only the 'traditions' of a people whose roots were within an oral culture but also the effects of a lengthy association with a literate 'tradition'. As Turner suggests, tradition is processual. For these Finns it left "its special stamp on the metaphors and models in the heads of men involved with one another in an unending flow of social existence."<sup>35</sup> For the Kalevan Kansa it presented a standard, albeit one given to change, by which interpretations of the world about them could be made through a succession of points of view mirrored in a series of activities. Tradition not only validated the accepted execution of ideas but it also imparted a practical form of knowledge which was understood rather than taught and learned. It provided a "social bond uniting . . . people over and above any formal bonds which are due to the existence of regulated social relations."<sup>36</sup> This aspect of tradition became prominent when Kurikka articulated ideas

and sentiments which were commonly held. The problems which later arose among the Kalevan Kansa ensued from the need to impose structure as a means to regulate individual interests in a collective enterprise.

For those Finns who remained at Sointula after the collapse of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited the activities and aspirations which constituted the movement became entrenched in their experience. In turn, that knowledge tempered their future relationships with others in the community and elsewhere. The analysis of the song texts in the final chapter indicates the manner in which the requirements of tradition and experience were reconciled with the pragmatic considerations of day to day living.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> At the turn of the century Malcolm Island was a remote and uninhabited island about 150 miles north of Vancouver in the southern extremity of Queen Charlotte Sound. For an in depth description see F. E. Leach, "Malcolm Island," in the "Report of the Minister of Lands, November 16, 1914," British Columbia, Sessional Papers 1915, pp. D168-D170.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of Kaleva and the other shamanic characters of the Kalevala stories see the Kalevala (Helsinki, 1947).

<sup>3</sup> The company was organized under the 1897 statute, "An Act for the Incorporation and Regulation of Joint-Stock Companies and Trading Corporations." British Columbia, Statutes, 60 Vict., c. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Matti Halminen, Sointula: Kalevan Kansa ja Kanadan Suomalisten Historia [Sointula: The History of the Kalevan Kansa and Finnish Canadians] (Helsinki, 1936), pp. 1-11. See Appendix I for a translation of this book by A. Salo. See also Y. Raivio, Kanadan Suomalisten Historia [The History of the Finns in Canada] (Vancouver, 1975), pp. 201-228 and 280-294.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, K. O. L. Burridge, New Heaven New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities (Toronto, 1969), pp. 117-140.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Halminen, 1936 and K. Jaaskelainen [A. B. Makela], Muistoja Malkosaarelta: Kuvia ja Kuvauksia Sointulassa. Malcolm Saarela, British-Columbian Rannikolla, Kanadassa, v. 1901-1904 [Memoirs from Malcolm Island: Pictures and Reflections about Malcolm Island on the Shores of British Columbia in Canada] (Helsinki, 1907). See also various issues of the Daily Colonist (Victoria, B. C.), 1899-1905 and the Vancouver Province, 9 April 1901. For additional information see A. Salo, "Annotated Bibliography of the Kalevan Kansa and Modern Sointula," University of British Columbia, 1974, rev. 1977. See also the various issues of the Aika [The Time] newspaper between 1901 and 1904.

<sup>7</sup> See Halminen, 1936, pp. 11-22.

<sup>8</sup> See J. D. Wilson, "Matti Kurikka: Finnish Canadian Intellectual," B. C. Studies 20 (Winter 1973-74): 50-65 and J. I. Kolehmainen, "Harmony Island: A Finnish Utopian Venture in British Columbia," British Columbia Historical Quarterly 5 (1941): 111-123.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of what constitutes an individual of worth see Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, pp. 4-8.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, K. O. L. Burridge, Mambu (New York, 1970) and J. Fabian, Jamaa: A Charismatic Movement (Evanston, 1971).

11 For a discussion on the relevance of history in anthropological writing see C. Levi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, vol. 1, trans. C. Jacobson (New York, 1967), pp. 23-25; I. C. Jarvie, The Revolution in Anthropology (London, 1964), pp. 144-146 and 198-207; and Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, p. 118.

12 In this discussion the idea expressed by 'identity' is directly related to social organization. Amongst people with a recent subsistence background the question is of fundamental importance since a person's identity is defined by the categories which define organization. Part of the focus of this paper is concerned with problems which ensue when the categories are no longer meaningful in a broader context or in relation to the 'identity' which is perceived.

13 The publication of the Kalevala by Lonnrot is a landmark in Finnish history not only for its content but for the role it occupied in the transformation of Finland's subsistence rural population in the late 1800s. For a good English translation of the adventures of Kaleva and his descendants see the Kalevala compiled in this form by Elias Lonnrot in 1849, translated by F. B. Magoun, (Cambridge, Mass., 1963).

14 These songs were collected by me during a fieldwork trip to Sointula in 1973. In 1974 they were transcribed and translated. See below, chapter 4 for the English texts and Appendix VI for the Finnish texts.

15 The following is adapted from Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, p. 144.

a known and ordered environment	the advent of an unknown and unordered power
quality	number
qualitative measures of man	quantitative measures of man
binary differentiation	factorial differentiation
reciprocity	nonreciprocity
part-time specialization	full-time specialization
treasure articles	money
subsistence economy	complex economy
political power based on segmentary oppositions	political power based on superiority-inferiority
shared values with equal access to rewards	shared values with privileged access to rewards

egalitarian or binary  
distribution of power

power distributed between  
the prophet (one) and others  
(many)

polytheism

monotheism

16 Ibid., p. 145.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid., p. 4.

19 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

20 Ibid., pp. 8-11.

21 Religion and Society Seminars, K. O. L. Burridge,  
University of British Columbia, 1973-74 and Burridge,  
New Heaven New Earth, pp. 146-149.

22 K. Oberg, "Sointula, A Communistic Society in  
British Columbia," (B. A. essay, University of British  
Columbia, 1928), pp. 3-4.

23 Kurikka as cited in *ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

24 Halminen, 1936, pp. 32-33.

25 Daily Colonist, 8 September 1901.

26 British Columbia, Department of Lands and Works,  
This Agreement made the twenty-ninth day of November, A. D.  
1901, Between His Majesty The King, represented by the Chief  
Commissioner of Lands and Works, of the first part, and  
"The Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited," herein-  
after called "the Company" of the second part. McBride  
Papers, Agreements and Lists, 1905, file 1019. See Appendix  
II.

27 Aika, 8 November 1901.

28 A. B. Makela, as cited in Kolehmainen, 1941, p. 115.

29 Daily Colonist, 21 August 1902.

30 See, for example, J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, pp. 57-58.

31 See Halminen, 1936, pp. 56-59 and J. D. Wilson,  
1973-74, p. 59.

32 Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, p. 166.

33 Ibid., p. 167.

34 See below, pp. 49-53, 98-132 and 175-206.

35 V. Turner, Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society (Ithaca, 1974), pp. 43-44.

36 F. Znaniecki, The Method of Sociology (New York, 1936), chapter 3.

Chapter 2      The Accumulation of Traditions and Experience:  
The Legacy of Finnish Society on its  
Emigrants, 1870-1903

In the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century Finnishness as a defined entity encompassed an accumulation of criteria. Scholarship, influenced by prevailing intellectual and political standards, had supplied a multitude of approaches by which such knowledge might be gained. Lonnrot and the Kalevala had provided an awareness separate from scholarship which allowed the majority of Finland's people to momentarily grasp at seemingly workable aspirations. However, an exegesis of that knowledge in terms of social organization was not forthcoming. The transitional process by which most Finns from a subsistence background could become moral participants in a complex society did not occur. Instead, social life remained segmented. To many in Finland, emigration appeared to offer an avenue away from the seemingly irreconcilable confusion in the homeland.

The major exodus of emigrants from Finland to North America occurred between 1870 and 1905.<sup>1</sup> In Finland this period coincided with numerous events which made it imperative for the majority of the country's population to participate in a complex economy.<sup>2</sup> Although the process



had been underway since at least the Reformation, it did not gain prominence until a large number of people needed to seek their livelihood away from the land. This situation occurred later in Finland than it did elsewhere in Europe since:

if it happened at all it took decades, even centuries for new ideas, inventions . . . to penetrate from the outside world. Every ounce of energy went into the struggle to support a bare and primitive existence . . . the small hunting, fishing [and farming] settlements lived at a subsistence level.<sup>3</sup>

The confrontation between the two modes of ordering social life was most acutely felt by the cotters and squatter families who were still on the land or who had recently migrated to the urban areas. Paradoxically, among the upper class of Finnish society the growing interest in nationalism promoted feelings which exaggerated the importance of adhering to egalitarian sentiments thought to be representative of life within Finland's archetypal epoch. The mass emigration of the late nineteenth century was partly a response to the inability of a large segment of the Finnish population to resolve the fundamental dilemma. The categories which defined the structure of Finnish society could not be manipulated in ways which would allow the majority of individuals to express their identity as moral individuals. Yet, there remained an intense pressure upon them to exalt aspects of their native culture.

This uncertainty remained to be reconciled and was endemic among Finnish immigrants to North America. Most had been nurtured in a strong Protestant tradition with

stress on faith, austerity and a belief in spiritual transcendence. In addition, some were cognizant of the broader political and philosophical issues including the popularization of various perspectives on socialism. The legacy of this experience was embedded in the ideals and the subsequent aspirations of the Kalevan Kansa. The four years of utopian activity on Malcolm Island constituted a societal rite of passage in which the participants attempted to incorporate the various facets of their experience into a viable form of social organization.<sup>4</sup>

The actions of Matti Kurikka and the other founding members of the Kalevan Kansa were consistent with some of the reform sentiments of the time. More significantly, it can be suggested that while their ideas were derived from their cultural heritage their experience of that legacy enabled them to evaluate it and to generate new conceptualizations about the nature of community. The four years of hardship and strife on Malcolm Island were sustained by a belief in the "new path" proposed by Kurikka. The majority of his followers remained confident that it could be put to the test and made workable by the new people of Kaleva.

By the mid-nineteenth century abundant materials for articulating the specific constituents of Finnish ethnic identity had been amassed. Elias Lonnrot had compiled and published a collection of oral narratives dealing with the ancient heroes and their adventures in Kaleva. Upon its completion, the Kalevala was heralded as the supreme

chronicle of Finnish antiquity, and it quickly became the centre of scholarly and popular interest. Subsequently, the first generations of Finns outside the upper class were afforded public education, mostly through the study and memorization of Kalevala passages. The road toward the current sense of national and individual identity encompassed a lengthy process which had been enlivened three hundred years earlier by the Reformation scholars. The intensity with which the accumulation of insights was presently felt, particularly by scholars and others enthusiastic about national identity, permeated society with an uneasy sense of immediacy and change. In turn, these feelings were translated into specific activities attracting a broad following from all sectors of society. Countless nationalist organizations, revivalist and temperance groups, educational committees and groups advocating reform in land tenure and labour practices grew in popularity well into the twentieth century.

However, fundamental obstacles remained to be resolved. The political turmoil on Finland's immediate boundaries warned of an uneasy future. During the nineteenth century the territory which eventually became Finland in 1919 was alternately under the control of either Sweden or Russia. By the second half of that century the majority of Finns lived and worked on land which was the Grand Duchy of Finland governed by the authority of the Russian Tsar. Other deeply rooted internal problems remained as well.

In the past decades the majority of the landed aristocracy, clergy and burgers had become more Swedish than Finnish in their interests and language.<sup>5</sup> Many regarded Finnish language and customs with contempt. During the early years of the nineteenth century the most ardent resistance to the restoration of Finnish political and cultural autonomy came from within the Finnish upper class.<sup>6</sup> The powerful individuals, whose political ties were first bound to Sweden and subsequently to Russia, took little interest in the pursuits of clerics and scholars "who sought to know who they were by knowing who they had been."<sup>7</sup> Consequently, they saw no point in perpetuating traditions which they regarded as barbarian.

Significant demographic changes also were occurring. In the southern and western areas of Finland a growing number of people migrated to the local towns and cities. Motivated by overcrowding, crop failures and an increasing perception of life beyond their local communities these individuals left the land which had provided for their families in past generations.<sup>8</sup> In the urban centres many became aware that their individual expectations as well as their disillusionments were shared by others. Drawn into the ambient atmosphere of change many were recruited into the numerous reform groups headed by a host of activists. When confronted by the complexities of a new and different lifestyle they no longer continued to share all the expectations of their forefathers, particularly their passive

exclusion from the political process. Nevertheless, the alternatives which were advocated by the new leaders were ambiguous, undeveloped and often contradictory.

Since the Reformation diverse perspectives concerning the meaning of Finnishness had emerged. Of these the earliest contributions came from religious scholars. Their objectives and the content of their teachings often appeared to be at cross purposes with the indigenous traditions of the people they sought to serve. These early clerics assumed that the relationship of Christianity to local customs would be antagonistic and competitive. For them the ancient oral epics about the shamanic inhabitants of Kaleva were particularly problematic. They recognized that many of the rural people felt a spiritual kindred with these legendary figures. In addition, Protestant church officials associated these pieces of traditional lore with pre-Reformation Catholicism.<sup>9</sup> The early Mendicant friars and Dominicans who travelled to Scandinavia were willing to accommodate elements of the indigenous culture within their teachings.<sup>10</sup> Their presence in Finland dating back to the middle of the twelfth century had added to the character of Finnish traditions notions of self-denial, a belief in "the glory of poverty and the wickedness of wealth"<sup>11</sup> and a reverence for simplistic devotion. Despite the prolonged efforts of the Protestant officials the oral narratives and lore continued to be venerated and occupied a foremost position in the social life of the subsistence communities.

In the 1540s, Agricola, a Reformation scholar, authored several pamphlets which rendered spoken Finnish into a written language. In addition, he worked on translations of Biblical stories and church documents from Latin into Finnish.<sup>12</sup> In their enthusiasm to strengthen the popularity of Protestant teachings, scholars like Agricola felt bound to denounce the traditional beliefs as pagan. They recognized that since these beliefs were intrinsically tied to almost all aspects of daily life they approached religious significance.<sup>13</sup> Consequently, their most stern condemnation was directed toward the epic narratives which venerated the heroic exploits of God-like Kaleva and his sons and which formed the central activity of community gatherings and competitions. In place of what they regarded as pagan lore later clergymen like Finno, a Lutheran pastor, attempted to institute collections of hymns which would replace the shameful and "ungodly verses sung by the common people."<sup>14</sup> The attitude taken by some of these early churchmen is evident in the introduction to Finno's hymnal in 1582.

"Because there were no sacred songs for the people to learn, they began to practice pagan rites and to sing shameful, lewd and foolish songs . . . they sing them to pass the time at their festivals and on journeys, they hold contests with them, they defile and debauch the young with wicked thoughts and shameful speech, they tempt and encourage them to live a lewd and filthy life and to practice wicked ways. And because the devil, the source of all wickedness, also inspired his poets and singers into whose minds he entered and in whose mouths he shaped the right words, they were able to compose songs easily and quickly, which could be learned by others and remembered more quickly than divine and Christian songs could be learned and remembered."<sup>15</sup>

The passage above not only indicates the lack of ontological understanding which existed but it reveals the fundamental importance of indigenous traditions within these subsistence communities. The determination by early scholars to suppress traditional beliefs heightened the interest of later generations of scholars. In the intervening years the periodic insistence of a few influential church scholars and officials to denigrate traditional beliefs placed the intentions of the church under suspicion.<sup>16</sup>

Not all the Protestant clergy were as antagonistic as Finno towards the study, preservation and utilization of traditional lore. Prolonged disputes occurred between those who remained intent upon the pristine teaching of Christianity and those who favoured couching their Christian message within traditional idoms. Among the latter, Christian and indigenous aspects tended to fuse one within the other. The identity of God, Biblical persons and historical events combined with that of the shamanic founders of Kaleva and the Finnish landscape.<sup>17</sup> By stressing the transient nature of the present in terms of one's lifetime, both groups instilled notions of change in a seemingly static environment. Furthermore, both affirmed the uniqueness of certain individuals while confirming the generalized values of brotherhood and solidarity.

These perspectives generated notions which were deeply entrenched within the experience of many Finns. Among them was a belief in the literal content of tradition, a belief

in the existence of extraordinary persona who could create new epochs, faith in the inevitability of transcendence and an espousal of the values of austerity, brotherhood and community life. Characteristically, these qualities were reiterated in the varying expressions of individual and national identity.

In North America, the initial confidence to begin a utopian community depended on a recognition of these qualities.<sup>18</sup> The members of the Kalevan Kansa felt they could create an equitable social order on the strength of their ethnic experience. That experience was most clearly articulated by the charismatic leader, Matti Kurikka, who integrated the various facets within himself. Through that representation some of the outstanding contradictions between egalitarian and hierarchical were temporarily set aside. His discussion of Sointula, the future home of the Kalevan Kansa, brought together ideas which were quite different.<sup>19</sup> Fellowship in conjunction with inherent ethnic proclivities would manifest themselves in a community characterized by *communitas* and material well-being. The values of an idealistic and spiritual form of socialism would arise from the foundations of a joint-stock company.

Although the subject of individual and ethnic identity had been discussed by Finnish scholars for a long period of time, their suppositions remained lifeless until they were recognized in community life. Among people tied to the land and each other in insular settlements, individual worth was



reckoned through co-operation. Since individual families and kinsmen occupied land in close proximity to one another the ensuing obligations between them were paramount. Within the self-sufficient estates nearer to centres of urban population the well-being of individual crofter families was intricately tied to the well-being of others. Idealistically, shared enterprise guaranteed shared recompense. In an ambiance characterized by community solidarity on the one hand, and external rivalries on the other hand, the tradition of epic singing prospered.<sup>20</sup> The breadth of this activity extended into several directions. First, it contributed to a broad sense of cultural identity among diverse groups. Second, it provided the means by which cultural artifacts were transmitted to groups of people otherwise isolated, particularly those distant from the southern cities. Third, the performances of singers provided occasions for experiencing and assessing culture since the success of a singer depended on his ability to be creative without violating the constraints enforced by the tradition. In the milieu the singer represented an institutionalized mechanism by which culture could be interpreted and evaluated and by which individual and group identity could be recognized. Both the activity and its substance provided a cultural yardstick against which other measures could be made.

The intervention of the clergy led to a decrease in the number of epic narratives to be created but not in the popular appeal of the performance. Paralleling the

increased influence of the church was a contiguous realignment of allegiance among the upper class. As a result, the distinction imposed by social rank appeared more pronounced since participation in Finnish traditions fell into the purview of the subsistence and itinerant population. Not until the eighteenth and nineteenth century did a substantial number of the upper class take an interest in these traditions.

In addition to its religious duties the church provided access to formal education for some of its parishioners. Beyond that its presence within the rural areas expressed a complexity of organization outside the experience of most of the population. In the generations which followed Agricola the seemingly unchanging social environment disintegrated into considerations which were progressively less straightforward. Access to and the use of money, a quantity by which individual value was easily reckoned, brought to the forefront concerns about ownership, enfranchisement, employment and working conditions. The intensity of these sentiments was reflected in the popularity of groups committed to idealized notions of egalitarianism and camaraderie.

In response to the interest and urgency expressed by a few church scholars the State Antiquary was founded in the sixteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Its central aim was to collect "all kinds of chronicles and histories, immemorial legends, poems about famous persons, monasteries, castles, dwellings

of kings . . . [and] heroic poems and incantations.'"<sup>22</sup> The previously undocumented pieces of verbal culture collected under its auspices provided the substance for innumerable studies and argumentations concerning Finnish identity. It remained a chief repository for cultural artifacts up to the nineteenth century, at which time it was augmented by a commitment to more rigorous fieldwork.

By the seventeenth century many church scholars urged their conservative superiors to respect indigenous traditions as sources of information about Finnish antiquity.<sup>23</sup> They believed that the narratives reflected not only an actual historical period but that they exemplified the essence of Finnish ideals. Others readily composed imaginary phantasmagorias about a noble nation prior to its defeat by unscrupulous powers.<sup>24</sup> For the next century and a half many Finnish scholars remained preoccupied with reconstructing Finland's unrecorded past. As a result, the content of literature about Finnish culture included not only the materials extracted from the oral traditions but also the idealized histories which had been constructed around them.<sup>25</sup> By unshrouding the character and adventures of Vainamoinen, Ilmarinen, Lemminkainen and Kaleva they hoped to impress upon their contemporaries the plausibility of approaching the greatness of ancient times in the future.<sup>26</sup>

In the eighteenth century the fanciful reconstructions were replaced by more empirical studies.<sup>27</sup> They focused not only on the customs but also on the milieux from which

they were collected. This change in perspective was due in part to the circumstances confronting the clergy in the outlying areas. They were resolutely occupied with their work in the hinterlands and found themselves immersed in the ambiance of traditional lore. Although primarily concerned with ecclesiastical duties, it was increasingly difficult for them to ignore the vitality with which the indigenous practices survived.<sup>28</sup> Their position within these communities was further complicated by a shift in the intellectual interests and pursuits of the upper class. The subject of Finnish identity was drawing interest among some who exercised political, economic and intellectual authority. In turn, they initiated and sponsored additional research.

In Finland, as elsewhere in Europe, objectivity was the measure of scientific enterprises. Among Enlightenment scholars "impetuous passion"<sup>29</sup> was replaced by the pursuit of reason. Folklore scholarship, particularly that based upon field study, prospered under the spirit of rationality. However, the intellectual clarity heralded by such commitments was clouded by the confusion which surrounded political affairs. The Swedish-Finnish armies of Charles XII suffered defeat in the eighteen year Great Northern War. The peace agreements of Uusikaupunki in 1721 and Turku in 1743 forced Sweden to relinquish control of her eastern territories to Russia. That segment of the Finnish aristocracy which had aligned itself with Sweden saw its confidence misplaced. Since Sweden could no longer offer the desired security and

leadership, they began to look more favourably toward their former foes.<sup>30</sup> In turn, Russia tolerated and at times encouraged activities in Finland which negated its ties with Sweden. Groups committed to independence and reform in the institutionalized structure of the church flourished during this liminal period between the transfer of autocratic powers.

The fervour created by the nationalists in the last decades of the seventeenth century failed to provide solutions to the disharmony. No significant changes were introduced into the organization of the society. Rather, the existing distinctions between the 'Swedish functionaries' and the majority of the population was further complicated. Reflecting the uncertainty of the period, the interests of the former group were divided among Sweden, Russia and to a lesser degree Finland.

Much of the scholarship undertaken in the early 1880s was predicated on the belief that the natural laws of science extended into the affairs of people. Since the universe was fundamentally orderly, the human condition was not only comprehensible but capable of being directed through the application of reason.<sup>31</sup> Within the Finnish intellectual community the writings of Locke were popular. His treatise on the psychic unity of mankind along with his observations about the influence of culture on group variabilities supported the more elaborate ideas put forth by Montesquieu. Together, the two offered an intellectual premise for the

largely emotional appeal of the early nationalists. Scientific investigation could uncover criteria by which one group of people are differentiated from another.<sup>32</sup> The destiny of Finland and the Finnish people appeared to be in the hands of those willing to pursue it. By the late nineteenth century this had become a moral imperative among many in the academic community.

Montesquieu's work provided scholars with a framework in which to discuss the function and distribution of contemporary customs. In Finland his suppositions about the relationship between environment and people were readily incorporated into a methodology since they satisfied both the demands of science and practical experience. Examples of heartiness, strength, perseverance in hardship and their eventual triumph abounded in the descriptive passages of the narratives. Similar observations were made about the daily fare of the subsistence population.<sup>33</sup> These discoveries became criteria upon which further observations were drawn. Since they could be extracted from material which in itself represented a continuum of time from the ancient Kaleva period to the present they were legitimized as exemplars of qualities in the national character. When a century later Kurikka reminded his followers in British Columbia that they were obliged to procure by hard work that which the world refused to bestow spontaneously he was admonishing them for not relying on their inherent strengths.<sup>34</sup> Given the milieu from which his followers were recruited the statement

carried social as well as environmental implications.

These qualities were also attributed to Finns by those outside their ethnic group. The desirability of Finnish immigrants was discussed in the province's newspapers.<sup>35</sup> Their sentiments were reiterated by people in other parts of Canada and by various branches of the federal government.<sup>36</sup> In 1901 the Kalevan Kansa was awarded Malcolm Island, primarily on the belief that they were the ideal people to exploit its resources.<sup>37</sup> Public opinion about Finnish immigrants stressed that they were select people to make permanent settlements in the hinterlands.

The pursuits of Enlightenment scholars had brought together two ideas which strongly contributed to the intellectual climate and activities of the following generations. The notion of man's existence being shaped by divine purpose was enjoined with a belief in the efficacy of applying reason to the study of historical social phenomena. The pursuit of reason fulfilled divine purpose as a means to temporal and earthly happiness. In Finland, as elsewhere in Europe this spirit heralded the advent of the Romantic-Nationalistic Age.

As a consequence of the renewed enthusiasm in folklore scholarship, theories about Finnishness encompassed additional elements. The propositions put forth by German scholars like Wolf found immediate acceptance among Finnish intellectuals.<sup>38</sup> They too believed the purposeful end of scientific inquiry to be reflected in the well-being of the

state. The traditions preserved and practiced by the common people were recognized as the best means to understand the workings of the uninhibited imagination. Inspired by Romantic ideals, many contemporary scholars felt that the essence of Finnishness was encapsulated within the indigenous culture. The ideas expressed by Wolf readily accommodated the more elaborate convictions of his countryman Herder.<sup>39</sup> In Finland his writings were considered efficacious for two primary reasons. First, they postulated that man's most natural state of existence was in society. Furthermore, they stressed that man's humanness is engendered by his associations in a social group. These ideas were popular among the growing group of people concerned with independence. Conjecture about the new nation implied thoughts about morality. The well-being of the state would require a form of organization which could guarantee the well-being of the majority of its citizens. Second, Herder's emphasis on the individual nature of people and nations directly contributed to the vitality of the Finnish nationalistic movement. His discussion of national character reinforced existing notions of progress.

1. Each nation is by nature and history a distinct organic unity with its own unique culture.
2. If a nation is to survive it must develop in such a way as to remain true to its national character which is reflected in its past.
3. All nations are progressing toward a state of Humanitat, a harmonious expression of their characters. Each nation can progress to this state by following its own particular cultural tract.



4. Each individual achieves a personal state of Humanitat through the salvation of the state.

5. The cultural and historical pattern of a people is best expressed in its own language, particularly through its folk traditions.

6. Should the continuity of a nation's progress be interrupted, its identity can only be regained through the collection of its national traditions and from their subsequent use as a foundation.<sup>40</sup>

Only through the knowledge gained from a people's traditions could both they and the nation progress to a state of Humanitat.

National identity was a prominent concern among Finnish scholars and politicians at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The intensity of this burgeoning feeling was sufficient to force the formulation of new questions. Pragmatically, the nationalists could no longer totally ignore the presence of the rural and itinerant population. Intellectually, they were compelled to seek an expression of themselves through the traditions of these people.<sup>41</sup> Although their work failed to produce significant immediate changes in the social organization of the country, their enthusiasm precipitated activities which would.

The accentuated wish to gather, acknowledge, study and disseminate knowledge in all fields was reflected in the formation of groups such as the Aurora Society at Turku University. Organized around a group of scholars, clergymen, court officials, titled landowners and government officials, it advocated the "concept of a Finnish nation as a unique nation which had its own language, its own period of ancient

history, its own national character and its own customs."<sup>42</sup>  
The renewed enthusiasm instigated by Porthan and later by his students and others at Turku University continued to gain in popularity throughout the nineteenth century, despite the final transfer of political authority from Sweden to Russia.

The agreement reached at Tilsit between Napoleon and Alexander I of Russia ended Sweden's control of Finland. In the winter of 1808 the Diet of Porvoo officially severed the six hundred year long ties and Finland became a Russian Grand Duchy. As such, it was an autonomous state with its own constitution and Diet authorized to act in internal matters which did not impinge on the authority of the Tsar.<sup>43</sup> Under the control of an initially tolerant master the cause of Finnish nationalism continued to attract followers. Within the academic community, the relationship between nationalism and folklore scholarship was mutually supportive, one contributing strength to the other. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century most Finns were exposed to some formal education which utilized extensive amounts of traditional materials. It was an unprecedented period of individual and collective activity aimed toward securing a sense of identity and political independence.

The works of Elias Lonnrot as well as the qualities within his own character were largely responsible for the renewed wave of enthusiasm. Not only was he instrumental in bringing the epic narratives together in the Kalevala but

his life's activities translated into action the aspirations felt by other Finns. For many he appeared to epitomize the successful transformation from subsistence to complex. He shared the beginnings of the majority of his countrymen yet was able to gain success in an ambiance which appeared unmanageable.

Lonnrot was born at the parish of Sammaatti in Usimaa, formerly Swedish Nyland, in 1802. His father was a tailor and his mother was the daughter of a rural family. During his lifetime he was a noted physician, scholar, translator, geographer, folklorist and patriot. His elementary education was undertaken at Tammisaari, Turku, and in the company of a local curate whose tutelage gave him an understanding of Finnish as well as Swedish. At university his interest in Finnish antiquity and particularly in the narratives about ancient Kaleva times was co-existent with training in Latin and medicine. In 1822 he began to research the substantial collections of material concerning the ancient divinities of Finland. In 1827 he produced a Master of Arts thesis on the culture hero Vainamoinen.<sup>44</sup> Although his interests remained primarily within the humanities, he undertook further medical training at a cholera hospital in 1828 and subsequently became a medical inspector for northern Finland. In 1832 he was awarded a medical degree from the university at Helsinki for his dissertation on the magical medicine of the Finns.<sup>45</sup>

In 1831 Lonnrot organized for publication four volumes

of epic songs about the adventures of the Kaleva heroes under the title Kantele. After considerable fieldwork that collection expanded into the Proto-Kalevala, which was predominantly concerned with the adventures of Vainamoinen. In 1835 an early form of the unified epic entitled the Old Kalevala was published and in 1849 the Kalevala appeared in its current form.<sup>46</sup> It was immediately accepted as the centralmost unifying force in Finnish society.

Based on his experience as a fieldworker Lonnrot doubted that the historic epic had been collected in its entirety. However, he was positive it had once existed. Although it was well known that the epic was a composite of songs and that the songs themselves were often composites of different variants, Finns to the "present day contend that these individual poems are genuine folklore little altered by Lonnrot and that they serve as mirrors of the Finnish soul".<sup>47</sup> Lonnrot's contribution to Finnish nationalism was unquestionable. His contemporaries and those in succeeding generations heralded him as the last and greatest of the singers, the one who brought the remnants of Finnish heritage back together.

Esteem and veneration for the Kalevala grew rapidly in Finland and abroad. Shortly after its publication it was translated into foreign languages and gained international recognition. Within Finland it became the centre of the educational curriculum. Since "only by means of popular education could the country be brought to a full realization

of the needs of the hour and a wholehearted acceptance of the creed of nationalism"<sup>48</sup> the Kalevala and Finnish identity remained inseparable. Unlike previous attempts to found a base for Finnish identity, the Kalevala augmented the enthusiasm of the scholars by precipitating a different sort of experience. The knowledge within the Kalevala could be shared and imparted from one individual to another and as such it provided an occasion during which the existing structures of order appeared slightly less rigid. The Kalevala facilitated the collective expression of shared emotions while simultaneously disavowing itself from the distinctions which separated members of Finnish society from one another. Inasmuch as Lonnrot articulated the substance of the sentiments which were experienced by his countrymen, he was recognized as a representative of their interests.

Lonnrot, like those who studied the Kalevala, believed that the stories were about actual people and events. Even those who were dubious about the shamanic attributes of Vainamoinen and the others recognized within the passages strengths which could be put to an advantage. Together Lonnrot and the Kalevala stood out as representatives of a new era. As a fieldworker, folklorist, medical practitioner, translator, geographer, agricultural expert, jurist, author and poet he transcended the complexity of particular skills and their associated social distinctions. As a representative of the new Finn he was a part of all Finns, capable

of translating his experience into a collective, albeit temporal, vision of a new society.<sup>49</sup>

After the publication date of the Kalevala and its acceptance into the mainstream of Finnish life there were rapid alterations in the composition of society. The expansion of educational opportunities was a central objective. A substantial rise in the number of Finnish language newspapers occurred and their editorial policy was committed to issues concerning identity and independence.<sup>50</sup> By 1860 Finnish along with Swedish was recognized as the working language within all the courts of law and by 1880 all public officials were required to be conversant in Finnish.<sup>51</sup>

The movement toward legitimizing Finnishness was paralleled by technological innovations and subsequent changes in demography. Between 1818 and 1875 the number of landholders remained constant while the number of nonlandholding individuals increased five-fold.<sup>52</sup> Many of these people were drawn into the urban centres by prospects for a better livelihood, seemingly higher social standing and a more diversified lifestyle; none of which were readily forthcoming. After the famine of 1867-68 in southern and western Finland an additional 10,000 persons of a formerly agrarian and immobile class left the land.<sup>53</sup> No longer deterred by the anti-vagrancy laws which until 1869 had tied nearly everyone within the 'legal protection' of a country landlord or city burger, these individuals tended to migrate

toward the major townships and cities.<sup>54</sup> The decade of the seventies was the Great Finnish Migration from rural areas to urban.<sup>55</sup> Particularly in the first half of the decade, this migration extended beyond the country's borders.<sup>56</sup> Most of the emigrants were attracted to 'America' which was experiencing a period of prosperity.<sup>57</sup> In Finland during the two decades after 1870 the population of cities like Helsinki doubled.<sup>58</sup> Among this largely transient population the birth rate increased by 16 percent per decade as a result of modest prosperity brought about by a need for labourers and tradesmen.<sup>59</sup> However, the prosperity was short-lived. After mid-century the parcelling of farm land into allotments too small to support the families of cotters and squatters led to financial ruin for the small landholders as well as for their tenants. An estimated 170,000 unskilled workers<sup>60</sup> had migrated to the cities by 1880. For many Finns, particularly those who were male, unmarried and under thirty years of age, the prospect of migrating from one area to another or of emigrating was high.

Apart from the increase in mobility resulting from the inability of the land to support larger populations there were other fundamental changes. These brought to the forefront questions which were directly related to social organization. The newly urban population of itinerant workers straddled the gap between their subsistence past and the necessity of participating in a complex society. Since the method of reckoning individual worth was

constructed from a different premise it was impossible for them to fulfill what Burridge has referred to as the redemptive process.<sup>61</sup> Money, which had put an end to the subsistence barter economy, was introduced widely into Finnish society with the boom in sawmilling, lumbering and railway construction. These projects depended on a large supply of rootless labourers.<sup>62</sup> Since they were exempt from the obligatory nature of life characteristic of subsistence communities their well-being depended on their ability to earn. Accompanying money as a factorial evaluation of individual worth was a complex diversification of occupations.<sup>63</sup> Simultaneously, within the more accessible rural areas there was a transition from grain to dairy cattle which by their existence emphasize quantification.<sup>64</sup>

By the 1870's there was a dramatic increase in the demand for consumer goods. The shift away from subsistence organization was clearly reflected in the seven-fold increase in retail outlets within non-urban areas.<sup>65</sup> However, there were no corresponding changes in local or regional political institutions. As a result of the increase in births the number of individuals without direct influence on the political Diet increased by thirty percent in the decade between 1880 and 1890.<sup>66</sup> The political organization which had maintained order in the past grew progressively weaker without any attempt to account for the growing group of people who were marginally participating in the wage economy. Politically Finland remained a society based on



estates.

Throughout this period the Tsarist government of Russia had tolerated, if not supported, the changes which were taking place. Prior to mid-century the Tsarist forces interceded only in matters which were regarded as fundamental to the question of emigration. However, by the last decades of the century the Russian government began to obstruct the course of events in Finland. Their desire to have previous ties with Sweden broken no longer outweighed the threat of Finnish independence. Ironically, these actions prompted by the shift in perspective by the Russian government fundamentally contributed to the second large wave of emigration which reached its peak in 1902.<sup>67</sup>

With support from the Slavic nations the Russian government began to assimilate the Finnish Grand Duchy into the Russian Empire. In 1899 the conscription bill directed the majority of Finland's able workforce into compulsory military service in the Imperial Army.<sup>68</sup> Strong emotional reaction against this move ensued in Europe and as far abroad as North America. There, public opinion concurred with the protests of European "nations, scholars and artists"<sup>69</sup> who condemned the action. The provincial newspapers in British Columbia urged both the provincial and the federal governments to encourage the desirable Finnish immigrants to come to Canada. These sentiments expressed by Canadian politicians, although not altogether altruistic in aim, gave many of the Finns who contemplated emigration the incentive to leave.<sup>70</sup>

The image of a new society engendered by Lonnrot and the Kalevala did not come about. Instead, rural poverty, low wages in the urban and resource occupations, poor credit facilities, lack of protective legislation for tenants and workers, conscription and a constantly changing measure of personal worth confronted over half the population. This ambiance of alienation was compounded by a religious, political and financial hierarchy who, although no longer resentful of Finnish customs and language, were opposed in fact and spirit to total enfranchisement, universal education and organized reform. According to the editorials which appeared in Finnish newspapers they believed that such changes would be undeserved and unjust.

"The fare of the working class has earlier consisted of herring, bread, potatoes, sour milk and porridge. The great majority of the working class despises such food now. Wheat bread was formerly scarce except on the days before Christmas and Easter. Now it is, on the contrary, quite a common merchandise and the wheat loaves are now falling into the hands of workingmen's wives."<sup>71</sup>

While recognizing in themselves, and to a lesser degree in others, qualities of the Kaleva Finns, the privileged classes were unwilling to see that many of their countrymen were caught in a complex of social obligations which they were ill-prepared to manipulate.

For many of these individuals emigration appeared to resolve the dilemma of an awareness of individual and national identity on the one hand and a gradual disintegration of the opportunity to express it within the social context on the other hand. For reformers and activists

like Matti Kurikka, emigration offered the only viable solution. As a lecturer, poet and playwright and advocate of Christian socialism, Kurikka gathered a substantial following during the late 1800s. When his play Tower of Babel was poorly received and criticized by the academic community and the Church, he became involved in the general milieu of the reform movement.<sup>72</sup> After he was rejected by the social ambiance which had nurtured him, he undertook a further series of lecture tours in Finland and northern Europe. Upon his return he again became involved with socialist ideas and joined other activists like A. B. Makela and Minna Canth who were working in the emerging socialist press. From there his reputation spread throughout Finland and even to communities in North America.<sup>73</sup> Unlike his more radical compatriots, Kurikka was a theosopher and an advocate of Christian ideals and of life based on brotherhood. From the reputation which had grown around him he was thought of as a man of immense stature and great vitality. These attributes along with the mystique which surrounded accounts of his birth categorized him among the ageless culture heroes who could reshape society and who had the power to create and destroy.<sup>74</sup>

Kurikka left Finland in 1899 to found a Finnish settlement in Australia<sup>75</sup> and from there he travelled to Nanaimo, British Columbia in 1901.<sup>76</sup> In Finland, Kurikka had not been the only one to advocate mass emigration. But most such attempts at exodus failed before departure. Still,

others, mostly young single men detached from the land and employed as itinerant labourers or farm workers were individually more successful. For them emigration, no matter how uncertain the new land might be, offered a viable alternative to a social ambiance characterized by a myriad of nonrewarding and seemingly contradictory paths.

In Finland, large numbers of individuals remained firmly opposed to emigration. The upper class represented by some clergy, publishers, officials and gentleman farmers condemned the departure of Finns and engaged in vigorous campaigns of propaganda. To curtail mass emigration they proposed to form anti-emigration societies to deal with matters the Diet was incapable of acting upon.<sup>77</sup> Their sentiments were clearly expressed in the editorials of newspapers.

"The general opinion among us does not look on the immigration (sic) movement with sympathetic eyes. It is seen as a danger to the peaceful and natural development of the fatherland."<sup>78</sup>

Among many church officials failure to remain in Finland was seen not only as unpatriotic but as a breach of an individual's moral responsibility. Young people who decided to emigrate were chastised for ignoring their responsibilities to repay their education and upbringing, thereby clearly excluding them from the category of moral individual.<sup>79</sup>

Bishop Gustof Johansson and churchman Wilhelm Malmberg emphasized the deficiencies in the characters of those who were unable to resist the lure of emigration.<sup>80</sup> Not only

were they spiritually weak, but they were clearly alienated from God. Emigration was represented as the cause of all immoral conditions current within Finland. Because male emigrants were motivated by sensual pleasures and greed their wives were left behind to become adulteresses and their children public charges.<sup>81</sup> Additionally, it was hypothesized that these immoral emigrants would eventually return from the ravages and exploitation of America<sup>82</sup> with wives obtained without the sanction of the church.<sup>83</sup> Such marriages would remain unrecognized and therefore illegitimate in the eyes of God. Such marriages, should they occur, were regarded as further evidence of emigrants being misled by false freedom and succumbing to secular pleasures while failing to meet their religious obligations.<sup>84</sup> Missionary reports from America stressed that country's preoccupation with drinking, fighting and uncivilized language. Within such an ambience of decay Finnish women and particularly girls arriving in North America would find themselves on the doorstep of ruin.<sup>85</sup> For many emigrants the decision to leave was accompanied by a break with the institution of the state church, although not with its subject matter.

The participants within the Kalevan Kansa movement were individuals nurtured within this milieu of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most were educated and introduced to the political process at a time when the fervour of independence prompted exploration and

evaluation of the culture. In addition, this was a period when vast numbers of the country's heretofore subsistence population encountered the complexities of a money oriented or factorial society. The Finns who emigrated to North America and who were the core of the Kalevan Kansa were intimately aware of their cultural heritage. Yet, they were people who were unable to find in Finnish society the kinds of opportunities which would make their relationships and obligations meaningful in relation to the ideas they held about their identity as Finns. In British Columbia many Finns felt that if Matti Kurikka's vision of an idealistic community founded on the principle of a joint-stock company could be realized it would permit its members to articulate their perceptions of Finnishness into an idealistic form of social organization.

## Notes

- 1 T. Orta, "Finnish Emigration Prior to 1893: Economic, Demographic and Social Backgrounds," in M. Karni, M. Kaups and D. Ollila, eds., The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives, Migration Studies C 3 (Turku, Finland, 1975), pp. 21-36. W. Hoglund, "No Land for Finns: Critics and Reformers View the Rural Exodus from Finland to America Between the 1880s and World War II," in *ibid.*, pp. 36-55.
- 2 Orta, 1975, pp. 23-33.
- 3 M. Kuusi, K. Bosley and M. Branch, eds. and trans., "Introduction," Finnish Folk Poetry: Epic. An Anthology in Finnish and English (Helsinki, 1977), p. 26.
- 4 For a discussion of liminality and rites of passage see A. Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage (Chicago, 1960). See also V. Turner, The Forest of Symbols (Ithaca, 1967), pp. 93-112.
- 5 E. N. Setälä, ed., Mikael Agricola Teokset [The Writings of Michael Agricola] 3 vols. as cited in W. A. Wilson, Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland (Bloomington, 1976), pp. 4-10.
- 6 Kuusi, Bosley and Branch, 1977, p. 27 and W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp. 8-73.
- 7 W. A. Wilson, 1976, p. 8.
- 8 Orta, 1975, pp. 23-33 and Hoglund, 1975, pp. 37-38.
- 9 Kuusi, Bosley and Branch, 1977, pp. 45 and 54-55
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 55.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
- 12 W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp. 6-7.
- 13 Kuusi, Bosley and Branch, 1977, p. 73.
- 14 J. P. Finno, Yxi Wanha Suomenkielinen Wirsikirja [An Ancient Finnish Language Hymnal] as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, p. 8.
- 15 As cited in Kuusi, Bosley and Branch, 1977, p. 28.
- 16 M. Kurikka, "Uudelle Uralle" [Toward a New Path] as cited in Halminen, 1936, pp. 29-34.
- 17 Kuusi, Bosley and Branch, 1977, pp. 52-56.

18 Halminen, 1936, pp. 11-59.

19 Oberg, 1928, pp. 13-14. For comparison see Halminen, 1936, pp. 28-33 and the Daily Colonist, 2 November 1901.

20 Kuusi, Bosley and Branch, 1977, pp. 68-75.

21 A. Sarajas, Suomen Kansanrunouden tuntemus 1500-1700-lukujen Kirjallisuudessa [Familiarity with Finnish Folk Poetry in the Scholarly Literature of 1500-1700], p. 60 as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, p. 9. Similar historiographic societies giving support to emerging national states appeared elsewhere in Europe as well: the Society for British Antiquities (London, 1572-1604); L'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Paris, 1663); the Society for Antiquaries (London, 1717). For a discussion of these societies see J. S. Slotkin, ed., "The Transmission and Accumulation of Information," Readings in Early Anthropology (Chicago, 1965), pp. vii-viii.

22 Sarajas, *ibid.*, p. 30 as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, p. 9.

23 A. R. Niemi, "Kalevan Kokoonpano: I. Runokokous Vainamoisesta" [Assembling the Kalevala: A Compilation of Poetry about Vainamoinen] as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp. 9-11. See also Sarajas, *ibid.*, as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp. 9-11. These sentiments were not universally shared. In 1649 Bishop Rothovius issued a strong declaration against the use of and interest in traditional folk materials.

24 W. A. Wilson, *ibid.*

25 The following indicate the various forms that these reconstructions took.

Sarajas, *ibid.*, as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, p. 10. King Gustavus II Adolphus published a dictum suggesting that Finland was an old nation and that other nations had sprung forth from her people.

Matti Haavio, Piispa Hendrik ja Lalli [Bishop Hendrik and Lalli], as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp. 11 and 232-233. Sigfrid Aronius Forsius wrote a chronicle about the famous Bishop Henry who was martyred when he brought Christianity to Finland.

J. Messenius, Scondia Illustrata, as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, p. 10. Working from his collection of local traditions Messenius produced a "historical" (my emphasis) account of the various Finnish rulers who were descended from Noah's son Shem.

M. Haavio, "Kalevalakultti" [The Kalevala Cult] in Hastesko and Haavio, eds., Kalevalan Kansallinen aare: Kirjoitelmia kansallisepoksen Vaiheilta [The Kalevala as a



National Treasure: Articles Concerning the National Epic], as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, p. 10. Haavio makes a reference to Chtonicon Finlandiae which was published in the 1670s. It speaks about a time before Swedish rule when Finland had been the world hub and had dominated even Russia.

K. A. Bomansson, Bidrag till Finlands Historia, as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, p. 10. In 1674 the scholar J. Cajanus put together an account which identified Kaleva and his twelve sons as actual living human beings who had conquered even Russia.

J. Cajanus, Lingvarum Ebraeae et Finnicae Convenientia, as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, p. 11. Toward the turn of the century Cajanus published the above study which attempted to show a generic relationship between the Finnish language and classic Hebrew.

Henricus Florinus, Wanhain Suomalaisten Twawaliset ja Suloiset Sananlascut [The Ordinary and Delightful Proverbs of the Ancient Finns], as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp. 11-12. This work is the best documented of a number of such undertakings investigating folk materials in order to give support to philological studies.

E. Ahlman, trans., Vanha ja Uusi Turku [The New and Old Turku], as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp. 13-16. With this study, first published in 1700, the tradition reached its extreme and end. In Vanha ja Uusi Turku the author lavished praise on everything that could be recognized as Finnish. In addition, he argued that Finnish was one of the original languages created at the 'confusion of tongues' and that other languages such as Polish, Russian and Hungarian were derived from it. In his understanding, the Finns had been led north by Noah's grandson Magog and the Amazons of Greek mythology had once lived in Finland. The Finns had given science and the letters to the Swedes who in turn has passed them on to the Romans. However, the Swedes being an envious people, had eventually conquered Finland and tried to destroy all records of this. Despite the Swedes' best efforts evidence of this epoch can still be found "in the traditional songs".

26 Kalevala is the father of the other three characters. Each one is accredited with special attributes; for example, Vainamoinen is the 'eternal sage' and supernaturally 'gifted singer'; Ilmarinen is the 'eternal smith' who forged the magic Sampo at North Farm and Lemminkainen is a renowned lover. For further information see Magoun, texts and "Glossary of Proper Names," in his 1963 translation of E. Lönnrot's compilation of the Kalevala, pp. 393-394, 405, 392 and 395-396.

27 For a discussion of this change in emphasis as expressed in the European context see R. Palmer and J. Colton, History of the Modern World (New York, 1965), pp. 259-288. For a detailed discussion of the importance of 'evidence' see *ibid.*, p. 276. J. S. Slotkin, 1965,

pp. 80-174 provides a good account of the scientific foundations of ethnography and ethnology.

28 For a discussion concerning the relationship of Christianity and indigenous beliefs in Europe see R. R. Lund et al., eds., A History of European Ideas (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 105-143.

29 E. Jutikkala and K. Pirinen, A History of Finland, trans. P. Sjoblom (New York, 1974), pp. 140-177 and 180-184.

30 Ibid., p. 138.

31 For a discussion of the relationship between the natural laws of science and the laws of human organization see Palmer and Colton, 1965, pp. 270-277.

32 J. Locke, Two Treatises on Civil Government (1690; reprint ed. London, 1884) as cited in Slotkin, 1965, pp. 172-174. The following quotation is taken from Locke's discussion about the difference between an Englishman and a person of a different origin, "the exercise of his facilities were bounded within the ways, modes and notions of his country and never directed to further inquiries." Ibid., p. 173.

33 Montesquieu, De l'esprit des lois (1748; reprint ed. Cincinnati, 1873 trans. by T. Nugent) as cited in Slotkin, 1965, pp. 395-396. In the section entitled "Of Laws as Relative to the Nature of the Climate" Montesquieu sets the following qualities as typifying individuals from cold climates: vigorous; strong of heart; courageous; frank and superior in strength, warfare, hunting, travelling and drinking wine.

34 For a ready although somewhat superficial listing of the Kaleva characters and their attributes see the section "Glossary of Proper Names" by Magoun in Lonnrot, 1849; 1963, pp. 385-406. For articles written by non-Finns which describe Finns as physiologically suited to exploit the northern wilderness of British Columbia see, for example, Daily Colonist, 29 August 1899 and *ibid.*, 29 November 1899. For an open letter to the provincial government from Kurikka emphasizing the ability of Finns to do hard labour and therefore become desirable settlers and citizens, see *ibid.*, 8 September 1901.

35 Ibid., See also *ibid.*, 29 August 1899 and *ibid.*, 29 November 1899.

36 See, for example, Halminen's reference to the Ox pamphlet, p. 6.

37 "The Kalevan Kansa Limited," Daily Colonist, 2 November 1901.

38 See W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp. 21-23.

39 Lund et al., 1962, pp. 248-263 and 265.

40 Ibid., and W. A. Wilson, "Herder, Folklore and Romantic Nationalism," Journal of Popular Culture 4 (1973): 819-835. See also Slotkin, 1965, pp. 285-293.

41 J. G. Herder, Ideas Toward a Philosophy of Mankind, (1784-1791) as cited in Lund et al., 1962, p. 263 and A. I. Arwidsson, Tutkimuksia ja kirjoitelmia [Researches and Articles] part II: Suomalaisuuden syntysanoja [The Birth of Finnish Identity] (Helsinki, 1909) as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, p. 35. "We must return to the furthest roots of all its native power, strength and energy; to the pure spring of poetry. Everything must be built upon a native foundation."

42 G. Castren, Sällskapet Aurora, 2 vols., and M. G. Schybergsson, Hendrick Gabriel Porthan: Lefnadsteckning, as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp. 23-26.

43 The substantial number of emigrants from Finland was of concern to the Russian authorities. Periodically they favoured making political concessions within Finland which were not popular among the aristocracy there. See Hoglund, 1975, pp. 40-47.

44 Lonnrot's Master of Arts thesis, finished in 1827, was entitled "De Vainamoine, priscorum fennorum numine" [Vainamoinen: a Divinity of the Finns]. All copies of the thesis were destroyed in a fire later in 1827 at Turku University.

45 For a condensed English language translation of a biography of Lonnrot, see Magoun "Materials for the Study of the Kalevala," in Lonnrot, 1849; 1963, pp. 341-362. Lonnrot's thesis for his M. D. at Helsinki University in 1832 was entitled "Om Finnarnes magiska medicin" [The Magical Medicine of the Finns]. It was published in 1842 in Finska Lakaresällskapets Handlingar [Transactions of the Finnish Medical Society] 1 (1842): 199-244.

46 For a description of the Kalevala and the works which lead to its publication see Suomen Kirjallisuus [Finnish Literature] 3, p. 139 as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp. 30-44.

47 W. A. Wilson, 1976, p. 40.

48 J. H. Wuorinen, Nationalism in Modern Finland (New York, 1931), p. 159. See also Kalevala, trans. M. A. Castren (Helsinki, 1841) as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976

p. 43 and Jacob Grimm, "Om det Finska Epos." Fosterlandskt Album 2 (1845): 60-102 as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp. 43-44. The Kalevala was translated into German and Swedish and even before the translation was complete Grimm lectured on its significance. Passages of the Kalevala were fused into all aspects of Finnish education. W. A. Wilson, 1976, p. 40.

- 49 The ability of Lonnrot to articulate the requirements of the situation and to bring together the interests of the various groups within Finnish society can be appreciated through his published works and accomplishments.
- 1827 Master of Arts thesis at Turku University  
"De Vainamoine, priscorum fennorum numine"  
[Vanamoinen: a Divinity of the Ancient Finns]
  - 1829- published his collection of songs in 4 fascicles
  - 1831 as Kantele [The Harp]
  - 1831 first secretary of the Suomen, later Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura [Finnish Literature Society]
  - 1832 M. D. from Helsinki University, thesis "Om Finnarnes magiska Medicin" [The Magical Medicine of the Finns]
  - 1833 published Alku-Kalevala [Proto-Kalevala]
  - 1834 published a Finnish translation of Gustafva Schartau's pamphlet Hyvantahtoisia neuvoja katovuosina [Well-intentioned Advice in Crop-Failure Years]
  - 1835 published the Old Kalevala  
founded the first Finnish language periodical Mehiläinen [The Bee] which was intended to publish different kinds of traditional poetry and articles (appeared 1836-37 and 1839-40)
  - 1837 serialized Von Becker's translation of a history of antiquity; Juhana Fredrik Cajan's history of Finland and a history of Russia adapted by Gustav Ticklen and others
  - 1839 adapted Carl Nordblad's Sundheta-larobok for menige Man [Health-Manual for the Common People] to Suomalaisen talonpojan koti-laakari [The Finnish Peasant's Home Doctor]
  - 1840 published Kanteletar [The Spirit of the Harp]  
contributed to the Helsingfors Morgonblad [Helsingfors Morning Journal]  
established the scholarly and patriotic periodical Suomi [Finland]
  - 1842 published Sanalaskut [Proverbs]
  - 1844 published Arvoitukset [Riddles]  
contributor to Maamiehenystava [The Farmer's Friend]  
contributor to Saima
  - 1847 undertook the preparing of Ruotsin, suomen ja sakan tulkki [A Swedish, Finnish and German Interpreter]  
undertook the preparing of the Finnish part of Agathon Meurman's Russian-Swedish dictionary

- 1847- edited with Snellman, Litteraturblad for allman  
 1849 medborgerlig Bildning [Literary Journal for  
 General Civic Culture]  
 1849 published the New Kalevala  
 1852 accepted the chair at Helsinki University for  
 Finnish Language and Literature  
 1852- edited the Oulu Wiikko-Sanomat [The Weekly News]  
 1853  
 1853 defended his thesis "Om det Nord-Tschudiska  
 spraket" [The North Tschud Language]  
 became professor of Finnish Language and Liter-  
 ature, retired 1862  
 published Ueber den Enare-lappischen Dialekt  
 [The Inari-Lapp Dialect]  
 1857 published Neuvoja erasten jakalain kayttamisesta  
ruuaksi [Advice on Using Certain Lichens as Food]  
 1859 published Minkatahden cuolee Suomessa niin paljon  
lapsia ensimmaisella ikavuodellanse? [Why Do So  
 Many Children in Finland Die in Their First Year?]  
 1860 published Flora Fennica: Suomen kasvisto [The  
 Flora of Finland]  
 1863 translated Johan Philop Palmen's La'in opillinen  
kasikirja yhteiseksi sivistykseksi [Judicial  
 Handbook for General Enlightenment]  
 1866- published in 14 parts Suomalais-ruotsalainen  
 1880 sanakirja [Finnish-Swedish Dictionary]  
 1872 published Suomalainen virsikirja valiaikaiseksi  
tarpeeksi [A Finnish Hymnal for Temporary Use]  
 1880 published Suomen kansan muinaisia loitsorunoja  
 [Old Metrical Charms of the Finnish People]  
 1881 published Turo, kuun ja auringon pelastaja.  
Inkerin kansarunoista kokoon sovittanut Elias  
Lonnrot [Turo, Savior of the Sun and the Moon.  
 From Ingrian Songs concatenated by Elias Lonnrot]  
 1887 posthumously published rearranged and expanded  
 version of Kanteletar

F. P. Magoun provides more detailed information about  
 Lonnrot's publications, fieldwork and academic positions in  
 Lonnrot, 1849; 1963, pp. 341-382.

50 The number of Finnish language newspapers increased  
 from one in 1835 to over 90 by the turn of the century. In  
 addition, the papers represented a uniform view concerning  
 Finnish nationalism. See below. The number of entries  
 within the archives of the Finnish Literary Society increased  
 fourfold during the same period. See W. A. Wilson, 1976,  
 pp. 47-51. "In terms of what is to come, it [The Kalevala]  
 is for us a prophetic seer of the historical future, for  
 such a nation that has originally lived under the influence  
 of this kind of poetic power cannot be destined to disappear  
 without a trace from the fields of history." "Kalevala,"  
Karjalatar, 6 March 1885 as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp.  
 48-49. "The publication of the Kalevala marks the turning  
 point in our national life: our national life only begins at  
 that point. In the Kalevala the Finnish nation learned to

know itself and to trust itself . . . . " "Kalevalan juhlat," Raamon Lehti, 28 February 1885 as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, p. 48. In addition there was a rapid increase in public education. For a discussion of these events see N. Liakka, Vapaa ja Vapaaehtoinen Kansansivistysto Suomessa [Free and Voluntary Public Education in Finland] (Jyvaskyla, 1942) as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp. 45-49. See also J. H. Wuorinen, 1931, pp. 155-165. In 1870 the epic was adopted as a textbook for all elementary schools and in 1876 the primary reader Maammekirja [About Our Country] based on excerpts from the Kalevala came into use. The following information indicates the rapid changes occurring within the Finnish educational system during this period. The first Finnish language secondary school was founded in Jyvaskyla in 1858, a state supported primary school system came into being in 1866 and a teacher training college in 1873. By 1874 nearly 16,000 students were being given instruction and by 1900 the number of students educated solely in Finnish outnumbered those being taught in Swedish. In 1904 there were 3,678 schools giving instruction to 125,870 students. In addition, a number of adult educational facilities were established to give instruction in economic, practical affairs (agriculture, medicine, etc.) and nationalism. Centermost within all these educational endeavours was the study of the Kalevala. For a discussion of adult education see "Kansavalistus Seura," [The Society for Public Enlightenment], in N. Liakka, 1942 as cited in W. A. Wilson, 1976, pp. 45-49.

51 Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974, p. 212.

52 Hoglund, 1975, pp. 37-38.

53 Orta, 1975, pp. 22-23.

54 Ibid., p. 31.

55 Ibid., p. 33.

56 Ibid., p. 34.

57 C. Erickson, "The Impact of Push and Pull," Nordic Emigration Research Conference in Uppsala, 1969, Proceedings, Uppsala, 1970, pp. 26-28, as cited in Orta, 1975, p. 22.

58 Orta, 1975, p. 33.

59 Ibid., p. 30.

60 Ibid., p. 26.

61 Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, pp. 4-8.

62 Orta, 1975, pp. 23-24 and Annual Report of the

Provincial Governor of Kuopio for 1880, Papers of the former office of the Secretary of Finland, St. Petersburg Public Archives, Helsinki, Finland as cited in *ibid.*, p. 27.

63 See, for example, sawmilling; sawyers, cutters, floaters, drivers and loaders. Each of these were then further differentiated into skilled, semi-skilled and labourers. Workers were renumerated according to the distinctions created by their occupations.

64 Apart from the changes in labour organization implied by a change to grain and cattle farming there is a further consideration. Both grain and cattle are readily quantified and cattle like money have an inherent incremental quality. Anthropology Lecture by K. O. L. Burridge, University of British Columbia, 6 February 1975.

65 Orta, 1975, p. 32.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

67 Hoglund, 1975, pp. 48-49.

68 Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974, pp. 227-228. The assimilation program began with a unification of the Finnish postal system, exchange system and legal system with Russia. The authority formerly granted to the Finnish Diet was revoked. In addition, Russian administrators imposed their language into the courts and their curriculum into the educational system.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 227. See also, "Settlers for the Island," Daily Colonist, 29 November 1899.

70 "Finns for the Coast," *ibid.*, 23 August 1899; "The Finns Delegation," *ibid.*, 27 August 1899; "An Important Visit," *ibid.*, 29 August 1899; "Finnish Immigration," *ibid.*, 2 February 1901; "An Immigration Scheme," *ibid.*, 2 February 1901; "Russian Finns Seek Home," Vancouver Province, 9 April 1901. Canadians expressed an interest in obtaining suitable immigrants to develop the northern areas. It was believed that since Finns were used to a cold climate and to hard work, they would make ideal settlers. From the start the emphasis was less on integrating Finnish settlers into the general milieu of the English speaking population and more on using this potential work force to settle the wilderness or to provide employees for the national railroad. See also, Halminen, 1936, pp. 6-7.

71 Abo Underrattelser, Sweden, 1887, p. 1 as cited in Orta, 1975, p. 34.

72 Oberg, 1928. See also, J. D. Wilson, 1973-74.

73 Some of my fieldwork informants recall that Tyomies was distributed to North America and that it was often the only reading available to Finns in remote areas.

74 Oberg, 1928, p. 5. Among the popular stories about Kurikka was one about his birth. Reportedly his mother had a dream that her son would some day stand astride a church building while tearing shingles from its roof and casting them to the wind. The dream was related as a metaphor for Kurikka's desire to tear apart the old order and to restore a more natural and inherently just form of society.

75 J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, pp. 53-54.

76 Halminen, 1936, p. 18.

77 Hoglund, 1975, pp. 48-50.

78 Paiva Lehti (Helsinki), 5 March 1890.

79 Uusi Aura (Turku, Finland), 5 March 1899.

80 Hoglund, 1975, pp. 40-45.

81 Uusi Suometar (Helsinki), 10 July 1891; Kaiku (Oulu, Finland), 18 July 1891 and *ibid.*, 24 February 1897.

82 Vasan Lehti (Vasa, Finland), 8 December 1881 and *ibid.*, 18 June 1881. See also Suomalainen (Jyväskylä, Finland), 1 April 1892.

83 Kaiku, 8 September 1893.

84 E. Narju, "Kirje Amerikasta" [Letter from America], Hengellinen Kuukaus-lehti 8 (1895): 118-119 and M. Tarkkanen, Poytakirja, joka tehtiin 8:ssa yleisessa pappiskokouksessa Turussa heinakuun 27-29 paivina 1897 [Membership List Which Was Made At the Meeting of the Clergy at Turku, July 27-29, 1897] (Uusikaupunki, 1897), pp. 85-87 as cited in Hoglund, 1975, p. 43.

85 See Hoglund, 1975, p. 43. See also Panelius, Wuoskertomus antanut Suomen merimes lahetysseuran johtokuntaa, 1889 [Annual Report of the Finnish Seaman's Directorship, 1889] (Helsinki, 1889), as cited in Hoglund, 1975, p. 43.



Chapter 3      Traditions, Experience and Circumstance  
Combined in the Quest for an Utopian  
Community: Matti Kurikka and the Kalevan  
Kansa Colonization Company, Limited,  
1880-1904

This chapter is concerned with the rise of the Kalevan Kansa movement, its subsequent activities and its eventual decline. Chronologically the events proceed from the middle 1880s to 1905. Within this time span there are three less distinct although significant periods, each characterized by specific kinds of activities.

The first stretches from the 1880s to the turn of the century. In the intervening years a small number from among the Finnish miners became increasingly concerned about the social ambiance around them and about their role within it. Their efforts to improve the situation led to the founding of two temperance societies and the expansion of their small reading and social circle along with the formation of a Finnish marching band. In their search for a central guidepost by which individual activities and behaviour could be evaluated they became increasingly involved with fundamentalist Christianity and the traditional lore and mythology of their Finnish background. Although they did not articulate clear goals for themselves or for the other

Finns in the area they were aware of a need for change. They also believed that the changes they had experienced amongst themselves might eventually be extended beyond their small circle.

The second period began with the arrival of Matti Kurikka and started to dissipate when the Kalevan Kansa set about building Sointula. To the Finnish miners Kurikka represented the fulfillment of their aspirations. He was articulate in his speech and definite in his manner. He manipulated the contemporary Vancouver Island society in a manner the others only marginally understood. Yet, he shared with them a past history characterized by hardships and defeats, and by his own example he indicated that those experiences could be transformed into a perception of society which was meaningful and powerful in its appeal and apparent success. His revelation of the joint-stock company which would become the basis of their new community seemed to incorporate both the appeal of a successful financial venture and the lure of a society based on a more equitable distribution of wealth.

During this time Kurikka increasingly assumed the duties of leadership and reinforced his earlier notions about an idealistic community formed on the principles of a joint-stock company by founding the Aika newspaper on the same premise. He encouraged the participants in the emerging movement by constant references to a shared sense of the past, to the transforming quality of true Christian

living and brotherhood and to the legacy of greatness embodied in traditional Finnish mythology and lore. For a short time it appeared that the enthusiastic experiencing of comradeship among the Kalevan Kansa would override the structural distinctions inherent in the affairs and interests of individual people.

The third period encompassed the majority of the activities of the Kalevan Kansa at Sointula on Malcolm Island, the site of their proposed utopia. The experience of *communitas* was short-lived. As soon as the Kalevan Kansa began to deal with the specific requirements of forming their new community they were embroiled in conflicts of personality and in matters of self interest.

The entire event can be viewed as a societal rite of passage. For a time Kurikka was able to move his followers from the chaotic yet structured ambiance of life in the Vancouver Island communities into a liminal state. He failed, however, to provide the necessary guidance which would see them into the structure of a more equitable and workable society. The inevitability of conforming to the apparatus of structure took place before the Kalevan Kansa had formally embarked on founding Sointula. There was no substantial transformation of being among the membership, and the spirit of brotherhood quickly disintegrated as the participants increasingly began to interpret the situation according to their private interests.

No exact figures are available for the number of

Finnish immigrants who arrived in British Columbia in the latter decades of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries.<sup>1</sup> However, information obtained from a variety of sources indicates that Finnish immigrants began to arrive in this part of Canada in substantial numbers as early as the 1880s. A few Finns moved south from the area of the Aleutian Islands when Russia forfeited her claim to Alaska in 1867.<sup>2</sup> However, the majority came later, attracted by the expansion of the logging and mining industries in the western United States and into British Columbia.<sup>3</sup> Still others came to British Columbia from the prairies and Ontario as construction and maintenance workers with the Canadian Pacific Railway.<sup>4</sup> These early Finnish immigrants were primarily single men and they tended to follow employment opportunities across the country. When the work ended on the transcontinental railway, many of them drifted toward the coal mines on Vancouver Island to seek jobs.<sup>5</sup>

For a few of these early Finnish immigrants, life in North America provided an opportunity to carry on a manner of life similar to what they had known in rural Finland.<sup>6</sup> But among those who settled in the more urban centres and in the company settlements around mining communities on Vancouver Island, the daily routine was arduous and its pace seemed to be beyond the control of individual members.<sup>7</sup> The vision of prosperity, self-sufficiency and ethnic identity offered by emigration remained elusive. Neither of these alternative ways of gaining a livelihood was able

to bring about the measure of well-being which they had envisioned and which had served as a catalyst for their emigration.

The conditions of early immigrant life at the coastal mining communities like Nanaimo, Wellington and Extension were not conducive to earning and accumulating money or to participation in traditional cultural undertakings. Further, the living conditions did not facilitate the fulfillment of individual perceptions of what a descendant of a Kalevala Finn ought to be.<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere, the opportunities seemed slightly closer at hand, especially in the static and more coherent agriculturally based Finnish communities in Saskatchewan and Ontario in which individuals and families could remain largely self-sufficient.<sup>9</sup> However, in the mining communities where the majority of workers were immigrants,<sup>10</sup> readily distinguishable by their diverse traditions and languages, daily routine appeared to be more complex.<sup>11</sup> Apart from failing to cope with the complexities inherent within a strongly money oriented society in which moral obligations appeared transitory, these immigrant workers were subject to manipulation and scrutiny according to the whims of employers, landowners and politicians.<sup>12</sup> This dominance was accentuated in the Nanaimo district where one of the principal employers (James Dunsmuir) was also a major landowner and a prominent politician. For many of the Finnish workers in the mines around Wellington the central questions which had made identity an issue in Finland were

yet to be answered in a new environment which entailed additional burdens. Despite the moral condemnation in Finland directed against those who wished to emigrate, there remained some sense of homogeneity which breached their economic and class differences. This did not exist in North America.

In the mining communities on Vancouver Island Finns were clearly a minority and, in the view of some segments of the public, a marginally desirable one at that. Their reputation as hard workers was often offset by reports of their rowdiness and brawling within the settlement.<sup>13</sup> Local employers and politicians recognized in the influx of immigrants a vital resource which could be used to develop the natural wealth of the province.<sup>14</sup> To them, Finns appeared to be a preferable alternative to other racial<sup>15</sup> and ethnic groups.<sup>16</sup> They would provide the needed hardy stock of settlers who could exploit and eventually settle the frontier.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, they would not arouse the emotional turmoil which surrounded the use of Asian and native Indian labourers.

Throughout the 1880s and into the next decade attitudes to Finnish immigrants and their proposed large scale settlement in British Columbia remained ambiguous. The various sentiments were reflected in public opinion and in government policy.<sup>18</sup> At times Finns were recognized as esteemed workers, capable exploiters of the province's resources, competent and biologically and historically suited settlers

for the remote areas.<sup>19</sup> Additionally, they were often thought to be well educated, well versed in financial and technological matters, and a multi-lingual and cultured people forced to abandon their progressive homeland by the tyranny of the Russian Tsar.<sup>20</sup> In opposition to these laudatory claims designed to arouse passion and public interest in support of caucasian immigrants were the realities of the immigrant experience. The Finnish immigrants who arrived in British Columbia seldom had skills apart from those applicable to their agrarian background. They often had only limited knowledge about financial matters. They were rarely multi-lingual and less often competent in English. As such, the transient workers tended to gather in areas where other Finns were employed, farmed or owned boarding houses. In the worker settlements of the predominantly urban communities on Vancouver Island, they were noted for their fighting<sup>21</sup> and often gained the dubious distinction of being "bad Russian Finns".<sup>22</sup>

Equally confusing were the number of reports indicating the scale of Finnish immigration.<sup>23</sup> Among the public and more reluctantly among the members of the provincial government it was held that large numbers of Finnish immigrants would be an asset to the provincial economy.<sup>24</sup> Newspapers on Vancouver Island were quick to note that Finns were ideally suited to settle in the outlying areas of the Bulkley Valley and the northern tip of the island, not in the current centres of population.<sup>25</sup> They maintained that

unlike a large influx of transient workers from the United States the Finlanders would establish permanent settlements which would endure beyond the immediate interests of the resource companies.<sup>26</sup> Initially, they argued, the Finns could provide a labour force for the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway and subsequently they could settle in the outskirts of the towns to harvest the resources and to grow agricultural products.<sup>27</sup> From the start politicians and mine owners looked upon the Finns as a guaranteed and potentially renewable supply of labour.<sup>28</sup>

Many of the new immigrants who came to Vancouver Island found work in the mines abhorrent. Working in the mines entailed constant danger and considerable hardship. Lax enforcement of safety regulations, utilization of men unskilled in coal mining and the inadequate mining technology of the period all contributed to creating numerous mining accidents resulting in permanent disabilities or death.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, work underground and life in the company townsites was generally alien to the cultural experience of these formerly rural people and to their expectations.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, these individuals who had been educated and indoctrinated about their Finnishness and their heroic past in the Kalevala came to North America with a sense of zeal and anticipation.<sup>31</sup> The need to express a sense of self as a reflection of superior ethnicity became more emphatic as the opposition to emigration grew in the homeland. In North America, the descendants of Kaleva thought



that they would be able to strive for and exercise their inherent talents and capabilities to provide the physical and social circumstances needed for exemplar material and psychic well-being.

Despite their initial enthusiasm, the means to bring about the desired state of affairs in these communities remained elusive. The majority of Finns who worked in the mines at Wellington and Extension had come from small subsistence farms or from the recently burgeoning urban centres in Finland.<sup>32</sup> As such they were for the most part people with social conventions reflective of a subsistence environment where individual responsibility and worth was primarily reckoned by how well immediate responsibilities were discharged among others who shared their narrow perspectives.<sup>33</sup> However, life in the mining communities required participation in a social ambiance which was essentially hierarchical and alien. There, definitions of community and personal worth engendered by the practices around them appeared complex and ambiguous. Old criteria based on quality of labour and exchanges clashed with the present circumstances where relationships between employer and employees as well as among themselves seemed non-reciprocal.<sup>34</sup> Finnishness was not recognized as an especially desirable attribute in relation to other caucasian ethnicities.<sup>35</sup> Hard and conscientious work brought minimal access to money and material goods which were fundamental in defining the value of individuals and their tasks.

Without the security of a central cultural guidepost<sup>36</sup> by which individual activities and values could be judged, life in the ethnic community was ambivalent. Drunkenness, brawling, factional rivalry<sup>37</sup> and neglect of responsibilities toward family and fellow workers did not result in ostracization nor discrimination.<sup>38</sup> Instead, these practices were often reinforced and rewarded by the employers who by their position at the top of the hierarchy ought to have exemplified 'proper' morality. Rather, the employers regularly brought deliveries of alcohol to the work areas to maintain a general state of disunity and indebtedness.<sup>39</sup> The small wages accrued from work were often quickly consumed and credit was extended by employers who wanted to be sure of a continuing source of labour.<sup>40</sup> Among a group with immediate roots in a subsistence background the situation appeared particularly chaotic. On the one hand, the credit relationship reinforced notions about exchanges which could be characterized as  $(A \rightleftharpoons B)$  but on the other hand the employer was free to manipulate the situation by modifying his obligations with money and the power inherent in its possession.

For many of the Finns it seemed an impossible task to discern correctly the rules of the existent social setting. Without a meaningful central objective by which the current situation could be evaluated and rationalized, the route to personal integrity remained elusive.<sup>41</sup> In a setting where values appeared to be transitory the right avenues

were not clearly distinguishable from the wrong. The daily fare of immigrant workers and their families viewed in relation to that of others around them who better understood the complexities of the situation appeared so different that the Finns almost despaired of comprehending the principles of organization. The seeming complexity was inherent in the situation itself. The majority of these immigrant workers were caught in the midst of two contradictory perceptions of order represented, on the one hand, by the experience of rural subsistence Finland and the idealistic desire to extend that experience into the future and, on the other hand, by the necessity to participate in the values and commerce of a moneyed society on Vancouver Island.<sup>42</sup> The interaction of these opposing experiences drew to the forefront questions which concerned individual identity and worth, community organization and human nature.<sup>43</sup> In turn, these questions of man's nature and worth returned to money. Money, its acquisition and use, provided the criteria by which to substantiate the value of each individual.

For the majority of these early Finnish workers, the means to obtain substantial amounts of money were restricted. Even in the most conservative existences, the small wages of \$1.50 to \$3.00 per day paid to the miners were quickly consumed by the necessities of food, clothing and shelter, most often purchased or leased from the company.<sup>44</sup> In addition to these difficulties there was no form of job security.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, without adequate

facility in English and in legal matters, there was very little possibility of striking out from the security of some form of employment. The modest savings which were acquired by a few of the workers were lost in the purchase of alcohol or they became misappropriated by other means.<sup>46</sup> The indebtedness and lack of organization among the workers placed them in a continuing relationship with their employers which was difficult to evade. Entrepreneurs like James Dunsmuir recognized and utilized the miners' inability to handle money other than as a treasure article.<sup>47</sup> They clearly capitalized on the longevity of relationships based on credit.

Seen from the perspective of these immigrant workers, proper morality reflected in the actions of the well-to-do and politically powerful within these communities appeared to hinge on the ability to break relationships and obligations at will. Actions which formerly would have resulted in social ostracization and retribution were left unchallenged.<sup>48</sup> The degree of disorganization among Finns in the mining community and the extent of the authoritarian attitudes held by the employers was clearly reflected in matters concerning homes. Few immigrants could accumulate sufficient money to buy land or to build their own dwellings. Company housing, when available, was virtually uninhabitable.<sup>49</sup> If repairs to company owned accommodation were needed there was no recompense or assistance and sometimes the mine owner required that the entire community move their lodgings

to a site nearer to a more productive mine or in response to other arbitrary decisions.<sup>50</sup> When there were discussions about common interests among the miners, employers were willing to shut down entire mines as a reminder to the workers of their power.<sup>51</sup> The alternative of venturing into the hinterland as single individuals or as families was most often not feasible due to a lack of capital, inappropriate skills, poor facility in English and a lack of familiarity with political and legal matters pertaining to land acquisition.<sup>52</sup> Additionally, the desired renaissance of Finnishness could not come to flower among solitary settler families scattered in remote areas.

Throughout the 1880s there was a gradual decline in the well-being of Finnish workers in the mining communities, particularly at Extension and Wellington. Popular recognition of the value of Finns as an ethnic group decreased. As an outcome of the declining perception of self, matters of individual integrity and ethnic identity expressed in terms of community acceptability became more prominent among the group of miners. Their concern about the disintegration of values and individual relationships within the immigrant settlements was influential in preparing a foundation for change. First, it separated them as a group from others and reinforced the inherent feeling that Finns had qualities which set them apart. Second, by setting themselves apart it was possible to recognize that they, as a group, not as individuals, were divorced from the

avenues to material well-being and the opportunity to become individuals of worth within the community. Beyond labouring as modestly or poorly paid wage-workers, the Finns had not been able to realize and participate in activities which could validate perceptions of what a successful man ought to be, either in terms of their traditional perspectives or the values of the present society. In a social setting established on principles of hierarchy determined by race, ethnicity and wealth the Finns as a group felt themselves to be increasingly ignored and despised by both the Anglo-Saxon population and the Oriental and native groups who represented the polarities of the social continuum.<sup>53</sup> Those who held positions of authority and wealth looked upon the Finnish immigrants as an available commodity. Among the Oriental population Finns were often seen as a threat to their opportunities for employment and housing.<sup>54</sup>

In the fifteen years after 1880 Finns in the mining communities of Vancouver Island increasingly began to think of themselves as a minority. However, it was not until the middle of the 1890s that this awareness grew into a more coherent understanding defined by objectives. Without adequate facility in English and an understanding of the principles of organization within these new Canadian communities, Finns had remained without access to political power and representation. They had been and to a large extent remained powerless to alter their working conditions, their living circumstances and subsequently their position within

the greater society. At the Wellington and Extension mines they were allotted arduous and dangerous tasks which had previously been done by the Chinese and other Asian workers.<sup>55</sup> In turn, this work which traditionally should have been rewarded only realized the poorest of housing vacated by the Chinese miners<sup>56</sup> and the lowest amounts of pay given to 'white' workers.<sup>57</sup>

Without firm commitments to collective cultural endeavours among the Finns or participation within the broader community, there were no measures by which individual activities could be evaluated other than by money. As Halminen points out, in these mining communities the immediate acquisition and dispersal of money was the focus of attention.<sup>58</sup> Within this ambiance, inter-personal relationships and values were continually subject to redefinition and notions of what constituted proper behaviour in a given circumstance appeared impossible to predict.<sup>59</sup>

However, the growing recognition that Finns were a distinct minority, albeit a disreputable one, within these communities tended to shift the focus away from money. Contradicting the intrusion of moneyed values onto people unfamiliar with its nature and its social implications was a growing sense of togetherness. The revitalized interest in themselves as a distinct group was reflected in the meetings which were held at the homes of various individuals at the mining camps.<sup>60</sup> These meetings were often devoted to vague discussions about the need for brotherhood and comradeship<sup>61</sup>

which in turn were connected to ideas about society and its members. Among these Finns discussion pivoted around thoughts related to social organization. On the one hand, they wanted a feeling of ethnic brotherhood<sup>62</sup> and, on the other hand, they desired to guarantee for themselves the material well-being and political power from which they had been excluded. These early aspirations toward a more equitable form of social organization than that which presently existed were reflected in the formation of the marching brass band and the various temperance societies.<sup>63</sup> Each enhanced the spirit of commonalty while simultaneously providing avenues for individual expressions of ideas and achievements.

For the Finns at Wellington and particularly for those who were associated with the marching band and the temperance societies, the direction appeared to lie in the synthesis of traditional values and aspirations with the present circumstance, in the welding together of brotherhood and economic prosperity. The desirability of the cultural legacy of the Kalevala and the egalitarian mode of traditional Finnish rural life was given further impetus by the renewed interest in fundamentalist Christianity.<sup>64</sup> Among this small group any recognition from other Finns and especially from within the general public was seen as validation of the process of transformation which was thought to be occurring.<sup>65</sup> The formation of a temperance group, for example, was viewed favorably by those Nanaimo residents belonging to locals of several active temperance groups in the town.<sup>66</sup> The changes



which were taking place were not solely motivated by economic disadvantages but also drew their inspiration from the historical past of the Finns and their current enthusiasm with religious matters. When the utopian activity of the Kalevan Kansa began to occur in 1900 it was generated from a synthesis of contradictory notions. Traditional values and experience were juxtaposed against the present situation which tended to promote perceptions of social order in primarily economic terms.<sup>67</sup>

Although the actual Kalevan Kansa activity did not take place until 1900 there were earlier indications of the goals which would become paramount. By the mid 1890s a rudimentary awareness of a need for change had started in the community of Finnish miners at Wellington. The former situation of having singular individuals or families acting against or competing with one another was changing.<sup>68</sup>

Increasingly this group of Finns saw themselves united in their opposition to external authorities, particularly to those who appeared to exercise control over their moral values as well as their economic circumstances. These undesirable characteristics were most often associated directly with powerful individuals like James Dunsmuir.<sup>69</sup> Among the Finns these authoritarian figures grew to be unsympathetically regarded as representations of an objectionable form of otherness. The general milieu, in which individual disagreements, squabbles and rivalries among the Finnish workers had already decreased, now took on specific

orientation as the situation further coalesced into binary camps. In the next two decades these divisive sentiments even prevented many Finnish workers from actively participating in the formation of unions, unless they were clearly representative of Finnish interests.<sup>70</sup>

From a milieu which had presented seemingly endless avenues and directions for discharging individual affairs the perception of a we-they situation brought into consideration thoughts which were more concrete. These most often defined the we by associating them with ways of day to day interaction which could be differentiated from the behaviour found objectionable within the present situation. Although there were no concrete plans<sup>71</sup> it was generally felt that values more reflective of an egalitarian community would be preferable.<sup>72</sup> In daily affairs the distinctions engendered by wealth, property and possessions should be subsumed by a spirit of brotherhood and well-being for all.<sup>73</sup> Self-reliance and production within an ethnic community should take priority over working for others and the purchasing of daily requirements.<sup>74</sup> In turn, life in a unified settlement focused toward common concerns and goals would further instil the needed pristine values which would take precedence over the multifarious expressions of morality current within the mining communities. Once these values were clearly apparent they would attract others to the community which they defined.

These kinds of thoughts about community remained

intimately linked with two aspects of social life within the Finnish mining communities, the marching brass band and the temperance society.<sup>75</sup> The interest and enthusiasm surrounding these groups spread beyond their memberships. In the late 1880s the band was an active participant in various celebrations on Vancouver Island.<sup>76</sup> It gathered recognition among both Finns and non-Finns.<sup>77</sup> In his book Halminen recalls the pride and jubilation he felt as he observed the band at a Nanaimo temperance rally.<sup>78</sup> For him and other Finns, especially those who had already been active in temperance circles, the band's presence at the various functions promoted a sense of immediacy and togetherness. It symbolized a collective spirit and an acceptable expression of Finnishness. As such it drew additional people into the circle of miners interested in improving their situation. The pride and acceptance with which the Finnish band was viewed helped to attract and to bring together single and otherwise unattached men within the mining communities. For the first time it provided a substantive focus of common interest, reflecting and to a degree glorifying their ethnicity. The association formed by its members and followers grew to include further obligations among fellow workers.

The activities surrounding the formation of the temperance societies both complimented and reflected the spirit of comradeship associated with the band. The Lannen Rusko and Aallotar societies were founded at North Wellington and

their memberships grew steadily.<sup>79</sup> At the meetings, held initially at private homes<sup>80</sup> and later at the meeting halls,<sup>81</sup> Finnish miners and others gathered to discuss religious and secular matters and to participate in forms of social interaction distinctly divorced from the debauchery they saw around them.<sup>82</sup> The Finnish language library established in the meeting hall contained material on politics, economics, history, Finnish customs and lore and religion. Halminen's account indicates that it was well used by the members as a forum which encouraged further speculation about social problems.<sup>83</sup> Additionally, the strongly Puritan values and attitudes expressed by the core group of temperance men progressively defined the values which would become fundamental among the Kalevan Kansa. Apart from the rudimentary discussions concerning politics and religion the meetings provided a forum in which a generalized feeling of affection and recognition of common concerns outweighed individual interests.<sup>84</sup> The attention paid to moral issues in conjunction with fundamentalist Christianity created a powerful impetus for change, combining idealistic secular speculation with religious fervour. Since it was urgently agreed that the present situation which existed in large segments of the Finnish community was unacceptable, thoughts and talks were focused toward an immediate future which would provide a preferable alternative.

The discussions at the meeting hall never reached the stage of formalized plans of action.<sup>85</sup> Instead, they

remained as intuitively felt notions about morality expressed in terms of individual activity and behaviour. They took their direction partly from the situation itself. Changes in individual selves, as defined by a temperate way of life in opposition to that of the prior situation, were transposed into the realm of social relations. At the centre, the nature of self, properly defined and articulated through behaviour would provide the footing for an equitable social order. The feeling was further enhanced by two additional sources of inspiration. The first originated from the Christian example of metanoia, characteristically a part of fundamentalist and revivalist activities.<sup>86</sup> The second arose from a strong renewal of interest in the essence of ethnic identity, primarily encountered through the Kalevala.<sup>87</sup> The Christian example provided the avenue by which one kind of people could become another while the reliance on traditional culture provided the essence of what would constitute the proper Finn. That these feelings came into prominence in the late 1800s is directly related to the existence of the band and the temperance societies. Apart from the instruction that these associations might have spread among their followers, they epitomized a state of unstructured togetherness temporarily allowing for the expression of collective interests while ignoring or assimilating individuality.

From the beginning the band and the temperance meetings brought and held Finns together by placing a sense of

immediacy and moral importance upon their activities. The all consuming nature of the enthusiasm conferred upon the activities a religious significance. Individual shortcomings and divergences were tolerated because the nature of the change which was felt to be at hand remained at the level of awareness rather than as an articulated doctrine. Additionally, the activities of the band and the societies promoted an image of responsibility and respectability in the eyes of the non-Finnish society on Vancouver Island. They provided for their members, and to a lesser degree to the Finnish community as a whole, an enduring external recognition of worth which, in turn, increased the popularity of being associated with such activities. In the past decades such recognition had been revoked as often as conferred. Now, however, temperance activity represented an avenue of reform understood by the community at large and quickly gained popular support.<sup>88</sup> This favourable attitude toward Finns on the part of the larger community was heightened by the Finnish Conscription Crisis of 1899 which was sympathetically reported in the local island newspapers.<sup>89</sup> On the basis of the example provided by this core group of miners additional Finnish immigrants were encouraged to come to British Columbia.<sup>90</sup>

The number of Finnish immigrant workers in the mining communities of Vancouver Island continued to increase through the last decade of the nineteenth century. Canada was eager to attract new immigrants and British Columbia

was among several places within the Dominion where they were encouraged to settle.<sup>91</sup> Representative delegations of Finlanders were welcomed to the province as spokesmen for a class of 'desirable' immigrant.<sup>92</sup> By 1900 the number of emigrants leaving Finland was reaching its highest level,<sup>93</sup> and many of them had travelled to different parts of the world, only to leave again.<sup>94</sup> Since America, which included Canada as well as the United States, was considered to offer the best opportunities, some of the emigrants who had gone elsewhere eventually came to North America.<sup>95</sup> Among such travellers were a group of men who had accompanied Matti Kurikka to Australia in 1899,<sup>96</sup> and who subsequently arrived at Wellington in 1900. Unlike some of the others who had followed Kurikka in his attempt to begin a colony away from Finland these men still held him in very high regard.<sup>97</sup> When they came into contact with Matti Halminen and other temperance men at Wellington they introduced these miners to some of the recent writings and ideas of Kurikka.<sup>98</sup> Although many of the miners in British Columbia were already familiar with Kurikka's reputation and earlier works<sup>99</sup> the presence of the former members of his expedition to Australia provided an immediate and tangible link between themselves and Kurikka who appeared to them as a figure larger than life.<sup>100</sup>

In the spring of 1900 this group of approximately twenty temperance men elected to have Halminen correspond with Kurikka in Australia. It seemed to them that Kurikka

articulated solutions to many of the problems with which they had been concerned and they consequently encouraged him to come to British Columbia.<sup>101</sup> Since Kurikka's plans for an Australian settlement had disintegrated,<sup>102</sup> and he was in ill health and without finances, he readily agreed to travel, if provided passage.<sup>103</sup> He arrived in Nanaimo in 1901 and shortly thereafter began a series of speaking engagements in the various Vancouver Island communities where there were groups of Finnish workers.<sup>104</sup> Upon listening to Kurikka speak on those occasions about his thoughts concerning a new settlement, Halminen recalls that it was as if suddenly the ideas with which they had wrestled became clear and appeared practical and workable.<sup>105</sup>

Kurikka's rapidly rising popularity within the Finnish community arose from several factors. Primarily, he was found acceptable and thrust into the duties of leadership because someone with ideas and personal attributes like his was needed and in this sense anticipated. His presence confirmed the aspirations which Halminen and the others already had. The changes that had occurred in their lives, and to a lesser extent in the mining communities as a result of the temperance activities, needed to be taken a step further by someone who could expand the breadth of the changes. The ideas and feelings which had been generated in the earlier discussions required someone who could by his own example give them authority. Kurikka presented himself as such an individual. He appeared to be a person who



genuinely shared their concerns. Further, he was someone immediately capable of exercising the necessary decisions required to fulfill the expectations in day to day affairs. Secondly, his forthright character and successful accomplishments were in keeping with the expectations of what a Kalevala Finn ought to be. He appeared capable in financial, legal and political matters, even in an English speaking world.<sup>106</sup> His actions indicated that he could readily discern the correct avenues of behaviour and actions from the wrong thereby giving credence to the binary distinction the miners recognized between themselves and others. He professed a willingness to strive for the perfection which following the correct avenues was assumed to provide. To his audiences at the mining communities and elsewhere, the strength of his character seemed capable of moulding circumstances to fit its demands.<sup>107</sup> Yet, the heroic aspects of his being were tempered by a life history which appeared as a series of personal defeats and transformations, not unlike those experienced by the temperance men, but as one which had progressed further in its insights.<sup>108</sup>

Kurikka's presence on Vancouver Island was a fundamental determinant in the rise of the Kalevan Kansa and the founding of Sointula. The success and subsequent shortcomings of the activities which were undertaken were substantially attributable to his abilities. His followers recognized in him qualities which they understood to be part of themselves. In addition to these attributes reflective of ordinary

individuals, Kurikka's experiences endowed him with qualities which set him apart. In Weber's terms he appeared to have "'specific gifts of body and mind'"<sup>109</sup> which his followers recognized as a valid basis for embarking on "'an extraordinary programme of action'"<sup>110</sup> with him. The community of Finnish miners and later others saw in his personality, experiences and writings aspects of an ideal kind of Finn, freed from bureaucratic domination and the general confusion characteristic of their lives.<sup>111</sup> Although the members of the Kalevan Kansa gave their allegiance to the man Kurikka, they were primarily attracted by the power which seemed to reside in his personal attributes and activities.<sup>112</sup>

Much of the initial appeal of Kurikka arose from the ambiguity which surrounded his life. Repeatedly he had been separated socially and temperamentally from those in his immediate circle. Yet, he was able to remain at the forefront of public recognition and to affect at least modest changes around him. His empathy with the disillusionment experienced by groups of people deprived of the benefits of the existent milieus of which he was a part attracted others. They became his supporters and followers when he denied the validity of the present, when he was able to translate their shared experiences into visions of more appropriate ways of being. As his various perceptions of a better way of being failed to be realized in day to day activities, he was rejected. Kurikka translated this series of affirmations and rejections into a personal charisma

which associated the failures not with himself or with the ideas but with those who opposed him. When Kurikka began to organize the miners at Wellington into the core group of Kalevan Kansa members they were clearly aware of his reputation.<sup>113</sup> However, with Kurikka's help they saw in themselves and in the present circumstances qualities which would enable them to envision and bring into being an ideal community where others had failed.<sup>114</sup>

The complexity of Kurikka's life added to the intrigue which drew people to him. He was born of Finnish farming parents in eastern Finland near Petrograd, Russia, in 1863. Although the land traditionally worked by his family was still part of Sweden-Finland, numerous political changes had altered their pattern of livelihood in the preceding years.<sup>115</sup> Formerly his family had been prosperous and land-owning. However, the westward occupation of territories lost in the war between Sweden-Finland and Russia resulted in the family becoming landless labourers. Oberg describes Kurikka's childhood as that of a "common boy"<sup>116</sup> who lived in the vicinity of those persons who Kurikka referred to as the despised Inguland Finns whom "Charles XII of Sweden had left on the outskirts of Peter the Great's capital."<sup>117</sup> During his childhood the land worked by his family was alternately under the control of the Swedes or the Novgorodians. It was considered fortunate for children of his generation and locality not to be pressed into compulsory military training by the encroaching powerful Russians.

Unlike most children of isolated rural families, Kurikka received a lengthy education. Despite this opportunity, during his early school years he felt distanced from both his country and its people outside the capital of Helsinki.<sup>118</sup> In his brief university career which he interrupted to follow an interest in the formation of co-operatives,<sup>119</sup> he was primarily occupied by the study of philosophy. There he acquired a familiarity with the writings of Tolstoy, Saint-Simon, Owen, Fourier, Hegel, Herder and numerous Finnish folklorist-historians.<sup>120</sup> His later writings reflected the influences of these writers as well as the ideas of Voltaire and Rousseau and he was fond of quoting Christian, Buddhist and Moslem texts.<sup>121</sup> His later views on socialism also reflected his education, especially his fondness for Tolstoy and Christian idealism.<sup>122</sup>

After leaving university he married into the Finnish aristocracy and became an active participant in the activities of the upper class of Helsinki society.<sup>123</sup> During these years prior to 1890 he travelled extensively in Germany and Denmark with his wife's family. There he became captivated by the ideas of socialist writers and later he translated some of their works into Finnish.<sup>124</sup> Still later he departed from their ideas and sought to foster a more spiritual and brotherly form of socialism.<sup>125</sup>

In 1890 he became the editor, a shareholder and eventually the owner of the popular Finnish newspaper Vipurin Sanomat.<sup>126</sup> While editor his interest in labour

matters continued to grow and he was elected president of a labour society.<sup>127</sup> His moderate advocacy of change in matters relating to workers and the landless transients in Finland quickly expanded into a life-long confrontation and bitterness with the clergy. With increasing rancour he argued that the church had no comprehension of the plight of the working class and the landless. His editorials and pamphlets lambasted church officials, accusing them of being antiquated, power hungry, arrogant and reactionary.<sup>128</sup> However, in his writings and talks he was careful to distinguish between church officials and true Christianity. He argued that true Christianity, based on the teachings of Christ, should be the supreme guide in human affairs. Christ, he observed was the first and most enlightened of all socialists. This avenue for voicing his criticisms closed in 1894 as he forfeited ownership of the Vipurin Sanomat and the majority of his possessions as a result of alcoholism and poor financial management.<sup>129</sup> In British Columbia this distant aspect of his career intimately tied his experience to that of many of the men in the temperance society. When Kurikka proveltized the need to embark on a "new path" away from the debauchery of saloon life, his audience recognized the validity of the idea in his own example.<sup>130</sup> To them, Kurikka represented the successful transformation of being which they sought to accomplish for themselves, and reaffirmed his superior stature as well as his humanity.

During the 1890s temperance and theosophy were primary motivations in Kurikka's life. He maintained a keen interest in the activities of the newly rising and largely dispossessed working class in Finland.<sup>131</sup> His zealous advocacy on behalf of these concerns led to his eventual ostracism from the social milieu of upper class Helsinki. With the publication of his play, Tower of Babel, his career as a popular playwright came to an end.<sup>132</sup> Its harsh portrayal of the religious and political hierarchies and their alleged decadence and lack of social conscience exiled him from the milieu which had nurtured him. Like many of the members of the Kalevan Kansa who had suffered the condemnation of church officials for their decision to emigrate, Kurikka was outcast and stripped of moral stature. Subsequently, he and many of the immigrant workers at Wellington and elsewhere<sup>133</sup> had chosen to participate in more immediate and fundamentalist forms of Christian association.<sup>134</sup>

For Kurikka, individual and collective emancipation required freedom for the human soul to express itself. To him, Christ's teachings were not simply examples of outdated scripture. Rather, they were the ideas of a man<sup>135</sup> endowed with supreme vision and understanding. Religion, Kurikka maintained, could only be understood by practicing it in day to day affairs. It is the moral duty of all men to seek the essence of Godliness in their relationships with others and in their creations. People must attempt to strip away the outer garments of doctrines and creeds until they are able

to grasp at the genuine idea. Since this understanding was to be intuited rather than reasoned, felt rather than articulated, it could most readily be perceived away from the confines of an ignorant, unsympathetic and structured society.<sup>136</sup>

These ideas developed into a consuming passion in Kurikka's thinking during the time he edited a small newspaper in eastern Finland,<sup>137</sup> and later, when he travelled extensively in Scandinavia and northern Europe as a representative for a life insurance firm.<sup>138</sup> In his travels he came into contact with a variety of people who were impoverished, disfranchised and, from his perspective, denied the benefits which a more ideal form of social life could provide. When he took over the editorship of the influential newspaper, Tyomies, he had an opportunity to express these views.<sup>139</sup> Here he renewed his contact with A. B. Makela,<sup>140</sup> a firm supporter of Minna Canth, a prominent suffragette,<sup>141</sup> and a group of more materialistically oriented reformers.<sup>142</sup> Although this was the most energetic period of his career, the majority of his fellow workers and organizers regarded him as an unreliable dreamer.<sup>143</sup> He subsequently fell into disfavour with those who advocated more radical upheaval.<sup>144</sup> After his resignation from the Tyomies in 1898,<sup>145</sup> he continued to expound his thoughts on prohibition, religion, censorship and nationalism.<sup>146</sup> For his vehement stand against Russia during the February Manifesto on Russification in 1899 he was deserted by the majority of his fellow

socialists.<sup>147</sup>

Kurikka was clearly alienated from the leaders of the working class as well as from the upper classes. However, his image among the workers themselves had taken on qualities of martyrdom,<sup>148</sup> and he was celebrated in the traditional medium of folk songs.<sup>149</sup> His popularity among these people continued to grow as he became more prominent in his advocacy of emigration and criticism of the present situation in Finland.

During this period he began to formulate his ideas about idealistic societies. However, they were largely ignored as was the descriptive title Kalevan Kansa which he proposed to call these altruistic Finns.<sup>150</sup> In 1899, after having gained some encouragement from the Australian government,<sup>151</sup> he left Finland with a group of settlers to found a colony. The attempt ended in failure as the group quickly disbanded.<sup>152</sup> In Australia, Kurikka was not only separated from the various groups which had for a time supported him in Finland but also from his homeland. With Russification and severe censorship seemingly at hand it appeared to him impossible to return to attempt to create a better society.<sup>153</sup> Like many of the immigrants who had gone to North America, he felt cut off from his homeland but not from the legacy of its culture.

When he arrived at the Finnish settlements around Nanaimo his talks about the injustices in the current society along with the solutions he proposed to use to



correct them satisfied the intuitive aspirations of his audience. He had only scanty knowledge about the historical background and social circumstances particular to Vancouver Island, but he was able to share his experiences of oppression with the miners, and he encouraged their aspirations with plans for an utopian community. He told them that, as the descendants of Vainamoinen<sup>154</sup> and the other heroic characters of the Kalevala, they had the unique ability to bring about the difficult task of creating a new society which would eventually reform those around them.<sup>155</sup>

Throughout his initial stay on Vancouver Island, Kurikka inspired an absolute sense of certainty and success through his own actions. Interest and support for the proposed community seemed forthcoming from all directions including the general public and the provincial government.<sup>156</sup> By the confidence he displayed in his writings and meetings with representatives of the community at large he raised the confidence of his followers and supporters.<sup>157</sup>

At these meetings he was personable and encouraged a sense of excitement. Members of the audience recall that on his speaking tours to different communities "interruptions were silenced and criticism ceased while the hearers listened to the fiery (sic) minded tall man, with the long black hair and flashing dark eyes."<sup>158</sup> He was a man of irresistible persuasive abilities, capable of recklessly attacking everything he disliked. Yet he was also a sympathetic individual capable of sincere compassion for

those he felt were oppressed.<sup>159</sup> His oratory was often provocative and rhetorical.<sup>160</sup> Its evangelistic fervour was appealing and familiar to an audience experienced with revivalism and temperance activity. He would begin his talks slowly, pondering and searching for the proper words until he appeared to be carried adrift by the strength of his subject.<sup>161</sup> The image of the new society which he postulated ultimately would unite all segments of the population, including non-Finns, into a true state of Christian brotherhood set on abolishing subservience.<sup>162</sup> The talks, which brought together large groups of Finns, illustrated his ideas about a settlement through songs, readings and inspired addresses.<sup>163</sup> The key to perfecting social conditions resided in the improvement of each individual's moral character. Consequently, Kurikka encouraged his audience to begin the process toward emancipation from moral and social bondage by changing their individual outlooks. As Oberg recalls, Kurikka defined this process as socialism from "the head" and the heart, not from the "stomach" as was advocated by Marx and Finnish socialists of the time.<sup>164</sup>

The new way of being anticipated by many of the Finnish temperance men was described by Kurikka in his discussions about the joint-stock company which he proposed to call the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company. He conceived of it as a form of co-operative in which the collective productivity of the members would provide the requirements of material

well-being as well as spiritual needs.<sup>165</sup> In order to bring the desired state of brotherhood and prosperity into existence in a capitalist ambiance, the company's future members would be required to make a sizeable initial investment. The obligation could be discharged preferably by a cash payment or otherwise through communal labour.<sup>166</sup>

Later, the participants could simply rely on their collective talents, inherited abilities and spiritual togetherness for continued prosperity and security. For a time the confusion which surrounded the descriptions of the joint-stock company and the utopian scheme appeared to present a synthesis. In it the conflicting aspirations of the capitalists and the socialists within the Kalevan Kansa seemed to be enjoined in common purpose.

Spiritual strength as it was conceived of by Kurikka was revealed in the bonds of comradeship which united individuals in common pursuits, in the innate qualities of oneness in the universe, and in the perfection and greatness of the Finnish history revealed in the Kalevala stories.<sup>167</sup> For Kurikka, faith in the supremacy of spirituality was the cornerstone of Christianity. Its workings had facilitated the changes already experienced by the temperance men in themselves and it would guide the actions of the Kalevan Kansa.

Contrary to the opinions of the majority of his critics in North America, Kurikka was not anti-Christian. Officials in the established Lutheran congregations were eager to

denounce and discredit him for his attitudes toward the established clergy whom he felt to be tardy in their recognition of the Christian imperative to reform.<sup>168</sup> The institutionalized church would not have a part in the formation of the idealistic community. Contrary to the opinion of the clergy, Kurikka maintained that the activities of the Kalevan Kansa would reflect the true meaning of Christ's teachings.<sup>169</sup> The new society would operate in the spirit of harmony and everyone would share equally in the rewards offered by social life lived in the spirit of brotherhood. The achievements of civilization would not need to be abandoned, except for those aspects which contributed to oppression. For Kurikka these included all aspects of social life which he understood to differentiate individuals.<sup>170</sup> Curiously, the basis of this new community, the joint-stock company, encompassed in its concepts many of the inherent evils Kurikka and the others recognized elsewhere. It distinguished classes of membership, values attributed to different forms of labour and social worth determined by sex and ethnicity.

The vision of the ideal secreted in Kurikka's talks about the joint-stock company revealed a society which, on the surface, was an antithesis to the blights of moral, mental and physical degeneration generally attributed by the miners to capitalist society. Kurikka postulated that in the new community people would work according to their skills and the needs of their fellow residents. They would be

rewarded not only by relationships with one another free of outstanding obligations but by cash dividends. Later, the reformer's zeal and utopian idealism was carried further by the imagination of others. A. B. Makela, the company's secretary, for instance, envisioned a prospering agrarian township with treed streets, parks, schools, places of industry and idyllic settings for human and animal life.<sup>171</sup>

Kurikka and his followers remained convinced that such a community could not be established within the sordid ambiance of settled Vancouver Island. It could be realized only by withdrawing from the existing society and beginning afresh in virgin territory rich in its natural resources. There in the midst of nature, away from the competitive characteristics of other settlements, true Christian harmony inherent in the hearts of the participants would flourish. There the Kalevan Kansa could hew from nature the necessary material requirements, and from their relationships the desired spiritual values. However, if the community was not too remote, they proposed to make use of existing shipping lanes to take their surplus commodities to market. Throughout, their aspirations and affairs were continually embroiled in contradictions which were inherent in the venture itself.

The appeal of fashioning a community from the wilderness, among a people with an immediate subsistence and agrarian background, was further heightened by casting onto practical manual work a redeeming quality.<sup>172</sup> The euphoria engendered by these early discussions was maintained because the

participants saw themselves in a redeeming role not unlike that of the early Christians.<sup>173</sup> Although few in number, they felt themselves to be nearing a new way of being which would bring together enlightened individuals.<sup>174</sup> Questions about specific details remained to be asked, and the necessary complications arising from individual claims and personalities were not yet factors to be dealt with. As a result, the feeling of fraternity continued to grow among a greater number of followers. By the autumn of 1900 specific attempts were undertaken by Kurikka and the others to acquire suitable land.<sup>175</sup> Numerous trips were made to Victoria, government officials were consulted and coastal maps and diaries were studied.

From the start Kurikka's settlement plans attracted attention and gained support within the larger society as well. He met most of the current expectations of what a "good class of immigrant" would be.<sup>176</sup> He was conversant in English, well read, and knowledgeable about political and economic matters. The immigration scheme he proposed would increase the population of Vancouver Island without taxing the present well-being of its residents.<sup>177</sup> In the information supplied to local newspapers he suggested that the majority of the newly arriving Finnish immigrants would be equally competent as he in these matters and that they were primarily interested in developing the province's agriculture and lumbering.<sup>178</sup> Although some of the immigrants might initially want to work in the mines they

would not endanger the security of those already employed there by accepting smaller wages as some other racial and ethnic groups had done.<sup>179</sup> Furthermore, he suggested that the additional Finnish immigrants attracted to British Columbia by the settlement plans would help Vancouver Island to rise to a dominant economic and cultural position. It would quickly assume the same relationship to the rest of Canada as England had to Europe and Japan had to Asia.<sup>180</sup> His evaluation of Finnish immigrants was supported by a report from the Dominion Immigration Commissioner who characterized Finns as industrious, frugal, hard working, easily contented and desirous of peace.<sup>181</sup> The report stated that as many as 2,000,000 Finnish immigrants might arrive in Canada to escape the tyranny of Russia and the imperialism of the Greek Orthodox Church.<sup>182</sup> In the midst of a predominantly protestant and Anglo-Saxon population both the Russians and the Greek Orthodox Church were regarded as oppressive.

The readers of Vancouver Island newspapers took an interest in the proposal of establishing a settlement founded upon a joint-stock company. To satisfy the demand for more information among Finns and non-Finns alike, Kurikka submitted his preliminary ideas to the Daily Colonist for publication. In his article he suggested, among other things, that all aspects of daily life would be treated co-operatively; all the members would be paid equally although the duration of time allotted to the various tasks

might vary; the company would assume responsibility for the maintenance of the children, the sick and the aged; and the company would provide food, clothing and shelter for its members as part of their wages.<sup>183</sup> He further indicated that an initial investment of \$200.00 would be required from all members and that persons of all nationalities would be welcome.<sup>184</sup> His plans projected a later dividend of 5% to be paid to each member, who was in turn expected to contribute one half of that sum to a fund for education, music and common benefit.<sup>185</sup> This description reassured local businessmen and politicians that the Finlanders had interests and aspirations in some respects similar to their own. Non-Finnish workers viewed the scheme as a desirable, if not viable option.

Support for the settlement plans from the greater community was encouraging to the Finns as well. When it became apparent that the Finns were primarily interested in obtaining land in an unsettled area the former opposition to a free land grant to prospective newcomers dwindled.<sup>186</sup> After additional trips to Victoria to confer with various government officials about possible areas of settlement, Kurikka and the others chose Malcolm Island located about 150 miles north of Vancouver in the vicinity of the already existing community of Alert Bay.<sup>187</sup> Their decision was determined by the availability, the resources and the physical description of the island. The information contained in the preliminary reports prepared by government surveyors partially



coincided with descriptions of North Farm in the Kalevala narratives.<sup>188</sup> In the narrative the mythical descendants of Kaleva transformed the gloomy area of North Farm into a prosperous Viking settlement by constructing a magic windmill (Sampo) which provided grain, salt and gold.<sup>189</sup> In British Columbia, Kurikka and the Kalevan Kansa proposed to transform the bleak and previously uninhabitable island into a place of harmony with the aid of the joint-stock company.<sup>190</sup>

As the settlement activities gained in momentum among Kurikka and his followers, the Kalevala narratives played an increasingly prominent role in their activities. The Kalevan Kansa thought that they would become the new people of Kaleva.<sup>191</sup> At the meetings and rallies where Kurikka spoke he reminded his audiences of their distant forefathers' accomplishments at the time of Kaleva. Repeatedly they were told of Vainamoinen, the most popular, steadfast and gifted singer and musician; of Ilmarinen the eternal smith who forged the vault of heaven and who created a gold and silver bride for himself; and of Leminkainen the reckless, erotic and handsome man with a far-roving mind.<sup>192</sup> As the sons and daughters of a great Finnish tradition, Kurikka appealed to his followers to recognize their inherent abilities. Since his supporters accepted Kurikka as a representation of an ideally suited Finn, they attributed these characteristics to him. They observed in his public activities with politicians, businessmen, newspapermen and supporters qualities of an independently

minded individual capable of reshaping the activities and personalities of others. When he was enthralled with his ideas he seemed to be possessed by an intense sexual and spiritual power.<sup>193</sup>

Kurikka's appeal for others to join the Kalevan Kansa reached beyond the local meetings and his lecture tours through the Aika newspaper which he founded as a joint-stock company in 1901.<sup>194</sup> In the early issues he instructed the descendants of Vainamoinen's people to come together and to reject the dismal existence present society offered.<sup>195</sup> In turn, correspondents to the paper told of the impact that his appeal had on them. Some stated that they were literally swept off their feet. For example, one person claimed, "It opened my eyes from blindness" . . . "it threw me on my back because I was so entrenched in the old [present] habits."<sup>196</sup> The writer continued by saying that he now had a fresh understanding of God's true purpose, of his own heritage and of his present circumstance: "Now that the lit candle" of our real nature had been allowed to shine he needed Kurikka to "take the mind prisoner before it wandered astray."<sup>197</sup> The complexity of Kurikka's argument which brought together indigenous traditions, Christian theology and contemporary sociology engendered a sense of creative ecstasy and urgency. In turn, its appeal was furthered by constant references to the mythical past and a rethinking of the Kalevala. As Burrige has suggested, familiarity with such narratives focuses the mind toward

particular kinds of comprehension, that is why narratives persist through time and why words, "phrases or events are capable of speeding the mind through the entire gamut of culture."<sup>198</sup>

The ability to understand the enduring qualities of traditional modes of thinking and doing as well as their manipulation by imaginative individuals like Kurikka presents a difficult problem. Under his leadership the Kalevan Kansa perceived and acted upon specific aspects of their cultural heritage. Yet, the character of their activities was radically different from those of other Finns in North America and Finland. The historical data which exists concerning their utopian activity suggests that Kurikka was able to bring his followers to a unique comprehension of themselves and their abilities. By manipulating elements from their shared mythical past in conjunction with the situation current in British Columbia, he was able to convince them of the feasibility of founding an idealistic community, Sointula.

In an effort to more fully comprehend the understanding which gave authority to the Kalevan Kansa activity, field-work was undertaken at Sointula and elsewhere among descendants of the settlers.<sup>199</sup> The implicit assumption underlying the task was that aspects of the Kalevan Kansa's experience would persist in the thoughts and daily affairs of the children and grandchildren of the original settlers. The task initially appeared unfruitful. Among those who

had recollections about the beginnings of Sointula and the Kalevan Kansa, the conversations tended toward vaguely descriptive comments or to expression of some form of political ideology. Their specific relevance to the Kalevan Kansa activity of their forefathers seemed unconnected.<sup>200</sup> Like their anecdotes about the Kalevala stories, these observations were offered as examples of truisms to be simultaneously credited or discredited in the present form. Some of the goals of the Kalevan Kansa, they thought, had been realized over time although perhaps not in the form that they were anticipated.<sup>201</sup> Among the members of the Kalevan Kansa who chose to remain at Sointula, the potential of the situation determined by geography, climate, locality and resources merged with the requirements of the utopian ideals through a series of problems worked out in time.

The community has remained clearly unique but in ways which are not immediately tangible. The presence of a visionary like Kurikka blurred the distinctions between a mythical past and the situation at the turn of the twentieth century at Wellington. His presence did promote unusual activities. The activities bogged down in matters related to human nature and never reached completion. The Kalevan Kansa's utopian vision did affect the lives of many local Finns of the time and as such tended to encourage a faster and more dramatic form of change.<sup>202</sup> However, on the basis of the information derived from interviews and from conversations it remained difficult to perceive fully the

character of the understanding which led them to found Sointula.

Two other pieces of fieldwork data collected at the same time from Sointula are worth considering in relation to this problem. Although neither address the Kalevan Kansa's utopian activities directly, they provide information which permits a general comment, applicable to the original problem, to be made. Both groups of data suggest more clearly the extent to which past cultural traditions influence activities which are later undertaken. Both hint at how tradition and circumstance can transcend or limit one another in terms of new fields of comprehension and expression, particularly when they are manipulated by a skilled technician who has an understanding of both situations.

The first focuses primarily on traditions and concerns examples of material culture, more specifically the construction, use and maintenance of the sauna bath. In Sointula nearly all of the early Finnish home sites had a separate building for the family sauna and many of these still survive.<sup>203</sup> Most modern Finnish homes also have a sauna but it is often a part of the living structure. Under both circumstances the sauna is considered to be a uniquely Finnish tradition expressing an avenue to moral as well as physical cleanliness.<sup>204</sup> When asked, Finns readily distinguish between bathing and taking a sauna. Many informants feel that sauna transforms the act of bathing into an event capable of altering the psychic state of the bather.<sup>205</sup>

It facilitates relaxation which in turn permits a closer and more open approach to matters of concern.<sup>206</sup> Beyond this, sauna has a social character. As a central and unifying cultural symbol it brings family members and circles of acquaintances together in a setting where day to day distinctions based on sex, age, kinship and socio-economic status are less important.<sup>207</sup> On these occasions the relevant criteria for inclusion/exclusion are most concerned with shared qualities such as cleanliness, friendship and love.<sup>208</sup> The sauna as an entity is a predominant and continuing aspect of Finnish tradition which facilitates a form of social cohesion not restricted by the regimentation of daily affairs among specified groups of people. Sauna as a traditional element facilitates forms of integration separate from the structural elements of daily relationships.

Despite the recent changes in population composition at Sointula, the sauna has remained a central focus among most Finns. The enduring component of the tradition is reflected in the expenditure and sacrifice of valuable space which are often involved. Saunas are by and large built and maintained by 'individual people' who 'know' as opposed to builders who have formal blueprints.<sup>209</sup> Yet, they remain substantially the same despite time and locality.<sup>210</sup> People are quick to recognize and voice inadequacies and intrusions within the tradition.<sup>211</sup> As such, the physical structures of the saunas present a dialogue between what is traditionally acceptable and

innovatively possible.

Since the physical properties of the structures as well as their patterns of use have remained relatively constant despite pressures to change (available materials, space, craftsmanship abilities, time and social acceptance) they are an expression of an intuitively shared awareness of what is appropriate.<sup>212</sup> Each example of a sauna represents a synthesis which confines the potential for change within the requirements of remaining static. Like those of visionary leaders, the individual imaginations of the builders were set free as long as they communicated their insights meaningfully in relation to intuitively held cultural standards.

The second illustration concerns the popular appeal of folk medicine and folk healers in some Finnish-Canadian communities. In some ways the role of the successful healer echoes that of Kurikka among the Kalevan Kansa. Until recently healers were active in British Columbia.<sup>213</sup> They were often peripheral in their residence, unkempt or otherwise peculiar in their appearance and lax in terms of moral standards.<sup>214</sup> In the process of curing they often took things from nature or from material which had been somehow discarded and gave them a viable use in their work.<sup>215</sup> Their position within a community with normative expectations and relationships was precarious since they, like other figures invested with authority, were under constant scrutiny and evaluation. When they were called upon to perform a cure, everyday ailments were handled with accepted

methods. However, the success with which they administered cures and the course of their actions when confronted by unusual difficulties brought the healer into prominence.<sup>216</sup> If his being and actions constantly fulfilled predictions he was soon recognized as a person with some knowledge. If the solutions appeared totally foreign, outside the realm of anticipation, he was soon regarded as a fool or hoax.<sup>217</sup> In order that the institution of the healer be given credence, his actions and paraphernalia needed to account for both the expected and the unexpected by transforming one into the other through his experience. To be successful these healers took the materials at hand and translated them into a different sphere of comprehension by the power and credibility invested in their office. As such the demands of their role closely paralleled that thrust upon leaders like Kurikka who were charged with constantly translating one set of ordering principles in relation to another.

Much of the initial appeal of the Kalevan Kansa's utopian vision sprang from the constant recombination of symbols by Kurikka. He accomplished this through his frequent lecture tours and speaking engagements where he presented his emphatic yet changing and often ambiguous ideas about traditional egalitarian values, commercial enterprises and Finland's mythical past. Through the Aika he managed to extend the appeal beyond his range of travel. Apart from his inspired yet diffuse representations of a new way of being, the content of the early issues of the



newspaper concentrated on material which would enhance the appeal of the immigration scheme. A typical edition of Aika contained a synopsis of the Kalevan Kansa's affairs, local news concerning matters of interest to the community of workers, comments on temperance activities, reports on the progress of socialism elsewhere, relevant passages and commentary from philosophical literature and from The Bible, news from Finland, stories of human tragedy in a capitalist society and a serialized catechism about money.<sup>218</sup> For a time Kurikka was engrossed with the newspaper which gave him unprecedented freedom to express his ideas about Finnish nationalism, spiritual idealism, anticlericalism, anti-capitalism and socialism.<sup>219</sup>

The Aika was founded largely as a test of Kurikka's power among his followers. When some of the authority and enthusiasm he initially commanded had dwindled, he indicated his willingness to abandon the group which had gathered around him unless they could provide a means for him to articulate the ideas to a wider audience. His plans to travel to Astoria, Oregon, to edit Lannetar were quickly put aside when the miners gathered together the capital and equipment to begin Aika.<sup>220</sup> A list of subscribers in the 18 October 1901 issue showed a wide circulation and the success of the proposed settlement's appeal was indicated in the number of supporters who travelled to Vancouver Island.<sup>221</sup> From the outset the Aika's purpose was intended to be didactic. Its editorials were written to instruct, to

convert, and to lure. To the distant reader it often seemed that the utopian community was already in progress. For a time Kurikka's sense of urgency managed to camouflage inherent discrepancies in his editorials. For example, in one issue, an article advocated a mode of living completely defined by relationships characterized by brotherly love and sharing. In the same issue another article stressed the social importance of understanding the nature and use of money. Its misuse was discussed at length in a serialized narrative set in an idealized locality of subsistence Finland. Each of the entities within the story; money, banking, lending, borrowing and interest brought havoc to the agrarian community as they intermingled in the lives of unaware inhabitants.<sup>222</sup> All forms of traditional relationships were upset as the members of the subsistence community attempted to gain superiority over one another by acquiring and manipulating money. Amongst a following of miners already familiar with subservience the discussion tended to promote further interest in singularity and the expression of power not just in matters of egalitarianism. The unintended and covert message within the story was antithetical to the seeds of comradeship which Kurikka tried to nurture among his followers. By reintroducing money as a primary consideration he reinstated the confusion which for a time had been largely subsumed in the euphoria of the past activities. The emphasis on money helped to foster the appeal of the stock company. However, the problems encountered in the

interplay of subsistence values and those of a complex society reflected in capitalist and socialist interests were brought to the forefront in the activities which were undertaken by participants in the company. The difficulty was intrinsic within the movement and the individual dilemmas which ensued from it were conspicuously present among most of the Kalevan Kansa members.<sup>223</sup> The apparent heralding of a new state of being seemingly free of such contradictions continued for only a short period of unstructured togetherness. In the mundane activities before leaving for Malcolm Island, Kurikka failed to provide the example and impetus which would have carried the Kalevan Kansa through the liminal period.<sup>224</sup> There were prolonged delays, apparent set-backs, suspected failures in leadership and attempts to delineate specific objectives which the nebulous vision could ill afford. The deteriorating situation was clearly reflected in Aika, in the variety of embittered attacks against other members, including Kurikka, and in the authoritarian manner in which Kurikka expressed his thoughts.<sup>225</sup> Increasingly, Kurikka's viewpoint was presented to the exclusion of others as the situation moved from one of mutual participation to one of leader and followers.

Shortly after the Aika had begun to publish, Kurikka had initiated plans to attract his former co-worker, A. B. Makela, to British Columbia. Makela's role was to be that of a brake to the speeding train which was Kurikka.<sup>226</sup> As such he would not only help to guide the settlement scheme

through unforeseen difficulties but his presence in relation to Kurikka would produce a dynamic, the reconciliation of which would add to the enlightenment of the utopian vision. Makela's Marxist-oriented or "stomach" socialism would confront Kurikka's theosophic or "head" socialism, eventually to be reconciled in a higher perception of idealistic life represented in the social organization of the new community.<sup>227</sup>

Kurikka's hopes did not materialize. Despite Makela's position as secretary of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company and as editor of the Aika, he often disagreed bitterly with Kurikka, particularly about matters concerning religion.<sup>228</sup> Halminen recalls that in the beginning the debates between Kurikka and Makela were engaging.<sup>229</sup> However, as the enthusiastic fervour of the enterprise gradually declined, the depth of the ideological schism became more apparent. Among the members of the Kalevan Kansa the diverging viewpoints added to the confusion and eventually contributed to the disintegration of the cohesion within the idealistic movement Kurikka had initially talked about. Makela's views were often found more acceptable, particularly by the newcomers who were arriving daily in anticipation of going to the settlement. Since they had not been part of the enthusiasm which surrounded Kurikka's arrival on Vancouver Island, and since they were often more familiar with the thinking of other Marxist socialists than with Kurikka's concepts of theosophy, they tended to support Makela.<sup>230</sup>

After Kurikka's plans for a settlement were unveiled to the public there was pressure from local politicians, newspapers and the public in aid of the Finlanders' cause.<sup>231</sup> However, the Malcolm Island land grant continued to be delayed until 1901 because the provincial government had previously granted a pulp and paper company rights to the island's timber.<sup>232</sup> Although the delay permitted a greater number of future settlers to gather at Nanaimo in anticipation of going to Sointula, and thereby heightened the venture's apparent popularity, it was costly.<sup>233</sup> The initial excitement was declining, Kurikka's charismatic ability was called into question because of his failure to expedite the affairs of the Kalevan Kansa with the government, and the thus far ephemeral state of the colonization scheme was beginning to be questioned as the attention of the membership moved more toward problems of organization.<sup>234</sup> The number of prerequisites which needed to be met in the stipulations of the land grant agreement further eroded the sense of *communitas* upon which the initial appeal of the idealistic settlement had rested.<sup>235</sup>

When the first members of the Kalevan Kansa arrived on the deserted and inhospitable shores of Malcolm Island only the basic organization of most of their activities in the proposed utopian settlement had been determined. The "Articles of Association of 'Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited'" detailed the financial, legal and voting responsibilities of membership.<sup>236</sup> The "Memorandum of

'Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited'" outlined the long term objectives, immediate goals in resource exploitation and the financial responsibility of the shareholders.<sup>237</sup> The "Agreement between His Majesty The King and The Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited" further stipulated the required capital improvements to be made on the land, the ratio of settlers to land, the nature of agreements which could be entered into by settlers, the necessity of becoming British subjects, the need to conform with the prevailing political doctrines and laws of the province, the need to bear arms in wartime, and the necessity of educating children in public schools in English.<sup>238</sup> The agreement further specified the conditions under which the company would be in default. These requirements were outlined again in the agreement signed by a representative of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited and the individual members.<sup>239</sup> These objectives imposed a definite predetermined structure upon an undertaking which was initially entered into in the spirit of *communitas*. Not only did these rules determine the collective obligations of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company to the external society but they also stipulated the mode of internal organization. The rules prescribed distinctions based on sex, age, physical ability, skills and eventually financial status.<sup>240</sup> They also outlined the activities which needed to be embarked upon regardless of other priorities. The subsequent three years of Kalevan Kansa activity at Malcolm Island were consumed by day to day

affairs directed toward the implementation of the requirements as well as surviving a difficult existence in the wilderness.

An estimated 2,000 people travelled to Sointula in the four years of Kalevan Kansa activity although only a small fraction of that number joined or remained.<sup>241</sup> In 1902 at least 24 memberships were recorded, in 1903 an additional 79 and in 1904 20 more.<sup>242</sup> At its height there were between 600 and 800 settlers on the island. Kolehmainen's description of the colony as a "lodestone which drew to its uneasy bosom all kinds of cranks, pseudo-philosophers, spiritualists, advocates of perpetual motion, supporters of free love and windbags", is only partly correct.<sup>243</sup> It was not until the latter stages after 1904 that such individuals arrived in any number.<sup>244</sup> More often groups of transient men travelled to the island to seek work in Kurikka's company and left when they saw none was available.<sup>245</sup>

To survive, the settlement needed capital. Much of Kurikka's activity on the island was concerned with securing loans and in inducing others to come in the hope that they could meet their membership fee in cash.<sup>246</sup> Often they did not and they needed to be accommodated when there were no lodgings available, particularly for women and children.<sup>247</sup> Others were extremely disappointed on arrival, expecting to see the utopian community in full bloom, yet, remained to criticize it.<sup>248</sup> Still other prospective settlers, more accustomed to urban comforts, left the settlement

embittered. Upon returning to Vancouver and other urban centres, they often agitated against the aims of the community and especially against Kurikka.<sup>249</sup> As the pressure to bring the envisioned ideals into practice increased, Kurikka was put into a position where he needed to describe his plan in more precise detail. At this point his power, which rested partly on charismatic authority, was in a balance. In order to maintain his position of undisputed leadership he needed to provide his anxious audience with clearer information about the course which lay ahead.<sup>250</sup> However, the more he surrendered to structure by detailing his vision in terms of organization the more he was open to scrutiny and criticism.<sup>251</sup>

For a short period of time the work of creating Sointula, the place of harmony, progressed in the spirit first envisioned by the Kalevan Kansa.<sup>252</sup> However, their enthusiasm and proposed well-being were soon dampened by economic difficulties.<sup>253</sup> The problems extended into all spheres of daily activity including shelter, clothing and food.<sup>254</sup> In an ambiance characterized by material as well as human shortcomings the spirit of brotherhood was severely strained. Bitter arguments erupted over the size and quality of the proposed land allotments, the amount and form of labour to be contributed toward the common good, the physical organization of the community, the exercising of individual skills, the class value of discharging membership dues, the philosophical aims of the community and all



financial matters.<sup>255</sup> These were heightened by the group's inability to successfully exploit the island's resources for its own needs, by the failure of the company to produce a marketable surplus, by the distance from markets for the materials which eventually were produced, and a series of mishaps and mismanagement.<sup>256</sup> In the isolated settlement individual and group shortcomings and frustrations could only be focused onto other members. Particularly onto those who most appeared to be in charge or onto those whose philosophical perspectives were most clearly recognized as impeding the community's collective well-being. Since Kurikka most often suffered the brunt of these attacks power tended to drift toward Makela who had become a counter force in the community and whose proposals were still largely untried.

In the beginning, Kurikka's role within the Kalevan Kansa was one of participation within a collective endeavour. However, when specific activities were undertaken to bring the utopian community into existence, the members of the Kalevan Kansa increasingly thrust the responsibilities of leadership into his willing hands. When the settlement plans were still diffuse and later when the first stages of settlement were starting, he managed to provide leadership by his own example. By manipulating and reordering elements from traditional narratives and proverbs, in conjunction with references to Biblical events and the ultimate supremacy of spiritual values expressed in his concept of socialism, he

was able to bring his followers to a point where they were temporarily removed from the authority of daily routine.<sup>257</sup> He encouraged the Kalevan Kansa to rejoice in their new freedom by expressing their true sentiments in idyllic songs in praise of the community they were creating.<sup>258</sup> At this point Kurikka was needed as a reassurance that the mundane organization of day to day activities would ensue and that the aspirations embodied in the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company could be made workable.

As matters became more difficult in the absence of deliberate and workable objectives Kurikka was increasingly obliged to rely on personal slander and attacks, coercion and deceit to maintain authority.<sup>259</sup> When it eventually appeared impossible to hold the community together and to maintain his position of leadership he entertained thoughts of destroying it.<sup>260</sup> These thoughts later contributed to his downfall when a fatal fire broke out in the communal living quarters in the winter of 1903. The fire destroyed the residence hall housing the living quarters, dining, meeting and crafts areas. With it the prime symbol of the Kalevan Kansa's ideological aspirations and achievements was gone. In the aftermath which followed the loss of lives, property and inspiration, Kurikka made a final grasp at power and at preparing the circumstances from which an ideal society might arise. He hoped to obliterate the destructive tendencies apparent in the actions of Sointula residents by bringing about a situation suggestive of a

chaotic beginning where the rules of organization were not formalized.<sup>261</sup> To accomplish this he renewed his attack on the institution of marriage.

Earlier Kurikka had written and spoken about the oppressive nature of marriage.<sup>262</sup> In Sointula his views were apparent in the attempt at forming a co-operative for raising and educating children, in the communally organized workshops for women and in the value attached to their activities.<sup>263</sup> However, in late 1904 he proposed to introduce more radical changes. The Aika published an ideological discussion about free love and childbirth outside of wedlock.<sup>264</sup> His renewed emphasis on free love was partly influenced by a pragmatic consideration. He hoped that freer access to women might entice some of the single men who had accompanied him back from an ill-fated bridge contract in North Vancouver to remain at Sointula and to work for the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company.<sup>265</sup> More importantly, however, he viewed it as a means to reaffirm his personal and political authority on the island. His omnipotence in tearing apart the fundamental relationship would grant him authority which would encourage faith in his other undertakings. Additionally, since the principles of social organization are ultimately rooted in the relationships which define relations between men and women, he believed that the abolition of the current rules would bring about a period of confusion from which it would be possible to generate new rules.<sup>266</sup>

In the intervening time, however, Kurikka's position as charismatic leader had eroded. His secret deal with James Dunsmuir to supply Finnish labourers from among the Kalevan Kansa at low rates of pay had become public knowledge. He was widely criticized by other Finnish workers, union organizers and socialists as well as by the people within the Kalevan Kansa,<sup>267</sup> especially for violating the basic principle of socialist doctrine, to maintain control over labour. His attempts to gain support for the company from capitalist entrepreneurs in the eastern United States was also exposed and it further eroded his credibility among the socialists.<sup>268</sup> Additionally, his plans to have men from the Kalevan Kansa work at a Victoria pulpmill were found out.<sup>269</sup> The fire had brought the full extent of the Kalevan Kansa's debts into the open and Kurikka's former image as a versatile manager was in question.<sup>270</sup> The collective guilt of the company's mismanagement was cast upon Kurikka. Furthermore, his personal failures and purported extravagances were brought to the forefront.<sup>271</sup>

Kurikka's movement from a position of an equal to that of a leader placed him into a situation where he was accountable for not only his own failures but also those of the community as a whole. In the closed circumstances of a tightly bound settlement, removed from contact with the external society, Kurikka's role as a charismatic leader turned into that of a sorcerer. The life force within him which his followers had recognized as antithetical to daily

routines in the larger society had turned from a positive goal into its opposite. Kurikka's perspectives regarding the nature of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, for instance, remained relatively constant but that viewpoint was increasingly recognized by the Kalevan Kansa as evil and dangerous. They no longer saw in it the means to an idyllic state of being characterized by equality and material well-being.

Characteristically, Kurikka's personality "aggravated rather than mitigated the situation."<sup>272</sup> The community strenuously denied the validity of his ideas about free love and marriage.<sup>273</sup> In turn, Kurikka denied his responsibility for them and was readily condemned. Elsewhere Finnish religious leaders branded him as the "devil's vicar".<sup>274</sup> The provincial government proposed to investigate Sointula and particularly Kurikka for the purported immoral conduct.<sup>275</sup> Marxist socialists and trade unionists lambasted the entire utopian venture and especially Kurikka for failing to support the true cause of class conflict.<sup>276</sup> In the midst of the accusations Kurikka and those who still supported him were banished from Sointula. With Kurikka's departure the utopian aspect of the Kalevan Kansa activity came to an end.<sup>277</sup>

In early 1905 the burden of leadership was assumed by A. B. Makela.<sup>278</sup> After a series of pragmatic attempts at keeping the affairs of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited solvent, Makela and the remainder of the Kalevan

Kansa were forced to forfeit the assets of the company.<sup>279</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The early issues of the Canadian census do not classify Finns as a separate ethnic group, nor do they accurately account for specific groups of people in areas smaller than electoral subdistricts. See, for example, Canada, Census of Canada 1901, vol. 1, pp. 284-285, 332-333 and 406-407.

<sup>2</sup> Vancouver Province, 18 June 1938 and E. Van Cleef, "Finnish Settlement in Canada," Geographical Review 42 (April 1952): 253-266.

<sup>3</sup> See Halminen, 1936, pp. 7-16. See also Raivio, 1975, pp. 282-285 and 373-396

<sup>4</sup> Halminen, 1936, pp. 8-15.

<sup>5</sup> M. Matheson, "Some Effect of Coal Mining Upon the Development of the Nanaimo Area," (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1950), p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> In some agrarian communities like Uusi Suomi [New Finland] in Saskatchewan, founded in the 1880s, Finns could exist on small subsistence farms and remain relatively isolated from the outside world. The majority of their material and social needs could be met from within the community and consequently there was little need to participate in the commerce of neighbouring towns.

<sup>7</sup> In the more urban settlements around Vancouver Island mines it was not possible to achieve a way of life characterized by interdependence. Individual obligations extended beyond a closed community. The diversity of such obligations was wider and the avenues for discharging them were less clear, particularly for a people unfamiliar with the complexities of a moneyed society. See Halminen, 1936, pp. 11-26.

<sup>8</sup> See Halminen, 1936, pp. 11-15. See also above, pp. 8-10, 47-53.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, footnote 6 above. Similar circumstances existed in Finnish communities in Ontario, Manitoba and in the interior of British Columbia. See Halminen, 1936, pp. 5-10 and Raivio, 1975, pp. 228-232, 278-280 and 264-268 for examples of Finnish communities elsewhere.

<sup>10</sup> See Halminen, 1936, p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Halminen suggested that the mixture of races and ethnic groups in the mines made it impossible to come to a consensus about common interests. See pp. 19-22.

<sup>12</sup> Halminen stated that on several occasions the Finnish miners were obliged to dismantle their shacks and to move them to another location. Often this attitude extended into all aspects of life since their landowner, employer and politician was often the same person. See Halminen, 1936, pp. 13-22.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of Finns as hardy workers see the Daily Colonist, 29 November 1899. For a discussion of the rowdiness of camp life see Halminen, 1936, pp. 13-22.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Daily Colonist, 2 February 1901.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, *ibid.* For an indication of the strong anti-oriental sentiments expressed by local and national labour leaders see, for example, the "Legislative Platform of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, 1898" as cited in T. Loosmore, "The British Columbia Labor Movement and Political Action, 1879-1906" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1954), p. xiv; the "Canadian Labor Party Platform, 1906" as cited in *ibid.*, p. xxxv; the "Platform of the Provincial Progressive Party" 1902 as cited in *ibid.*, p. xxvii and the "Nanaimo Workingman's Platform, 1894" as cited in *ibid.*, p. xi. For a detailed discussion of anti-orientalism in British Columbia during this time see, for example, W. P. Ward, "White Canada Forever: British Columbia's Response to Orientals, 1858-1914" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1972).

<sup>16</sup> Daily Colonist, 2 February 1901. The Finns were thought of as a far better class of immigrant than the Doukhobours for example, who were thought to be hardy but otherwise objectionable. See also, *ibid.*, 28 June 1901.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*, 29 August 1899. Finns would be ideal settlers for northern Vancouver Island, the Atlin country, the Nechaco Valley or the Bulkley Valley. See also the Vancouver Province, 11 April 1901 which suggested that the Quatsino and Queen Charlotte Island areas would be ideal locations for Finnish settlers. The Daily Colonist, 27 June 1901 mentioned "the wastespaces of northern B. C." and the fertile valleys of the Cassiar and the Cariboo as suitable areas for Finnish settlement.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Daily Colonist, 29 November 1899.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, See also *ibid.*, 27 June 1901; *ibid.*, 27 June 1901; *ibid.*, 2 November 1901 and E. Van Cleef, "The Finns of the Pacific Coast of the United States and the Consideration of the Problem of Scientific Land Settlement," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 30 (1940): 25-38.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, Daily Colonist, 23 August 1899; *ibid.*, 27 August 1899; *ibid.*, 29 August 1899; *ibid.*,



2 February 1901; *ibid.*, 11 April 1901 and *ibid.*, 8 September 1901.

<sup>21</sup> Halminen, 1936, pp. 13-22.

<sup>22</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, Daily Colonist, 23 August 1899; *ibid.*, 2 February 1901 and various issues of the Aika published in Nanaimo in 1901.

<sup>24</sup> Daily Colonist, 29 November 1899.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 August 1899. See also footnote 17 above.

<sup>26</sup> Daily Colonist, 2 February 1901.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 November 1899.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 February 1901. See also Vancouver Province, 25 November 1901.

<sup>29</sup> For accounts of deaths in the Nanaimo area collieries see, for example, British Columbia, "Report of the Minister of Mines, 1879," Sessional Papers 1880, pp. 250-251; British Columbia, "Report of the Minister of Mines, 1884," Sessional Papers 1885, pp. 432-434 and British Columbia, "Report of the Minister of Mines, 1887," Sessional Papers 1888, pp. 283-289.

<sup>30</sup> See above, pp. 9 and 53-61. See also, E. Van Cleef, "The Finn in America," Geographical Review 6 (September 1918): 185-214 and Van Cleef, 1952, pp. 253-266.

<sup>31</sup> See above, pp. 47-50. See also, W. Hoglund, Finnish Immigrants in America, 1880-1920 (Madison, 1960), pp. 17-59.

<sup>32</sup> See above, pp. 53-61. See also, "The Rural Exodus," in Hoglund, 1960, pp. 3-17.

<sup>33</sup> For the ethnographic details see Halminen, 1936, pp. 13-24. For a discussion of the argument see K. O. L. Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, pp. 143-145.

<sup>34</sup> Halminen, 1936, pp. 13-16.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16 and 20-23.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12. Raivio also mentions that there were Finns in the area who made illegal liquor and ran saloons. Raivio, 1975, p. 283.

38 Halminen, 1936, pp. 11-15.

39 Ibid., p. 12.

40 Ibid.

41 There were no commonly held criteria by which the value of individual pursuits could be judged and by which a measure of individual worth could be obtained. See *ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

42 See Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, pp. 43-49 and above, pp. 6-8.

43 H. F. Stein and R. F. Hill, The Ethnic Imperative (University Park, 1977), p. 7.

44 Halminen, 1936, pp. 12-25.

45 Matheson, 1950, pp. 89-90.

46 Halminen, 1936, p. 12.

47 See *ibid.* for the ethnography. See Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, pp. 25, 42, 45 and 132 for a discussion of money used as a treasure article.

48 Halminen, 1936, pp. 11-15.

49 Ibid., pp. 11-22.

50 Halminen interpreted Dunsmuir's decision to force some of his Extension mine employees to move to his new townsite at Ladysmith as a partly arbitrary decision on Dunsmuir's part, motivated by his desire to commemorate the victory of the British forces at Ladysmith, South Africa, during the Boer War. See *ibid.*, pp. 14-15. This view regarding Dunsmuir's motivation is not shared by the British Columbia historian Margaret Ormsby who states that "on hearing the good news of the relief of Ladysmith, James Dunsmuir decided to name his new company town near the Extension Mine, 'Ladysmith', and to give all its streets the names of British generals." See Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, student edition (Vancouver, 1971), p. 328.

51 Halminen, 1936, p. 49. The author recalled that James Dunsmuir decided to close down the Alexandria mine when he discovered that a number of the workers had gone to Nanaimo to participate in a union organization meeting. See also, British Columbia, "Report of the Minister of Mines, 1902," Sessional Papers 1903, p. H 270 for a report of the closure of this mine. This coal seam was not worked again until 1917. See "Report of the Minister of Mines, 1917," Sessional Papers 1918, vol. 1, p. F 410.

52 Halminen, 1936, pp. 18-19.

53 Ibid., p. 20. The hostile feelings among Anglo-Saxon workers became prominent when it was learned that Kurikka had made arrangements with James Dunsmuir to obtain Finnish workers at a lower rate of pay than the standard. This disclosure confirmed what others had feared. See, for example, Vancouver Province, 25 November 1901.

54 Halminen, 1936, p. 22. The author recalled the discriminatory nature of the employment practices in the mines where similar tasks were rewarded by unequal amounts of pay according to race and ethnicity. Despite his willingness to work for a low rate of pay the Chinese worker had no security since politicians were advocating anti-Asiatic restrictions which would eventually exclude them from the labour force. See, for example, Daily Colonist, 2 February 1901.

55 Halminen, 1936, pp. 14-25.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid., pp. 11-15.

60 Ibid., p. 21. Halminen stated a few of the miners started to gather in the evenings to discuss the situation around them. The occasions were informal and usually took place at the home of one of the workers.

61 Ibid. It is not clear from Halminen's account whether these discussions were in part influenced by Finnish language literature from elsewhere. In the United States numerous temperance groups had already formed and they were active in distributing literature to other Finnish communities. See Høglund, 1960, pp. 4 and 53-97. Furthermore, temperance activity was widespread in Finland at the time many of the emigrants left Finland. See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 53-56 and the biographies of A. B. Makela and Matti Kurikka in H. Soikkanen, Tiennayttaja [Pathfinders], vol. 1 (Helsinki, 1967), pp. 207-237 and 277-319.

62 Halminen, 1936, pp. 16-25. The language barriers which had kept many Finns outside of the general ambience of social activities in these early mining communities was now seen as a way of excluding others from their activities. The feeling of exclusiveness was further promoted by Kurikka in the Aika. See, for example, 23 August 1901.

63 Ibid., pp. 11-14. The first temperance society entitled Lannen Rusko [Western Sunset] was formed in 1890 at North Wellington. Halminen stated that it was patterned after the Finnish National Temperance Brotherhood founded in Michigan in January 1889. In 1891 the Aallotar society was founded and in 1893 the Finnish brass band was formed. For a brief discussion of Finnish-American temperance societies see J. Kolehmainen, The Finns in America: A Students' Guide to Localized History (New York, 1968), p. 20 and R. Jalkonen, ed., The Finns in North America: A Social Symposium (Hancock, Mich., 1969), p. 67.

64 Halminen, 1936, pp. 12-15. Temperance groups were closely aligned with evangelical church sects partly due to their common crusade against liquor. In many Finnish-American communities the memberships of temperance groups and church groups were almost identical. See, for example, Hoglund, 1960, pp. 56-57.

65 Halminen, 1936, p. 14.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid., pp. 20-21.

68 Ibid., pp. 10-15.

69 See, for example, Halminen's discussion about Dunsmuir's demand that the Finns move their lodgings from one site to another and his discussion about Dunsmuir's attempts to keep the miners from engaging in collective activities. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

70 This aspect of Finnish history will be dealt with in more detail in a future discussion of Sointula after the collapse of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited. See below, for post-Kalevan Kansa Sointula, pp. 160-217.

71 Halminen, 1936, pp. 10-16.

72 Ibid., pp. 10-14.

73 Ibid., p. 14. Halminen referred to these ideas which were eventually articulated during the Kalevan Kansa activity as the beginning of "a new epoch among Vancouver Island Finns."

74 Ibid., pp. 13-15.

75 Ibid., p. 15. Halminen credited the temperance societies and the marching band for transforming daily life onto a better footing.

76 See, for example, Halminen's references to the large temperance rally at Nanaimo in 1896. Ibid., p. 14.

77 Ibid., pp. 13-14.

78 Ibid., p. 14.

79 Although the temperance societies were founded at North Wellington they functioned for a time at East Wellington, Extension and Nanaimo. As the workers moved from one mine to another as a result of work stoppages, closures and employment prospects, the temperance society moved with them. Ibid., pp. 11-15.

80 The temperance activities were first conducted in the individual homes of the members. This continued to be the case when mining communities moved and the 'halls' were vacated. Ibid., pp. 12-14.

81 The first temperance hall in which the Lannen Rusko functioned was the former residence of a number of Chinese workers who had been killed in the mine. A less modest temperance hall was constructed for the Aallotar society at North Wellington. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

82 Ibid., p. 14.

83 Ibid.

84 Forty years later Halminen clearly and fondly recalled the sense of brotherhood which existed at the temperance meetings. Ibid., p. 13.

85 Halminen suggested that the various issues were discussed, argued over and thought about and that the eventual outcome was a more acute awareness of their position. Ibid., p. 14.

86 For a meaningful discussion of 'metanoia' see K. O. L. Burridge, "Missionary Occasions," in Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania (forthcoming).

87 See Halminen, 1936, p. 14 and above, pp. 47-53.

88 Halminen, 1936, p. 14.

89 See, for example, Daily Colonist, 29 November 1899.

90 Ibid., and ibid., 2 February 1901 and ibid., 28 June 1901.

91 See, for example, ibid., 23 August 1899 and ibid., 27 August 1899. See also, Canadian Pacific Railway,

Taydellisia tietoja Manitoban ja liansipohjais Kanadan maista ja muista seikoista. Siirtolaisille Kanadaan  
[Complete Information about the Geography of Manitoba and Canda's North-West and Other Matters for Immigrants to Canada], (Montreal, 1889), which was distributed by the railway in an effort to encourage further immigration.

92 See, for example, Daily Colonist, 23 August 1899 and *ibid.*, 29 August 1899.

93 See above, p. 56.

94 Apart from North America some Finnish emigrants travelled to Australia, the Caribbean and South America. See, for example, V. Niitemaa, "Emigration Research in Finland" and K. Virtanen, "Problems of Research in Finnish Re-emigration," in Karni, Kaups and Ollila, 1975, pp. 12-21 and 202-212.

95 *Ibid.* and Hoglund, 1960, pp. 6-16.

96 Halminen, 1936, p. 16. See also, A. Hautamaki, "Matti Kurikka," in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 277-319.

97 *Ibid.*, pp. 294-296. See also, J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, pp. 54-55 and V. Niitemaa, "Australiansuomalainen Erakko-seura vv. 1902-1904" [Australian-Finnish Wilderness Colony, 1902-1904], Turun Yliopisto Siirtolaishistoria 7 (1971): 166-179.

98 Halminen, 1936, p. 16.

99 See, for example, Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 277-319.

100 *Ibid.*, and Halminen, 1936, p. 16.

101 *Ibid.*

102 Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 295-296 and Niitemaa, 1971, p. 179.

103 Halminen, 1936, pp. 16-18.

104 *Ibid.*, p. 18. Kurikka first spoke at the major centres of temperance activity in the Finnish mining communities.

105 *Ibid.*

106 *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20. See also, Daily Colonist, 2 February 1901 and *ibid.*, 27 June 1901.

- 107 Halminen, 1936, pp. 18-50.
- 108 Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 277-319.
- 109 Max Weber, Economy and Society (New York, 1968), p. 112 as cited in T. E. Dow, "An Analysis of Weber's Work on Charisma," British Journal of Sociology 30 (1978): 83.
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 Ibid., pp. 83-85. See also, Halminen, 1936, pp. 18-32 and above, pp. 10-14 and 57-59.
- 112 The Finnish miners recognized in Kurikka the power to transform their present situation. His presence immediately focused the ideas which they had pondered into a specific plan of action. Halminen, 1936, pp. 18-19. They were willing to suffer his rebuke for access to the power inherent in his presence. See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
- 113 See above, footnotes 64 and 97. See below, pp. 10-11 and 57-58.
- 114 Halminen, 1936, pp. 23-26.
- 115 See K. Oberg, 1928, p. 5 and above, p. 49
- 116 Oberg, 1928, p. 5.
- 117 Aika, 15 December 1903 as cited in Oberg, 1928, p. 5.
- 118 Ibid. Kurikka spoke about his early childhood and his education. He recalled that his travels on a train between Helsinki and his home were often undertaken alone and that he felt estranged from the people and places he saw on the way.
- 119 Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 278-280.
- 120 Ibid., pp. 277-281. See also, Oberg, 1928, p. 6 and J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, pp. 52-53, 57 and 59-60. See also, various issues of Aika. For example, "Leo Tolstoy's Scriptures," Aika, 15 July 1904; "Voltaire," *ibid.*, 15 March 1904 and a continuing series of articles entitled "Recollections from Antiquity," *ibid.*, various issues, 1904.
- 121 Ibid. See also, "What is Creation?" *ibid.*, 1 July 1904; "The Path, The Truth and Life," *ibid.*, 15 June 1904 and "The Future of Mankind," *ibid.*, 1 September 1904.
- 122 Ibid., 15 March 1904.

123 Oberg, 1928, pp. 5 and 7 and Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, p. 280.

124 Kurikka was especially enthusiastic about the writings of Axel Porschowsky, a Danish socialist. Ibid.

125 Ibid., pp. 283-288 and 289-293. See also, Oberg, 1928, p. 8 and J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, p. 52.

126 See Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, p. 281.

127 Ibid.

128 Ibid., pp. 281-282.

129 Ibid., p. 282.

130 In 1901 Kurikka made an appeal for Finns everywhere to join him in the formation of an idealistic community. In an article entitled "Toward a New Path" published in the Aika he suggested that even those who are at the very depths of debauchery can overcome their present situation and embark on the path which is their spiritual birthright. See Halminen, 1936, pp. 28-33.

131 See Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 282-288.

132 See Oberg, 1928, p. 7.

133 See above, pp. 59-60. See also, Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 283-284. For a general discussion about religious evangelism among Finnish immigrants see Høglund, 1960, pp. 52-58. For further information about the changes which occurred in immigrant communities in connection with religious and church matters see W. Kukkonen, "Process and Product: Problems Encountered by the Finnish Immigrants in the Transmission of a Spiritual Heritage," in Karni, Kaups and Ollilla, 1975, pp. 130-143.

134 Ibid., pp. 130-143.

135 Kurikka stressed the human aspect of Christ's existence. Although Christ was the Son of God and the spiritual guide for all mankind he was foremost a man with supreme abilities. In this way Kurikka was able to intertwine his own foresight into a spiritually ordained path. Like Christ he would gather his folk from among the less fortunate and the downfallen. See Halminen, 1936, pp. 28-33.

136 See ibid., pp. 22-25. See also, Hautamaki in Soikkannen, 1967, p. 293.

137 Ibid., p. 282.



138 Ibid. See also, Oberg, 1928, p. 6. He noted that Kurikka was employed as an agent of The Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York.

139 Ibid. and Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 283-285. Amongst the many pamphlets which Kurikka authored during this period was one entitled "Away from the Enslavement of Alcoholism". In it he proposed that the current state of disorder was due to the stressing of physical well-being at the expense of the spiritual aspects of life. If people were permitted to develop according to their conscience the discord would disappear. Furthermore, if one could combat alcoholism then one could combat capitalism in its present form since they were one and the same.

140 Kurikka referred to Makela as his best and most trusted friend when he suggested to the newly formed Kalevan Kansa members that they should invite Makela to British Columbia to assist with the editor's duties at the Aika. The association between Kurikka and Makela stretched back to the years when they had worked together at the Viipurin Sanomat and later when Makela took over the editorship of the Tyomies from Kurikka in 1898. See Halminen, 1936, pp. 32-34. See also, E. Salomaa, "A. B. Makela," in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 207-236.

141 Both Kurikka and Makela were acquainted with Minna Canth and the group of radical intellectuals gathered around her. Makela's Marxist socialism reflected the ideas of this group and her influence on Kurikka's thoughts was apparent in his ideas about marriage, women's rights and child rearing. The difference in views about socialism held by Kurikka and Makela was clearly evident in the latter's description of "theosophy as the seventeenth form of religion they have tried to force upon me." See Salomaa in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 207-236. See also, K. Jaaskelainen [A. B. Makela], 1907, pp. 119-123.

142 Among these reformers was Edvard Valpas who authored the last section of Halminen's book about Sointula. After Kurikka was ousted from Sointula the viewpoints expressed by these individuals became more prominent on Malcolm Island as Makela assumed the position of leadership. See H. Soikkanen, "Edvard Valpas," in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 69-120. See also, Halminen, 1936, pp. 123-143.

143 Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 286-288.

144 Ibid., pp. 288-290.

145 The majority of his writings were concerned with prohibition and theosophy. They often talked of transforming the present inadequacies into a utopian existence but they rarely presented the kinds of firm ideas which

would regain the support of other socialists. Ibid., pp. 290-294.

146 After a series of his articles were censored by the Tsar's Governor-General in Finland, Bobrikov, Kurikka became an outspoken critic of all aspects of Russian society. This further alienated him from some Finnish socialists who had an ideological link with segments of the Russian proletariat. Ibid., pp. 288-289. For a discussion of the repressive Russification undertaken in Finland by Bobrikov, including the Conscription Law of 1901 see Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974, pp. 232-239. Bobrikov was assassinated in June 1904 by the Finnish patriot Schauman.

147 Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, p. 288.

148 Ibid., p. 290.

149 Ibid., pp. 290-291. This further added to the mythical stature of Kurikka and enhanced the mystery which people associated with his birth. See above, p. 58.

150 Kurikka conceived of the idea of Kalevan Kansa (the true people or descendants of Kaleva) while still in Finland. However, it seemed to pass unnoticed until he proposed it to the miners in British Columbia. Ibid., p. 293.

151 The Queensland government assisted Kurikka and a small group of followers to obtain passage to Australia. However, the colonization attempt failed to get further support from the government and Kurikka's experiment failed. Instead of taking on the spiritual ways Kurikka had anticipated and setting a pattern for the whole world the group became embroiled in internal arguments and began to disband. See Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 293-295 and Niitemaa, 1971, pp. 165-181. In British Columbia Kurikka told the readers of the Daily Colonist that the Australians were "set against the coming of the Finlanders" who they "thought were a source of cheap labour" and a "half barbarous people." As a result, about 200 "educated, literate and potentially good citizens" were deceived. Daily Colonist, 8 September 1901.

152 Kurikka claims the settlers were lured away from their idealistic goal by employment opportunities which netted them 12 shillings a week and which was soon lost to alcohol and gambling. See Niitemaa, 1971, pp. 179-180 and Halminen, 1936, pp. 16-18.

153 Ibid.

154 See above, pp. 57-59.

155 Kurikka observed that when Sointula began to flourish others would grow around it. When these all prospered they would form an alliance which would eventually assume control. The joint-stock company he proposed to call the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited would provide the base from which the new way of being would begin. Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, p. 316 and Halminen, 1936, pp. 51-89.

156 For an indication of the public's support see, Daily Colonist, 2 November 1901; *ibid.*, 22 June 1901 and *ibid.*, 28 June 1901. For the government's attitude see, Vancouver Province, 24 November 1901. The scheme was also supported by some labour candidates and members of the opposition, see, Nanaimo Herald, 31 August 1901.

157 Halminen, 1936, pp. 18-50.

158 Oberg, 1928, p. 4.

159 Ladysmith Chronicle, 18 January 1962.

160 He is described as having "charm, a moving force and fluency" which he used "to captivate his audience and to hold them spellbound." His physical actions consisted of "waving of arms, jumping up and down on his toes and continual movement about the stage." *Ibid.*, 11 January 1962.

161 See above, footnote 160.

162 See above, footnote 155 for Kurikka's federation of mankind. See also, Aika, 16 May 1902. Kurikka's theosophical viewpoint is reflected in the editorial which stated that there is a "naturalistic development which starts from movement of particulars in the universe, passes through mineral, plant, animal and human eras towards the period of utopian idealism for people, when all limitations disappear and people participate in this world in eternal godly living."

163 Kurikka thought that man's spiritual greatness was best revealed in the products of his creativity since they were in part free from day to day conventionality. "Since nature as we perceive it and know it to be is one single entity" man's creativity reflects its greatness. Kurikka as cited in Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 312-313.

164 Oberg, 1928, p. 17.

165 Daily Colonist, 8 September 1901. See also, "Articles of Association of 'Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited'" in Appendix III, p. 401.

166 Kurikka proposed that there would be two ways of discharging the initial cost of membership. The first and preferable way was the \$200.00 cash payment. The second would require a partial payment with the remainder to be paid through labour for the company. This became a problematic issue since the small number of people willing to pay the \$200.00 limited the cash base of the company. Furthermore, the two options engendered class distinctions based on membership duties and privileges among the members. It directly contradicted the communal spirit of equality which had given impetus to the movement. See Halminen, 1936, pp. 22-35.

167 Kurikka was positive that even human nature free from the restrictions imposed by contemporary society would tend toward harmony. He claimed that with reason man can separate the worthwhile from the rubbish, right from wrong and knowledge from falsehood. He observed that harmony and love build while hate destroys and that Jesus was the first and greatest socialist. He maintained that the phrase "do unto others as you would have them do unto you" was the true expression of the intelligence of civilization. See Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 312-316. See also, Kurikka's Aika editorial quoted in Halminen, 1936, pp. 28-33.

168 Amongst his major opponents in the clergy was Rev. Lundell, a Lutheran pastor. His distrust of Kurikka extended to petitioning the provincial government to investigate Sointula. As a consequence of the agitation initiated by Lundell and others, the British Columbia Minister of Immigration wrote a memorandum to the lieutenant-governor-in-council recommending that the Malcolm Island settlement be investigated. In his memorandum he stated that "'A Finland clergyman who represents another wing of the Finlanders stated to me that Matti Kurikka was the leader of an element which was socialistic and atheistic and that he personally was an advocate of what is known as Free Love and that his endeavours were all in the direction of moulding the Colony on those lines.'" As cited in Secretary, Department of Immigration to Henry A. Sherwood, n.d., (draft letter) McBride Papers, 1905, file 1019. The minister's memorandum resulted in the formation of an order-in-council directing him to initiate an investigation of the Kalevan Kansa settlers. See *ibid.* See also, Raivio, 1975, pp. 393-394.

169 See, for example, Halminen, 1936, pp. 28-30.

170 Kurikka associated capitalism with the majority of discriminations within contemporary society. Those aspects of social life which he most stressed as valuable were collective and creative. Several years after the

failure of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company he wrote about the practicality and feasibility of Sointula in a publication entitled Elama [Life]. He wrote that "true harmony was at hand when three hundred people shared a meal. Pride and hunger for power eventually destroyed Sointula but for awhile love had conquered them." As cited in Hautamaki in Soikkanen, 1967, p. 299.

171 Halminen, 1936, pp. 56-64.

172 See, for example, an editorial entitled, "Religion and the Workers Movement" in which Kurikka praised the work that the Kalevan Kansa will do as something which will sustain material well-being and thereby engender a feeling of spiritual togetherness. Aika, 30 August 1901.

173 "By faith we can bring about our utopian way of life." Ibid.

174 In the same issue Kurikka wrote further that true socialism can turn the direction of people's lives completely around. The new way of being will allow people to love one another and to do for one another. Ibid.

175 See Halminen, 1936, pp. 22-50. See also, Vancouver Province, 11 April 1901; *ibid.*, 11 July 1901; Daily Colonist, 22 June 1901 and *ibid.*, 27 June 1901.

176 See, for example, *ibid.*, 2 February 1901.

177 See, for example, *ibid.* and Vancouver Province, 24 November 1901.

178 Daily Colonist, 2 February 1901.

179 Ibid.

180 Ibid.

181 Ibid.

182 Ibid.

183 Daily Colonist, 8 September 1901.

184 Ibid.

185 Ibid.

186 Vancouver Province, 24 November 1901. There is an assurance from Mr. Dunsmuir that "no white men in the area [around Malcolm Island] will suffer" from the land grant.

187 See Halminen, 1936, pp. 23-24 for a description of Malcolm Island and the surrounding area.

188 For a physical description of Malcolm Island see Halminen, 1936, p. 23 and Leach, 1915. For a description of the Kalevala North Farm see Lonnrot, 1849; 1963, pp. 68-75, 103-113, 123-131 and 260. In an article about Finns and geography Van Cleef stated that in terms of residence the geographically desirable qualities are important independent of economic considerations. See E. Van Cleef, 1940, pp. 25-38. The appearance of Malcolm Island corresponds closely to the description of North Farm in the mythical Kalevala tales.

189 Ibid.

190 See above, footnote 155.

191 See, for example, various editions of Aika, 1901.

192 See above, footnote 188. See also, Lonnrot, 1849; 1963, the various narratives, pp. 3-330 and Magoun in Lonnrot, 1849; 1963, pp. 391-405.

193 See, for example, Ladysmith Chronicle, 11 January 1962.

194 The Aika was a joint-stock company like the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited. It was originally founded by the early participants in the Kalevan Kansa activity to ensure that Kurikka would stay. A 1901 issue of the paper indicates that its list of subscribers was widely distributed. For example, it was sent to Portland, Oregon; Toronto, Ontario; Fitchburg, Mass.; Chicago, Ill.; Quincy, Mass.; Alaska; San Francisco, Calif.; Leadville, Col.; Minnesota; Newbe, N. Dak.; Fort Bragg, Calif.; Hancock, Mich.; Waino, Wisc.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Astoria, Oreg.; Norfolk, Vir.; Carlton, Wyom.; Ironwood, Mich.; Bute, Mont. and elsewhere. Aika, 18 October 1901. It was also sent to Finland and Australia. Raivio, 1975, pp. 380-394.

195 See, for instance, the appeal quoted by Halminen in Halminen, 1936, pp. 28-33. See also, Aika, 23 August 1901. "Come here you proper sons and daughters of Finnish mothers who comprehend that freedom is at the start and the finish of man's purpose . . . . Come here to live with us in such freedom where all are equal in the harmony of shared thoughts and find satisfaction and pleasure in the protection of the weak."

196 Aika, 30 August 1901.

197 Ibid.

198 K. O. L. Burridge, Tangu Traditions (Oxford, 1969), p. 202.

199 All the people referred to in connection with the following observations had parents or grandparents who were involved with the Kalevan Kansa movement. Some still live at Sointula, others elsewhere in the southwestern part of British Columbia.

200 The majority of those who claimed to know about the events at the turn of the century spoke about ideas which did not appear to relate specifically to Sointula. Generally they were in support of one or another political viewpoint, referred to the trials of pioneer life and the comparative poverty of the past and passed on reminiscences about the community prior to the arrival of electricity, the media and tourists. Others spoke about fishing and the co-operative store. However, most felt that there would not be a community with a specific Finnish-Canadian history without the Kalevan Kansa.

201 Many Sointula residents became prosperous, their children became well educated and many of the social benefits envisioned by Kurikka have been realized.

202 Although the idealistic aspects of Sointula were not realized in the Kalevan Kansa activity that aspect of the past made them more conscious of the things they needed to strive for. This in part encouraged some of the island's residents to become active in socialist politics.

203 In the past the sauna was taken for granted. Many of the old saunas still exist although fewer are still in use. Historically, they are an example of an intermediate period of sauna construction. Heat is derived from a firebox covered with stones, not from the old method of burning embers beneath stones. Some are log construction, others are frame. Both utilize indigenous as well as foreign materials.

204 At Sointula, as elsewhere, Finns maintain that they invented and perfected the sauna as a structure and as a method of bathing. People were eager to suggest that a sauna is an experience which surpasses bathing in that it involves the psyche as well. In support, numerous stories were collected about the consequences of abusing the accepted routine of taking a sauna; the result of which ended in illness or other difficulties.

205 See above, footnote 204. Some of the people I spoke with told of how a good sauna induced a feeling of relaxation which in turn allowed them to deal with other matters without the clutter of daily problems. The act

of taking a sauna washed away some of the psychological mess as well as the physical dirt.

206 Ibid.

207 Sointula residents told me that taking a sauna with family and friends was a communal activity like taking a meal together. Partly as a reaction to the number of saunas in the community, they found it unlikely that people would sauna together for political or economic advantage as some of my urban informants suggested they did.

208 The prospect of having a sauna with people for reasons other than communal ones was further discounted since there would be no control over such fundamental matters as cleanliness. Stories were recounted of how on occasion famous people would dock at the village and eventually request the use of a sauna only to be turned down. The proliferation of sauna baths led to a passing correspondent to call Malcolm Island a "coastal Eden" and "one of the oddities of a coastal cruise". He continued by suggesting that the practices were "disgusting to the sensibilities" and that there should be distinctions between "what was proper for natives to do and what was proper for whites to do." Vancouver Province, 16 August 1938.

209 All the saunas I visited were built by individuals, most often by the family head or elder sons. No one admitted to having plans or to the need of having them. Saunas were built, they said, according to common knowledge about proportions and materials. This reservoir of knowledge extended into the patterns of use as well.

210 The majority of saunas were similar. Most had two rooms or compartments and a few had a third. One room was set aside for taking heat, a second for washing and the third for sitting and relaxing. Often measurements for rooms, distances between landings, height, size of door and window openings and draft vents differed by less than two inches from one sauna to another.

211 Two saunas were clearly recognized as violating the requirements of tradition. The first contained toilet facilities and was considered unclean. The second was located in an old storage building which made it too high. Furthermore, its overly elaborate system of heating water earned it the nickname "boiler factory".

212 See above, footnotes, 209, 210 and 211. Many of my informants said that it was necessary for them as Finns to have a sauna. Most claimed they would become unclean and unhealthy without it. Beyond that, saunas were built according to what was assumed to be appropriate and according



to the skills which were available.

213 Until recently healers used to travel from one centre of Finnish population to another or at times they took up residence nearby a community. My personal contact has been limited to a hydrotherapist who no longer practices but who was thought by others to have special abilities.

214 Pattika Johnson was a healer known to several people I spoke to. He was described as being very short, obese and otherwise disreputable. He was often accused of taking liberties with female clients.

215 Johnson would carry with him objects such as buds from a poplar tree, a variety of burned grain and outdated medicines such as 'Troop Oil'. These, when properly applied, provided cures. Additionally, he would provide the services of a cupper.

216 According to my informants Johnson's methods for enacting a cure were not consistent but they were most often successful. One informant recalled that Johnson had stopped the bleeding from an axe wound suffered by his father through concentration followed by the application of a herb or leaf paste.

217 From the conversations I have had with people who recalled Johnson it seems that he was able to combine expected solutions with novel yet acceptable innovations in ways which would permit his clients to have confidence in his abilities. In addition to pragmatic solutions he was able to inspire confidence in the unusual or untried.

218 See, for example, Aika, 27 September 1901.

219 The Aika permitted Kurikka freedom of thought and speech. In it he expressed his ideas without the censorship which had plagued him in Finland. Many of his controversial ideas went unchallenged by the non-Finnish reading public. As a result he was able to maintain his duplicity by telling different versions of the situation to his English and Finnish speaking listeners and readers.

220 Halminen, 1936, pp. 25-28.

221 Prospective settlers for Sointula came from Europe and from various parts of the United States. Many came under great hardship and brought the majority of their possessions and resources to aid in the formation of the settlement. See Halminen, 1936, pp. 45-125; Vancouver Province, 4 April 1902; *ibid.*, 12 June 1902; *ibid.*, 28 November 1902; Daily Colonist, 8 June 1902; *ibid.*, 19 June 1902; *ibid.*, 20 August 1902; *ibid.*, 21 August 1902; *ibid.*,

4 October 1902; *ibid.*, 1 January 1903 and Kolehmainen, 1941, pp. 111-123.

222 Kurikka titled the series of articles "The Mystery of Money" and from issue to issue there were subheadings such as "From Well-being to Misery" to keep the reader's attention. See, for example, Aika, 22 October 1901 and *ibid.*, 25 October 1901.

223 See Halminen, 1936, pp. 50-124. See also, Kolehmainen, 1941, pp. 111-123 and Vancouver Sun, 31 November 1953.

224 For a discussion of liminality see A. Van Gennep, Rites of Passage (Chicago, 1960), pp. 15-26 and 166-189. See also, V. Turner, The Ritual Process (Chicago, 1969), pp. 94-165. Kurikka was able to bring the Kalevan Kansa together for a time into a period of commonality. However, he was unable to direct his followers through the liminality or period of no rules and the situation deteriorated into a period characterized by individual and conflicting interests. The societal rite of passage which the Kalevan Kansa activity might have accomplished never surpassed the liminal period between the foresaken past and the anticipated future.

225 See, for example, Halminen, 1936, pp. 117-126. See also, Aika, various issues, 1903 and 1904.

226 Halminen, 1936, p. 33.

227 *Ibid.*, pp. 33-41. See also, Oberg, 1928, pp. 17-18.

228 See, for example, footnote 141 above.

229 Halminen, 1936, pp. 53-64.

230 Literature from Finland was circulated in North America. Kurikka's philosophical standpoint was supported by a minority of Finnish socialists and therefore most of the literature tended to voice the ideas of the Marxists. For a discussion of the strength of radical Finnish socialists in the United States during this period see Høglund, 1960, pp. 104-121 and Kolehmainen, 1968, pp. 21-27.

231 See above, footnote 156.

232 Halminen, 1936, pp. 22-50. See also, Daily Colonist, 8 September 1901; *ibid.*, 22 June 1901 and *ibid.*, 27 June 1901.

233 See, for example, footnote 221.

- 234 Halminen, 1936, pp. 53-123.
- 235 See the "Agreement between His Majesty The King and The Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited" in Appendix II, pp. 399-400.
- 236 See the "Articles of Association of 'Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited'" in Appendix III, pp. 401-403.
- 237 See the "Memorandum of 'Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited'" in Appendix IV, p. 404.
- 238 See above, footnote 235.
- 239 Ibid. See also, Appendix V, pp. 405-406.
- 240 See Halminen, 1936, pp. 53-123. See also, footnote 166 above.
- 241 Halminen stated that some Finns came to Sointula but left shortly thereafter, Halminen, 1936, pp. 50-93. That viewpoint was supported by the Daily Colonist, 19 June 1902; Kolehmainen, 1941, pp. 111-123 and E. Savela, Suomesta Sointulan: Siirtolaiselämän kuvauksia [From Finland to Sointula: Reflections on Immigrant Life] (Wisconsin, n.d.), pp. 78-86.
- 242 The Department of Lands and Works, Victoria, British Columbia, received the applications for membership on June 10, 1902; February 19, 1903; October 6, 1903 and September 26, 1904. McBride Papers, Lists and Agreements, 1905, file 1019.
- 243 Kolehmainen, 1941, pp. 111-123.
- 244 Halminen, 1936, pp. 120-124.
- 245 Savela, n.d., pp. 55-62.
- 246 Halminen, 1936, pp. 53-123. Kurikka made several trips to Vancouver and Victoria in an effort to secure funds for supplies for the faltering community. The Kalevan Kansa settlers expected him to return with supplies and when he no longer could obtain loans his stature as a leader began to crumble. His charismatic authority rested in part on his apparent ability to provide and when he no longer could he became fallible in the eyes of his followers. See also, Vancouver Province, 4 April 1902; Daily Colonist, 14 September 1902; ibid., 1 January 1903; ibid., 6 March 1903; ibid., 3 September 1904 and ibid., 16 October 1904 for an indication of the financial problems faced by Kurikka and the Kalevan Kansa. For further discussions about the financial matters of the Kalevan Kansa see Oberg, 1928,

pp. 20-28 and 31-32; Kolehmainen, 1941, pp. 115-120 and 121-122; Columbia Press, 13 November 1950; Vancouver Sun 30 November 1953 and J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, pp. 58 and 63.

247 Halminen, 1936, pp. 82-95 and Kolehmainen, 1941, pp. 116-117 and 120-121.

248 Ibid., p. 120.

249 Ibid., pp. 121-122.

250 Kurikka was partly forced into this position by the presence of Makela. As his debates with Makela progressed he was required to become increasingly specific about the aims of the Kalevan Kansa. To counteract the pragmatic appeal of Makela's suggestions, Kurikka became more elaborate in his plans. They no longer dealt with the day to day affairs of the community but broadened to include a variety of ideas about insurance and welfare. As the euphoria of the early activities started to dissipate in the routine conflicts of daily living it was incumbent on Kurikka to provide more detailed information about the avenues to idealistic community life.

251 Additionally, Kurikka's fallibility became evident when his schemes lacked the imagination and success anticipated from an extraordinary leader. In the eyes of the Kalevan Kansa he was losing the privileges accorded a special individual and he was increasingly held accountable as a fellow participant.

252 Halminen, 1936, pp. 50-74.

253 See above, footnote 246.

254 Halminen stated that there was a shortage of accommodation, food, clothing, tools and equipment. Although the Kalevan Kansa managed to set up a sawmill, blacksmith shop, forge and trade shops, they were never economically viable due, in part, to the poor quality of equipment and supplies. When new equipment was purchased for, for example, the Aika Printing Company, it resulted in further debts. Halminen, 1936, pp. 95-128. See also, Kolehmainen, 1941, pp. 116-123 and J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, p. 63.

255 Halminen, 1936, pp. 50-128; Kolehmainen, 1941, pp. 120-123 and J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, pp. 58-65.

256 Malcolm Island was too far from markets to make it profitable for a small operation to transport wood products to Vancouver. The difficulty of getting a good return was accentuated by their poor equipment and lack of appropriate skills. When they did manage to bring lumber to

Vancouver it was stolen or seized by creditors. Halminen, 1936, pp. 95-123. See also, Daily Colonist, 16 December 1902; ibid., 3 September 1904; Oberg, 1928, pp. 21-27; Columbia Press, 13 November 1950; Vancouver Sun, 30 November 1953; A. Anderson, History of Sointula (Vancouver, 1958), pp. 4-13.

257 Halminen, 1936, pp. 18-59.

258 In 1903 these songs were collected into two volumes entitled Kalevan Kansan Sointuja. On his lecture tours Kurikka would often read from them and offer them for sale. A selection of titles from within the volumes includes: The Kalevan Kansa March; For Finland's People; Malcolm Island Our Beautiful Homeland; The Shores of Home and Hearth; Here the People of Kaleva; In the Past and Now; To Sointula; Oh! Our Malcolm Island; Life At Sointula; Listen You Descendants of Kaleva; Nature's Text; The Time Is Coming; Leave The Old Ways Behind; At The Crossroads; Our Idealism Is Saved; Harmony's Lullaby; I Your Island; A Joyous Song; Nature's Flower and A Moment of Peace. The majority of these songs were adapted to the scores of traditional Finnish hymns. Kalevan Kansan Sointuja [Kalevan Kansa Songs of Harmony], vols. 1 and 2 (Vancouver, 1903).

259 Initially Kurikka maintained his authority over the Kalevan Kansa by the example of his deeds. Additionally, the Aika printed didactic articles about the true concepts of Christianity and socialism. Often these were translated into day to day truths to be absorbed by the Kalevan Kansa as a charter for their activities. At other times the desired lesson was incorporated into a series of wise thoughts and parables. For example,

"not all thunder clouds bring rain"

"no one throws stones at a tree with no fruit"

"an idiot's tongue is always long"

"the day will break without the rooster's crow"

"a robber commits one wrong deed, he who was robbed has committed thousands"

"if everyone is a patron, who turns the millstone"

"the wisdom of drunkards is absorbed by the wind"

"cats bring bad dreams to mice"

"to bite iron, you need steel teeth"

"your hen eats your oats and lays her eggs under the neighbour's floor"

"a raven is often shot with an arrow from his own species"

See, for example, Aika, 18 October 1901. When Kurikka failed to attract followers by his own example and diffuse suggestions he often became ruthless. For example, in Aika, 15 March 1904 he began a verbal attack on the members of the Kalevan Kansa who had failed to support his ideas about free love with "I ask you dear friend, who has the right to argue that I have no right to express my thoughts? Some big mouthed old women perhaps . . . ." See also, Halminen, 1936, pp. 95-128; Kolehmainen, 1941, pp. 121-122

and J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, pp. 60-61.

260 Halminen, 1936, p. 123. Many of the residents at Sointula in 1903-1904 felt that Kurikka deliberately started the fire which destroyed the only substantial building on the Island and took eleven lives. At the time the assets of the Kalevan Kansa were under investigation and it was alleged that Kurikka set the fire to hide his mismanagement and to make a final attempt at holding power. Despite contributions and effort from neighbouring and more distant communities the fire dealt a death blow not only to Kurikka's leadership but to the community as well. Despite attempts at reconciliation internal strife and embitterment continued to increase. See also, Vancouver Province, 2 February 1903; ibid., 3 February 1903; ibid., 12 February 1903; ibid., 14 February 1903; Daily Colonist, 8 February 1903; ibid., 10 February 1903; ibid., 17 February 1903; ibid., 6 March 1903; Oberg, 1928; Kolehmainen, 1941, pp. 119-123; Anderson, 1958, pp. 8-13 and J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, p. 63.

261 For further discussion about this point see Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, pp. 165-167.

262 Kurikka's interest in the topic of marriage and in matters concerning motherhood and childrearing extended back to his association with Minna Canth. As early as 1902 he began to express his views on marriage partly as an attempt to break down the structures of conventional society which he saw as holding back the Kalevan Kansa from its destiny. By declaring only the "rights of love" not the "chains of marriage" both men and women would be freed from the basic subservience to convention. Aika, 16 May 1902; ibid., 15 March 1904 and Halminen, 1936, pp. 86-87 and 109-127.

263 See ibid., pp. 86-87 and 109-127 for additional details.

264 See above, footnote 262. To reemphasize his attitude towards the bonds of marriage Kurikka wrote in the Aika, 29 August 1902 that: "Marriage and morality are two different matters just as law and justice are two different things. Marriage and love are two different matters just as the church and truth are two different things. Similarly, just as capitalism appears as the protector of social organization, and the church the protector of truth so marriage appears as the protector of morality." By 1904 Kurikka could not gain the support he wanted for his ideas, particularly those concerning free love. Mrs. Ryckman, a resident of Sointula, recalled that there was discussion about it. Some proposed that free love would result in a "superior stock for the good of the commune's future" and that "some free lovers were for it right now" but that the majority argued that men

"would have no interest in the welfare of the superior progeny." She added that Kurikka "had a lady friend on the island but no superior children to his credit." Columbia Press, 13 November 1948. In Aika, 1 June 1904 Kurikka accused the Kalevan Kansa of being locked into the security of a deadening set of rules of which the marriage contract was a part and of being trapped by their "dirty imaginations" in seeing only the animalistic side of the argument. By this time the provincial government had undertaken to investigate the situation. See above, footnote 168. In an effort to ward off further difficulties with authorities Kurikka explained to the Daily Colonist on 21 October 1904 that: "As the marriage state has existed before there was any church, it is going to exist when all kinds of enslaving creeds and dogmas have disappeared from among civilized nations, and the responsibilities of marriage begin when the parties concerned fall in mutual love."

265 See Halminen, 1936, pp. 117-120. Without proper consultation with the membership of the Kalevan Kansa, Kurikka committed the company to build two bridges in North Vancouver. The undertaking was a disaster for the already financially troubled colony. Valuable man hours and materials were lost and the company was unable to compensate any of its workers. In addition, the regular Kalevan Kansa members had been joined by other Finns to make a joint work force. After the project's completion many of them returned with Kurikka and the Kalevan Kansa men to the already burdened settlement on Malcolm Island. See also, Kolehmainen, 1941, pp. 119-120 and Vancouver Sun, 30 November 1953.

266 See above, footnote 224 and Burrige, New Heaven New Earth, pp. 166-168.

267 See Halminen, 1936, pp. 47-50 and Vancouver Province, 25 November 1901.

268 Daily Colonist, 16 December 1902.

269 Ibid.

270 Halminen, 1936, pp. 90-109. See also, Daily Colonist, 15 May 1903 for information in the report prepared by Mr. Ross, a government appointed investigator.

271 An example of Kurikka's extravagances was related to me by the son of an original Kalevan Kansa settler. His father used to talk about Kurikka's trip to Vancouver in the winter of 1903. After the fire the settlement was short of food, clothing and all supplies. Kurikka was entrusted with some money and asked to obtain supplies in Vancouver. Instead of bringing the desperately needed goods he returned with a portable lap organ. Prior to this time these kinds of activities were expected and to a degree

overlooked but now they were recognized as morally reprehensible. He was also accused of misappropriating company funds and of selling Kalevan Kansan Sointuja for his own profit. Halminen, 1936, pp. 96-98.

272 Kolehmainen, 1941, p. 121. See also, Halminen, 1936, pp. 93-128.

273 See above, footnotes 262, 263 and 264.

274 Kolehmainen, 1941, p. 122. See also, Raivio, 1975, pp. 391-394.

275 See above, footnotes 168 and 270.

276 Kolehmainen, 1941, 111-123 and Raivio, 1975, pp. 282-284 and 373-394.

277 Halminen, 1936, pp. 120-125; Raivio, 1975, pp. 391-393; Kolehmainen, 1941, pp. 122-123; Daily Colonist, 30 March 1904; *ibid.*, 16 October 1904; *ibid.*, 21 October 1904 and J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, pp. 63-65.

278 Halminen, 1936, pp. 122-128; Raivio, 1975, pp. 390-394; Kolehmainen, 1941, p. 122; J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, p. 63; Anderson, 1958, p. 12 and Oberg, 1928, p. 35.

279 Halminen, 1936, pp. 120-125; Oberg, 1928, p. 35; Kolehmainen, 1941, p. 122; J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, p. 63; Daily Colonist, 3 August 1905; *ibid.*, 9 January 1906; Vancouver Province, 6 January 1906 and Vancouver Sun, 30 November 1953.



Chapter 4      Expectations Modified:   Sointula After the  
Collapse of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization  
Company, Limited, 1904-1940

This chapter investigates two additional aspects of Sointula's character -- an active involvement with socialist politics and the practice of seasonally migratory and pluralistic employment. Both were characteristic of the same period in the growth of the community. In the intervening years between the collapse of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company in 1905 and the beginning of the second World War, they were prominent forces affecting the decisions and actions of Sointula residents.<sup>1</sup> The ideas and aspirations which supported the political activities as well as those rekindled by the need to resume pluralistic employment patterns were firmly embedded within the community. They arose from similar roots as had the impetus for the utopian activity<sup>2</sup> and they lingered on within the community's spirit after the political activism and lifestyles which gave them prominence had waned.<sup>3</sup>

Neither the discussion of Sointula's socialism after 1905 nor the examination of the feelings and aspirations among some of Sointula's migrant workers<sup>4</sup> are intended to account for views held by the entire community. However,

both involved sufficient numbers of people to make them significant forces within the community.<sup>5</sup>

After the idealistic vision of a utopian community had floundered, Sointula was left in moral as well as financial distress. Approximately half of the original colonists, most of them supporters of Kurikka, had left the island. Among those who remained were many destitute families and some single men without commitments in the community.<sup>6</sup> The expulsion of Kurikka and his followers had brought to an end the euphoria which prompted and gave strength to the earlier activities.<sup>7</sup>

In the spring of 1905 Makela, the former secretary of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, took over as spokesman for the community's interests.<sup>8</sup> For all his pragmatic effort in the succeeding years, he remained a leader without charisma and imagination.<sup>9</sup> He was able neither to inspire confidence in the community's success nor in the individuals themselves during the early years after the collapse. Apart from his later contribution to socialist politics at Sointula, Makela's benefit to the community rested in expediting the remaining affairs of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company.

After a progression of events which ended in the eventual liquidation of the company's assets,<sup>10</sup> including forfeiting all rights to Malcolm Island, the remaining settlers were again left without a defined central focus.<sup>11</sup> Without the rallying strength of utopian idealism,

individual and community identity were without a firm foundation. The majority of settlers remaining at Sointula initially looked toward Makela's earlier ideas for a solution to their current difficulties. However, in light of their past experience within the Kalevan Kansa movement, some members of the settlement found it difficult to espouse them wholeheartedly. The new constructs which eventually came to define the politics of Sointula socialists incorporated aspects of their utopian experience and the legacy of their Finnish heritage along with prevailing popular notions about socialism. Among some of the more ardent socialists the enthusiasm extended not only to educating the members of their community but others as well. In preparation for this task Esperanto was taught on the island.

In addition to the central problems associated with individual identity and community organization the difficulties entailed in procuring a livelihood needed to be reconciled with the hardships which would be faced elsewhere. The majority of those who remained after the departure of Kurikka regarded life on the island as a preferable alternative to that available in the communities which they had left behind and to the alternative of beginning again elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> Despite the failure to form an idealistic and exemplar community the four years of Kalevan Kansa activity had instilled in some of its members a sense of self separate from others. The feeling of

uniqueness was accompanied by a belief in their destined capability<sup>13</sup> to create a more equitable community and by the knowledge that they had approached it in the Kalevan Kansa. As they had done in the two volumes of the Kalevan Kansan Sointuja, they again expressed their renewed enthusiasm in songs.

"Even though the clothes need mending  
and the stew needs meat  
the lengths of timber jump  
when the 'donkey' gives them a pull.  
The sawmill operates  
"Winetta" whistles  
as the machinery runs  
and as the men strain.  
This beautiful land  
will reward our troubles  
but the freeloaders and the lazy  
it will drive away."<sup>14</sup>

The goal of a harmonious Sointula built upon a legacy of Finnish idealism and socialist doctrine was tempered by the experiences of other Finnish immigrants in North America during the past decade.<sup>15</sup> After the failure of the Kalevan Kansa movement many of the remaining Sointula Finns were attracted by the seemingly more pragmatic solutions to social problems offered by a variety of socialist leaders in America,<sup>16</sup> Finland,<sup>17</sup> and Canada.<sup>18</sup> In British Columbia further encouragement was drawn from the continuous attempts to expand and strengthen unions throughout the province, particularly in the resource industries.<sup>19</sup> Sointula Finns actively supported such activities in the fields of mining and fishing.<sup>20</sup> Additional incentive was gained from the activities of Finns elsewhere in Canada. The Sointula group

became affiliated with the emerging left-wing political parties,<sup>21</sup> reading societies,<sup>22</sup> athletic organizations<sup>23</sup> and workers co-operatives.<sup>24</sup> In turn, they initiated a campaign to recruit new members and to distribute Finnish translations of socialist literature into the hinterland work sites of British Columbia where Finns were employed.<sup>25</sup>

Although Malcolm Island and its environs presented a bounty of natural wealth, it remained largely unexploited in the early years of Sointula since many of the Kalevan Kansa were inappropriately skilled and lacked the financial resources required to undertake substantial projects.<sup>26</sup> The useful skills and the accompanying lifestyles needed to be acquired, particularly after the local logging, saw-milling and smelter operations were disbanded. Fishing in the nearby inlets provided at least minimal cash and could be undertaken with minor investment in equipment and training.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, the close proximity of the salmon fishing grounds permitted the maintenance of the community, especially since the income from the seasonal fishing was often augmented by products from the small subsistence farms.<sup>28</sup>

However, the cash return from fishing in these early years remained relatively low. Therefore, in the three decades after the collapse of the colonization company it was increasingly necessary for Sointula residents to seek outside employment. For the younger and single men, work at coastal logging, sawmilling and cannery sites as well as at interior mines afforded an opportunity to leave the

island for short periods of time.<sup>29</sup> Young women also left Sointula to work at the canneries and at various branches of the co-op stores on the coast and in central Canada.<sup>30</sup> Work away from the community provided an income not available at Sointula and it presented an opportunity to temporarily leave the rigors of a bounded village setting. In some cases men returned with brides, often from other Finnish-Canadian communities or from Finland. Although most of the men who left Sointula to find work returned with some frequency, their lifestyle was regarded as threatening. It countered the necessary political solidarity sought by the ardent socialists and it failed to support the traditional and somewhat puritanical views of morality espoused by some of the island's residents.<sup>31</sup>

The discussion which follows examines Sointula ethnography during this period (1905-40) by making use of two sets of seemingly disparate data. The first consists of information about Sointula's involvement with radical left-wing politics after the utopian activity had ceased. The second is derived from the narrative texts of a local singer and story-teller who articulated the experiences of other workers like himself. Although expressed in different idioms, the political activism of the socialists and the transmission of individual experience relate to common concerns.<sup>32</sup> Both attempt to reduce the complexity and confusion which persisted in the community and which arose from the discrepancy between the contemporary circumstances

and thoughts about what proper individual and community life ought to be.

1) Collective interests and radical politics.

After the departure of Kurikka a few additional people continued to be drawn to the former utopian settlement by the strength of its earlier appeal.<sup>33</sup> The majority came from other North American Finnish communities and from Finland.<sup>34</sup> For the newcomers, adopting Malcolm Island as Koti [the home place], life was a harship. Apart from fishing, nearby employment opportunities offering recompense were rare. There was no ready accommodation on Malcolm Island for those who came and both arable land and pasturage were minimal. Climatic conditions were unfavourable for growing a range of crops.<sup>35</sup> Additionally, in the years immediately after 1905 decisive community orientation and leadership were lacking.

The economic security of the island's residents was further diminished when the Dominion Trust Company which had acquired the assets of the former colony abandoned its initial plans to continue the operation of the sawmill.<sup>36</sup> In exchange for their assistance in dismantling the remaining assets of the Kalevan Kansa some of the settlers were given the option of acquiring small plots of land at a minimal down payment.<sup>37</sup> In an effort to keep the community marginally viable some residents were allowed to cut lumber for their own use in the sawmill prior to its closure and sale.<sup>38</sup> Bitter feelings followed the foreclosure and the seizing of

the colonization company's property.<sup>39</sup> The hostility culminated in acts of violence and vandalism toward the creditors and their newly acquired possessions.<sup>40</sup> However, by 1906 the provincial authorities were assured that the Finlanders at Malcolm Island were complying with the requirements of the law and no official action was taken.

The economic conditions within the province at the time added to the difficulty of Sointula men finding employment beyond the island.<sup>41</sup> In order to supplement the small cash returns provided by fishing, men from Sointula rowed regularly between Malcolm Island and nearby camps and canneries where seasonal or construction work was periodically available.<sup>42</sup> The Finns eventually abandoned their attempts at lumbering on Malcolm Island for a variety of reasons. These included insufficient skills, poor equipment, inferior quality timber, lack of knowledge about entrepreneurship and distant and depressed markets.

However, the experience of Finns at Sointula since its inception in 1902 had indicated that it was possible to obtain individually, if not communally, a meager livelihood from the environs. The activities which could be pursued with Sointula as Koti in conjunction with the emotional appeal surrounding its existence provided a sense of community awareness and ethnic solidarity.<sup>43</sup> The awareness of being a Sointula Finn distinguished members of that community from those of the outside world.<sup>44</sup> However, the burgeoning sense of solidarity was progressively threatened



by the growing necessity to leave the island to find work. The necessary adoption of a transient lifestyle brought with it further complications. Away from the scrutiny of a critical community and from the mundane questions of common interest the newly formed solidarity was fragile. The moral problems related to transience, alcohol and rowdiness had been at the centre of the earlier temperance and utopian activities and they again became matters of concern. Kurikka's rhetorical admonition "What kind of Finn are we?" required answering.<sup>45</sup> His conception of the "new path" had not proved to be workable and now many of the followers he had attracted to the Kalevan Kansa activities were dispersed into various localities without the scrutiny and guidance of a central and shared objective.

Outwardly the solutions proposed by the post-Kalevan Kansa Finns at Sointula to the problems articulated by Kurikka were distinctly different from those of the earlier utopians. Their ideas were strongly anti-theosophical and predominantly reflected the philosophical perspectives of A. B. Makela.<sup>46</sup> He, like the majority of his former colleagues in the Finnish press, labour and reform circles and nationalistic organizations, advocated a more materialistic form of socialism.<sup>47</sup> Unlike Kurikka, who had advocated social reform through a change of heart and being, Makela stressed the need to first alter the nature of the prevalent political and economic institutions.<sup>48</sup> For him the route to collective and individual emancipation lay in the overthrow

of dominant institutions which he believed prevented the members of the working class from fulfilling themselves. He observed that only by participating within the broader framework of contemporary socialist concerns could the Sointula Finns correctly perceive the truths inherent in the philosophy. However, the second path<sup>49</sup> adopted by the new Sointula socialists under Makela's tutelage lacked the compelling immediacy which Kurikka's utopian vision had gained from its Christian component.<sup>50</sup> The new Sointula did not appear to be within ready grasp. Rather was it envisioned to be at the end of a lengthy process which encompassed the activities of people elsewhere as well. It also lacked the enticement of awaiting personal economic gains, a goal in which most Sointula residents held some interest.

Throughout its activities the Sointula local remained committed to the belief that their path to a more equitable society was intimately tied into the broader scheme of social evolution.<sup>51</sup> The Sointula socialists, in particular, attempted to foster and disseminate the new ideology. The prolonged commitment required to make the principles workable among themselves was not forthcoming from many of the residents. Sointula was not transformed into a model socialist community uniform in its views.

The Sointula socialist local remained exemplar in its expression of enthusiasm, however, for issues concerning national and international politics.<sup>52</sup> But its membership,

including Makela, failed to instill into the community the urgency which gave the Kalevan Kansa its appeal. Apart from the enthusiasm of the local, the community never reached its idealistic goal. The strength of the political ideology was partly consumed by the hazards involved in satisfying immediate local concerns. The growing popularity of socialist politics, while providing an avenue through which some of the current demands might be satisfied, was simultaneously regarded as threatening and impractical. In its most strident form it represented a contradiction to the growing confidence in individual and family prosperity and the uniqueness which some Sointula residents attributed to themselves. Elsewhere, other Finns who regarded all forms of socialism as immoral and as a betrayal of their heritage, applied pressure.<sup>53</sup> They were supported by political authorities which threatened punitive action.<sup>54</sup> The goal of a unified socialist community was undermined by a variety of internal as well as external interests.

For a time the Sointula local was a regular contributor to the socialist paper, the Western Clarion.<sup>55</sup> Through it, the local indicated its eagerness to disseminate polemic material in both Finnish and English to Finns and other workers in the province.<sup>56</sup> They advocated the founding of a separate and independent, though not rival, Finnish executive within the Socialist Party of Canada in order to facilitate more effective agitation against a "common enemy."<sup>57</sup> Additionally, support was given to the Socialist

Party of Canada, the Finnish Organization, the Finnish Athletic Association and eventually the Communist Party of Canada.<sup>58</sup> Funds were allocated for the construction of a hall and gymnasium on Malcolm Island. To Finns and non-Finns alike these structures were intended to serve as a utilitarian reminder of the depth of their commitment, as the communal living quarters had been for the Kalevan Kansa. Again, they tried to combine their political activism with other pursuits, more likely to grasp widespread and sustained interest.<sup>59</sup>

Elsewhere Canadian socialists tended to regard the Sointula local with both appreciation and apprehension.<sup>60</sup> They were gratified by the unanimous display of support offered by the membership toward issues condemning the power of religious and financial institutions. They were less keen about the founding of a separate Finnish language political group and about the chauvinism of some Sointula spokesmen.

The vigorous support forthcoming from the local never reflected the views of the actual community. After poor representation by the Sointula local on an important issue, the Western Clarion published an apologetic article suggesting that the meeting was ill-timed since the majority of the membership was away fishing.<sup>61</sup> To some it appeared that individual economic interests had outweighed the collective aspirations of the local. The incident in itself was reflective of the ambiguity which continued to influence

the affairs of Sointula. The perspectives represented by some in their private economic ventures were not reconciled with the aspirations of the staunch socialists. In place of the outward quarrels which had plagued the utopian activities, individuals and often families now tended to be content with primarily pursuing their independent interests. The opportunity to do so was partially facilitated by the absence of a definite objective toward which the entire group had made a commitment. Despite periodic reports within various newspapers and journals indicating that Sointula was the "Canadian hotbed of communism", support for radical left-wing politics waned and the membership of the local gradually declined.<sup>62</sup>

Continued popular support for the advocates of socialism hinged on the efficacy of their ideological pronouncements to at least marginally alter local circumstances. Although the utopian venture of the Kalevan Kansa had failed, the desire to create a more egalitarian social order had not. Led by Makela and others<sup>63</sup> Sointula socialists anticipated that changes in political institutions elsewhere would in part facilitate the reorientation of their community in a manner which would bring about their collective material well-being and a true feeling of brotherhood. In turn, they thought that the new cohesiveness and sense of identity engendered by the manifestation of their current perception of socialist life would succeed where the utopian venture had failed. Again they postulated that Sointula would

eventually become a model for other communities. However, to others in the community collective well-being was becoming a secondary consideration to individual prosperity. While the majority of Sointula's residents looked toward it as Koti, and saw in it aspects which they felt to be uniquely theirs, they had different expectations from it.

The former participants in the Kalevan Kansa regarded themselves as "poor settlers who had escaped the industrial centres and who were struggling for an existence at the neck of the woods."<sup>64</sup> However, they never reached a consensus of what needed to be done. Their enterprises in the pristine environment never extended in practice to undertakings of a collective nature beyond those they had attempted prior to 1904. Apart from a few necessary civic improvements and the construction of the hall and gymnasium no major projects for the common good were completed under the auspices of the socialist leadership. The co-operative store founded in 1909 remained co-operative in name only.<sup>65</sup> The modest recompense which was gained from fishing, farming, lumbering and mining largely depended on the personal skill, initiative and luck of individual people or families at Sointula.

The ambiguities raised within the group by the desire to participate in both communal undertakings and individual enterprises remained at the centre of Sointula's difficulties since its inception. It is clearly evident from Halminen's account that it permeated the majority of the activities

undertaken by the Kalevan Kansa at Sointula.<sup>66</sup> Despite numerous accolades to socialism and communism in the early chapters,<sup>67</sup> the final segment of his book suggests that the achievements of Sointula as a community are an aggregate of individual accomplishments.<sup>68</sup> Twenty years later in an updated account by another Sointula resident the point is made more emphatically.<sup>69</sup>

Fervent support for the radical socialist politics advocated by some members of the Sointula local was forthcoming only as long as the goals appeared relevant to the needs of a localized and transitional population. Progressively, Sointula residents became more involved in individual cash employment. Many secured work for long periods away from the community.<sup>70</sup> For these workers the resultant migrant lifestyle engendered a host of immediate concerns about individuality, family responsibility and to a lesser extent community organization. Unlike the collective dilemma which faced the Kalevan Kansa and to a lesser degree Makela and the other socialists, these concerns were largely confronted individually.

## 2) Collective interests and individual experience.

The early Sointula Finns were committed to the formation of an idealistic community exemplifying Finnishness, brotherhood and stability. In turn, it was hypothesized that these components would guarantee prosperity and individual freedom.<sup>71</sup> The "path" whether advocated by Kurikka or Makela required of its followers a confrontation with self

and inevitably led to a point requiring individual transformation.<sup>72</sup> Where Kurikka and Makela failed in their attempt to show a path to their followers others engaged the problem.

Among those were people like Laulaja Mies,<sup>73</sup> a singer and story teller, whose experience as a Sointula resident and migrant worker allowed the situation to be expressed in a different format. Although he assumed no direct positions of leadership other than that of a popular singer, his experience and that of others like him added significantly to the criteria which constituted Sointula as a community. Rather than formulating or advocating idealistic representations of community organization he added to the transitional process by which community identity is accumulated by stressing the necessity of evaluating individual experiences and the activities which they are based upon. The depth and extent of his insights are explored in the following examination of one of his performances in the context of Sointula ethnography.

In 1973 a corpus of songs was collected from Laulaja Mies at Sointula.<sup>74</sup> He, like many of his contemporaries from the community had been a seasonal and migrant worker prior to his retirement. As such he was familiar with the hardships encountered by the early fishermen at Sointula, and with the conditions which prevailed at lumber camps, mining sites and the towns and cities of southern British Columbia. While at the various job sites and at Sointula



he established a reputation as a singer and a story teller.<sup>75</sup> Consequently his skills were in demand at private and community gatherings, particularly amongst his contemporaries in the community.<sup>76</sup> The songs which were collected from him represent a gathering of material which he considered meaningful in relation to his past experiences and the community he called Koti.<sup>77</sup> By bringing a variety of materials together into a single unified narrative performance he assembled and articulated a collection of thoughts and memories which outlined his experiences and those of many of his former audience.<sup>78</sup>

The songs were recorded in Finnish and an English translation of the texts appears below. The translated texts provided the material for the subsequent analysis. During the translating process attention was given to maintaining as much of the natural poetry of the songs as was possible. The University of British Columbia computer program WCOUNT was used to verify the quality of the translation.<sup>79</sup> The overall impression gained by submitting the data to the WCOUNT procedure was that the translation was reasonable inasmuch as it conveyed the content while still preserving some of the inherent quality of the material.

Translation of Finnish-Canadian Songs Collected at Sointula,  
B. C., 15 August 1973 by Allan H. Salo. Transcribed in  
1974 by Allan H. Salo.

S<sup>1</sup> In my wanderings, I stopped at a hotel  
I went to see  
how the lumberjacks were celebrating.

When I entered the doorway,  
my shoes got wet with vomit.  
Oh the poor young man  
who drinks the poison there.

One of the loggers sat at the door,  
another was thrashing near the wall,  
the others tried to dance  
when Frank the Mandolin was playing.

They shouted: "Our money will never run out!"  
They promised drinks for all.  
They said: "Bring, girl, some drink  
so we don't die of thirst."

The hostess' face shone like the sun  
when for a dollar's drink she charged fifteen,  
she put her arm around the boys' necks  
and bid the boys to sing.

The joy only lasted about a week,  
when the pockets of the loggers contained no dollars.  
The boys don't feel like singing  
when they wake up by themselves.

When the notice board of the mine was quite blank,  
the boys were wishing for a drink,  
and they blamed society  
for one goes broke so quickly here.

We must not blame society,  
we must not blame the hostess who runs the hotel,  
let us blame ourselves  
and our lack of sense.

It is time to give all this up,  
so as not to lie down like the Russians in church.  
Soon we are not troubled  
they can dig graves for us.

S<sup>2</sup> While wandering about on Hastings Street in the evening  
there I met a pretty girl.

She winked her eye, with her hand  
closer to her she coaxed.

"Hey," whispers the girl,  
"dear you are to me."  
"For a short time all your own,  
it will cost you a dollar, not too much, is it?"

Then we went to the Empire Hotel  
there to order a glass or two.  
I fondled her breasts  
and studied every detail with great care.

"Hei," I undress the woman  
attractive and beautiful.  
I mount and thrash about;  
in love's hot torrent.

That's why I make love to her  
as the heavens burn.  
A dollar I stick in her hand  
and step onto the street.

But the woman has a grave disease  
'cankers' which are quite dangerous.  
Hell's whore, when so young  
she too, the French disease has.

Well, it can't be guessed  
even if you examine each hair.  
The next time for sure  
the more care you will take.

When you pay the medical bills  
your pockets become empty.  
It's chilly to always stand  
an hour to take a piss.

s<sup>3</sup> Once when the days were like summer  
we fellows sat thinking.  
Now it's time to make that trip to Alaska  
and search there for gold.

There were five of us in number:  
Flantta-Matti, Kauppi Heikki from Petroi  
Jakki Palsman, Norpakka  
and also me, Rannan Aapeli.

In good spirits and singing  
we left port for Seattle  
with plans of coming back rich,  
of buying rings for our flames.

Half the year was gone,

the boys at the claim had sweated  
 then one time we pondered  
 where, but where, can we have some fun?

Raa, raa taa, in the dancehall  
 even the walls were about to collapse,  
 as these boys in their turn sang  
 and their sadness and worries were all washed away.

Jakki, he sat and brooded,  
 Heikki went to comfort him.  
 Cast, cast away your needless worries, boys,  
 did we not pass away the night in merriment?

Jakki alone was sad at heart  
 and vowed to remain faithful to his wife  
 but as the girls flirted  
 Jakki Palsman softened.

As the morning started to break  
 the boys all pulled out their pockets,  
 for a half year's wages  
 not a penny was left.

Jakki, he sat and brooded,  
 Heikki went to comfort him.  
 Cast, cast away your needless worries, boys,  
 did we not pass the night away in merriment?

When from this we slightly sober up  
 we will open up a claim for ourselves;  
 it's for certain that the gold runs there  
 and life will smile upon us again.

Flatta-Matti alone struck it rich  
 when he married Persta-Kallen's widow.  
 There he got a squaw, very fat  
 and on top of that, eight children.

Of Kauppis Heikki it was said  
 that he was caught in the snares of an Indian girl  
 Jakki Palsman, Norpakka and me  
 we just searched for Petrakka.

I, myself started to take notice  
 that when searching for gold, copper and silver  
 the inevitable path  
 is to the diggings of T. Morgan.

S<sup>4</sup> Live your life smiling all the while  
 since it's pointless to be unhappy.  
 The biggest disappointment  
 at some time will disappear.

Sometime, still, the sun will rise  
and everything will brighten.  
Live your life smiling all the while  
since it is pointless to be unhappy.

The poplar leaves will not stop  
blowing in the wind  
Nor will my old sweetheart  
fade from my mind.

You cared for me and  
I cared for you.  
Yet it became necessary for us to part  
and my eyes won't dry from grief's sad tears.

Why did you come to tease me  
when I was still a child?  
You should have stayed at home  
near your good mother.

Why did you come to betray  
and bring me sadness?  
You should have let me grow mature  
and get older.

Live your life smiling all the while  
since it's pointless to be unhappy.  
The biggest disappointment  
at sometime will disappear.

Sometime, still, the sun will rise  
and everything will brighten.  
Live your life smiling all the while  
since it's pointless to be unhappy.

s<sup>5</sup> Just a wanderer am I,  
now then my songs I can sing,  
since neither the moon nor the sun  
as brightly, as nicely  
on my sweetheart's window can shine.

At heaven's shores the texts are kept.  
Where has that wanderer learned them,  
to read, to sing,  
to play and to drink  
calmly even from sorrow's bowl.

On the moss I take my rest.  
The cricket gives me a soothing song.  
A squirrel very small,  
rustling, nibbling  
in the morning wakes me.

A wanderer can't afford to stop and rest.  
 On his way he must rush himself.  
 Like nature's leaves this once,  
 kissing, listening  
 the wanderer's song is bewitching.

I wouldn't change my lot,  
 to make my home in a king's castle.  
 A wide open home I have,  
 on the world, on the high.

A wide open home I have,  
 on the world, on the high  
 the ridgepole etches the clouds.

The earth's flower is my sister,  
 my brother, my loved one.  
 Everything is calm and tranquil.

S<sup>6</sup> When we were dancing at Heikki's wedding,  
 with a concertina music was played  
 and with three star brandy  
 our lips were anointed.

"Halipati, hilipati hulipati"  
 from the darkened corners could be heard.  
 Girls from beneath their shoulders  
 I felt like tickling.

Alina was delightful,  
 her hips were fleshy.  
 At the third of these weddings  
 as a bride she bustled about.

"Halipati, hilipati, hulipati"  
 from the darkened corners could be heard.  
 Girls from beneath their shoulders  
 I felt like tickling.

S<sup>7</sup> An accordion and a hat  
 my inheritance happened to be.  
 What else would I a happy-go-lucky fellow need?  
 Reckless was my father in his time  
 but even more reckless is his son.

Of three girls father had the first love,  
 but I had more than I can recall.  
 "Heijaa," just last night I caressed her for the first  
 time.

When I had a sweetheart in my arms;  
 I caressed her for the first time.

"Hei," I knocked on the door of the girls' quarters,  
singing and playing; winning hearts.  
Laulaja Mies wanders always.

S<sup>8</sup> A ghost stood at Maryann's door  
and softly knocked.  
Maryann did not awake from her sleep  
until the key was turned.

"Is it my father that knocks  
or is it my brother Juhani,  
or is it my betrothed Vilhelmi  
who has come from far away?"

"It is not your father that knocks here  
nor your brother Juhani,  
but here is your betrothed Vilhelmi,  
who has come from far away."

Now Maryann opened her door  
and silently for a moment greeted.  
The betrothed, into the warm bed  
requested to rest.

"I am not tired from my work  
not from my long travel,  
but demand to take back that pledge  
I vowed to you."

"I will not take back that pledge  
until you have kissed me."

"I am unable to kiss you  
because I am but a ghost.  
I kiss with lips that are cold  
which death has brought to me."

When the rooster sang and the clock struck,  
then the ghost sighed;  
then the ghost sighed . . . .

S<sup>9</sup> Let whomever say what he wants  
surely things in Harmaa are prosperous;  
fencing is sold, delicacies are eaten:  
creamery buttermilk, with herring as well.

Harmaa has many race horses:  
stallions, mares, geldings  
with which they drive in the open and on the sly,  
those who have money.

Let whomever say what he wants

surely things in Harmaa are prosperous;  
fencing is sold, delicacies are eaten:  
creamery buttermilk, with herring as well.

One has cards with which to play  
the second has property in Rankinevae  
the third is a masseur, cupper and farmer  
and the fourth brews liquor.

Let whomever say what he wants  
surely things in Harmaa are prosperous;  
fencing is sold, delicacies are eaten:  
creamery buttermilk, with herring as well.

S<sup>10</sup> In the deep shade of the forest  
is a small wild rose;  
in the heart of the wilderness  
it lives in peace.

In there where the storms can't penetrate  
as the spruce forest makes a corral;  
quite by chance  
I found the wild rose.

You are like a wild rose,  
of all the roses the most beautiful.

I would forget everything else  
if only yours I could be;  
you are like a wild rose,  
of all the roses the most beautiful.

From its thorny vines  
it got its wildrose name.

When quite by chance I  
Was kissing your cheeks

You are like a wild rose,  
of all the roses the most beautiful.

After a summer's shower  
a flower most beautifully flourishes  
and its many shades displays  
as does the wild rose.

The flowers of the rose are delicate  
and I won't pluck them;  
in the heart of the wilderness  
it lives in peace.



The basic concern in the analysis which follows is the idea of Weltanschauung; of how a particular culture member orders his world and of how that order plays back upon those members who share it. In reference to the texts presented above casual listening brought forth observations about the lives of transient workers and those with whom they interacted. At a deeper level the corpus seemed to focus on problems of a more particular kind. The lives of lumbermen, miners and migrants, characterized alternatively by scarcity and excess, were traced to their inevitable consequences of poverty, recklessness, fleeting happiness and lack of well-being.<sup>80</sup> In this performance the content of the songs assumed a timeless quality as individual characteristics and personalities within them diminished in comparison to the broader issues which captured the interest of many of the listeners.

Other ethnographic information about Sointula during this period in conjunction with the content of the texts provides a means of understanding how Mies, a particular kind of culture member, communicated aspects of the experiences shared by others in the community. His performance invited talk and introspection among a varied audience which included contemporaries of the singer. Among the people present this aspect of Sointula life was carried over lesser and greater individual differences and contributed to a broader understanding of the situation.<sup>81</sup>

Some within the group recalled that traditionally

these kinds of songs were sung at assembly points. As such they provided a form of group communication in the community and on occasions at job sites, hostels, hotels and boarding houses. In such performances there had been a close discourse between the singer and the listeners as each reflected on the experiences of one another. In terms of the collective experience both contributed elements which subsequently redefined it.<sup>82</sup> The continuing meaningfulness of the songs rested on their ability to express matters, concerns and feelings current within the community of listeners.<sup>83</sup>

In this performance some aspects of the corpus are subtle and paradoxical in relation to other ethnographic information about Sointula. They appear to espouse values which are antithetical to those overtly advocated by others within the community. The activities of the workers in the songs threatened the legitimacy of many of the traditional assumptions about community standards and organization and about proper individual behaviour. As such, they resemble what Turner has called elements of anti-structure<sup>84</sup> which reveal the antithesis of convention, yet are intrinsically embedded within its structure. As part of the structure these elements assign meaning to various facets of an ongoing rationalization of an issue of continuing ambiguity. To generations of Sointula Finns and others, singers like Mies provided the medium through which matters of common concern could be articulated, considered

and, at times, brought to a different light.

In the following analysis the question of original or borrowed texts is of peripheral importance.<sup>85</sup> This performance by Mies is accepted as a creative act. In it a range of material from various origins was organized into a statement by the singer according to his thoughts and the perceptions he had about his audience. The continued popularity of these pieces of his repertoire is an indication of his ability to bring out perceptions, feelings and ideas shared by his audience.

The composition of the corpus was determined by his decision to sing about his own experiences as a Sointula resident.<sup>86</sup> Like a myth-teller, visionary and traditional singer, Mies is a seer inasmuch as he attempts to confront a problem or situation and to offer a critique of it in terms of his own experience.<sup>87</sup> As such his role as a popular singer in the communities which have formed his audience has been essentially religious. Like Kurikka and, to a lesser degree, Makela, he has been an agent for change concerned with the ordering of social conventions.<sup>88</sup> Through his insights others were enabled to perceive the situation more succinctly. The songs within the corpus encompass a discourse concerning an issue of wide interest within the community; of how life ought to be lived in terms of oneself and in terms of one's relationship to others.

If the questions habitually confronting the community

and incorporated in the songs are to be discovered the researcher needs to analyze the texts in relation to an understanding of the kinds of activities and obligations which constituted the affairs of everyday life. With varying degrees of success, the anthropological fieldwork encounter has provided a model for how researchers and the members of another community have been able to participate within one another. Further, the model has suggested something of value in a more general way. It has to do with the nature of communication and the transmission of ideas. With reference to the task at hand it is important not only to understand how specific kinds of information have come to be known by the fieldworker but also to understand how cultural materials are transmitted among members of the group who eventually come to share them. This permits some understanding of how varied individual experiences, articulated through a variety of expressions and performances, have come to define a broader collective experience.

After listening to the performance and talking to others about its content and about early times at Sointula, a number of internal tensions within the community came to light. Each, in turn, served as a beginning for further thoughts. The tensions were engendered by opposing notions of how individual priorities and community relationships should be ordered. Backwoods life became juxtaposed against community life; the stability of the subsistence rural against the Vanity Fair-like complexity of urban centres;

achieved aspirations against those which appear impossible to achieve; and marriage and continuity against fleeting encounters and impermanence. In aggregate these dissolved into a broader concern for stability and the individual and community responsibilities stability entails. The traditional values of backwoods purity, subsistence egalitarianism, realistic endeavours and permanent relationships were posited against a lifestyle in which definitions of identity and values appeared transitory.

It has been discovered elsewhere that, characteristically, northern European and Scandinavian song texts are often preoccupied with themes relating to community and kin.<sup>89</sup> Their plots revolve around the key institution of the nuclear family, and nature is presented as a sublime reflection of order in contrast to the ambiguities of culture.<sup>90</sup> The popularity of these stock themes as vehicles to explore the complexity of social paradoxes away from the traditional setting attests to the persistence of tradition as a factor in the evaluation of present experience. Conversely, the locality-specific information in the texts demonstrates the elasticity of the accumulated legacy. Together they reflect an ongoing process which continually redefines itself and in the process the nature of the community in which they occur.<sup>91</sup>

In the present investigation an initial thematic distinction is made between backwoods and community on the basis of the stock themes<sup>92</sup> mentioned above and on the basis

of conversations with informants. Through a series of images, descriptives and action words the texts provide representations of two possible and oppositional states of being. In the first the focus is on stability and the generalized ambiance of the natural setting, and in the second it is on the instability and particularized nature of community living. Ethnographically, neither set of variables derived from the texts and listed below (p. 189) accurately portrays a mode of living wholly desirable or feasible for many of Sointula's migrant workers. However, they do focus the mind onto the other activities and their consequences which have characterized the pursuits of many such workers. As such, they indicate the direction to be taken for at least a temporary solution to the dilemma. Inasmuch as the first situation characterized as backwoods appears impractical, the second designated as community becomes preferable in relation to the contemporary experience. With reference to the texts, the skeletal content of the two main thematic categories can be represented as below. They focus on the recurrent elements within traditional Finnish songs and provide the framework upon which individual performers often build their narratives. Within this corpus the categories are constituted by the following kinds of criteria.

backwoods

lumberman=miner=migrant=Ego/singer

community

copper, farmer,  
brewer, masseur,  
card player

wide, high, calm, tranquil  
 home in the open  
 bright moon and sunshine  
 comfort, rest on the moss  
 cricket's soothing song  
 bewitching, listening to nature  
 good spirits  
 self-sufficiency  
 songs  
 celibacy

delicacies  
 dancing  
 singing  
 weddings

natural riches

money  
 horses

The two substantially oppositional categories above, representing unity and differentiation of being respectively, are enjoined by a host of residual material dealing with hotels, bar girls, excessive consumption of alcohol and fleeting encounters and merriment, characteristics of the contemporary situation. These observations echo the experience of many migrant workers who as marginal beings straddled not only the gap between the physical realities of living in either the 'backwoods' or in 'community' but also the psychological distance separating subsistence and complex.<sup>93</sup> By examining the corpus as a refraction of the singer's experience and that of other workers like himself it becomes apparent that complete participation in either of the alternative modes of being requires a change in the constituents of self.

The process of incorporating aspects of organization defined by subsistence into daily affairs characterized by complex has been at the heart of Sointula. The confusion which surrounded the affairs of the Kalevan Kansa and later the socialists arose from an attempt to temper the second

by embarking on activities thought to represent the first.<sup>94</sup>

The song texts reformulate the ambiguity which arose in the attempts to transform one set of ordering principles into another by reflecting on the various kinds of possible relationships between men and women.<sup>95</sup>

Possibilities explored

men living alone in the  
backwoods with nature as  
their guide

men and women living in  
their native community in  
harmony with its traditions

men and women living alone  
in the backwoods

men and women living together in  
established communities yet in  
disharmony with the traditions  
of the larger society

Present Situation Among  
Migrant Workers

men and women briefly  
encountering and  
exploiting one another

The present circumstance characterized by women exploiting men and men exploiting their relationships with women to fruitless ends is mirrored against a series of possible though impractical situations. Life alone in communion with nature is impossible for men who are concerned with companionship, sex and the perpetuation of themselves in future generations. Men and women living together in harmony with the traditions of their native community had become difficult. In turn, the situation provided an impetus to their decisions to emigrate from the homeland to North America.<sup>96</sup> The prospects of single families successfully settling in the hinterland of British Columbia were dim.<sup>97</sup> Life in the established communities on Vancouver



Island had been unsatisfactory since there were no meaningful guideposts by which identity could be judged and because traditional relationships between men and women were impossible due to a shortage of eligible women. The imbalance between numbers of single men and unmarried women was a continuing issue in most Finnish immigrant communities with a strong moral code.<sup>98</sup> In Sointula it was of particular concern. Kurikka, in part, addressed the situation by advocating free love and motherhood in the absence of marriage.<sup>99</sup> Others shied away from the question and left matters to be worked out individually. Lomax correctly asserts that the nuclear family presents a central and positive goal in the lives of most northern Europeans but for those at Sointula it was not a goal to be met easily.<sup>100</sup> The difficulty of assuming a lifestyle reflective of traditional goals and values is played out in terms of the ambiguity which arises from the various kinds of relationships the workers have with women. Based on the choices available the desired state of being includes existence in a stable community in which traditional social values and objectives are workable.

A more intense investigation of the corpus was undertaken with the use of the computer as an investigative tool. Prior to performing the analysis with the use of the Plotanalyzer or Herofinder program,<sup>101</sup> adapted from earlier computer programs developed for content analysis,<sup>102</sup> certain basic assumptions were accepted. Among them was the structuralist viewpoint which suggests that a given corpus

of narrative material can be considered as a spiral or constellation of semantic observations around a pivotal issue. The song collection was then treated as if it were myth, capable of directing and provoking the listener to travel back and forth through a semantic universe, stopping to rest at inherent points of focus within its structure.<sup>103</sup> The analytic technique on which the above programs are based attempts to locate such point of focus from within the text. In turn, each point of focus is further defined by its precise context within the corpus.<sup>104</sup> The approach attempts not to rely on a priori criteria such as those of Thompson's Motif Index for example,<sup>105</sup> but to discover such information.

The initial phase of the analysis produced a concordance which defined the locality of the points of focus or units within the text. Subsequently the text was scanned in terms of the "gross constituent units" in order to establish or trace the bundles of relations which joined them.<sup>106</sup> The resultant data provided an inventory of the semantic fields encompassed by the texts. Additionally, it provided a grid upon which it was possible to map the larger classes of actors and actions.<sup>107</sup>

The mode of analysis reflects the influence of Propp.<sup>108</sup> As indicated in the sample of material below, the units which were derived are represented in terms of their function and as such are roughly comparable to Propp's dramatis personae.<sup>109</sup> Each unit is given with its description, its title and its numerical designation. The description is

derived from the earlier analysis and lists the attributes associated with each unit. For example:

Unit number or state	Title	Description
3	Lumberjack	male, spends a large part of his life away from community, makes his livelihood from the woods

The role of the researcher consists of providing the designations for the various categories, not in choosing the categories themselves. The number of dramatis personae or actors appearing in Table I below is less than the actual number of actors in the texts since some occupy similar actor-action categories. For example, hostess and bar girl are equivalents in terms of function and are therefore represented in the same category. Table I provides a complete list of the dramatis personae according to the format established in the example above.

Table I     List of Dramatis Personae and a Concordance of Their Attributes

Semantic State	<u>Dramatis Personae</u>	Descriptive Characteristics
1	Wanderer and Lumberjack	male spend most of their lives away from community make a livelihood from lumbering and/or live as a transient
2	Wanderer=Ego=Singer	male has spent a large part of his life away from community has been a lumberman, miner, fisherman and transient

- |    |                                     |   |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|
| 3  | Lumberjacks                         | male<br>spend most of their lives<br>away from community<br>make their livelihood from<br>the forest  |
| 4  | Hostess                             | women who exist at the<br>periphery of community<br>and who encourage and/or<br>accommodate sexual liberty,<br>affection and the over-<br>indulgence of alcohol and<br>social interaction         |
| 5  | Lumberjacks and<br>Hostess          | an association or relation-<br>ship between #3 and #4   |
| 6  | Lumberjack and<br>Hostess and Miner | an association of #3 and<br>#4 and #10  |
| 7  | Wanderer and<br>Hostess             | an association of #2 and<br>#4  |
| 8  | Wanderer and<br>Miner               | an association of #2 and<br>#10   |
| 9  | Wife                                | female<br>spends most of her life<br>within an established<br>community<br>an appropriate source of<br>affection, sexual gratif-<br>ication and stability;<br>presently denied by<br>circumstance |
| 10 | Miners                              | male<br>spend most of their lives<br>away from community<br>make their livelihood from<br>the extraction and/or<br>search for minerals  |
| 11 | Hostess and Miner<br>and Wife       | an association of #4 and<br>#10 and #9  |
| 12 | Miner and Wife                      | an association of #10<br>and #9   |
| 13 | Miner and<br>Children               | an association of #10 with:<br>jurally defined offspring<br>born within community<br>individuals who will<br>project your physical and  |

- social identity into the future
- 14 Wanderer and Miner and Wife an association of #2 and #10 and #9
- 15 Wanderer and Sweetheart an association of #2 and a female person who resides in community, who projects a potential for stability and to whom immediate sexual access is denied by their social category
- 16 Sweetheart and Wanderer and Mother an association of #17 and #2 and: a female representative of continuing community
- 17 Sweetheart female persons outside one's own family who reside within community, maintain the potential for extending community and to whom sexual access is presently denied by social category
- 18 Wanderer and Heikki an association of #2 and: a male who lives within community and with whom one has shared comradeship
- 19 Sweetheart and Community Dwellers and association of #17 and: individuals who have a sense of relatedness to one another and who maintain an enduring matrix of personal and/or social obligations a situation where sexual access, denied neither by category nor circumstance, leads to stability and fulfilment
- 20 Wanderer and Reckless an association of #2 and: male individuals like oneself (#2) or one's progeny born from encounters with #4 a lifestyle characterized

		by excess and lack and by an absence of continuity
21	Wanderer and Hostess and Reckless	an association of #2 and #4 and #20
22	Wanderer and Wife and Family	an association of #2 and #9 and: the matrix of responsibilities and obligations associated with kinship relations
23	Whomever	unspecified participants within the performance who are challenged to consider the semantic possibilities put forth by the singer's experience
24	Community Dwellers	individuals who have a sense of relatedness to one another and who maintain an enduring matrix of personal and/or social obligations

In the automatic analysis which followed the computer was programmed to scan the texts in terms of the various descriptives and to designate the relationships between the various units they defined.<sup>110</sup> The resultant data indicated three classes (designated as A, B, and C in the following diagram), each formed by groups of units with their relationships defined by numerical coefficients of association. The structure of Diagram 1 reflects the structure of the corpus since it delineates the units of substance and discerns and states the relationships which exist among the units.<sup>111</sup>



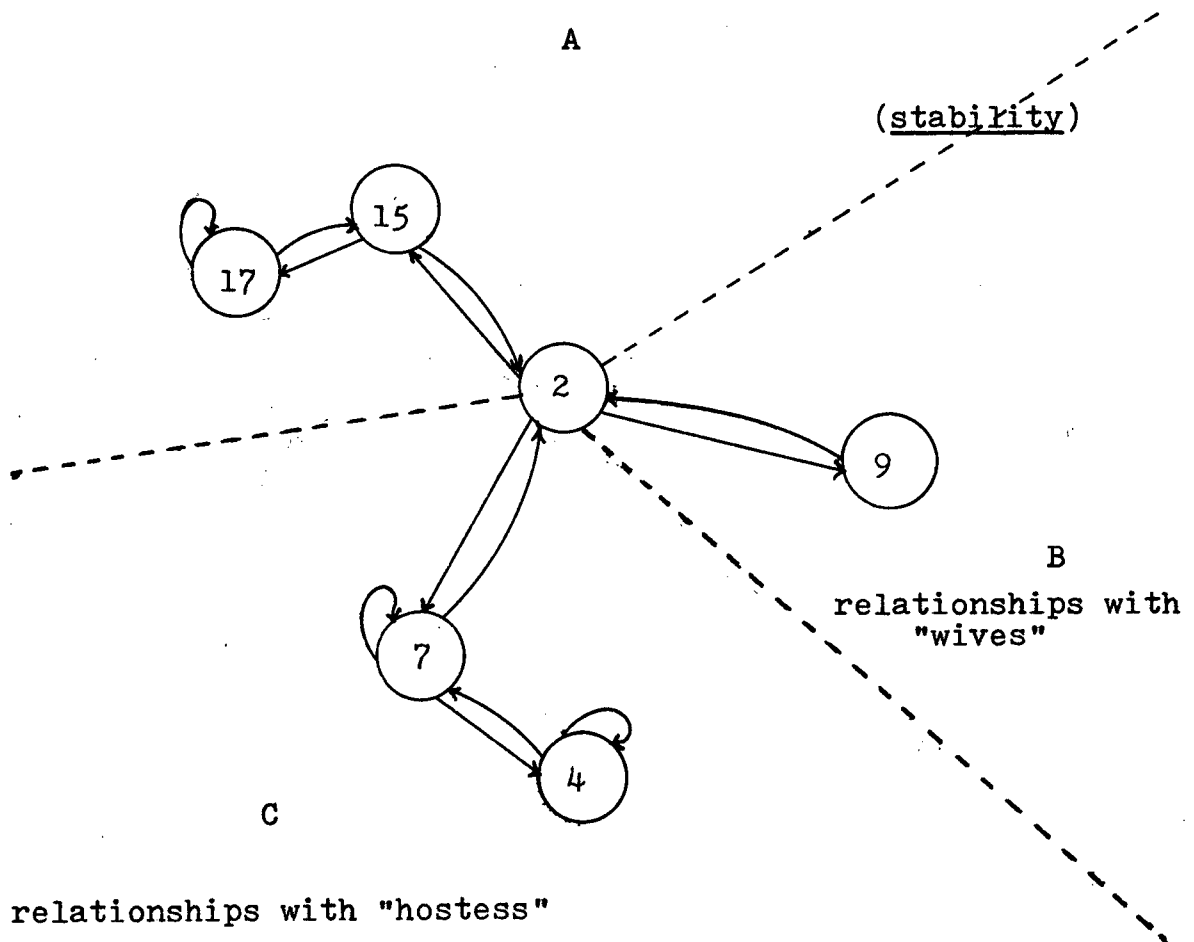
Diagram 1, above, is a representation of the numerical computer output indicating the relationships among the dramatis personae within the corpus. In addition, it shows the numerical coefficients or degrees of relationship among the various aspects represented in the singer's performance. The directional markers on the paths of relationships between the units indicate how the singer unravelled his personal experience and how he transmitted that to his audience through a series of necessary semantic considerations. For example, a consideration of unit 8 necessarily leads to a consideration of the situation characterized by unit 9 and so forth. All these relationships are encompassed by a broader class of consideration designated by the letter B. The three broad classes of consideration are separated from one another by broken lines.

Diagram 2, below, was arrived at by removing a constant numerical factor from the coefficients of association until the simplest representation of the structure of the previous diagram remained. In this figure the three major classes or areas of focus appear more prominently. And they designate the thematic structure of the corpus. From the thematic structure itself several preliminary pieces of information can be surmised.



Diagram 2 Thematic Structure of the Corpus

relationships with "sweethearts"



relationships with "hostess"

(lack of stability)

Diagram 2 indicates that:

1. The singer's experience, represented by state 2, provides the vehicle through which the various elements are presented for consideration. His experience articulated through the performance provides a critique of the situation which

others must evaluate.

2. As a comment on the experiences of some post Kalevan Kansa Finns, Mie's performance accentuates three areas of concern: relationships with sweethearts, with wives and other women.

3. All three focus on the relationship of men to women as a starting point for further observations. The first concerns encounters with bar girls and prostitutes, the second, relationships with unmarried girls who would ordinarily become wives, and the third, reflects on marriage and family life.

4. The tri-faceted figure readily divides into a pair of binary considerations since the categories of unmarried sweetheart and married women are differentiated from bar girls and prostitutes by the acceptance of a rigid moral code. The solution to the moral problem at hand rests in choosing between life in community or continuing with the recklessness characteristic of marginal activities. By following the various paths which join the units together it is possible to discern the points of emphasis within each category and to map out the implications of the various activities associated with them. For example, the category of recklessness designated by the letter C has five sub-categories of points of focus defined by the material presented above on pages 194-197 in Table I.

However, reference to the structural aspect alone is not sufficient for understanding how this corpus relates to

actual experiences. That understanding is dependent more on the exploration of the corpus' substance in relation to the ethnographic situation than on the representation of the array of its substance.<sup>112</sup>

Reference to the previous findings presented in the above diagrams permits a return to the question of individual change or transformation. The singer clearly is the medium through whom others can encounter aspects of their shared experience. Once a specific aspect of that experience has been articulated it is incumbent to follow its implications. When the structure of Diagram 1 is combined with the detailed substance of the texts and with other ethnographic information, a theatre of events and their consequences become evident.

Since Malcolm Island and Sointula did not provide the necessary conditions by which the majority of the residents could procure a satisfactory means of livelihood, jobs were sought elsewhere. The ideals of a growing community with a firm central pivot commensurate with traditionally acceptable values could not be fulfilled. Work in the camps, ~~carries~~ and mines not only entailed leaving behind prospects of life in a traditional and stable community but it necessitated a lifestyle where interaction with others was often momentary and unable to guarantee anything beyond itself. Notions of community life remained important considerations among these individuals. However, their realization was subjugated by the necessity of immediate and

pragmatic activities which engendered additional problems to be met.

Attempts at celebrating after arduous work in remote areas inevitably resulted in excess (collapsing the dance hall wall). Troubles and worries did not disappear. Instead, the men ended their merriment in a state of (drunkenness on the floor). Satisfying desires led to being (wet with vomit from poison drink) and the peak experiences of life were lost in the eventual (awakening from drunkenness). The smiles brought by the past day's jubilation disappeared with (morning's sobriety). The pleasures of dancing, singing and playing were characteristically irreverent and irresponsible, like (Russians in church).<sup>113</sup> The (continual rushing about) and exercising of hollow authority was rewarded by a lack of sense and belonging. Wives, sweet-hearts and companions to whom promises had been given were left (blowing) in one's memory.

Stark images from one perspective conjured truths from another. What appeared momentarily as pleasing and moral became their contraries. The women they encountered appeared as delightful but progressed toward dangerous (flirting, coaxing, undressing, manipulating, ordering). (Delicate) became (thorny). Attractiveness was a (fleeting) mood. The lure of their sexuality turned into a (snare) and they became bearers of (sadness and disease), (takers of dollars) and (Hell's companions). These relationships with women, rather than being the essence of community,

became the pivotal point toward disintegration.

While the singer's performance does not provide an image of ideal community and personal life in the sense that Kurikka and some of the later socialists attempted to do, it presents a means by which individual circumstances might be judged. In the past, in numerous other performances, the evaluation of the substance of the collective experience articulated by the singer invited comparison with its antithesis. The marginality of a migrant lifestyle was rewarded by a premature lack of physical prowess (standing an hour to take a piss), contact with (grave diseases), dependence on excess, troubled and (brooding) consciences and a constant return to (sadness, unhappiness and disappointment). After (flirting) with danger they were resigned to pass their lives away without (money), the crucial motive for accepting the lifestyle.

Taken as a whole the performance was an interplay of thoughts presented on various levels of complexity. The initial images of a cavalier and happy-go-lucky lifestyle were transformed into perceptions of futility. As such, this performance, and others like it in the past, have opened the way for an evaluation of personal circumstances. In addition, they provided the means by which new perceptions of "being", somewhat free from a variety of existent contradictions, might be perceived.

Whatever the solutions to the situation might have been, they have largely remained individual matters in their

details while ultimately sharing aspects with one another. In aggregate, these perspectives, carried in the minds of some of Sointula's migrant workers, have over time posited themselves against a changing ambience. Their validity has been rationalized in relation to a legacy of ethnic traditions with their inherent values and obligations; changing economic and political circumstances; advances in technology and services and demands from beyond the immediate community.

Although the contribution of people like Mies to the growth of Sointula has not been didactic in the formal sense, as was the case with Kurikka and Makela, it has added to a fundamental process. His presence facilitated evaluation. As such, it tended to refine the experiences of a myriad of individuals and to present that reflection in others as a definition of their community.

In Sointula the question of egalitarian organization versus hierarchical, whether fought out between capitalists and socialists, or spiritual socialists and materialist socialists, migrant workers and others, has inevitably led to greater participation within relationships characteristic of complex society. In the process the gap which separated Sointula Finns from others has increasingly narrowed and the distinctions have blurred. They have become more like their neighbours in goals and pursuits. Yet, they have maintained a degree of separateness, a perception of self accumulated from the experiences which document the

community's history. In the years between 1901 and 1940 the enthusiasm and bitterness engendered by the tensions between ideological points of view and attempts to implement those views have contributed as much to the character of the community as the objectives themselves.

Clearly the millenarian activities of the participants in the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, Limited stand apart in this process. The four years of utopian activity were all consuming in their passion regardless of the variance in individual perspectives. It was a period of great intensity as contradictory ideas represented in the beings of individual participants were brought to a point of confrontation. In its outward manifestation the utopian attempt failed. There was no collective transformation in being to be visualized in an idealistic form of social organization. Rather, the activities provided a unique and pronounced aspect in an accumulating legacy of experience which helped engender the rationale for future goals and undertakings. As such it set for Sointula's residents a sense of identity, separate from others; a rational objective, by which to judge contemporary matters of community and individual interest.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Halminen, 1936, pp. 129-133 and Raivio, 1975, pp. 369-456 and 493.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 31-61.

<sup>3</sup> Fieldwork notes, August 1974; Halminen 1936, pp. 110-122; Raivio, 1975, pp. 373-396. Several of the older men I interviewed were strong supporters of a socialist ideology and outwardly anti-church. Most had little influence in the organization and orientation of community interests.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the aspirations of migrant workers from Sointula will be discussed later in the chapter. A corpus of songs collected from Mr. Mies, a Sointula resident and noted singer and story teller, will serve as an introduction to this aspect of Sointula ethnography.

<sup>5</sup> For the significance of socialist politics see Raivio, 1975, pp. 370-482 and the Western Clarion, 23 March 1907; *ibid.*, 21 December 1907; *ibid.*, 30 May 1908; *ibid.*, 6 June 1908; *ibid.*, 28 July 1908; *ibid.*, 22 August 1908; *ibid.*, 29 August 1908; *ibid.*, 2 January 1909; *ibid.*, 3 April 1909; *ibid.*, 4 December 1909; *ibid.*, 18 December 1909; *ibid.*, 21 May 1910 and *ibid.*, 16 December 1910. For a discussion of pluralistic employment see S. Lawrance, "Sointula: Salt Fish and Spuds Utopia," Raincoast Chronicles 1 (Winter 1974): 12-17. See also, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, "Sointula: A Story of Harmony and Heartbreak," 26 January 1966 and Anderson, 1958, pp. 10-13.

<sup>6</sup> Halminen, 1936, pp. 120-129; Kolehmainen, 1941, pp. 121-123 and Jaaskelainen [Makela], 1907, pp. 68-69.

<sup>7</sup> Halminen, 1936, pp. 120-129,

<sup>8</sup> See Halminen, 1936, p. 125; Anderson, 1958, p. 12 and Kolehmainen, 1941, p. 122.

<sup>9</sup> See above, pp. 22-23 and 132-133.

<sup>10</sup> See Halminen, 1936, pp. 128-129; Daily Colonist, 9 January 1906; *ibid.*, 2 June 1906 and Vancouver Province, 6 January 1906; *ibid.*, 28 March 1906; *ibid.*, 28 April 1906 and *ibid.*, 30 May 1906.

<sup>11</sup> After Kurikka's departure the vision of the Kalevan Kansa collapsed. The remaining settlers were forced into seeking a livelihood beyond the protection of an ethnic community. Once more they were members of a marginally desirable ethnic population looked upon with some distrust by other Finns and the provincial government. For an indication of the kinds of complaints made about the Sointula



settlement see file 6174 of the papers of the British Columbia Land Management Branch, Ministry of the Environment. For a discussion of anti-socialist feelings among other Finnish immigrants see Hoglund, 1960, pp. 104-138. For the reaction of local labour leaders toward Kurikka and his followers see Halminen, pp. 48-49.

12 Ibid., pp. 124-127.

13 See chapter 2 above.

14 As cited in Jaaskelainen [Makela], 1907, p. 48.

15 For a general discussion see Hoglund, 1960, pp. 19-56 and 61-119.

16 Ibid., pp. 104-138.

17 See, for example, E. Salomaa, "A. B. Makela," in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 206-236. See also, H. Soikkanen, "Edvard Valpas," in *ibid.*, pp. 66-120 and A. Hautamaki, "Matti Kurikka," in *ibid.*, pp. 278-317. For an English language discussion see J. Kolehmainen, "The Inimitable Marxists: The Finnish Immigrant Socialists," Michigan History 36 (December 1952): 395-405. See also, Jutikkala and Pirinen, 1974, pp. 250-254 and 267-268.

18 See the Western Clarion, 23 March 1907; *ibid.*, 21 December 1907; *ibid.*, 30 May 1908; *ibid.*, 6 June 1908; *ibid.*, 28 July 1908; *ibid.*, 22 August 1908; *ibid.*, 29 August 1908; *ibid.*, 2 January 1909; *ibid.*, 3 April 1909; *ibid.*, 4 December 1909; *ibid.*, 18 December 1909; *ibid.*, 21 May 1909; *ibid.*, 16 December 1910. See also, Raivio, 1975, pp. 369-370, 399-448 and 493-494.

19 See P. A. Phillips, No Power Greater: A Century of Labour in British Columbia (Vancouver, 1967), chapters 1, 3 and 4. See also, Loosmore, 1954, chapters 1-4.

20 Western Clarion, 22 December 1907 and *ibid.*, 6 June 1908.

21 Raivio, 1975, The Socialist Party of Canada and the Communist Party of Canada, p. 369. See also various issues of the Western Clarion.

22 See Raivio, 1975, pp. 399-418 and 464-482 for information concerning the Political Research Groups in Canada and the formation of the Finnish Organization.

23 See Raivio, 1975, pp. 448-456 for information about the Communist Athletic Associations. See also, "For Thirty Years the Finns Have Maintained a Communist State on Malcolm Island," Vancouver Province, 13 October 1934.

24 Co-op stores were started in various centres of Finnish population in North America. See, for examples, Høglund, 1960, pp. 76-78; Kolehmainen, 1968, pp. 24-26 and "Sointula Co-op Records Fifty Years of Progress," The Fisherman, 18 December 1959.

25 Western Clarion, 23 March 1907.

26 Kolehmainen, 1941, p. 116 and Halminen, 1936, pp. 76-78 and 81-88.

27 Interview with Arvo Tynjala, Sointula pioneer, Vancouver, B. C., 1971 and Interview with Eino Ahola, Sointula pioneer, Vancouver, B. C., 3 September 1977. River's Inlet, Smith's Inlet and Knight's Inlet were popular fishing grounds for Sointula residents. Many would row the long distances there and use the equipment belonging to the canneries. Others had obtained inexpensive nets and skiffs from some of the canneries which had folded. Still others made their own equipment.

28 See Halminen, 1936, pp. 129-132. Both Tynjala and Ahola mentioned that Sointula men cleared land. The crops, predominantly root vegetables, were tended by the women and the young children while the men were away. Vegetables, poultry and eggs were sold to nearby communities whenever there was a surplus. Tilda Halminen recalls that her father sold potatoes and eggs at Alert Bay. Interview, Vancouver, B. C., 3 September 1977.

29 Employment away from the island provided not only minimal amounts of cash but also the opportunity to leave behind the rigors of a tight and temperate community. Work at Beaver, Brunswick and other canneries as well as at various branches of the co-operative stores from Prince Rupert to eastern Canada provided some Sointula men and women with an opportunity to interact with Finns and non-Finns elsewhere. For a discussion of the Sointula co-op see, The Fisherman, 18 December 1959; Anderson, 1958, pp. 14-15 and Halminen, p. 133. Information about employment outside of Sointula is derived from fieldwork in Sointula in 1974, interviews and conversations with former Sointula residents in and around Vancouver, B. C., 1969-1978.

30 Fieldwork informant, Vancouver, B. C., 1971.

31 The socialist local at Sointula felt that people who individually sought out cash employment beyond the community were "thick heads" and a detriment to the community. See the Western Clarion, 21 December 1907. Others felt that once the workers were away from the community they would assume the reckless lifestyle led by many of the immigrants before the Kalevan Kansa and thereby lose interest in

Sointula, politics and their ethnicity.

32 The second half of this chapter is concerned with articulating the nature of collective experience among a group of Finnish migrant workers. More specifically, a general 'feel' for their perceptions concerning individuality, community and order is gained through an analysis of a corpus of song texts collected from Mies, a Sointula resident, migrant worker and traditional singer.

33 A few people continued to come to Sointula after the collapse of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company. Many still anticipated finding a flourishing community or a company capable of employing and housing workers and their families. See, for example, Halminen, pp. 124-127 and Savela, n.d., pp. 59-74.

34 Others came to Sointula to assist on the farms, when there were large numbers of children close in age. Interview with Frances Halminen, daughter-in-law of Matti Halminen, Burnaby, B. C., 11 October 1977. The co-op store provided employment, particularly for young women from other Finnish communities. Some came from the Lakehead region of Ontario, from New Finland in Saskatchewan and White Lake in B. C. and married into the community. Interview with M. Peterson, Sointula resident, Vancouver, B. C., June 1978. Still other women came as brides for Sointula men who either sent for them or travelled to Finland to get them. Fieldwork interviews, 1974-1978. See also, "A Little Section of Finland on the B. C. Coast," Vancouver Province, 25 May 1927, mag. sec.

35 For example, tree fruits, tomatoes and corn cannot readily be grown. The soil conditions, dampness and terrain are not suitable for grain. For an early, fuller, though somewhat inaccurate report on Malcolm Island's agricultural potential see F. E. Leach, 1915, pp. D168-D170. For a discussion of the relationship between geography and settlement among Finns in North America see Van Cleef, 1918 and Van Cleef, 1952. Van Cleef's thesis is that Finns always settle in areas which geographically resemble their homeland, even when other available areas would seem to offer fewer hardships. Part of the folly of the utopian activity on Malcolm Island resulted from attempting to gain from it what it did not offer geographically or climatically. Interestingly, Makela's initial description of the island presents a model Finnish village of the time. See Halminen, 1936, pp. 59-60.

36 See Halminen, 1936, pp. 128-129 and "Commerical Fishing Saved Finnish Commune's Survivors in Canada," Columbia Press, 13 November 1950. For a discussion of the Dominion Trust Company which also folded a short time later see C. Hopkins, ed., Canadian Annual Review, 1915, (Toronto,

1916), pp. 715-716 and the Speech Delivered in the Legislature on Thursday, February 4th, 1915 by the Hon. W. J. Bowser, K.C., Attorney-General On the Matter of the Dominion Trust Company, (Victoria, n.d.).

37 See Halminen, 1936, pp. 125-126 and Columbia Press, 13 November 1950.

38 See Halminen, 1936, pp. 126-127 and "The Finnish Colony," Daily Colonist, 3 August 1905.

39 Even before the sawmill was shut down there were bitter feelings. The Marine Lumber and Trading Company formed by the Dominion Trust Company to run the operation was bringing in workers from elsewhere. See "Malcolm Island Change," Daily Colonist, 9 January 1906 and "Sointula Sawmill Has Changed Hands," Vancouver Province, 6 January 1906.

40 "That Alleged Battle: From the World's Greatest Battlefield, Sointula, Malcolm Island, B. C.," Vancouver Province, 30 May 1906.

41 Employment opportunities in the resource industries remained unstable. For example, the number of miners employed in the Nanaimo area coal mines declined steadily from 1900 to 1906. See Matheson, 1950, p. 90.

42 For support of the hypothesis which was based on fieldwork interviews, see, for example, Halminen, 1936, pp. 129-131; Leach, 1915, pp. D168-D169 and Lawrance, 1974, p. 16.

43 See, for example, Aino Ahola, a pioneer settler who reminisced, "'It was the centre of the world to me and the world was revolving around it.'" As cited in Lawrance, 1974, p. 15. See also, Columbia Press, 13 November 1950.

44 See, for example, Lawrance, 1974, pp. 15-17 and Anderson, 1958, pp. 2-12.

45 See Aika, 22 April 1902.

46 See Halminen, 1936, pp. 123-133; Salomaa, "A. B. Makela," in Soikkanen, 1967, pp. 206-236 and Hautamaki, "Matti Kurikka," in *ibid.*, pp. 278-317. These articles clearly indicate the philosophical differences between the two men.

47 See *ibid.*, and also the biography of Edvard Valpas by Soikkanen in *ibid.*, pp. 66-120.

48 In addition to Hautamaki's article on Kurikka in *ibid.*, pp. 280-285 and 312-316, see Oberg, 1928, pp. 6-20

J. D. Wilson, 1973-74, pp. 52-65.

49 The word 'path' was used both by the followers of Kurikka and the socialists to describe the rudiments of a new way of being.

50 Kurikka's utopian vision for the Kalevan Kansa gained energy from its apparent ability to transform individuals into something other. See Burridge, "Missionary Occasions" and above, pp. 91-94, 105 and 113-115. Conversely, the socialist vision appeared more remote since it was focused not on individual transformation but on altering political and economic institutions which would in turn bring about individual metanoia. Additionally, the socialist path appeared less personal inasmuch as it coincided with the aspirations of people separated by language, traditions and history from the Sointula Finns.

51 Many of the early socialists at Sointula were keenly interested in political events in pre1919 Russia and elsewhere. They recognized in such movements and in union activities a means to alter the balance of existing class structure. For a non-Finnish perspective on this period see, "For Thirty Years the Finns Have Maintained a Communist State on Malcolm Island," Vancouver Province, 13 October 1934, mag. sec. The early socialists were aided in their political zeal by a host of Finnish translations available from other organizations within the country. For a substantial bibliography see, "Kanadan Suomalaisten Arkisto" [Finnish-Canadian Archives], in Raivio, 1975, pp. 512-519.

52 See Western Clarion, 4 December 1909. "Malcolm Island gave 28 votes for Socialism and none for Conservative, Independent Conservative or Liberal. Can you beat that?" The Inter-provincial Convention of the Socialist Party of Canada held at Fernie, B. C. in 1908 submitted the following quote to the Western Clarion, 6 June 1908: "The Finns of Malcolm Island were represented by Comrade Rivers. If only our Anglo-Saxons had half the zeal of these Finns."

53 See Hoglund, 1960, pp. 110-120.

54 D. E. Smith, "Emergency Government in Canada," Canadian Historical Review 50 (December 1969): 439-440.

55 See, for example, Western Clarion, 23 March 1907; *ibid.*, 21 December 1907; *ibid.*, 30 May 1908; *ibid.*, 6 June 1908; *ibid.*, 28 July 1908; *ibid.*, 22 August 1908; *ibid.*, 29 August 1908; *ibid.*, 21 January 1909; *ibid.*, 3 April 1909; *ibid.*, 18 December 1909; *ibid.*, 21 May 1910 and *ibid.*, 16 December 1910.

56 See *ibid.*, 6 June 1908; *ibid.*, 4 December 1909 and 16 December 1910.

57 "About that Finn Executive," Western Clarion, 29 August 1908.

58 See Raivio, 1975, pp. 369-373, 399-428 and 430-448.

59 Minutes of the Finnish Social Democrat's Drama Society at Sointula, 1912-1913.

60 Western Clarion, 19 August 1908.

61 See *ibid.*, 22 August 1908. In 1907 a representative from Sointula estimated that there were 50 to 60 socialist votes along with a few remaining "thick heads". See, *ibid.*, 21 December 1907. However, by 1909 the local gave all its 28 votes to the socialist candidate indicating dwindling support for the socialist platform and a general lack of interest in current politics. "The World's Record," *ibid.*, 4 December 1909.

62 See, for example, "A Little Section of Finland on the B. C. Coast," Vancouver Province, 25 May 1927, mag. sec. and "For Thirty Years the Finns have Maintained a Communist State on Malcolm Island," *ibid.*, 13 October 1934, mag. sec. for such reports. For an indication of the declining interest in left-wing politics see above, footnote 55 and Anderson, 1958, p. 13.

63 John Rivers was the chief spokesman for the socialists.

64 "Appeal from the Comox Constituency," Western Clarion, 3 April 1909.

65 See, for example, The Fisherman, 18 December 1959.

66 See, for example, Halminen, 1936, pp. 59-116.

67 See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 18-21.

68 *Ibid.*, pp. 128-133.

69 A. Tynjala, "Sointula, Past and Present," in Anderson, 1969, pp. 17-19.

70 Interview with Arvo Tynjala, 1971; interview with Eino Ahola, 1977 and Laulaja Mies, 1973.

71 For a fuller discussion see above, pp. 78-81 and 92 and Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, pp. 3-8.

72 The visions of a new society postulated by Kurikka and later by the socialist leaders of Sointula could not be attained unless individual members within the community

were willing to subjugate personal interests in favour of collective betterment. Neither the Kalevan Kansa nor the socialists were able to create the ambiance in which it would have been possible to realize the required perception of self.

73 Laulaja Mies is a Sointula resident. In the past decades he has been a fisherman and worked at logging camps and in mines. He has also been a masseur at a Vancouver steam bath frequented by Finnish workers. He has vivid recollections about these times and about the experiences of others like himself. Taken collectively, these experiences have become the subject matter of stories and songs performed by him. In the past his talents were often called upon during social events at Sointula and elsewhere. As a singer reflecting the experiences of the audience as well as himself he has been influential in keeping the sentiments within the consciousness of the community.

74 The corpus of songs was collected during a fieldwork trip to Sointula. In the following fall they were transcribed from tape and translated from Finnish into English. In total they represent 10 different songs combined into a single performance along a central theme. In the analysis which follows the songs are treated as a unit with no attempt to alter the order or to correct the texts in relation to other known variants. All elements of "Finglish", a creole combination of English and Finnish, were left untouched and attention was given to maintaining the natural poetic structures where possible. For a discussion of the complexity of translating Finnish grammatical structures into English see M. Lehtinen, Basic Course in Finnish, Uralic and Altaic Series, Indiana Publications, vol. 27 (The Hague, 1971).

75 The role of a singer and story teller was prominent in Sointula, particularly prior to the coming of electricity and access to media from elsewhere about 25 years ago. In the community hall dances and plays were supported by local musicians and singers. In the tradition of the classic Finnish bards and the Kalevan Kansa this was a popular format for discussing and evaluating issues of concern. For a brief discussion of the role of the epic singer in Europe see chapter 2 above. For an indication of the popularity of this medium of expression among the Kalevan Kansa see Kalevan Kansan Sointuja, vol. 1 and 2, 1903. For post-Kalevan Kansa Sointula see the Minutes of the Finnish Social Democrat's Drama Society at Sointula, 1912-1913. For a more general reference see Anderson, 1958, p. 13.

76 The tradition has been offset by access to a broad range of media. However, Mies still performs for friends who are his contemporaries and at family gatherings. Although his abilities are no longer at their peak, he

remains popular.

77 Prior to starting Mies informed his audience that he wished to tell about Sointula as well as to entertain.

78 A. Lord, in his book Singer of Tales, suggests that the singer develops his performance according to the reality which makes up his cognizance by beginning from a stock theme or central issue. A. Lord, Singer of Tales, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature 24 (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 95-123.

79 WCOUNT computer program for testing the reliability of translations. University of British Columbia, 1973.

80 For a discussion of deep structure and analysis see C. Levi-Strauss, 1967 and C. Levi-Strauss, The Savage Mind, trans. George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd. (London, 1962). For deep structure and oral narratives see P. Maranda and E. Kongas Maranda, eds., "Introduction," Structural Analysis of Oral Tradition (The Hague, 1971), pp. ix-xxxiii. The list of 'consequences' are derived directly from the Mies corpus and will be discussed more fully later.

81 Lomax and Halifax conclude on the basis of a large sampling of folksong texts that the performance tends to focus attention, produce a consensus concerning a common issue and to inspire the group toward common action. A. Lomax and J. Halifax, "Folksong Texts as Cultural Indicators," in *ibid.*, pp. 235-237.

82 See K. O. L. Burridge, Encountering Aborigines (New York, 1973), pp. 221-224.

83 Lomax and Halifax in P. Maranda and E. Kongas Maranda, 1971, pp. 237-240.

84 See V. Turner, Dramas, Fields and Metaphors (Ithaca, 1974), pp. 196-204 and 250-271.

85 Songs 1, 2 and 3 are North American in origin and 2 and 3 are specifically related to the west coast. Song 4 as presented is a composite of three traditional Finnish folksongs. Song 8 is from a broadside ballad thought to have been created on the east coast of the United States. By treating all the songs as a unified performance it is possible to analyze them as if they were a myth. This method combines what Dorson refers to as the humanistic and anthropological approaches in an attempt to uncover not only meaning in "its hidden tensions" but also to present aspects of the original experience. New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia, 15th ed., s. v. "Folklore," by R. N. Dorson.



- 86 A. Lord, 1964, pp. 101-102.
- 87 See, for example, Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, pp. 3-11 and 155-163 and V. Turner, 1967, pp. 131-150.
- 88 Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, pp. 3-11.
- 89 Lomax and Halifax in P. Maranda and E. Kongas Maranda, 1971, pp. 259-261.
- 90 Semantic Analysis of Myth Seminars, E. Kongas Maranda and P. Maranda, University of British Columbia, 1974. See also, N. Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium (New York, 1961), chapter 9.
- 91 This problem has recently been tackled by L. Driedger and J. Peters in "Identity and Social Distance," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 14 (May 1977): 158-173.
- 92 Lord has made a strong argument for looking toward constant themes as indicators of traditional elements in folk performances. A. Lord, "Composition by Theme," Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 82 (1951): 71-80 and Lord, 1964, p. 71.
- 93 Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, pp. 143-145. See also, for example, above, pp. 6-7 and 28.
- 94 The focus amongst these early Sointula residents was on instituting ways of ordering community life which would remove elements of hierarchy. Theirs was the impossible goal of continued communitas.
- 95 In the emergence of new forms of social order the crucial consideration focuses on the relationships between men and women. The relationship of men to women is at the very beginning of moral awareness. See Burridge, New Heaven New Earth, pp. 143-145. Since the corpus is concerned with moral problems it is not surprising that the issues are approached through consideration of these various kinds of relationships.
- 96 See above, pp. 53-61.
- 97 Halminen, 1936, pp. 118-120.
- 98 Hoglund, 1960, pp. 80-104.
- 99 Halminen, 1936, pp. 109-113 and 120-123; Aika, 16 May 1902; *ibid.*, 29 August 1904; *ibid.*, 1 June 1904. See also, "Commercial Fishing Saved Finnish Commune's Survivors in Canada," Columbia Press, 13 November 1950.

100 Lomax and Halifax in P. Maranda and E. Kongas Maranda, 1971, pp. 260-261.

101 Plotanalyzer or Herofinder computer program. University of British Columbia.

102 See, for example, P. J. Stone et al., The General Inquirer: A Computer Approach to Content Analysis (Cambridge, Mass., 1966) as cited in P. Maranda, "Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis of Myths by Computer," in Mythology, ed. P. Maranda (Harmondsworth, England, 1972), p. 161.

103 P. Maranda and E. Kongas Maranda, "Myth as a Cognitive Map," University of British Columbia, 1973-1974. (Typewritten). See also, C. Levi-Strauss, "Overature," The Raw and The Cooked, trans. J. Weightman and D. Weightman (New York, 1970), pp. 1-35 for a discussion of myth as a spiral or constellation of semantic observations around a key issue.

104 R. P. Armstrong, "Content Analysis in Folkloristics," in P. Maranda, 1972, p. 177.

105 See S. Thompson, The Folktale (New York, 1967).

106 P. Maranda, 1972, p. 153.

107 Ibid.

108 V. Propp, The Morphology of the Folktale, trans. L. Scott (Austin, Texas, 1968).

109 Ibid.

110 See P. Maranda, B. Taylor and F. Flynn, "Words to Plots: Computer Analysis of Myth," University of British Columbia, 1972. (Typewritten).

111 Armstrong in P. Maranda, 1972, pp. 181-182.

112 Ibid.

113 To sleep like Russians in church is a popular Finnish euphemism for total intoxication. It is meant to convey a state of total mental and physical inability and vulgarity.

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Appendix I      Matti Halminen, Sointula: Kalevan Kansan ja  
Kanadan Suomalaisten Historia [Sointula:  
The History of the Kalevan Kansa and  
Finnish Canadians] trans. Allan H. Salo  
(Helsinki, Finland: Vapauden Kirjapaino,  
1936)

Matti Halminen

On behalf of the former members of the Kalevan Kansa

the author, M. H.

Mikkeli, 1936, Vapauden Kirjapaino, Finland

#### Author's Introduction

I, the author of this book, have not had any formal education. Instead, from a young age I have done hard physical labour. During the forty-eight years that I have resided in Canada I have participated in Finnish-Canadian temperance societies and other ethnic organizations. I was among the first here to begin to think about organizing a co-operative settlement for Finns. I became and remained both a member and a worker of the Kalevan Kansa from its beginning to its very end. Although it has been difficult for me to put these thoughts into writing, I feel myself as being competent to record these recollections and this knowledge even after what is a very long period of time.



I believe that this record will have historical significance especially since the formation of the Kalevan Kansa colonization attempt was the only one of its kind among the Finnish working class to create a collective brotherhood.

To us on Malcolm Island, prosperity and a good livelihood seemed promising. If we had had at the start as much foresight and practical experience as we had enthusiasm and the willingness to make sacrifices, we would have had greater overall success. But even with luck on our side, the co-operative adventure would not have been a decisive factor in the overall working peoples' struggle to escape the drudgery of wage labour. We would simply have lived our lives in a better fashion, away from others, and the rest of the world would have continued on its way. The general oppression of wage workers in capitalist societies would not have been of much concern to us.

Convinced of ourselves as being separate and away from the capitalist ambiance, we would have followed Kurikka's theme for the Kalevan Kansa.

"Go forward people of Kalevala,  
away from the drudgery of wage work!  
Your path goes toward freedom,  
servitude does not prosperity bring.  
Whosoever shall embrace the present,  
shall stumble as before.  
Whosoever for freedom yearns,

can from us attain a sense of brotherhood."

Sointula, 1935

Matti Halminen

### History of the Earliest Finns in Canada

Finnish immigration to Canada is still comparatively recent. It did not begin in a substantial way until the year 1880. Finns from the outskirts of Norway, from the vicinity of the Tornio River in Sweden and from northern Finland had settled within the United States at an earlier date. In Canada, prior to this date there had been only a few migrant workers who have not left behind any record of their presence. On the shores of the Pacific there had not been any Finnish settlements. Those few Finns who had come to this area were seamen working on ships which had come to obtain coal from the mines at Nanaimo and North Wellington for use in the shipyards and factories of San Francisco.

Within the United States there were at this time two transcontinental railroads to the Pacific Ocean and to the distant west which offered bountiful natural resources. In Canada there was a need to build a transcontinental railway. It too had a "Great West" full of natural wealth: the gold fields of the Cariboo, the potential for agricultural plenitude along the Fraser River delta, the existence of a congenial climate, endless and immense forests, fine ports for shipping to the Far

East as well as other advantages.

In the first years which this history encompasses they were already building a transcontinental railroad in Canada: the Canadian Pacific Railway, abbreviated to the C. P. R. Around the year 1882 a group of Finns from the southern and western counties of Finland came to eastern Canada in search of work. At just that time railway construction was occurring within the interior wilderness of Ontario and there was within Canada a great demand for railway construction workers. That this was so is given testimony to by the following incident. When it became known in Ottawa, Canada's capital, that there was a substantial group of Finnish immigrants newly arrived in the country and looking for work, the governor-general of the country travelled in person to Halifax to procure them as workers for the railway effort. So the story was told by the men who had arrived within the country at that time. They also told of how that honourable nobleman purchased and donated to them excellent rations: ham, cheeses and other delicacies. Of these there were such quantities that the men were unable to consume them on their rail journey to the worksite. The governor-general himself travelled with these men to the job site.

Upon arriving the names of all the men were recorded and later published in a pamphlet which encouraged other Finns in Finland to come to Canada and to settle within such an agricultural country. These men, it was said,

were employed by the C. P. R. and would soon earn sufficient money to settle as farmers in Canada. The pamphlet was published at a press unknown to me and the translation of the text was very awkward. Finns in Canada were asked to send these to friends and relatives in Finland. On the cover of the pamphlet was a picture of a prize ox and because of this it became known as the Kanadan harkakirjaksi [Canadian ox pamphlet]. It had been widely circulated in the Lapua and Kauhava districts of Finland in the year 1883 with the outcome of encouraging immigration to Canada.

The Finns mentioned above most likely did not come to know who that helpful travelling companion was, they merely gave him the title Ottawa aija [Ottawa Man]. Even afterwards he was fondly remembered by them. It is for certain that Finnish immigrants to Canada have not after this been welcomed to the country in such a fashion. The result of that event was that the C. P. R. and the Ottawa Man were able to procure still other Finnish workers for the railway. In the years 1882 and 1883 they arrived in large numbers from the southern and central areas of Finland.

As soon as sections of the railway had reached a state of partial completion, saloon keepers and con-artists gathered along the tracks, in a fashion typical of the western United States, to cheat the workers. From such primitive settlements grew towns and cities where presently the largest congregations of Finns can be found. Port Arthur, Fort William and Sudbury are such places. In

Port Arthur during these early times a Finn named Erkkila established a saloon which was the first of its kind in Canada. Drunkenness and the ensuing immodest lifestyle, represented by nearly every iniquity, were participated in by the Finns of that time. Places like the one in Port Arthur sought to encourage this in their time.

Around the outskirts of these small and larger towns as well as around the railway stations within Ontario, Finnish farming settlements began to form.

The dimensions of this discussion do not accommodate later Finnish-Canadian history. That will be left for some other person to write. In the following lines I shall simply put down recollections for those who in the future might be interested in the migrations of Finnish immigrants to Canada.

#### The Lives of Finns Living in the Mountainous Regions of British Columbia.

The first Finnish immigrants that settled within British Columbia as permanent residents came in two separate groups and as a result settled in two separate areas: some within the mountains and the others along the Pacific coast. Some of those who were employed by the C. P. R. as construction workers in the Rocky Mountains and of which there was a substantial number, moved to the United States upon completion of the construction. In November 1885 the track layers working from the East and the West came

together near Craigellachie station close to the present site of the town of Revelstoke. In the following year, shortly after the new year, the first train to cross the Rockies arrived at Port Moody on the Pacific coast. Two years later in 1887 the transcontinental train named Number One arrived in Vancouver.

In the beginning of the year 1886 a substantial group of men left Lapua station in Finland on their way to Canada. Amongst these were men who had previously worked on the construction of the C. P. R. in the interior of Ontario and who when employment opportunities had begun to wane had returned to Finland. This time they came directly to British Columbia to a mountainous region in the heart of the Rockies known as the Rogers Pass. It is a high altitude pass, where in the mountains a heavy winter snowfall sometimes reaches twenty-five to thirty feet in depth. As a result, there have been past times, during the spring, when avalanches have consumed entire trains.

The above mentioned group of men received jobs in this region as construction workers building snow shelters and tunnels out of wood and stone to protect the railway in those areas most endangered by avalanches. During the winter months, employment was to be had in snow clearing operations on the railway. On one occasion the men dug an engine as well as other railcars from beneath an avalanche, finding the engineers and brakemen dead. Whenever the workers heard sounds like thunder emanating from above the clouds and

along the mountain peaks they needed to run for their lives to seek shelter in the nearest of the tunnels which they had constructed in the previous summers. Somehow all the Finnish workers managed to survive except for one man, Matti Huhdankoski, from Kauhava who had been buried in the snow.

However, the Finns soon began to undertake railway work to the west of Rogers Pass around Revelstoke and Salmon Arm. Here the Finn, Kustaa Laitinen from Lapua, was appointed to the position of foreman, then section boss and eventually regional director of track maintenance. Finns began to be appointed to the position of section boss with such regularity that during the next forty years along the stretch of track between Kamloops and Revelstoke the majority of these important positions have been occupied by Finns. In the year 1933 there were thirteen such men and seven of them had come from Lapua. This western section of the railway has among Finns received the nickname Lapualaisten divisio (the division associated with the people from Lapua). These section bosses employed primarily Finnish labourers since there were plenty of immigrants from Finland ready to work. It was not uncommon to have the sons and at times the masters of landowning manor households in Finland now working for a section boss who in Finland had been their hired hand. From these people, primarily from the south and central parts of Finland, and more specifically from Lapua, began the first settlements within the mountains

of British Columbia.

After having first worked on the railway, these people began later to undertake agricultural endeavours initially at Glendon, near the present site of Salmon Arm at the western end of the Shuswap Lake. In time, there grew to be in this area several residential communities such as White Lake, Solsqua, Cambie and Mara. Now there are nearly one hundred Finnish households within this area. The terrain is suitable for fruit farming and at Salmon Arm this is practiced with good success; especially the growing of apples. The alfalfa which is also grown brings a good return since it is possible to harvest up to three crops per season.

Those Finns who came as immigrants, by and large, speak and read their native language and pursue written knowledge with determination. The younger generations which receive their education in English use it as the written and working language, although Finnish remains as the spoken tongue.

The day to day lives of the early Finnish people who have settled within the mountains of British Columbia in most respects do not deviate from the experiences and practices of Finnish people in general. In none of the areas to which the Finns first gathered was there any central or community activity--aside from drinking and fighting. These kinds of missing activity would have constituted a form of education whereby the spiritual and the physical



requirements of living could be better understood and met. This kind of education has to some degree already begun among many of the Lapua divisiona Finns.

### The First Finnish Agricultural Settlement in Canada

In the year 1886 at the same time as the previously mentioned group of workers came to British Columbia there was a Finnish real estate salesman in Winnipeg named Hendrickson. He was the former post master of Kristina, who now in association with Swedish partners operated the real estate firm. At that time the federal government was awarding land in what is now known as Saskatchewan to Finns for a new settlement. It was Hendrickson's design that this area be settled by Finns and it had already been named New Finland. On their way to Canada the above mentioned group of men who came to British Columbia met in Gotebori, Sweden, Mr. David Jeremias Kautonen, who had worked as a baker in St. Petersburg and afterwards as a farmer, store-keeper and restaurant proprietor at Kauhava. He had left this area without meeting his financial obligations and since the man was penniless, yet yearning to travel to America, these men took up a collection and purchased a ticket to Canada. Kautonen became the first settler in New Finland and subsequently began a land agency business. The next settlers to come there came from the Laihia area of Finland.

The History of Finns along the Pacific Coastal Area of  
British Columbia

A group of Finns arrived in Nanaimo via the United States in the early part of the year 1888. They had come to seek employment within the coal mines of Vancouver Island. Shortly before this time there had been a volatile gas explosion at the North Wellington coal mines in which a group of caucasian and an even larger group of oriental miners had been killed. Overall Vancouver Island coal mines were considered to be dangerous because of gas. This was the problem that had caused so many miners to leave to seek safer employment elsewhere and the reason that there was now an acute need of workers at the North and East Wellington mines. Since the jobs at these mines were advertised the newly arrived men quickly got the work they sought and needed. They then wrote to friends about the favourable job prospects and so the number of Finns soon began to increase in these parts.

That general misfortune which had accompanied Finns whenever they came together as a group both in Canada as well as in the United States, namely alcoholism, was a major curse of the North Wellington miners' community where a substantial number of them had congregated. Gang fights and drunkenness were everyday fare during holidays as well as during the working week. Alcoholism was encouraged there as elsewhere in those times through the practice of locating taverns near each work site. Here

that encouragement was further enhanced by the fact that nearby were two breweries from which wagon deliveries were made to the camps each day. The purchaser had the option of putting off payment until the mine payday which came once a month. This practice aided in the progression from tavern drinking to home consumption to an overall abuse of alcohol. On holidays and on Sundays social life was pitiful.

This is how life was within the Vancouver Island Finnish community prior to the establishment of the temperance society. It is understandable that it would be this way when a people do not have the ability to communicate with others within a society of 'foreigners'. The only recourse left is to seek the company of one's cultural peers, but when there are no issues of central importance nor basic issues about which one can become interested, the natural path is to alcohol which was so readily available and which when it takes hold has a way of relieving burdens.

In the United States in the state of Michigan there had been established a Finnish cultural and temperance brotherhood society which several outlying communities had joined. From that headquarters were sent charters for franchises to newly formed societies.

When the miners at North Wellington had gathered a substantial group of members, and when even among the drinkers there had arisen the question of establishing a temperance society, it was decided on February 5, 1890 to

found the Lannen Rusko society. It was the first such association in British Columbia and in all of Canada. At the founding meeting sixteen members joined and the officers were recorded in the charter: Jaako Kantelien, president; Frank Arvelin, vice-president; Johan Sappen, secretary; Oskari Heenonen, treasurer; Jaako Haapala, secretary-treasurer; Aukusti Perttjarvi, organizer. The group was small, but a start had been made, the first step taken toward a better future. The interest and enthusiasm which the members of that society exhibited forecast it a promising future. It can be said here that when a person grasps hold of the proper perspective of life's higher virtues he will most often direct to his new undertakings the same vigour which he had formerly applied to less constructive activities. In the past this became very evident within the temperance movement and later that enthusiasm showed itself in labour union participation.

Earlier there had been at North Wellington a disaster in which a group of Chinese workers had been killed. They had left behind a collection of dilapidated buildings, namely "Chinatown", and, since the company provided no other forms of accommodation, the Finnish miners reconditioned these structures for themselves as homes. One of these buildings was repaired, cleaned and decorated for use as the meeting hall of the Lannen Rusko. It was a very modest place to be called a hall but the meetings held there were so brotherly and engrossing that even after forty years

they still linger in the memory.

I was not among those who founded the society but joined shortly after its establishment. The life span of the Lannen Rusko in North Wellington, however, was short. Early in the spring a miners' strike began and the company turned all those who would not go to work out of their homes. For that reason all the Finns left and the hall was abandoned, although the role of the society did not cease to be. When some of the miners took jobs at the East Wellington mine, meetings were held informally at the homes of the various workers; sometimes at a single man's quarters and at other times in family homes. Shortly thereafter, however, the Nanaimo mining company began to increase the number of their employees and in anticipation of better wages many workers moved there. Lannen Rusko then moved to Nanaimo where it prospered into the first years of this century.

When the Wellington strike was over and there was a shortage of workers, Finns once again began to settle there. Once again the same sort of social life ensued, drunkenness with its associated vices greatly prospered.

It was during this time that we gathered on one occasion in the upstairs of the home of Jaakko Rajala and established the Allotar society on October 11, 1891. With the founding of this society there arose within the history of Vancouver Island Finns a new epoch, the time of spiritual awakening. To house the center we constructed a

large and attractive meeting hall with a reading room and, with the assistance of the Lannen Rusko, we began a Finnish language library. As the desire to read increased, library books were exchanged with Lannen Rusko to the fulfilment of the readers. Amongst ourselves the reading of books was thoroughly encouraged. Soon the major considerations constituting life's problems became the subjects of conversations and scrutiny. We began to talk about and evaluate the kind of life we lived as well as the general position in which workers found themselves. As a result of this kind of social advancement, Finns began to awaken recognition and receive praise even among the thinking English speaking people. We seldom needed to hear the curse "Bad Russian Finns" as we had before.

In 1893 a brass band was founded at North Wellington. During the summer of 1896 the Victoria, Nanaimo, Vancouver, New Westminster and Wellington chapters of an English speaking temperance society organized a major inspirational rally in an outdoor park in Nanaimo. At great expense a Nanaimo band had been commissioned to play for a short while and the Finnish band, comprised mainly of temperance men, offered and went to play for free. This may or may not be considered as inconsequential self-appraisal but it made the emotions rise to see and hear the outstanding expression of enthusiasm into which the thousands strong temperance congregation burst as the Finnish band marched into the festival grounds. Throughout the English audience praise

could be heard, especially among those immediate to the grounds. Let this be an indication of how even temperance societies could reorient the direction of lives amongst Vancouver Island residents of the time.

Once again it is necessary to speak about the hard learned lessons that the Finnish workers at the North Wellington mines had to learn and experience. Finns as well as other miners had established for themselves some comfortable dwellings as well as a meeting hall for the Allotar society. As the coal seams became depleted around the turn of the century, the owner of the mines, the premier of British Columbia, who was later to become lieutenant-governor and multi-millionaire, James Dunsmuir, began to mine for coal at a place twelve miles away known as the Extension mines. The workers who sought employment there dismantled their board-constructed homes and carried the materials with them to rebuild on lots rented from a private landowner. Soon after, that same millionaire decided to found a new town on the shores of Oyster Harbour where the Extension coal was loaded onto ships. As a result, he decreed that all the Extension miners who wished to continue working for him must move to live in the new town which he named Ladysmith as a memorial to the Boer War. Once again the miners were obligated to dismantle their homes as directed and to purchase lots from Mr. Dunsmuir at high prices. If anything can teach a thinking man to despise subservience and to escape from beneath despotic

conditions, it is recollections about events like those mentioned above and other such bitter lessons. This sort of high-handedness altered their thinking to the kinds of dreams which became a reality for the Kalevan Kansa at Sointula.

### The History of the Kalevan Kansa

Three men arrived at Extension from Queensland, Australia, near the beginning of the year 1900. They were named Aatami Korhonen, Mr. Jokinen and Heikki Kilpelainen, the latter of whom I came to know. He carried with him several pamphlets authored by Matti Kurikka which he offered to me to read. Upon reading these pamphlets it became clear to me that Matti Kurikka was sympathetic to the hardships of workers and was willing to fight for their rights. These sentiments became evident to us despite all the Finnish newspaper articles to which we had had access and which had spoken disparagingly about his undertakings in Finland and Australia.

Since there had been among us, the Finnish miners on Vancouver Island, a desire to begin farming as a mode of livelihood and to escape the unhealthy and dangerous conditions of mine work, I wrote a letter to Matti Kurikka at the Australian address supplied to me by Kilpelainen. In the letter I explained to him all the advantages that this country could offer in terms of natural resources, climate, etc. and encouraged him to come to British Columbia to assist us in the founding of a Finnish settlement. I



received, in the beginning of July, the following reply from Kurikka.

June 7, Mareebossa

I was just lying fatigued in bed after strenuous work at Uuden Chilligaen when your letter of April 8th arrived. On the same occasion I received two other letters from Finland, both of which urged me to return to the homeland and were accompanied by a promise to pay passage and expenses. But, I shall announce right here that your letter enthused me considerably more than did the other two despite the fact that they were very interestingly and fetchingly written. I, as you know, can no longer even conceive of travelling to a Finland dominated by a Russian pirate government except in the company of cannons and mauser rifles. Freedom to me is more precious than anything else, but it is precisely this which is currently wanting in Finland.

Still, taken from another perspective, my dalliance here in Australia has begun to become increasingly distasteful. What therefore is the point of remaining here in Queensland when brigandage is gaining control here as well. The difference between this land and Finland is enormous, since if freedom exists anywhere, it exists here. However, degradation accompanies freedom and cruelty accompanies alcoholism to such an extent that all attempts at joining this trashy society have begun to seem repulsive. The founding of a separate settlement appears impossible since those few Finns who have arrived here are forced to either struggle with adversity or do not comprehend the profound importance of establishing their own community. Your letter penned in a trustworthy manner by a Finn brings up for me a new opportunity in the future to gather my beloved countrymen, who are like scattered materials, into one place. If we can succeed in establishing one place, with a strong Finnish center in that vast west, even the scattered materials will come together like the parts of a nervous system. For that purpose I am ready to leave Australia and to come to be there among you. But, by what means might I get there, since I am as poor as a church rat--despite the fact that we have worked here even beyond our physical capacities. There are a few people here with money but it would be difficult for me to arrange for a loan from them since I have no knowledge of when I might repay them. If by some means you were able to procure for me the travelling expenses, I would be prepared to get underway immediately and to give myself solely to

the service of founding that community. In the beginning, if it becomes necessary to earn money, I am prepared to do work of any kind since I have discarded all the mannerisms of the upper classes in Helsinki. Now I have hands as calloused as anyone, which is the lot of the working man. Let me bestow upon you all the most heartfelt greetings and my desire to be with you to plant the seed of betterment from which bountiful crops shall rise for the joy of humanity and for the glory of Finland.

Your friend  
Matti Kurikka

Upon receiving this reply our first task was to undertake the collection of money to pay for Kurikka's passage from Australia to Nanaimo. In a short while the collection accumulated one hundred and twenty-five dollars and this sum was sent to Kurikka without delay. Hereafter, Nanaimo became known as the founding site of the Kalevan Kansa.

Having received the money that we sent, Kurikka arrived in Nanaimo the following August. He quickly became familiar with the Finnish population and specifically with those men who became the founders of the Kalevan Kansa. Kurikka's talks at the temperance hall which were held in the evenings were very intriguing. The first of these talks was held at the Aallotar hall, the second at the Extension temperance hall and the third at Nanaimo at the Lannen Rusko hall where a church service was being held. Except for the talks which were free and open to all and given at the society halls, Kurikka did not seem to have any other particular skills. In private conversations which we all followed with great care, Kurikka made clear his ideas about the new settlement. The idea of founding a colony and bringing

together a group who would live on the bounty of the land had been discussed earlier among friends. There had been some talk about a co-operative communal endeavour before Kurikka's arrival. However, he had a fully formulated plan about which he had evidently thought for some time. Through his explanation the idea immediately seemed workable and practical. It was formulated in principle on the basis of a stock company--a concept which was in agreement with what we had earlier conceived such a venture to be. Although later, and especially at Malcolm Island, it seemed that the idea could not be made workable. Those early schemes came to appear altogether impossible. This was so because outsiders came to the co-operative community with no finances to pay the membership dues and because many such people came with the added burden of large families. As a matter of circumstance the co-operative was forced to support the idea of a large communal house. This idea of a commune was for many something unthought of but with Kurikka's encouragement it appeared practical and imaginative. People always wish something better in the future for themselves although they often become disillusioned. A person who never makes mistakes is not very intelligent, but a person who learns from his errors is intelligent.

As one travels back in his mind to those times some thirty years ago he must agree that the founding of the Kalevan Kansa was for us at that time a historically significant event--to progress from the old to the new, from

falsehood to truth and from servitude to freedom. Those people who over forty years ago came here as immigrants from Finland, and who had grown up under the strict confines of rural life, learned to respect religion and to look upon wrong doing and dishonesty as ignoble. When this sort of honest peasant comes to a new environment, with a new mode of life, which is altogether different from the one he left, he does not know anything at all about socialism or communism. However, when he is forced by the accepted practice to see the pressures exerted by money in all facets, he is obliged to consider, to compare and to evaluate. Before long he comes to recognize shortcomings within the social order. This is how an honest working person without consciously knowing it becomes a socialist.

The discussion previously undertaken does not yet fully explain the hardships of life that the miners were forced to experience within the mines of British Columbia's largest employer of the time. He was the exact person who in part motivated the founders of the Kalevan Kansa to become defiant against drudgery and despotic arbitrariness. To fully understand one has to experience the life of a miner, to know the toil and burdensomeness of descending into the bottomless jaws, never knowing whether one will surface alive or dead or badly injured to live the rest of one's life a cripple at the mercy of others. Still to be mentioned is the oppression under which the miners lived. They were not allowed to have any organization or union

which would have alerted them to think about matters of vital importance and to recognize the value of associations, of one's own strengths and of group solidarity. There, the peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia were represented, encompassing the races from white to yellow and to black as well. Need it be stated that in the midst of such a group morale was not very high and honesty had become a hindrance to advancement since everyone was fighting for their own self-interest against those of others. Under such conditions cunning and low morality are advantageous qualities. I suppose that the mixture of races was encouraged so that the workers would remain separate in their interests and not form associations. This was the general experience of life among the immigrant miners in the last years of the past century and in the beginning of this one in the mines of British Columbia's most well-to-do man, premier and lieutenant-governor. A small statement needs to be made of the perspectives adopted by certain of the white races, chiefly the English, who thought no one else to be white (i. e. equal to them) no matter how white their skins might have been.

At that time the possibility of work outside the mines was minimal since the production of wood products was at the beginning stages and on a small scale. The Chinese, Japanese and the Hindus had taken on most of the surface jobs and had taken over several mines as well. I can recall from my own experience of forty-five years ago how I pushed

a lumber wagon at a sawmill with a fellow worker who was Chinese. I received as wages a dollar a day in addition to my room and board, but the Chinese man received only a dollar from which he needed to pay for his food and accommodation.

From the above account one can get an idea of the tribulations of the immigrant wage-worker who did not have a language facility. But what were the possibilities to save oneself from this situation and particularly from the mines? How could one set out alone or in a small group with limited resources, financial and otherwise into that rugged environment and wilderness away from the advantages of present day conveniences to bring up a family far from the most elementary of educational facilities? Not even the alluring feeling felt by those who know the majesty of British Columbia's natural setting can make the strain on the energies of a single man easy if he were to try to establish a home there, not even if he were to drop from his mind the yearning for all the pleasantries associated with community life. But, now that the idea had been awakened, it seemed both possible and workable to join in with a larger group to begin a co-operative whose strength would be based on communal labour. A home could be built for all its members based on the idea of a collective where the interests of one and all would in like fashion be guaranteed. A place where the labour of any single individual would not be made into a market product and where workers could centralize and develop those virtues and values which prevent the instincts

of self-preservation from generating animalistic avarice. These same ideals had long before been conceived by Robert Owen, Fourier and other founders of socialistic communities in the United States. They sought the same as we tried to achieve on Malcolm Island. We deceived ourselves as did they, but in spite of our and their mistakes and deceptions these same experiments are tried sometimes here and at other times there.

As mentioned earlier, Kurikka at first had no special tasks but to hold open talks and speeches to introduce people to his ideas. This he did at the evening meetings of the temperance societies. For a time he taught English to the Finnish miners at Extension mine and later he undertook a trip to the United States to Astoria, Oregon. There he came into contact with Dr. Rosenberg who published a local Finnish language newspaper entitled the Lannetar. Upon his return he settled at Nanaimo.

### Finding Land for the Kalevan Kansa

In the meantime we searched for and made inquiries about obtaining a tract of land for the settlers. None of the pieces on offer pleased us since they were so expensive that the amount of money needed for a piece of land sufficiently large would have been more than our resources could carry. For this reason our thoughts turned toward obtaining crown land. We decided to turn our backs on the land speculators and to attempt to deal with the government.

In that capacity Kurikka and I departed for Victoria, the capital of British Columbia, in the spring of 1901 to inquire about government lands. The next day we went to the parliament buildings to speak with the Minister of Lands and Labour. He greeted us in a cordial fashion and seemed quite agreeable when we had presented our purpose. On our departure from the parliament buildings, an elderly guard, an old and kindly gentleman, brought us a lap full of books and maps from which information could be gotten about all the available lands along the coastal areas of British Columbia.

Since at this time I was not working in the mines, I had ample opportunity to scrutinize these papers. Among them was a book whose title in Finnish would be Rannikko-matka. In it accounts were given of the shipping routes along which all the ships travelled to the north, all the way to Alaska. We carefully studied the lands available on both sides of this channel: the topography, the forested areas, the tree species, the mineral deposits, etc. The vicinity around Malcolm Island [Malkosaari] was designated as the prime agricultural area in these parts. From the map I immediately found the island and discovered it to lie between the larger Vancouver Island and the mainland. It was very near the shipping lanes and was of appropriate size for the Kalevan Kansa. That island we must attain for our settlers I immediately thought--we must try to get it right away. I hastened to inform Kurikka of the discovery as well



as the rest of the board of directors of the Kalevan Kansa. The directorship in its next meeting agreed upon the suggestion and we quickly put into operation plans to procure the island. Later, Kurikka and Jaakko Tanttari went to view the island first hand and their vocal appraisal of the future homesite was good as well as appreciative.

#### Malcolm Island--Malkosaari

In some ways this fifteen miles long and two and a half miles wide island of twenty-eight thousand acres is rather remarkable. The nearby Nimpkish Indians have for hundreds of years carved huge dugout canoes from cedar trees on this island, first with stone axes and later with European implements. Bark from the young and slender cedar trees has in past times been an important raw material for Indian basketry, for cedar bark mattresses, for floor covering in Indian wigwams, for other household purposes and for clothing from head to foot. For the Indian this material has been as valuable as birch bark was for the Finns of ancient times. From there the Indians have also gotten yellow cedar which they have carved into attractive totem poles at Alert Bay. What peculiarity of purpose has made this island remarkable throughout North America so that on it two separate utopian communities have been given birth and have passed away? The first utopia was founded by people from England and Ireland, not Wales as thought by some. They were a religious denomination who tried to settle there years before the

Kalevan Kansa. Their leader was a man named Spencer, a penitential clergyman and religious visionary who dreamed of establishing an idealistic Christian commune there. That attempt did not survive for long. Internal disputes and poverty caused it to break up almost immediately.

The first Kalevan Kansa men who reached the island found the remains of a board cabin left by their predecessors near the ocean shore at the site which would become Sointula. On the sandy beach were the remains of a steamplant for use in a sawmill and a pile of rusted pipes. Those people most likely had already brought a steam engine as well as other materials which have since been taken away by someone. It is said that they obtained from James Dunsmuir an old and small sawmill which had been in use at North Wellington. One of the members of this group lived up until twenty years ago near the mouth of the Nimpkish River where he had a small farm. He had spoken of the difficulties encountered by his group on their way to Malcolm Island as the waves hit over the deck of the flatbed barge as it was being pulled by the steamship. Since all the food, clothing and household goods belonging to the settlers had been stored there they were completely soaked. He also spoke about how he and his wife on the first night that they reached the island tried to shelter and keep the smaller children warm by drawing them to their bare breasts. The only shelter available was under a large tree, otherwise there was only open sky.

Still one other aspect of Malcolm Island history should be mentioned here. Before the coming of the Kalevan Kansa a hermit of Danish extraction named E. Elliman had lived on the island for five or six years. Earlier he had been a man well-versed with the civilized world. As a foreman at a wood processing plant at San Francisco he had undertaken numerous trips to Europe. Upon becoming completely disillusioned with the turmoil of the world and the false values of civilization he had chosen to come to Malcolm Island. He had settled near the seashore at the mouth of a brook about three miles away from the present site of Sointula where he had kept a vegetable garden and a few chickens. A few months before the arrival of the Kalevan Kansa he had come to a dismal end. An Indian whose habit it was to bring Elliman chicken feed from the Alert Bay store had found him dead beneath the stump of a large tree. Now Elliman's home is still in use as a chicken coop on the farm of Amanda Hankanen and the area will for some time to come be known by Elliman's name.

Also near the mouth of the same brook named Rauhala a European had sometime in the past tried to build a home. At that location about four miles from Sointula old implements have been discovered.

The Kalevan Kansa therefore was not the first to come to Malcolm Island to establish a home site, but only the Finns have left a permanent record there. Finnish language and culture will be preserved there longer than anywhere else

in Canada.

So now we knew about a piece of land for our migrants' co-operative, but it was still only an expectation, not a reality. This was when the nearly insurmountable difficulties and hindrances began for us. These matters were delayed beyond reason in the government bureaus and in parliament and we had no choice but to wait. We kept the issue alive and at the forefront but we were the ones asking and the government the ones giving. As a result of this hesitation and waiting Kurikka began to entirely lose his hope and confidence concerning this matter. He was also troubled by the imposed idleness and he began to think about going away to find work. Certainly it tried the patience of us all. If our enthusiasm and willingness to make sacrifices had not been so tenacious, Sointula would not have been founded. In the past we had struggled and won, as we had won against alcoholism. It required the sacrifice of both time and money but in the end the results were beneficial. Now we had in question the establishment of a co-operative. A co-operative which, if it was to succeed, would not only be appreciated by us, but would serve as a signpost for other workers. When this sort of belief and faith are forthright and sincere one can sacrifice a great deal.

#### The Founding of the Aika Newspaper

On a Sunday in the first half of the year of 1901 of which I cannot recall for certain the exact date, I went as

usual to meet Kurikka at his place of lodging in the home of A. Oberg at Nanaimo. Upon arriving I found him sitting depressed and pensive which was not usual for his lively and stimulating disposition. He had prepared all his belongings for travel and stated that the following morning he would leave for Astoria to work on the newspaper Lannetar. Now it appeared that even our last hope for establishing a co-operative company had faded since without Kurikka's assistance we did not have the needed faith to make it come about. We needed his eloquence and his sharp pen for our assistance. In practical matters we could have depended on ourselves.

It can be pointed out that Kurikka might have founded the Kalevan Kansa elsewhere, perhaps in the United States in the vicinity of other more established Finnish communities. However, it can also be argued that alone he would not be able to achieve anything. That is what he had set out to do from Finland and to bring about in Australia, but as he had confessed in his letter, he had failed. Kurikka needed men who were willing to make sacrifices for those things which they felt to be important and right. In addition, in British Columbia there were all the advantages. There were bountiful resources, unprecedented opportunities for fishing, woods full of game, plentiful forests and all around an ice free sea where the company would not need to depend on any form of public conveyance. When all these advantages were put forth it seemed an undeniable truth that if ever a

large scale Finnish settlement were to be established it had to be found along the coast of British Columbia. All these thoughts came to mind as we sat for a long time in silence with Kurikka on that Sunday. When we had sulked for a long time I broke the silence by saying, "Why are you going to Astoria? Let's establish a newspaper here in Nanaimo. Through it you can amplify your speech and announce your messages as well as declare your idealistic thoughts about the settlement."

Thinking the suggestion over for a moment Kurikka responded, "If you can organize such a thing I would be willing to run it if only for the price of my food."

Those were the words which gave birth to our Aika paper. Quickly we searched out ten friends from the neighbourhood and together we placed a ten dollar value on each share in the newspaper company and agreed upon a subscription rate. The initial results were so promising that we decided to continue the venture in great haste.

Since it was Sunday and the majority of men would be off from work at the Extension mine, the three of us, Kalle Hendrickson, Herman Baund and myself, left on foot for the seven mile journey. We went to take word of the founding of the paper and to arrange for the sale of shares among our friends. Upon arriving at our destination we were given word that a church service or evangelical gathering was in progress at the home of one of the Finns. Many of our countrymen would be there. Serving the Finns of

British Columbia and Washington state at that time was a Finnish pastor name Johan Lundell, a descendant of a family formerly known as Vermlannin and he was presiding over the service. After the sermon had concluded but before the congregation could disperse I made a request to announce to the public at large our important matter. The request was granted and in this way our business was made known throughout the mining community. My companions took upon themselves the task of selling shares and sufficient numbers were sold to ensure the immediate founding of the newspaper.

Now the question to be answered was, from where do we obtain the printing equipment? That problem was quickly resolved. Upon inquiring I came to hear that in an old ramshackle church in Nanaimo was stored the leftover equipment of a weekly English language newspaper which had ceased publication. Kurikka and I went to see it and we decided to purchase the whole assembly for the sum of six hundred dollars. Additional letters needed to be bought and the actual printing was done at the Nanaimo Free Press because the press we had acquired in the deal was hand-operated, extremely slow and archaic. The publication of the paper was delayed and therefore the advance edition did not appear until the beginning of May.

This author has not been able to save a copy of the first edition but the next was published the 17th of May. From there on the Aika paper appeared with regularity.

Now we had a newspaper and Kurikka had the means to

carry his words in which he could freely speak his piece without the sanctions of tyrannical censors. Certainly Kurikka had new thoughts to tell his readers of that time. They quickly came to be found in Europe, America and Australia. Indicative of that new program with which Kurikka began the publication of the paper I can offer this sketchy introduction.

The program outlined was designated as "Toward a New Path". It was a peculiar mixture of ringing idealism for the Kalevala Finns, of hatred towards the clergy who had undermined the high morals of Christian teaching, and against the church which without a doubt will not bring about peace in the world, only strife. The temperance issue was marginally touched upon as well, and man's everlasting yearning for peace and harmony were appraised. It was towards the fulfilment of these goals that we were now proceeding in the shaping and formulation of ideas concerning our settlement. British Columbia Finns should point the way towards salvation for the entire working force. That was where their prominent historical undertaking lies. The style of writing is at times eloquent, at other times coarse, but inspite of everything it has an ultimate demogogic capacity.

#### Toward a New Path

What Finn does not feel a jolt of happiness within himself when he sees his own people in some ways better themselves? Every man in his breast has a good feeling about being Finnish, although in life's struggles it is often a burden when one does not belong to the dominant language group.



But is there formulated among American Finns a question sufficiently serious: "what are we to do, so that we will still remain Finnish although superficially becoming subsumed within the core of other cultures?" This has not been accomplished. We have not been able to comprehend what that power is which gives to singular individuals or to whole cultures the strength to remain virtuous in the midst of the world's will-of-the-wisp movement to sordidness. It is a nobility of spirit. The man or woman who is aware of his spiritual nobility and who from that basis demands of himself more than of others need never lower himself to a position of which he will later be ashamed. Even when the encounter is focused toward the right to a livelihood towards which end the capitalist federation is forcing us, presently demanding of people to resist those teachings of our Jesus by which we have come to know God's purpose, there will always be a substantial difference in the manner of demeanour within those kinds of people who have a noble spirit. Although he may not be resourceful enough to do for others that which he asks of others to do for him, he nevertheless will not leave for others to do that which he would not ask others to leave for him.

It is the same with the condition of whole cultures. Permanence does not so much hang on its external boundaries as it does on its people's spiritual high fortitude. As soon as a person relinquishes pride in himself and stoops to serve Baal he will lose his right to personal alliance (a community of heritage) and will sink to another position, that of being a footboard for a spiritually more elevated culture. So it has happened with the largest of cultural groups, and so it will happen with Finnish culture unless they shatter the golden calf and aspire by and by to a state of allegiance with Jehova. Look closely my people into that vast achievement of the past and understand how it has, despite its smallness, preserved its personal cultural heritage and created its own lofty culture. Not just from the illumination of the edifice of its past but from the continual development of its spiritual powers. The search for the deep origins of the nature of Finnish being are uttered in words of song which are bewitching, transporting and magical. It is this which is the centermost aspiration within Kalevan culture. Personal responsibility and the ensuing cleanliness of conduct were the personal ongoing undertakings and central purposes in the lives of our forefathers. The church surely has attempted to destroy this valuable cultural heritage by turning the people's

awareness away from the noble verses of the Kalevala to the treacheries of the Israelite peoples, but the ideal-oriented virtues of the people lay deeper than the clergy had understood. Having received from Jesus' love a new flawless peace and understanding of the needs of a yearning being for love, the culture retained its archetypal temperament even though the clergy tried its utmost to eradicate it from the inherent and natural truths through an indoctrination of the varied aspects of Hell and horn-headed devils.

But look at our people today in their removal from a peaceful and purposeful mode of life and their disintegration into the midst of the world's most dominant culture, where, for example, they perceive the foremost law as being "defend yourselves or be left behind". Nowadays that inherited cultural temperament can no longer be shown to give adequate protection against such degradation. We can see our most ardent fears, that of our proper Finns who have such a knowledge and practice of God's prescriptions, sinking in dirt and wallowing in filth; losing the nobility of their cultural spirit. Forgetting that it is a prerequisite of being Finnish that they demand of themselves something more than what others demand of themselves . . . and then from that causal situation becoming ashamed of their culture.

Let us forgive them for they do not know what they are doing. Nevertheless, we must still direct the most distantly audible or important and far ranging question, "What are we to do to ensure that we remain Finnish?" And we must obtain for everyone, wherever our people's wayward members move, the clearing of the path so that it will be obvious that we are the only living people among humanity whose revered cultural past exists in insurpassable verse. Incomparable, for there is no other work equivalent in value and stature to the Kalevala, a magnificently preserved record of happiness saved for present humanity.

The people of Vainanmoinen have suffered much but such a culture which has a personal understanding of self will incessantly rise and not vanish from existence, rather it begins here in spring-like America a new epoch, a monumental activity which will be the substance of history.

The people of English descent have created through their discharging of practical affairs a seemingly boundless freedom with a vast external magnitude, that which America has already in its wealth and inventions surpassed. The American people have through the use of cold logic attained all the possessions that are come to them but they

are missing that perception of the supreme, lacking an awareness of the teachings of god-like love which advises us to give not take. These aspects of self reliance and responsibility it is the Finnish people's task to implant into American life. The first step in this large saga to be undertaken is to have our people understand that they must demand from themselves more than from others. When we have been successful in this undertaking to undo or alter the present way of life, we shall already be on a new course. But in taking this first step, what is preventing us? Alcoholism. The dominion of alcohol is still the tether binding us hand and foot and preventing us from letting the spirit of our people from soaring. Let us cast our reflective eyes upon this matter.

Those who have the station to evaluate and sentence people in accordance with their habits, like very superficial individuals tend to do, ought to take part in the investigation of the deep causal factors and reasons. From just these factors influencing the results and outcomes, it is too easy to find alcoholism as the single fault. The church has taken upon itself the selling of the sacred heritage of its ceremonies--and at a good price--by explaining that a person as a result of his birth is sinful and from that basis is denied the possibility of not being sinful. If we take the church to be speaking the truth, then in reality alcoholism would be an unavoidable natural state about which nothing could be done. Just this was the case in point in Finland twenty years ago when the temperance leagues were being started and the organized clergy fought tooth and nail against them. But those precedents for defending untruths which have become entangled to form present day pharisees do not themselves speak the truth. Man is not from birth sinful and immoral. By and large the majority of people are from the bottom of their souls moral and set out to seek the good. However, the present order prevents people from being moral by denying them their right to live according to the dictates of their inner voices. That family-like harmony where the flower of patriarchal culture in the past of humanity's antiquity was created by those whose foremost axioms were the welfare of the weaker and the caring for members needing assistance has to be made to exist. These sentiments, Jesus of Nazareth surely did attempt to renew in the early times of Christendom. By all means there was this gleam of mutual consideration and brotherly care within the great numbers of Christian families but the formal clergy sold Christendom into the hands

of ungodly rulers, as we can see from the church histories. In place of that harmony came wars, and into the place of love stepped hatred and sorcery. Now we can see in the attributes of humanity in their daily manifestation these directions in all their glory, even though within humanity now and again important spiritual leaders have tried to regain the direct and open path of Jesus.

Foremost, the church teaches our children about the warlike nature of the Israelite peoples and the slaughters they committed. They put forth the idea that life is primarily a process of struggle and that the advancement of people is built on the premise of being in conflict as is the precedent within the bestial world. But that is not true. Around a central union of co-operation and harmonious love mankind's development is built and it is that for which we proper persons search and long for. Of this there is little to be found in the solitary, frightening, and beastly struggle among a perverted humanity. Man's beastly traits arise to scuffle in all their nakedness; therefore so many even with delicate sensitivities disappointingly look to liquefy their misery through the use of alcohol. Dissolve it will concerns about physical well being and diminish it with spiritual agonies. But let there open unto people a new path, one which they can see taking them into a state of serene co-operation and into a harmonious competition for the betterment of that state. Who amongst us could best serve our communal family? We would come to see that many of those people of our culture who currently thrash about in saloons and in the nesting places of degenerates will wash themselves, and with a joyful tear in their eyes resolve to build for themselves and their loved ones a new life. Let those who are in spiritual bondage revel in the horrible stories of the blood thirsty Israelites and of an everlasting Hell. No one will prevent them from reiterating afresh, "Me, a miserable sinful human being, who from sin and wickedness was born".

But we, the Finns of the new epoch, shall come forth spiritually cleansed of those bestial confines, joyfully singing with spiritual fulfilment, "Praise and glory be unto God; peace on earth and goodwill among men".

Now we had our own newspaper through which we could undertake widespread advertising and representation of our interests. It was no longer necessary to resort to assistance

from privately owned newspapers in the matters which concerned our settlement. Kurikka could write freely. He would often recall the censorship imposed by Bobrikoff during the times that he had worked as the editor of the Tyomies newspaper in Helsinki. Whenever he wrote his most creative piece of work he had to submit it to a simple-minded censor to be smeared and finally destroyed altogether. Here there would be no censor. Kurikka did his best, at times moving forward at a madcap pace, far into the distant future, ahead of his time. He began to doubt himself, and therefore at one of the meetings of the board of directors of the Aika he suggested that it was necessary to bring from Finland A. B. Makela to serve as his assistant. He said that he was like a fierce unmanageable train engineer who needed someone to act as a brakeman when the velocity became too high.

He wanted Makela, who was his best and most trustworthy friend, to be such a brakeman. Makela had been a co-worker with Kurikka at the Viipuri Sanoma newspaper and again at the Tyomies in Helsinki. The board of directors decided to endorse Kurikka's wish and without delay sent money for passage and expenses for Makela and his wife in Finland.

Prior to the arrival of Makela, Kurikka was tied to the editorship of the Aika newspaper but upon his arrival Makela immediately undertook its editorship. Kurikka took advantage of the opportunity to undertake lecture tours, first shorter ones and then longer ones all the way to the shores of the Atlantic and even as far away as New York. These trips gave

Kurikka the greatest satisfaction because they enabled him to personally meet Finns in the different localities of the country. Kurikka's most flourishing period was just then beginning.

Through our paper we were able to make our settlement plans widely known. However, when the government's current hesitation in relinquishing Malcolm Island seemed to be delayed simply for the sake of delay, we began to search for a piece of land near Nanaimo onto which we could place some of the settlers for the community, those who would arrive prior to our obtaining rights to Malcolm Island. Otherwise this acquisition of Malcolm Island for the Kalevan Kansa, a people of a foreign nationality, seemed to be an almost unbelievable bestowal. Close to 28,000 acres of land on which a forest worth tens of thousands of dollars grows would be granted to these immigrants under the stipulation that they should make their livelihood and homes there.

What the causes for the government's delay were, and their solution, to our satisfaction are clarified in the following account.

Some of the moneyed men of British Columbia at that time had formed an amalgamation to begin a large pulp and paper concern on this coast and the government of British Columbia had donated forests ranging for many tens of miles from the vicinity of Malcolm Island, including the island itself. As a result we needed to undertake bargaining first with the paper consortium, since it had been granted the

ownership of the island's forests. This matter is dealt with in the Aika newspaper of June 20, 1901.

The members of the Kalevan Kansa have an important meeting at the Finnish church in Nanaimo next Sunday at 4:00 p.m. in the afternoon. An important question needs to be resolved.

During the last meeting the company selected, as was made reference to in the last edition of Aika, a committee to clarify the question of the land grant, to draw up the final rules of the company as well as to attend to other business. Since the local newspapers have continued to speak very favourably about the affairs of the Kalevan Kansa and since in addition the current member of the federal parliament, Rolf Smith, has maintained interest the matter is being brought forward. The editor, Kurikka, and two local miners, Hermanson and Matson, departed last Tuesday to speak with the Minister of Lands and to give him an official version of the newly drawn up application. The minister explained straightaway that the government wishes in every way to forward this matter but for the question of the forests of Malcolm Island, the rights to which had been given to the consortium in anticipation of its pulp and paper operation. He suggested, however, that it would be easy to resolve the problem if the organizers of the settlement could come to an agreement with the paper company over the logging issue. That having been accomplished he could see no difficulties in obtaining the island or in the approval of the other requests.

The members of the delegation were then in consultation with the aforementioned paper company and judging from the proposal put forth by them there seemingly are no further difficulties in obtaining the island. At the same time as we undertake to make the island suitable for agriculture we can obtain a good price for the forests.

As soon as our company comes to an agreement about the value of logging the forests and as soon as we have been able to legally authorize the formulated rules for our company, which won't take long, we can make a deal with the paper company regarding the proposed contract. The execution of the initial contract will take about two years and they are willing to become committed to much more wood over and above that which has been agreed to, for the same price.

During these times our settlement plans were receiving their share of notice and acknowledgement among the English

speaking population. The Nanaimo papers were very appreciative and even praised the Finns. The delay on the part of the government in the granting of Malcolm Island received their suspicion and criticism, at times even in a severe manner. The Daily Herald, Nanaimo's workman's paper wrote:

After two or three hours journey from St. Petersburg the traveller notices himself to be in a country which differs as much from Russia in terms of its land and people as is possible. In Finland the majority know how to read and write, and the majority have received a more knowledgeable education than in any other country on the globe. The people have the good fortune and prosperity which zealous work thoughtfully performed brings. Its two and a half million inhabitants have over \$145,000.00 in savings in 174 savings banks. Alcoholic beverages are not consumed for pleasure, but only on special occasions when the government gives the head of the household a licence to offer a small amount of these beverages for guests. The capital, Helsinki, a source of pride where forty years ago there were only 20,000 residents, has grown more than four times. In general its buildings, transportation systems and hospitals are as noteworthy and as pleasant as modern inventions and constructions can be. It does not in any way have an area of the city characterized by poverty and animality such as are usually found in the larger cities within other countries. Finland is that which industry, refinement and the belief in realistic idealism have made of it.

We are constantly told that British Columbia needs more people; men with financial backing are desired to clear land and to create industry. You would think that when a group of people who promote industry, refinement and a belief in a realistic idealism and before all else INVESTMENT knock upon our doors we would fling them wide open and extend to our visitors warm hospitality. You would think that when their leader on behalf of thousands went to the Department of Crown Lands and Labour he would have been extended all courtesy, that some proper authority would have been ordered to show him the available lands suitable for this purpose. Up to the point when the discussion was undertaken and concluded the leader should have been treated with the greatest care. If the Department of Lands of



British Columbia was under the direction of a commercial enterprise rather than a business-oriented government we would certainly have proceeded in that direction. It is unfortunate that the settlers need to turn to a business-oriented government which places all manner of obstacles in their way. When the Finns wanted to settle here, undertake logging, and develop the fishing industry they received very little assistance. Their leader was first shown a map and encouraged to select a piece of land, which he did, but without assistance from the government. Being a businessman he demanded legal documents to substantiate their claim to the land which they had selected. But, coming from a country where general opinion encourages the belief in the strength of verbal agreements, Kurikka joined in the final preparations. He believed that after the government had established a right of monopoly for the canneries and two or three railway proposals to the betterment of the government members, it would in time secure for him the documents which the Finns had requested and which had been offered to him. As straightforward men they accepted the government's promise of the island where they in their minds could already see their own homes, not even being conscious of the fact that their affairs would be totally forgotten. Hundreds of families had already begun to leave distant Finland when they got word that land had been promised to them. Instead the land has been given to a different company so that the large undertaking with its vast expenditures would need to be started from the beginning again. It would not be surprising if he, after this callous withdrawal of their word, decided to shake the dust of this country off his boots, leaving with his friends for a land where apparently they would better understand the primary principles of good business and courtesy. This is how we have come to the point where 2,000 Japanese have robbed the means of livelihood from white fishermen at the same time as a large or a larger group is shoved away from the door so that lumber companies can flourish and blossom. If the Finns had wanted to exploit the natural resources, destroy the forests and drain the mineral deposits they would certainly have been warmly welcome. But when they made a request to add to the land's prosperity and not to its impoverishment, the development of the country's own industry and not the industry of other countries they have been pushed to the limits.

The Daily Herald printed the above article even though the

matter was not quite this grave. It was advantageous that these kinds of writings appeared at that time.

Now there were no further obstacles on behalf of the government preventing us from obtaining Malcolm Island. However, as a result, we were forced to participate with a private financial consortium which, as a matter of principle, was planning on obtaining waves of settlers and therefore inexpensive labour to British Columbia. From the point of view of the company it was explained that it could not compete with the large eastern Canadian paper companies since the wages there were less than out here in the west. Because of that, the company was eager to give us a large pulpwood contract for the forests of Malcolm Island. We will come back to this discussion of the contract at a later date.

The aforementioned important meeting was then held. Kurikka opened the meeting by comparing the endeavour ahead of the Kalevan Kansa to the monumental discovery made by Columbus. Just as it had happened in the past, ignorance had brought forth every possible hindrance to confront him. We must now combat not only external problems but also the ill-will of some of our countrymen.

We began to discuss that undertaking which was before us, from which employment would be provided for hundreds of men for many years. But since the terms offered were thought to be too small, and we wished to become further acquainted with the affair, we decided to table the issue

until the following Sunday. On that day we held a new meeting, where, as a final outcome, we approved the rules of our company and we began immediately to accept members according to their dictates.

The Aika newspaper was also legalized. The June 28, 1901 edition of the paper carried the news that the publishing company, Aika Printing Company Ltd., was now a legally incorporated stock company. The shareholders would not be awarded dividends in excess of five percent and all the profits beyond that figure would be used to redeem other shares until the whole company became part of the Kalevan Kansa Company. By law there needed to be a meeting where a directorship and auditors were to be chosen.

In the same edition was an advertisement that the participants in the publishing company, Aika Printing Company Ltd., are invited to a public meeting on July 14, 1901 at Extension. Later we will speak of the election of the directorship.

But as is the norm amongst workers and especially among Finnish workers, if there is some important business to be discussed, which is for their own benefit, there ensues the inevitable confrontation between the various factions. This is what happened with us when we were founding the Kalevan Kansa company. First there were men who, during the formation of the regulations of the company, came to observe that in this company there would be no opportunity for self-interest and individual demands.

These were left aside. Other people were from the beginning slanderous and full of defamation. After them, there were the church-oriented who, with their secret leader and trouble-maker, the earlier mentioned clergyman Lundell, wrote slanderous letters to the government about our settlement even after the whole matter had come to a close. The accusations were based on suspicion and false premises. This fact has been admitted to the writer by one of the fellow Christians of the above mentioned clergyman. He had been with Lundell when the defamatory letters had been drawn up. Therefore our undertaking was made even more difficult by the actions of our own countrymen. On the other hand, the English speaking people sympathetically followed the progress of our settlement affairs. In order to turn the matter into a factional dispute, our trouble-makers needed to rely on falsehoods to supply material for their slander. For those Finns at that time on Vancouver Island there were no other mutual aspirations than group drinking and beer festivals in which nearly all the Finns of the area took part. There were no factional disputes then, other than those which would at a given occasion develop, such as fighting, when the followers of the stronger side would thrash those of the weaker. But the disputes were ordinarily settled, especially if the injuries of the losers were not too painful, since the winners would underwrite a barrel or two of beer according to the circumstance. Again there was fighting and dissension would break out and on and on it

would go. As for the temperance society, as important and beneficial as its formation had been to these matters, there could always be found opponents and enemies.

Now we had a contract for harvesting logs for a pulp company as a condition to obtaining Malcolm Island. The financial return was so small that we would have needed to work for years on end for that paper company at a frighteningly low wage. We were in difficulties. However, Malcolm Island looked to be a rewarding place for our settlement for a number of reasons: its isolated position as an island would free us from the proximity of malignant neighbours, there was free passage the year around on the seas, a developing forest and fishing industry was at our doorstep, and good agricultural land and other factors were present. So the Kalevan Kansa company in its directorship meeting decided to make the sacrifices and to agree to the contract offer. Kurikka was authorized to underwrite the agreement in Victoria.

In the Aika newspaper of August 2, 1901 is the following editorial which will shed light on these matters.

The course of the Kalevan Kansa company has progressed slowly but surely forward. Having got our business settled by word of mouth and through an exchange of letters, we sent the legally formulated regulations in the English language prepared by the attorneys Baker and Potts to be studied by the Minister of Lands. Since we have received a letter from the Deputy Minister which is in our favour, we can see no hindrance to prevent a final positive decision from the government. The regulations have given us an unusually broad scope of operation, so broad in fact, that the attorneys in this matter, upon reading the handwritings of the editor of this paper, commented that these couldn't be the regulations of a company but were,

rather, the founding principles of a constitution. However, since the minister concerned is once again travelling, the final decision needs to be delayed and we have no choice other than to wait. At first, in the beginning, a restricted number of men will be sent to the island on behalf of the company, and that number will depend almost entirely on the number of members capable of purchasing shares. It is then better for those who wish to be privileged by being in the first group to furnish at least a quarter of the full amount of their membership, \$50.00, to be paid at the founding meeting. Undoubtedly there will arrive from the very beginning those who wish to underwrite the entire amount of their share through labour, but it is necessary to keep in mind that their number will depend entirely on the number of those who are capable of contributing the initial payments since we will not begin the contract for harvesting the forest until next spring.

There was further information on the matter in the same paper on September 20, 1901.

In the Kalevan Kansa company meeting, which was held last week at the Extension temperance hall, the matters which needed to be attended to as a result of the delay brought about by a ministerial state of disorganization were discussed. Since the better part of summer has already gone by it was decided to wait further and not to begin to obtain land by our own means. The initial underwriting of memberships was opened in such a way that everyone who wished to order himself a share and to commence collecting his first dividend could do so by letting one of the directors know about his intentions. The order by which one proceeds to work for the company and to become a shareholder will be taken into account along with the order by which one lets it become known that he will become a shareholder. Thus far there has been a remittance of only five dollars into the company's treasury and of that some is still being saved. If some person of foreign nationality offers himself for membership we cannot overlook him even though it is not desirable that they be accepted as future members. The shares purchased in the Aika newspapers are seen as being of full value toward the remittance of payments toward the Kalevan Kansa company payments.

A week before the above clarification our leader,

Matti Kurikka, made a trip to Victoria. At first he was in conference with the pulp company with whom we had settled the contract for wood. Kurikka complained that the minister was in a very weak position to bring anything constructive about since Premier Dunsmuir had decided to place Mr. Brown, who was disliked by several of the other ministers, into the position of Minister of Finance. McBride, the Minister of Mines, resigned immediately, and the minister's secretary, Prentice, threatened to do the same, but was appeased by being given a financial position. In passing let it be recorded that the above-mentioned person was the same man whom Kurikka and I saw on our first trip to see about obtaining land. When we again heard that the Minister of Lands was travelling, Kurikka thought it to be most advantageous to inquire about how we might begin to procure land so that we would not be left at the mercy of the government. However, on going to see the Minister of Immigration, Gosnell, to ask for the needed maps we got from him the strongest and most promising assurance about the fact that the Kalevan Kansa documents are at this very time in process and that they were just yesterday in his hands. Upon going to the department of the Minister of Lands, we met his replacement who guaranteed that the matter was so close to completion that as soon as the Minister returned in a day or two we would hear about the solution.

### The Matters Concerning Malcolm Island are Finally Resolved

After all those agonies and difficulties through which we had passed, light was shed on our problem. On the 27th of November, 1901, Minister Gosnell came to Nanaimo on behalf of this matter. The directors of the Kalevan Kansa gathered at the Nanaimo Finnish church and there we underwrote on behalf of the Kalevan Kansa along with the provincial government on behalf of the King of England, the agreement for Malcolm Island. It has, by all means, to be agreed upon that we made a profitable deal with the King of England. However, it needs to be noted that the former members of the government were shareholders in the aforementioned paper production company, the source from which our advantageous deal originated. They hoped that the settlers would provide inexpensive labour, and that Malcolm Island would provide inexpensive pulp wood. The contract, if it had stayed in force, would have been overly advantageous for them and for us a disadvantage. Since from this original contract at least a part has been preserved it will now be presented. From it primarily those proposals which we needed to fulfill will be clarified.

This agreement has been made on the 27th day of November, 1901 between His Majesty the King represented by the Minister of Lands and Labour on the one side and the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company Limited the subsequently named party on the other side.

Since the above mentioned company has been incorporated



within the requirements of the nation it has as its purpose among other things to encourage the immigration of Finns and others into British Columbia and to found a settlement for such immigrants within the province.

And whereas the lieutenant-governor is empowered in accordance with section 39 of the Land Act to encourage immigration and undertake special arrangements for the granting of unoccupied and unappropriated crown lands in the province in a manner seen most suitable by the lieutenant-governor:

And whereas it is for the province of great importance that the Finns are brought and located within it:

And whereas it has been for the above mentioned purpose deemed advisable to enter into the following agreement with the company, then let the following be a guarantee:

1) The company is to obtain free ownership of Malcolm Island in the Rupert District of British Columbia for the purpose of establishing a settlement under the following proposals and conditions.

2) The company as a whole has to undertake the amount of improvements required under the Land Grant Act which amount to \$2.50 per acre for the area of approximately 28,000 acres.

3) From the beginning of this contract the company shall for the next seven years be freed from all provincial taxation with the exception of the Revenue Tax. On its own and without the assistance of the government it must

complete all public works which the residents will need: roads, bridges and public buildings with the exception of schools and wharves.

4) The company will not receive the deed to the island or to any part of it until the lapse of seven years from this day at which time the Minister of Lands and Labour has been given sufficient proof that the specified number of settlers have been located on the island and not until all the stipulations of this agreement have been fully complied with.

5) The roads, streets, bridges and public buildings and wharves which the company undertakes to erect or to have built must be made under the supervision and control of the Minister of Lands and Labour and the size of individual allotments of land and their order of distribution which the company undertakes to use needs to obtain the approval of the Minister of Lands and Labour before they can be put into effect.

6) The company's improvement projects which will enable it to obtain the deed requires the satisfaction of the Minister of Mines and Labour estimates and they must in total meet the overall figure of \$2.50 per acre for the total of 28,000 acres on Malcolm Island. In the case of a dispute, the Minister of Lands and Labour shall refer the matter to a court of arbitration where one member is appointed by the Minister of Lands and Labour and one by the company. If the members of the court of arbitration

cannot reach a solution a third member will be appointed by them to settle the dispute.

7) The company shall locate a settler or the head of a household for each 80 acres on Malcolm Island.

The remainder of this agreement has been lost so that I cannot disclose it further. However, in the Aika newspaper there is a publication of them by Matti Kurikka and from it the contents of that document can be understood better than from the above source. I will present it in its entirety.

We have reached the summit, the strains of the past year have at last ended in an agreement with the government of British Columbia and the temporary directorship of the Kalevan Kansa. According to it the entire Malcolm Island with a surface area of approximately 28,000 acres of land which is mostly flat and suitable for agriculture but which is at present mostly forested has been awarded under the following terms.

The island and all its resources will immediately be governed by the company but the full deed of ownership will be granted only after seven years when 350 men have made their home there and when \$2.50 worth of improvements per acre have been completed. Every member who settles on the island as a permanent resident will be required to obtain British citizenship and the regulations of the company in Finnish or the Memorandum of Association about them and to declare that they will conform to the requirements of the law without reference to any conscience clause or religious and political doctrines as the words in the agreement stipulate so as to prevent all causes for disagreement. Children beyond the age of two years of elementary school are to go to an English language school.

The members are free from all other taxes except the Revenue Tax of three dollars per person, on the condition that the company undertakes on its own expense all public tasks such as roads, bridges, wharves, etc. except school construction which the government will build. The Minister of Lands must approve all public projects before they can be undertaken and he is to receive a yearly account of the company's affairs. If the company becomes successful, the government will grant to it another

tract of land of similar size as near to Malcolm Island as possible.

These then are the main tenets of the agreement. We had by then passed by the steepest precipice. The Finns from Nanaimo and Extension and particularly those 19 men who without floundering have prepared this great task, have performed a deed which I believe will be mentioned in the history of humanity. We have in the midst of the richest of natural bounty, amidst the most prosperous of shipping routes, within the most idyllic geography and climate, the area of a small country. A country sheltered within the self-ordained company rules. Our company has the right to undertake such broad activity that we can without altering the rules bring even the whole of the Finnish nationality to live within their shelter. Fishing and forestry, agriculture, livestock raising and mining: all the branches of technology, and into the deal all the rights and privileges among people, the principles of socialism's unbridled rights to be gained under the protection of the mighty British flag belong to the actions of our company. We can bring about the production of everything that we ourselves will need so that eventually we will not need to buy anything from anyone else and we will set for our products the only guide to their value the amount of human effort that has been consumed in their creation. Unemployment, sickness and the difficulties which ensue from a death which now make our lives severe shall be evaporated into the past. Strikes and periods of poverty shall become unknown among us. Through the medium of print I can now say that it depends upon us to say if we want to break free from the feet of the capitalist confederation into the protected and ordered ways of equality where the attributes of our nationality have an opportunity to blossom and prosper, even though our children will be amongst others who are of a different quality as a result of their English heritage.

Through these ways of being we can freely develop our spiritual gifts and grow beyond the destructive animal instincts; of that we are already certain. Now the question is, "Are there those who want to participate in such a company, are there among our soul mates those who are capable to pay in cash the cost of a share, \$200.00 (or at least \$50.00 before the next three months are up)?" We have been granted free from the government \$28,000 the value of which will rise by a factor of five as soon as we have established even a small community on the island. What say now the oppressed people of Finland?

Now we had land along with the honest aspiration to get a home for ourselves and four hundred of our nationality who, having been abused by the world, were struggling that same hard and hopeless ordeal of life which precisely we ourselves had felt. We needed companions who in earnest approved of this kind of community founded on utopian principles, but foremost we wished to get companions from without who had financial resources which would allow us to begin the work at Malcolm Island. But Kurikka who at all times had a compulsive need to hurry ahead came to fear that the velocity of our progress was too slow. At the same time as he with all his might tried to enlist prosperous members, he was carried by his enthusiasm so far that he generated hatred toward the Kalevan Kansa members among the organized mine workers. He had of his own accord made an agreement with the owner of the mines, the often mentioned millionaire and skinner of workers, to procure for him coal mine workers for a daily wage of \$2.50 even though the overall miner's wage of the time was \$3.00. About this agreement Kurikka made a statement in the Aika newspaper.

The Kalevan Kansa matter now has truthfully begun to take shape which promises for it that breadth which it has the right to expect. Now that all of Vainamoinen's old descendants are crying for help when the country's largest employer had decided in his own way to further the settlement venture, there then, the real tale is born. He has asked the administrator, Kurikka, to search for miners, specifically temperate and, if possible, men with families who would in the future work in the mines. For each of the miners who the administrator, Kurikka, gives a letter of introduction, Dunsmuir will guarantee a place in the mines, at first for

a hundred and subsequently a second hundred. Naturally no others will be considered except those steadfast men who will join the Kalevan Kansa and begin to straighten out little by little their financial membership dues to the Kalevan Kansa treasury. Let us suppose that those one hundred miners will undertake to pay five dollars each month to the Kalevan Kansa treasury then each payday five hundred dollars will be collected. With this money the company can undertake a substantial amount of work on Malcolm Island and provide the opportunity through which other members can discharge the membership obligations through labour. Does it take a profound understanding to realize the benefits which will follow? Since the pulp and paper company has further notified that it is ready to complete the previously agreed upon contract, there is then no need to doubt that by next spring we will have underway large projects. Skilled temperate miners can with all confidence begin to come this way.

These now were Kurikka's principles, to procure for the organized workers' most hated employer additional inexpensive labour, to trample the wage levels of others while forwarding the cause of us other workers. This was the first occasion on which Kurikka and we had a substantial dispute. Kurikka became angry as he began to pound his fist on the table and as he roared, "We have no responsibility toward those others, on behalf of those drunkard workers; we have the Kalevan Kansa to whom we have a responsibility." Most likely we in our anger did the same as we shouted, "The Kalevan Kansa will not be founded by trampling the wages of other workers, injuring them and thereby irritating them to be against us."

Kurikka had made a grave error. Those Finnish miners not part of the Kalevan Kansa had let their English speaking companions know of Kurikka's plans and naturally that

brought hatred and anger toward him.

Kurikka's undertaking was all the more unreasonable and provoking because at those very times there was among Nanaimo's mine workers the intent to ask that mine baron's workers, who were represented by Kurikka, to join into a union. For this purpose there was a large miners' meeting at the Nanaimo Opera House and the tense question about the identity of the man who planned to enlist low paid Finnish workers for the mines arose. Some of the English speakers and a few of the Finns explained who that person was and further stated that he had arrived here from Australia on money which he had begged for, etc. Kurikka, himself, was keen to stay away from the meeting.

The "Mine Lord" advocated to us by Kurikka had prior knowledge about the mine workers meeting and came on the same day from his home in Victoria to the mines. Only a few men were at the above mentioned meeting from Extension, but nearly all the men were there from the Alexandria mine at South Wellington. Upon inquiring from the foreman there about the fact that the men weren't working and upon having been given an explanation, the "Lord" ripped from his pocket book a strip of paper and wrote a notice upon it: "At this mine work will be discontinued indefinitely!" The irritated capitalist showed his dominating authority. This mine has remained closed for over ten years after the death of Dunsmuir himself. Those miners who had established their homes there needed to go elsewhere to seek work. Since

there had been a few of us Kalevan Kansa members at this mine, Kurikka was forced to agree that no more miners were needed and he immediately stopped the enlistment of such miners through the Aika newspaper.

Kurikka looked upon those workers who were not members of the Kalevan Kansa as if they were enemies against whom one needed to struggle for the betterment of the Kalevan Kansa. Many of us understood that that sort of thinking was just cheap street corner politics. Workers needed to be brought into our plans in a thoughtful and trustworthy manner and not by hurting their opportunities or by irritating them to anger. It would have been a great loss and a shame upon the Kalevan Kansa if Kurikka had been allowed the opportunity to continue recruiting Finnish coolies.

#### The First Members of Kalevan Kansa Leave for Malcolm Island

The winter had passed on to December and still we had not started on the work at Malcolm Island. But then the opportunity came. The Kalevan Kansa members Teodor Tanner and Johan Mikkelson came from fishing on the Fraser River. Mikkelson, a competent sailor, owned a sailboat named "Aino" on which one could feel secure enough to undertake even a longer voyage. So it was decided that Mikkelson as the captain of the "Aino" and Tanner as the navigator along with their companions Kalle Hendrikson, Otto Ross and Malakias Kytomma would embark on the 180 mile journey to Malcolm Island. Tanner has written about the trip in the Aika



newspaper.

Having reached the decision to go to Malcolm Island there was all sorts of hurry and one or another kind of activity to be done in preparation for the trip. Eventually, these matters having been straightened out, we came in the evening to spend the night in the shelter of our "Aino". With the conditions permitting in the light of the early morning of the first day we pulled the white sailcloths up and we five men and one "lily" began to speed toward the promised land. It was the sixth of December. The first part of the morning was completely calm during which time we adhered to our oars and thought amongst ourselves that even by rowing we will reach our destination. However, in the afternoon there appeared a swift tailwind which hurried us some forty miles ahead. We settled to spend the darkness of the night near the shores of an island where a strong wind rocked the boat. This place robbed us of our anchor. It deadened our excitement for travel to such a degree that having tied a line to a tree we did not wish to go out into the wide open sea in the strengthening wind. We remained there the rest of the day and the following night. During this time we fashioned from wood, etc. such an anchor that upon completing it we were thinking about obtaining a patent for our invention. It has thereafter been bound to be so trustworthy in use that we have slept the nights in complete confidence. Towards the evening of the third day a strong tailwind hurried us over the most open waters. Upon reaching the restricted waterways our travel was rather slow. Ocean currents and headwinds made effective obstacles to the progress of the trip. Having reached the much feared Seymour Narrows, we waited for six hours at which time it was peaceful for us to pass through. Shortly after, having passed through the aforementioned channel, our companion Mikkelson suffered a tragic and fear arousing accident. Somehow a shotgun had been left on the cabin roof and when he proceeded to take it indoors it discharged and ripped the viens and sinew of his right wrist. Having dressed it as best we could, we continued our journey onward in the hope of obtaining medical assistance somewhere. We did not find any until Alert Bay. When we reached Alert Bay we sensed an unusual warmth toward the injured party and toward us as well. It seemed as though people were competing to see who would treat him. Having obtained good lodging the patient remained at the aforementioned place and we proceeded toward the

end of our journey of which there remained about three to four miles. On Sunday the 15th of December we arrived at the sought for Malcolm Island where we anchored our "Aino" at the bottom of Kotilahti. We spent this last night in our boat. In the dim light of the next morning we briskly walked along the shores trying to find the building which the prior settlers had left behind. At last we found a building amidst a thicket of bushes. It was missing its doors and windows. After a day's hussle the building was by nightfall in a liveable condition. By overlooking its immediate dampness we, with satisfaction and frustration free aspirations, looked toward the future.

This was the first trip by members of the Kalevan Kansa to Malcolm Island. That unfortunate event in which Mikkelson came so near to losing his whole arm affected us all deeply. Mikkelson was sent from Alert Bay to Nanaimo hospital on board the next ship. A well-known and progressive surgeon at first thought that Mikkelson's hand would need to be amputated. We attempted to explain that we should first try all other methods to heal the hand. So it was done, and with some success, since only the thumb needed to be amputated. It was a sad occurrence for the young man who had at first given to the Kalevan Kansa his material possessions and now a portion of his physical self. However, as soon as Mikkelson's hand had healed as well as it could he moved to Malcolm Island where he worked as a skilled fisherman, a lead hand for the fishing crew and the captain of our steamship "Vineta".

As soon as the first men had arrived on Malcolm Island we had gotten underway. We had many plans to formulate and much work to take care of in Nanaimo. Kurikka always

had his own vast designs, far reaching and focusing into the distance. They were impressive and beautiful, but just as surely they were questionable when it came time to put them into use. Inasmuch as he had an underlying fear that we would not soon enough attract those kinds of members who could discharge their membership dues in cash, it was difficult for him to give up the idea that it was necessary to obtain members around us to whom we could guarantee employment. Even though his prior attempt at enlisting workers brought only misery and difficulty he published in the Aika newspaper on the 27th of December the following article. It was an illustration of his fantastic but impractical vision.

#### Designs for the Future

Even though for the present we have enough work in the settlement of Malcolm Island and its closely related activities, it is not a disadvantage to focus our thoughts onto questions which in the near future may become daily fare.

We are already aware of how for the betterment of our company here, which is nearer to the destination of more secure working circumstances, we could in the future be asked to volunteer still more workers to local employers, if they are willing to engage them under honourable terms. But there is another instance which is just as important. That is, by what means can a non-resident member, the owner of a share in the company, who because of his vocation or some other obstacle has not yet been able to become a full resident member, and therefore has not been able to come to enjoy the security that the Kalevan Kansa gives to its members? Is it not so that in this locality, in a foreign country, it is unlikely that one in a thousand is in any way one's own kind except for one's own family? Surely, there is with each concerned family head a constant, burdensome and nightmarish thought, "How will things fare with that unfortunate wife and with those dear little ones if I do not return from the worksite?"

It is just as frightening a possibility that a person may become an invalid.

Surely there are stingy life and accident insurance companies as well as brotherhood organizations for these purposes to give assistance to members and members' families. But we know that, in the present capitalist-owned life insurance companies, a sense of justice and the desire to be moral do not take precedence, but, there is, instead an unfeeling craving for profit. If they can escape responsibility by slipping free of the relationship they will always do so. Of that there are so many examples. Individual firms are reflective of this sentiment in varying degrees. But does a workman in a strange land know how to choose among the different companies? Secondly, the premiums in these companies are unrealistically high for the working man, and the continuing payments make a workman's life terrifying, since the opportunity to get money is erratic, depending on the unfathomable whims of the workers' marketplace.

What about those associations to which many Finns belong, some of which are comparatively good? There is so little information about their administration and about their discharging of affairs that it is a cause for amazement to see how much confidence is placed in them. The administrations of the organizations are unknown as is the breadth of their activities. It is unlikely that we know how to write their names and still we pay into them and seek security from them. Primarily, it is those Finns who speak the language of the land who belong to such organizations and are therefore more capable of searching out the details of their affairs.

Unions under many circumstances can provide assistance for their members. But how far can a widow go if she receives a couple of hundred dollars upon the death of her husband?

Without elaborating it further it becomes clear that if every Kalevan Kansa member living in whatever remote corner of America could become unconditionally protected from death and disability resulting from work, that alone would posit the identity of the Kalevan Kansa as the single most important entity in America. When, in addition to the above, there will come to be an insurance against unemployment, a position to which we may soon come as matters develop slightly more, then the Kalevan Kansa member can move wherever he wishes with full protection. If an emergency should arise he can, by using his membership as security, receive from the treasury of the Kalevan Kansa a loan for travelling expenses required to reach home.

By what means can it be thought that the Kalevan Kansa begin this insurance business among its members? For those resident members, those who are employed by the Kalevan Kansa for one hundred and fifty days a year, the privileges will belong automatically. But can it be guaranteed for the family of the non-resident that upon his death or disability they will be provided a means of livelihood on Malcolm Island? Without a doubt at present there are such precise figures about the percentages of deaths within the different age classifications and similarly for the number of accidents occurring within the particular trades that it is a simple matter to deduce how many families at their maximum per thousand within a given year will be left fatherless and how many miners, carpenters, etc., will be left disabled. The Kalevan Kansa does not need to guarantee them money but a normal livelihood on Malcolm Island where under most circumstances the widow and the older children as well as the invalid himself will be able to contribute some amount to their benefit. The Kalevan Kansa would not need to participate in a gamble, rather it would do that which has at all times belonged to the natural responsibility of the family. As soon as we proceed through the preparatory activities and on to next summer a large number of resident members along with the company administration will reside on Malcolm Island. The overall discussions within our meetings will belong amongst the most enjoyable activities of the week and we will then take this matter under rough and deliberate study. I do not doubt in the least that at this time, when we have completed the required calculations and searched out the other business criteria and information, the Kalevan Kansa will easily be able to put the plan into use.

After the first five Kalevan Kansa members had left for Malcolm Island on Johan Mikkelson's sailboat the directorship decided to send the Kalevan Kansa secretary A. B. Makela there on an inspection and research trip. The results which he obtained from there about the topography and forests along with his plans for future construction and the allotment of agricultural lands were published in the Aika newspaper of January 1902. Eventually the construction

plans and the allotment of land for homes, etc. did not come to be realized in accordance with Makela's plans. The last part of the article has been preserved and is published here.

#### The Place of Our Home

Either village or town, to whichever birth will be given here, we have decided to suggest for its name Kodiski since Koti is a name which is short, unassuming, appropriate and rich in its subject matter. Of itself it always reminds us that we belong as if to one family. In the belief that it will be found acceptable, I will already use the name.

On the whole breadth of Malcolm Island there are only two substantial sized bays, both of which are on the southern shores. There is no shelter on the north coast and it is away from the passage routes. Of the two southern bays one is designated as Mitchell Bay on the maps. It is near the eastern end of the island, distant from the areas to be cultivated and to the side of the shipping routes. It is sufficiently deep but badly encircled by rocky reefs and it is less sheltered than the bay further to the west near the center of the island which on the maps has been designated as Rough Bay but which we have begun to call Kotilahdeksi. The peninsula on the bay's eastern shores, our Kotiniemi, shelters it from the southern gales and from its point there extends a shallow sandbar into the proximity of Haddington Island. Presumably the shallows would need to be staked out unless it was found to be feasible to shift altogether the passage way to the west side of Haddington Island. The bottom of the bay faces toward the western winds and the mouth of the bay is not well protected. Only further toward the bottom are we protected from them as well. For these reasons we have contemplated putting the wharf closer to the base of the bay than what the Welsh people had proposed to do. The tidal range between low and high along these shores is ten to twelve feet.

The apex of Kotiniemi peninsula, like other lesser peninsulas on Malcolm Island is rather low but we are proposing to consider for the settlement site the high portion in the approximate vicinity of the wharf. It is on the most appropriate ridge which is almost one mile in length, but narrow, barely one half mile wide. The other shore is a more sunny slope but the ridge along it is even lower and narrower and the water entrance is much more shallow there. However, we won't need to

hustle very long at Kotiniemi before plenty of daylight will shine there to make our work easier. Since the bank is so narrow it would not do to award allotments of more than one acre at the most from there. In lieu of that it would be fitting to award pieces of two to three acres from the apex portion of the peninsula. It is not so low that a farmer could not construct his home there if he did not bring it right to the water's edge. For those who would want larger private acreage, they could be accommodated on the west side of the bay along its southern shores, and if needed even at the western end. There would be a narrow sea-side cliff for homesites and behind the ridge some low lying land for cultivation. The terrain on the whole appears to be rather uniform so that it would be more or less the same as to where one received his share of land. There would be sufficient water frontage for everyone if no single individual were to be allotted a long stretch. The owners of the portions on the island's western side could freely select whether they wished to settle there on their allotments or amongst the others at Kotiniemi, either along the bank or along the side of the point. Proceeding in this fashion there would be ample opportunity and freedom for everyone to chose the kind of organization which would suit his life. No one would need to compete with one another to procure the outer allotments, many of which when taken under such speculation would remain uncultivated. When one has first put the allotment on which his home is located into shape, he can then take the time to acquire those outlying portions in accordance with how well he has become accustomed with the routine of his life and with his ability to put them into use.

The suggested site for the settlement is given support to a large extent by the circumstance that it would be located in a close proximity to the cultivated fields and even more so it is at the beginning of the most productive area to be cultivated, which at the present time of unemployment is a very important advantage. You realize, that into the bottom of the bay from behind Kotiniemi there runs a brook. It is the richest of all in terms of its water content of Malcolm Island's brooks. Even now the area around its mouth grows thick with grasses and along its shores is land which is the most open to cultivation that we have come across. Clearing the valley all the way to the rise on the eastern side of the bay would be important for the reason that our settlement would be protected from forest fires which might by chance be started

elsewhere on the island. It would be suitable to expand this cultivation to the lowlands within the central area of the island.

At the place known as Kotilahti there is also a rise over which there must of necessity be a road so that both shores are joined for the purposes of fishing and forestry. The shores are here nearer to one another than they are at any of the more central sections of the island, approximately one mile from shore to shore. All of that area is of the best sort of land for cultivation with the exception of the most northern ridge of the sea cliff. Of secondary importance, there would be along the brook a good facility for doing laundry and along the back side of the bay there is a smooth sandy bottom so that children can swim. Along side of Kotitorma near the ramshackle shack of the Welsh we have found the most pure clay deposits to be found on the island. The extent of the clay deposits or its kind has not been determined but it can be anticipated that in a pinch we could get our bricks and our ovens from there. Ovens or stoves will over time be of great expense to us and there will not come a time when things other than wood are burned for fuel.

The construction of waterworks under present observation is not feasible, but from the terrain it would appear that each person could get for himself a good well. We have not found any rock faces anywhere.

#### Plans for Building

It is not yet possible to make specific plans and suggestions extending into the future about the layout and format of buildings. First it is necessary to at least clear the area enough so that it can be measured. For now a few overall observations are sufficient.

The aforementioned road across the island would need to be directed toward the east along the longer shore of Kotilahti which my guesswork suggests will be the first area settled. As protection along the shore it would be necessary to leave a row of trees now standing there, at sections even wider areas, since the road would not need to follow all the contours of the shoreline. The road would come to travel along the inside of the row of shoreline trees and the allotments would begin from the road. The roadway for all its purposes should be left sufficiently wide and no homes should be built so near the shoreline road that the trees if they fall could reach them. The storm which was previously mentioned gave to us that valuable piece of knowledge. In loose ground trees which are



densely grown and fragile by nature do not make pleasant neighbours on stormy nights. The men had to leave the place of their night's lodging and run to the shore to seek shelter by the Welshmen's steam boiler when the trees began to fall around them. The ramshackle shack had become a frightening place. This is the reason that not even the most ardent nature lover should insist on saving any but the smallest and the most recently seeded trees along the roadway or building lots. They would not be dangerous in the storms. A road should also be built on the south side of the bay in accordance with the growth of the settlement. Streets like the shore road ought to be planned with one in the middle of Kotiniemi and the second along the eastern rim. Narrower cross streets should be left between the building lots. On this kind of sandy ridge the construction and the maintenance of roads would demand nothing more than the clearing of the trees and sapplings from under foot. Building allotments along the bank would be best suited to long and narrow shapes.

From the beginning it is necessary to construct our homes in a more imaginative fashion than is the usual practice hereabouts, keeping in mind that many a stormy wind will come to test their strength. It would be sad to run along the shores on a stormy night as is the custom among Alert Bay Indians as they fear that their ramshackle constructions will fall. There is no longer a fear of falling trees there since the trees along those shores have been cleared away all too well.

It will require a great deal of labour to win Malcolm Island over to cultivation. Earnest, zealous work and unavoidable denials on the part of the new settlers are required in the beginning. But still it is altogether different from Finland's barren stony hills or clearing its frosty backwoods. They are places where, in addition, so often frost dooms all the aspirations of the cultivator. Here it is altogether unknown. In Finland there surely would be in the thousands those who would seek admission into this kind of place.

As soon as we get underway, what distressful circumstances could there be here? The world's best fishing waters are around us, there is a plenitude of forestry on the near shores, our island from shore to shore is easily cultivated and waste land does not even need to be mentioned. When we have our own scheduled shipping and mail service, the school and meeting halls, store and cafeteria, pleasant homes for each with their garden and field plots, fruit trees, the island full of magnificent

livestock, harboured vessels and children and calves friskily romping in competition along our shores; what else would a life such as this need? Capability, intensity, enthusiasm and endurance is all. However, before all else there must be singularity of purpose in our endeavours, focused towards the light and freedom. Remember, in all our ordeals there must not be even one complaint, not even in the beginning!

As can be seen from Makela's writings there was not from the beginning of the formulation of the Kalevan Kansa's terms the intention to have complete adherence to collective or communistic notions of organization. The size of building lots was discussed and argued over as the terms were being formulated. As it was, some would have wanted for themselves a home plot as large as sixty acres and when such plots were not granted they swiftly fell away from our group. Generally we were of the opinion that an overly large home plot would make communal activity difficult. However, the regulations conceived at Nanaimo of necessity needed to be discarded in the course of time. And this was very natural. When new things are being tried, then fully developed plans cannot be made before hand. Even government statutes are altered and added to as needs arise.

Immediately, from the beginning, we made a substantial error in that we took to Malcolm Island families without means. For them the founding of homes brought great difficulty especially since we did not yet even have a sawmill. We should have begun at a slower pace, at first allowing only single men to settle on the island with only as many

women as were needed in the kitchen and laundry. In particular, this did not fit into Kurikka's plans at all, he wanted to obtain many members and quickly. As an outcome of this we were forced to make debts and to live on credit. That, unknowingly and unclearly seen, was our first major blunder.

When the first men who had travelled to Malcolm Island on board the "Aino" had been there for over a month, doing the most urgent tasks, there arrived from the outside requests to become Kalevan Kansa members. Since they wanted to begin work immediately, the directorship decided to send to the island Heikki Kilpelainen, an experienced carpenter to build for the Kalevan Kansa its first log cabin. So they departed, Kilpelainen and Victor Saarikoski, with additional tools and food, at the end of January, to undertake the construction of a cabin from cedar logs. Right after the aforementioned had departed there arrived from Finland at Nanaimo three young men, workers from a wood processing plant, Alfred Ruis, Vihtori Jalo and Mr. Vuorinen who was a book binder by profession. They had from the time of their departure from Finland intended to become Kalevan Kansa members and so they straightaway departed for Malcolm Island. By the end of January there were already nine people there. During these times there arrived additional individuals desiring membership. Now three shoemakers came from Chicago. Of them Johan Nummi and his family remained in Nanaimo while the others, A. K. Aho and Jooseppi Ihalainen hurried to work

on the island. About the same time there arrived from New York a young couple, just married prior to their departure, A. and Anna Wilander. From the state of Washington came Kalle Hoffren and to Nanaimo via Australia came my friend, Johan Malm. Since all these people immediately demanded to go to work on Malcolm Island it was necessary, in addition to them, to take along approximately five tons of food and other supplies. Therefore the directorship decided to purchase from a certain countryman a sailboat which was named "Kalevatar". With that the companions decided to begin their sailing voyage to Malcolm Island. The woman companion was encouraged not to go on the sailboat trip and to go up by steamship, but that intrepid and fearless lady declined the offer and went along as well. The trip which these six newcomers made was as dangerous as it could be. First there were the fierce storms of mid-winter, which were often noted for their shipwrecks; then passage along such feared channels as Seymour Narrows where numerous steamships had been shipwrecked, and finally the fact that they were inexperienced sailors in what were to them unfamiliar passages and currents. Hoffren, who had been a seaman in the American navy, undertook the manning of the sails, although he had not become familiar with those duties on the warships. The voyagers had twice been on the verge of drowning, on the second occasion their mast and sails were struck down by the storm, but fortunately there was a calmer place in the near vicinity which they reached and

thereby saved their lives. There they repaired the mast and sails. And so they arrived alive and well at their destination. Anna Wilander was the first Kalevan Kansa female to come to Malcolm Island.

Not until the first days of March was there an opportunity for the author along with J. E. Jerrman to move to Malcolm Island. The ships did not yet at this time call at Malcolm Island so that it was necessary to remain at Alert Bay for the night. In the morning we met a group of Norwegian fishermen and got them to take us to Malcolm Island on their boat. Upon arriving on the shores of the island, at the present site of Sointula, we saw our companions, with perspiration dripping from their heads, hoeing the fields. The members of Spencer's idealistic community had at some time at that spot cleared an area which had in the course of time already become covered with sapplings. They had also barked the stumps of several of the larger trees which had by now died and dried out.

On our departure the Kalevan Kansa directors assigned us the task of measuring the width of the building lots which would be situated all around Kotilaheti. On completion of that assignment I undertook to join in the digging of drainage ditches and that job lasted for an entire year. That was familiar work since I had become accustomed to it along the edges of Lappua's plains from early childhood.

Now there were fourteen men and one woman on the island, two had returned to Nanaimo. The cabin was not yet complete

and the board shack left by Spencer's group was crowded. Some of the men in their hurry slept in the makeshift sauna. However, harmony creates space of itself.

Anna Wilander was our cook and Saarikoski was her assistant. Others were working in the fields to be cultivated, still others were working on the cabin and a couple of men were cutting boards and lumber with an old country cleave saw. That type of saw, some of which were left over from the Alaska gold fields, was available for purchase in Vancouver in those times.

When the cabin was completed there was enough room, especially since the kitchen, which was made of boards, was located at one of its ends.

There was no shortage of work for the men. Some were clearing and working on the agricultural areas, others were clearing saplings from the base of Kotilaheti. For spare time activity we cleared around the cabin and kept bonfires at the base of the large stumps to remove their persistent remains. There were more than enough of those jobs to do there.

### The Marsh is Discovered

On a certain March morning three men named Jalo, Jerriman and this author left for a short exploration venture into the central areas of the island. Our companions who had arrived earlier, had already cleared a path from the base of Kotikaheti, across the island's narrowest part, straight

to the north. This distance was approximately one mile. We followed the path to the northern shores and from there we made trips to the central areas of the island. On coming upon the mouth of a brook we encountered an old shack, built presumably at some time by a trapper of beaver and mink. We scrambled through there, over the most annoying and thick undergrowth and fallen trees. Some while later there appeared in front of us an opening the likes of which we had not yet come upon on the island. It dawned upon us that it was a marsh and that it was the source of the brook which we had met on the shore. The banks of the brook grew thick stands of sedge grass. Since it was the rainy season the marsh was full of water. Upon reaching the seashore again dusk had begun to descend upon us and by the time we reached the path it was pitch dark. We searched and wandered about for a considerable length of time before finding the path again. Jalo, who was the youngest and had the best eyesight, took the lead.

Although it was not the longest, this was the most difficult journey that I have undertaken in my life. I scrambled over fallen trees, some of which lay crossways, others lengthways and at times criss-cross above one another. After trying to walk along and crawl along them, falling, doing hearty summersaults and then either laughing or cursing we came upon an almost unpenetrable area of new growth which were of untold sinuosity. Finally we reached the island's southern shore just as darkness was about to

fall. From there it was a short distance to the cabin.

Although the surface area of Malcolm Island is fairly small, it nevertheless is not good practice for the inexperienced without the aid of a compass on cloudy days to venture far from the shores. That fact was thoroughly experienced at a later date by a public school teacher at Sointula, a Scotsman named John Stevens. He in his curiosity and for the sake of adventure had left the shoreline and gone in some distance further. He became lost and could not find his way back to the shores. As a result the man wandered for two days and one night in the heartland of the island until his absence was noticed. From that time on the sawmill's steam whistle was continually sounded at regular intervals, and a search party was formed. At last he was found by a couple of young men from Viro who had an encampment on the northern shore. The man was found exhausted and half dead from hunger and cold. Without help he certainly would have perished there. Many have made these trips astray on Malcolm Island, although not with such harsh consequences.

As a result of discovering the marsh we began to clear a path to it directly from the cabin. On the way there those doing the clearing discovered a smaller marsh, two or three ponds of water and a beautiful lake. Having opened up a path to the marsh, we built on its rim, according to the custom of Etelapohjanmaa, a barn for meadow grass and, at a later time, a sturdy log building, a barn and a shed for



hay. Two families who owned, among other possessions, a cow, lived there for about a year. The cultivation of marsh lands on Malcolm Island has shown itself as being a favourable activity. The only problem which troubled us in the beginning was an overly sour soil which was caused by the marsh being under water for long periods of time in the wet season. With drainage these problems were gotten rid of. Contrarily, on the higher areas the plentiful rains flushed out from the sandy humus soils the minerals needed for growth and it was necessary to fertilize them. During the dry spells of July and August they suffered from drought. Within the marsh where it seemed we could with the least amount of effort clear a field for vegetables and hay, we took the task into our hands with enthusiasm and with great stamina.

How promising it seemed then, the future of our new society, among such companions whose morale, state of evolutionary development and stamina to labour were entirely admirable. With that sort of select group it would be possible to build a new society.

### More Strength

During these times more workers started to come and, as it is said, work progressed: ditches were dug at the large marsh, potato fields were tilled and buildings were constructed. Certainly, people of varying skills were represented; a couple of shoemakers, three carpenters, two

miners, a stone mason, a book binder, etc. among whom this author represented a ditch digger trained in Finland.

Closer to spring more men came with their families. First from Pori came K. A. Northted-Neva with his wife and Matti Ricksman with his family, and soon afterward from Finland came Heikki Lukkarinen with his family and one other family who soon returned. Now there were four wives on the island.

At the beginning of June Dr. Aswald H. Beckman from Astoria, Oregon arrived. Beckman, who had been very young when he came to the United States from Finland, had undertaken medical training at the University of Pennsylvania, practiced medicine in Philadelphia, and later, after the death of his American wife, he moved to Astoria. There he had married a Finnish woman named Miss Pernu. He had maintained a private hospital at Astoria and, as a consequence of his coming to Sointula, he moved its equipment there. Now we also had a Finnish doctor which brought forth a feeling of security in case of illness and accidents. There had not in the past been a proper doctor for nearly hundreds of miles.

It was announced before hand from Nanaimo, at a time when the Aika newspaper and all the management affairs of the Kalevan Kansa were still there, that there would arrive a substantial group of members onto the island for Juhannus on a proper holiday excursion. Now the rush began to construct additional housing. Since there was not

sufficient time to construct log buildings the carpenters tackled the large cedars and split from them attractive boards. Others briskly brandished cleave saws. In such a manner we finished a spacious hall-like building which thereafter became known as seeterihaali, in time for the Juhannus celebrations. The grounds around the cabin were cleared and cleaned thoroughly. Nearby we constructed a speaker's podium atop a large cedar stump and in all ways attempted to create space and comfort for the people coming to celebrate. In those kinds of ways we made preparations. We went elsewhere to purchase a large slaughter animal from a livestock rancher some fourteen miles away. He was William May, the first white resident in these parts and he along with his Indian wife lived across from Malcolm Island.

The preparations and the anticipation of Juhannus celebrations were for us as pleasureable as were those in our homeland when we were children because we had lived on Malcolm Island in excess of one half of a year like wild men of the woods away from the progress of the world. Now and again as companions arrived, we received news and information about the so-called capitalist world. There was no postal station yet and no kind of landing pier. Two small company ships, "Cusuitlan" and "Kapilano" came to blow their steam whistles near the island when some newcomer wished to come ashore. However, if the newcomer happened to be on board the "Kassiar", which belonged to the same company, he was left at Alert Bay from where he would have to try by whatever

means possible to be brought over by the Indians.

The arrival of new companions always increased our sense of security and our belief in the prospering of our attempt. Was it any wonder that we were in a euphoric spell of happiness? At least this author can witness on behalf of himself that these were the only preparations for Juhannus in his lifetime, when his belief in his ideal state and in a better life appeared to be within grasp.

#### The Days of Creation or the Founding Days of Sointula

Finally the awaited day came to light. The Kalevan Kansa festive guests arrived for the Juhannus celebrations or for the Luomis paivilla as they were called.

They had rented a ship, the "Kapilano", and there were many of them, men and women, boys and girls, and almost everyone remained on the island. The festive spirit was high and we celebrated for many days. Matti Kurikka through his oratory revealed his luminescent visions. Also speaking at that time were A. B. Makela, Dr. Beckman and Martin Henrickson, a man who already at this time was known in labour circles, and who along with his wife had come to Malcolm Island. Poems were recited and sung, pleasure excursions were taken and the island was explored. Only at that time did we give our extraordinarily beautiful, harmonious and sonorous homesite for our utopian society the name Sointula. An alternate suggestion for the name was Koti but in a show of votes the former won overwhelmingly.

We held many meetings and organized many new projects. Among other things, we decided to begin logging operations in an area behind Impilaheti or Mitchell Bay since earlier in the spring a steam engine operator, J. Hoikka, had come to be among us. He along with the blacksmith, Nygren, had put together a donkey engine for hauling logs. They had put it together from virtually scrap materials brought from elsewhere, and even after the Kalevan Kansa was disbanded it continued to fulfill its purpose with pride. However, we were only able to begin this logging operation because British Columbia's new provincial government had recinded the earlier large forest grants to the previously mentioned paper company so that the forests of Malcolm Island were left for the Kalevan Kansa. The granting of Malcolm Island to us could not be revoked because the agreement was made in the name of the British Crown and the Crown can never err. In this way the unprofitable pulp wood contract became worthless. The only outcome of the contract agreement was that we had begun to assume debts. When Kurikka presented the contract which was worth thousands of dollars to Vancouver's wholesale logging firms, supplies were quickly dispatched for the Kalevan Kansa. Kurikka most surely had the courage to do that.

The first annual report of the Kalevan Kansa was also read during the founding days. It, along with a copy of the Aika newspaper, has been preserved and will now be published.

Although all the members of the Kalevan Kansa have been able to carefully follow the duties of the directorship and the associated changes within our affairs with the assistance of the Aika newspaper, it is still important to cast an overall look at that unfailing progression of events which have gathered us here onto the shores of this island lapped by the Pacific Ocean.

Everyone of us Finns feels within himself that we are not people who favour destruction, rather do we favour construction. We do not tear to pieces the fruit of other people's labour, but have as our loftiest endeavour the growth of fruit from our own labours. Peace we crave, along with discipline and orderliness, but also independence. Not one of us who has been exiled from Finland's peaceful shores can say that the granting of this new homeland is not the idea of his imagination. No! Every proper Finn carries this ideal within his bosom even when on the surface he appears used to and satisfied with that ungodly turmoil which has taken authority in the cultured world at present. It is, therefore, natural that when the representatives of new ideas left Finland as a result of the latest political events to search for a new fatherland and fell upon America's most distant shores to be among those others forced to search for a home, there would naturally arise the need to give rise to something better. We did not construct an elusive and vaporous image which was not acceptable to the existing ambiance and which was not capable in time to join with them if need be into meaningful struggle. Nevertheless, we have not left unaccounted those external and fundamental truths whose neglect has caused the present form of society to verge on destruction. Just as firm and stable as the black soil of Malcolm Island is under our feet, as solid as is our company's legal foundation, is our security under England's Union Jack. And in our midst the light of undeniable truth shines just as brightly. Our steps are directed toward knowledge and kind-heartedness.

Ever since our brother Matti Kurikka and Matti Halminen began their exchange of letters, there has been among our misguided countrymen in Australia and America a new tide which, in its mysterious ways, has directed us toward light and salvation, bringing our striving steps closer together.

The group which first took the matter of the Kalevan Kansa upon its shoulders here at Nanaimo and Extension was small. It was only a group of twenty men, one of whom Matti Sjobakka, was accidentally killed in a mining mishap. Those men were Matti Kurikka, A. Oberg, H. Kilpelainen, J. Kangas,

J. Pelto, M. Halminen, P. Hakulin, G. Hermanson, V. Mattson, H. Tanttari, K. Henrickson, V. Rossi, J. Klemola, J. Parkkoomaki, H. Baund, V. Saarikoski, M. Lofbackka and M. Kytomaa. However, proportionately and without fail, our concern has advanced. It is natural that when the subject under consideration is the realization of ideals, we would need to begin from idealistic principles. We first established our own newspaper through which we immediately published a plain program without conditions, without any sort of opportunistically oriented point of view which would have entangled and hidden the newspaper's own platform. As a formality the newspaper was established separate from the Kalevan Kansa, but from the beginning we were cognizant that it would necessarily be subsumed into the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company. The newspaper has since then done its job by keeping the Kalevan Kansa affair active, and by illuminating those queries which were not yet understood by our soul mates, those who share the ideals, both males and females.

However, the acquisition of the island, the basic question in our affairs, did not depend on the influence of the Aika newspaper since its editorials are to the government and the general public unknown. Our ideals are to our new English speaking nationals just as unknown as were the ideals of the first century Christians to the Greeks and Romans. That is why we first needed to struggle against problems which appeared insoluble before we could get our ideals crystallized into accord with the laws of the country, into the regulations of the company. This needed to be accomplished before we could get our company legalized, before we could obtain authoritative and sincere attention, before there could be reciprocal action among our company's delegates and before we could at last obtain the government's legal agreement to the granting of the island to the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company. What worries and annoyances were brought upon our leading men just alone by that incident by which the island's forests were given over to the custody of the Industrial Power Company? That problem has only recently been resolved to our total satisfaction and of this the general public has not received but a small clue.

The affairs of the company have up until now been directed and administered by the directorship which the first shareholders nominated for that purpose. Among the directorship harmony and brotherhood has been so common that it is unlikely that at

any time the affairs needed to be settled through a vote. They have always been settled through mutual discussion. Temporary directors have been August Oberg, Austin Makela, H. Tanttari, Herman Baund, Bekka Hakulin, Johan Klemola, Kustof Hermansson, Matti Halminen, Johan Parkkoomaki, John Pelto and Heikki Kilpelainen. Matti Kurikka was president. The vice-chairman was Hermansson, the secretary Makela and the treasurer was Oberg.

Our affairs appeared incomplete at the end of the last year when our soul mates Tanner and Maikson came to Nanaimo from the Fraser River with their supplies and their offer to go to Malcolm Island on board their own boat. Although it was a wet autumn and the company's assets were small, the enthusiasm of the above mentioned companions cast off all doubts. Right away the question arose as to which other brothers wished to go along, and so brothers Henrickson, Kytomaa and Rossi left.

The beginning was not overly impressive, but credit goes to these fellows who during those times and in those conditions left to make the first cutting into the wilderness. If it had been left undone at that time, the beginning would have been delayed until this spring. In truth that initial expedition did not accomplish a great deal, but could one have demanded much more of it? We have since then advanced step by step, our work force and our material possessions have continually grown. Now we are in such a position that the burden cannot fall upon any single individual if our affair does not succeed.

Now there are 127 members in the Kalevan Kansa, of whom twenty have not fulfilled the regulations of the company in the designated manner, and who must, as a result, be considered questionable. In actuality some of them separated, but later sought to return, so that the majority of that twenty will in all likelihood still meet one another in Sointula. In addition, there are others who have offered themselves for membership but whose applications the directorship has not had the opportunity to process. The number of new arrivals in recent times has grown appreciably and is at par with the rest of our advancements. Because some of the company's finances have just been accounted for on Malcolm Island, and since the treasury has been at Nanaimo, the directorship cannot at this time in the middle of the fiscal year give exactly precise figures concerning the company's financial status. Of prime concern at the moment is that our position is very advantageous and that we have not been forced to make any agreements which we could not with all



certainly fulfill in time. Prior to the fifteenth of this month the membership dues, which have been accumulated, total \$3,313.60, and there is an additional amount of \$150.00 secured by the selling of shares in the Aika newspaper. The amount of money being discharged through labour has not been totalled. Gifts which total \$114.45 have been received, and of that \$108.95 has been appropriated for the piano fund, and \$4.00 for the immigration assistance fund. The advance payment of \$300.00 for the construction of the living quarters has been kept. Additional sources of income equal \$3.00. The Aika Printing Company has been awarded a loan of \$200.00 which is to be used to straighten out the debts incurred by the Aika newspaper. Expenditures for establishment costs, travelling expenses, etc., have been \$380.00; for machinery and equipment, boats, vessel maintenance and fitting, dishes and other furnishings \$1,388.90; for clothing and shoes \$410.90; for food supplies \$1,019.40; for wages \$250.00; for printing costs \$100.00; for medicine \$3.50 and for rent \$3.50. All of the above total to \$3,556.50. We now have money in hand which totals to \$174.55 and \$150.00 in the shares of the Aika newspaper. In machinery and equipment the company, at this time, has an active debt of about \$600.00; in food and clothing about \$400.00, which along with the previously mentioned advance payment create a debt of \$1,300.00 notwithstanding the wages due to the company's own members.

Without substantial private capital stock or loans we have gotten off to a good start with a kind of momentum which could not be better.

When the directorship now surrenders its authority and transfers its responsibilities onto the joint assembly of all the Kalevan Kansa's present membership, it sees as its moral duty once more to impress upon the thoughts of every one of the company's members that great truth which can never be forgotten. That truth became evident when we decided about the affairs of the Kalevan Kansa--nothing humane can be constructed without co-operation and collaboration; no co-operation can sustain itself without organization and there can be no organization without guidance. If you want to preserve that which we already have, find amongst yourselves those to whom you can trust the direction of your affairs. But when they have been chosen, trust in them as much, if not more, than in yourself.

That people which is capable of continuously governing itself, of choosing trusted representatives from its ranks, is capable of governing the entire world.

Sointula, B. C., June 20, 1902  
Matti Kurikka  
President

Austin Makela  
Secretary

From the annual report I perceived that we had already used a substantial amount of money on, among other things, equipment and tools, small machinery, blacksmith tools and other acquisitions. And there arrived without restraint additional members to the work force. Additional members were the best possible indicators and those sentiments were seen in the dispositions of everyone during those times.

However, let us again return to those founding days. There was a thorough explanation of them by A. B. Makela (also known as Austin Mckela) in two editions of the Aika newspaper. The articles were entitled "Creation Days at Sointula". It would be of the greatest interest to publish them in their entirety. But unfortunately the first edition has been lost and therefore I can reveal nothing other than what was contained in the latter half of the article.

The Townsite and the Division into Building Lots  
We were single-minded about the townsite. It will be located on the eastern shores of Kotilaheti on Kotiniemi beginning almost at the base of the bay and reaching almost to the point of the cape. From the point itself will be selected an area sufficiently large for a park. In the same manner from within the central area of the townsite, from the vicinity of the present Welshman's house at the bend of the peninsula, we will set aside a strip reaching across the townsite for a shoreline market place and further along a park. Everywhere along the shore will be left approximately ten to fifteen fathoms of land for the company for the time when there will be a straight shoreline street, small foreshore parks and a preservation for the embankment. The major streets will come to run the length of the peninsula. Their width was determined to be ten fathoms and that of the cross streets seven fathoms.

The blocks within the townsite are to be four sided and from each a piece will be left for the company. Arguments arose over the size of the building allotments. Support was given for one acre, one half acre and one quarter acre sized lots. Finally those supporting the one half acre area received the major backing. As the most appropriate shape it was decided that the lots should be long with the width equal to two thirds of the length. When the directorship had made its final decision on the shape of the lots it was agreed that they should measure 120 feet in length and 80 feet in width which would make them slightly less than one half acre in area. At the same time it was decreed that the lots could not be subdivided into smaller pieces. But with the approval of the directorship more than one family could settle on a given building lot.

Upon the authority of the regulations which we had formulated it was further decided that from outside the townsite itself no one will be given control over a larger portion of land on Malcolm Island than that which has now been agreed upon as appropriate for building lots. Ownership of shoreline areas will be given on a temporary basis only, under the understanding that the company if it should so need can reclaim it without recompense. However, in our discussions it was pointed out that the company will in the near future attempt to acquire other areas within the vicinity of the island and from those larger areas tracts would be made available for those wishing to have larger private areas of cultivation or broader areas of land for a specified time.

It was proposed that the sawmill be located in the same place as had earlier been planned by the Welshmen. Arguing against that suggestion T. Tanner informed us that he wished to place the sawmill at a small cape near the base of the bay where the company's blacksmith shop now stands.

We decided to locate the first building upon the bank, slightly towards the back of the bay from the sawmill, toward the tip of the peninsula, a generous one half mile from the present site to Sointula. The location of the wharf naturally should be near the sawmill. An opinion was given that it should be constructed on the deepest shore, at the cove near the tip of the cape.

#### The Organization of Projects

It was an undertaking which required much thought. It was our intention to put into effect the potentially most rewarding organization of work, while at the

same time keeping an eye out so that everyone would feel that in his task he was as independent and responsible as possible. Because of this we decided to create the position of a project organizer who would represent the directorship in all matters related to work. For this important task August Oberg was elected, and for his assistant A. Ruis, should he be needed. Individual work groups selected from their midst a work organizer who, in consultation with the project organizer, would assign to each his task, obeying the most exacting principles of work distribution. The work organizers would assume responsibility within their sections for the property of the company: machinery, vessels, tools, clothing, etc. In addition, he will give notice of what needs to be gotten and he will keep a record of the workers' days. Complaints about the conduct of the work organizer are to be presented to the project organizer or in the event that he should be of no assistance, to the directorship. If the work crew is unanimously dissatisfied with their work organizer, it can select another. However, during work it is necessary to obey the organizer without causing any obstructions.

The length of the workday for all the tasks was set at eight hours and that will hold for some time to come. That period of times does not take into consideration the distance to the worksite nor the distance back. This decision was reached after much discussion during which there was at first vigorous support for the thus far accepted standard of a nine hour work day. However, that idea was given less support in a vote. The work undertaken by women was organized in a separate meeting with the women.

#### Other Affairs

About them let it be mentioned that in the business affairs authorized by the proprietorship of a legally incorporated company, in which the participants in the matter do not unhold the decisions of their directorship as being necessary or anticipate them to be feasible, authority be granted to the following company trustees: president, acting manager, treasurer, secretary and stock keeper, each according to his own domain.

Since the printing business and the newspaper cannot be moved to the island until we have obtained a permanent post office, the company's secretary is, for this reason, forced to live at Nanaimo. Therefore he has been granted the temporary authority to approve membership applications when those matters appear to be straightforward. However, under other

circumstances he must submit the application to the directorship for their consideration, while lending to the matter at hand his own opinion. For this period the secretary shall also act as the company's financial agent at Nanaimo.

The task of being in charge of the post office was left in the care of the manager. He will represent the legal post master and with the company's sanction the position of its financial caretaker. Dr. Beckman was selected to fill the position of the future post master and manager.

It was also our plan to establish our own customs office on the island. The question of establishing a school has already been up for discussion as well.

We decided to redeem from Dr. Beckman and his formerly owned private hospital at Astoria, Oregon, the necessary beds and equipment to found a hospital.

In addition, we decided that to the extent that it is not contradictory to the company's benefit, we would as a matter of casual practice redeem privately owned equipment, vessels, fishing and logging supplies, etc. Their value would first be applied against the purchase of shares.

### Concluding Exercises

We again held a selection of spirited and joyful speeches, recited poetry and sang songs. A few specific instances have remained in my memory.

Kurikka characteristically presented his unbridled and distant plans for the future.

Makela hoped that the growth of our internal ideals would continue to keep up with our external achievements.

Dr. Beckman in a pleasing manner pictured that earthly grist mill through which each of us had been tossed here to Sointula. At the same time he proposed a design for the Kalevan Kansa flag. On a blue background there would be a white island the shape of Malcolm Island, and on this island would appear a golden Kantele. The suggestion was agreed

upon by public approval.

### To View the Island

In the times between sessions some people quite often went to admire the magnificent forests, where our well-versed loggers claimed to have encountered the best cedar woods that they had ever seen as well as other luxuriant vegetation some of which was six foot high berry canes. That is how the blueberry canes are, like small trees. At their peak, ready to gather, were two kinds of berries, some yellowish like Finnish cloudbberries, and others dark brown, resembling the arctic bramble berry. Their tastes had similar characteristics as well and they grew on the above mentioned high bushes. Our last winter's despised nuisance bushes turned out to be nothing more than berry bush stocks, the most valuable kind to be found here at that, since we hear that they are the best kind to use. The sheep and the non-milking cows here survive the year around on their leaves since they are very juicy and always green. These so-called nuisance bushes in their own right deserve thanks, otherwise the island would not be under our control. The Indians would surely have taken it for their resort. These same bushes also had prevented the government surveyors from going beyond the sandy shores. As a result they had made a lump estimation designating the island as having only sandy soil, a factor which has deterred white farmers from coming to the island. Makela wrote the following

observations.

The cultivation in the marsh area is said to be promising as well as extensive by those who have ventured that far. I did not see them since in the absence of meetings the directorship would gather or some other heated debate would arise in which one had to take part. If I should venture into the marsh area, they have promised to cover me over with clay, the reason being that then I too could finally understand the nature of the clay deposits on this island, better than I had been able to, judging from my poorly grounded observations last winter. As you can see the matter might be so curious that the entire island is formed of clay loam soil. However, that is no more of a loss to me than it is to anyone else.

At this time the natural setting appears to be much more full of life and spirited than it had been in the winter. The world did not appear very rosy when we had to wrestle with the storms and rain and were forced to take shelter for the night in the wet woods or at best in the ramshackle shack of the Welshmen. Even there it was not possible to get dry clothes for a week. The berry canes were just a hazard and the clay soil felt like sand. Now there were abundant song birds there. Every morning I was awakened by their twittering although in the winter I would not have believed that they could be found here. There were noticeably many of the world's smallest birds, those beautiful hummingbirds which fly like the flash of arrows. These shores are the only places on earth where the equatorial and polar wildlife; the hummingbird and the whale, meet with one another. This is what I had earlier read in books but I did not believe that there would be such a generous number of hummingbirds on Malcolm Island. The whales I most certainly saw in the water.

We waited until the last moment, although in vain, for the arrival of a photographer, A. Jarvinen, from Virginia, Minnesota, to come to our celebration with his skill and equipment. We purchased a small camera with which along with our own skills we took pictures along the way and on the island itself. However, when a professional photographer was afterward engaged to develop the films, the pictures from the plates taken from on board the ship were found to be damaged. In the absence of a darkroom light had filtered through to them, damaging the films. On the whole those taken on the island have been preserved rather well and copies of them are offered for sale in the advertisement section of our paper at a low price.

Still, not until Jarvinen arrives can we show our scenery through the kinds of pictures that its vast beauty deserves. The miniatures that we have taken now are but a temporary expedient.

Austin McKela

In the editorial of the Aika newspaper of June 27, 1902 there was the following report about the founding days.

Since we want our paper to appear at least in some form by now, it is necessary to leave a fuller report for following editions. For now, let it just be mentioned that with amazing unanimity, agreement and harmoniousness the hundred strong group resolved to support those important principles upon which our future communal life will be built. Not one discordant sound was heard. The main characteristics of the suppositions were published in the Aika newspapers before they were ratified. Other factors which quickly need to be mentioned are the elections which were conducted with secret ballots. Matti Kurikka was elected as president with the entire membership of voting ability giving him unanimous approval. The directorship was selected in accordance with the rules and trends of electoral practices, so that those elected received votes of varying amounts: August Oberg, Austin McKela, M. Kyto, Alf. Ruis, V. Jalo, A. Beckman, H. Lukkarinen, G. Iron, T. Tanner, V. Vesa, K. Aho, and M. Halminen. V. Karstunen and R. Puro were appointed as auditors in an open election and A. Willander and J. H. Tonsk as assistant auditors. Aswald Beckman was elected to be vice-president and manger, Austin McKela to be secretary, Austin Oberg to be treasurer and project organizer, V. Jalo to be assistant secretary, Alf. Ruis to be labour organizer and V. Karstunen to be stock keeper.

### A Monumental Task is Begun; the Economy Expands

On founding day when we had put together a small machine for hauling logs and when we had the majority of the members together, we began our logging operations at Impilaheti on Malcolm Island some eight miles away from Sointula. The first logging crew was not of professional calibre. It is unlikely



that all of them had ever seen logging operations in whatever form. In the group were shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, axe men and other less skilled men to handle the giant trees. In addition, the donkey engine was too small and underpowered and therefore the logs had to be cut so short as to be valueless before they could be removed from the forest. A salmon seine was purchased for the company straight away for the purpose of fishing. In July the company manager, Dr. Beckman went to Vancouver to buy a small steam vessel, the "Vineta".

Now there were proper work groups: the logging crew, the fishing crew, the cultivators, the blacksmith and the machinists and machine operators.

The need for housing was straining. Both the cabin and the hurriedly put together cedar hall were filled with families. It became necessary for us to get tents. Living in them during the summer was tolerable enough but in the autumn rains and in winter it was a different story. We suffered in the following winter from the housing shortage.

A keen question arose about how and where can we get milk since there already was on the island a sizeable group of women and children and more were coming. Not much milk trickled from the two cows which the company had and which had to forage wild.

The constant incitement to get people to come to the island by the Aika newspaper was, from the beginning, a curse since there was no shelter and none of the means of

production were in order. Logs at that time were without much value, and since the cost of dragging them to Vancouver's sawmills was high with unskilled workers and poor equipment, there was at this time very little value in the logging work. If we had from the very beginning arranged our company's affairs in a different manner we would have been spared many miseries and tribulations. It is especially necessary to comprehend the anxiousness of those mothers who had small children, and who in the past had not needed to suffer from much of anything, since their husbands had been well paid professionals whose standard of living had been comparatively high. In addition, some, even from the beginning, had not understood the ideas and ideals which we had come here to bring into existence. When such women found themselves in thoroughly cramped and chaotic conditions, when their small children suffered from a lack of milk, not to mention the delicacies which they had become accustomed to receive and offer, it is understandable that they would be easily dissatisfied and in a bitter frame of mind.

This was the condition of affairs in August as Kurikka left for Vancouver. It was necessary to do something. In the Nanaimo newspaper there happened to be an advertisement about a certain dairyman who was discontinuing his operation. We looked into this matter, Kurikka, McKela and this author went to have a glance at the herd and it appeared to be of good quality. There was a directorship meeting and, with their approval, McKela and myself went to select some cows

and a breeder bull. Into the same herd of the Kalevan Kansa I also gave up my privately owned cow as well as my chickens.

In the Aika newspaper of August 22, 1902 was the following announcement.

#### Sointula Grows

Last Saturday night on board the freighter named "Capilino" there departed from Nanaimo to Sointula a group of residents for Malcolm Island. It consisted of about twenty adults and about the same number of children. Except for a few who had come from elsewhere the majority were Finns from Nanaimo and Extension, among them some of the founding members of the Kalevan Kansa. Having at last separated themselves from their affairs, they, along with their belongings, left here for good. Some of the men have already been to the island and now are taking their families and possessions there. Indeed, earthly goods have been accumulated, as can be seen when everything needs to be taken along.

On board the same ship to Sointula was sent the nucleus of a herd. Up to this time there have been only a couple of cows and their calves which have been bought in Alert Bay. Now eleven carefully selected milk cows have been obtained along with a potent five year old purebred Durham bull. The cows for the most part are four to five year olds and of mixed breeds.

Also on board the ship went a two and a half horsepower steam engine complete with its boiler. It was bought to be used primarily on the printing press when the printing business is moved from Nanaimo to Sointula. This is how Sointula advances bit by bit. Upon the arrival of this group the number of family members will be close to two hundred persons.

Toward the end of the week several families will go there. They are from Astoria, Oregon, and will pass through Vancouver on board the mail ship bound for the island. This does not mention the single or individual travellers of which there are always a few who are heading for Malcolm Island. The mining magnates here are already beginning to get a presentiment of what is taking their Finns from them. That was not the intent of the government they argue, the land should not be granted to others than to those who come directly from Finland. It is not for those who have already settled here to work. Whatever the intent of the government was,

it was our intent to establish a settlement where those who come straight from Finland will be accepted along with their soul mates who are already residing here. It is in accordance with these sentiments that the documents have been written.

On the same ship the author of this book went to Sointula. That little ship was like Noah's Ark: men, women, children, cattle, hens, dogs, etc., all bound for Sointula. At the Nanaimo pier there had gathered a large crowd, some of whom represented other nationalities as well, to see our departure.

When this sort of new arrivals landed on the island the need for further housing became unbearable. To add to the difficulties the autumn rains had already begun; it was raining when we arrived at the front of the cabin. Where to shelter our group and where to put the thirteen head of cattle when there was no cover for even the people? Somehow the needed adjustments were made, first families with children were placed in the cabin and the hall, others were put into the tents.

As had been decided during the founding days, no further living quarters were built near the cabin, but rather at the present site of Sointula. There we undertook to construct a large building in which there was to be a kitchen, cafeteria and dining area and a storage room all under the same roof. It turned out to be so spacious that it was sufficient for its purpose for the duration of the Kalevan Kansa's existence.

By the time that the eating place was completed we had

already collected enough equipment so that we could undertake the construction of a sawmill. Now the same problem appeared that had done so at the commencement of our logging operations. Experienced carpenters there surely were but none had seen the construction and assembly of a sawmill. The result was that the saw cut boards at a very slow rate from the timber, so slowly in fact that with just its assistance we would not have been able to build the desperately needed quarters. That was frustrating and annoying for those who had been building and putting the sawmill into shape. It was certainly true that the supplies were scavanged, haphazardly gotten and previously used. It would have been difficult for even the experienced builder to put together a properly functioning apparatus from them.

This winter of 1902 was a period of misery and trials. Particularly, the impoverished state of the living quarters made the women especially impossible to satisfy and slowly members began to leave the island. Some of them sent maligning letters to be published. Among them was the recognized working class agitator and travelling lecturer, Martin Henrickson. At first he was one of Kurikka's best companions and admirers, but he soon came to argue with Kurikka to the point that he was forced to leave the island. The same kind of relationship came to pass for all those who from the very beginning came to admire and honour Kurikka to the utmost. Sooner or later they came to be his worst enemies.

Dr. Beckman had already in July travelled to Astoria to get his family. Of that there was the following notice in the Aika newspaper.

Dr. Aswald Beckman travelled last Tuesday to settle with his family on Malcolm Island. His regular occupation will be post master but he also has permission to practice medicine among the membership of the Kalevan Kansa until such a time as when a doctor can be gotten who has been awarded new certification according to the laws of British Columbia.

### Our Impractical Flowers

We had already had the opportunity to gather numerous such flowers or blunders, but one of the most lasting we got from our attempt at stock raising. Even with the large work force we did not have time to build a barn for the cattle we purchased. Nor did we build residences for our people from logs although new settlers wherever they might be put them together in a short time and with a small work force. We still needed to take the majority of our milk cows to a different area on Vancouver Island where there were a couple of abandoned shacks discarded at some time by newcomers who had left. Around them there was a little cleared land. We had to carry food there for the animals, attendants had to remain there and one man had to deliver the milk to Sointula. These kinds of circumstances, indicating the mismanagement of our household economy, were just a continuation of our earlier mistakes.

Let it be known in this connection without any attempt

to hide the matter, that Kurikka and Mckela were not practical managers, nor were they suited to direct economic life in the circumstances in which we the poor workmen tried to begin to create a spiritually guided industrial society within the virgin forest. We tried to accomplish it primarily by enthusiasm and good wishes. When educated gentlemen, and especially those who have recently come from Finland and write intelligent and penetrating articles about all the facets of society and on the support of their knowledge evaluate the various transactions, it must be said that they are just impractical theorists working on paper. They are the ones who hasten to deceive in order to put their impractical ideas into experience in primitive, rigorous and strange circumstances. In many instances their practical putterings appear at times to be quite childish and they have a great deal of difficulty to lower themselves to accept a workingman's knowledge which he has gained through experience. We too, at Malcolm Island, had our own experiences in these matters.

About the issue of ideal marriage or free love, perspectives which Kurikka encouraged, he and Mckela could not agree at all. In other more practical matters Kurikka trusted Mckela's judgement completely and this was exactly the purpose for which he had brought him here. In the discussions and the resolution of Kalevan Kansa's important affairs Kurikka and Mckela were of the same opinion. The affairs were always discharged as they wished since at the

time of voting the tailors and other such people were always of the same opinion as they.

But let us return to the time at hand. After trials and adjustments the saw began to push through a little more lumber, so that it became realistic to think about the construction of a larger communal living area for the members who were still suffering as a result of the pitiful circumstances. This author did not have the opportunity to follow all the meetings of that period since he along with his family was ordered to take up residence near the shack of the previously mentioned Danish hermit. It was close to the lake of approximately ten acres in size which was discovered earlier in the spring. I, along with the help of one other person was given the task of digging drainage ditches for it. Travelling on foot we could only get to Sointula on Sundays to attend the meetings, and to hear the general news about our company's undertakings and its state of affairs. The communal building which we had planned needed to be quite large and it was most certainly demanded by the continual arrival of new members on the island, although a few had left. Along with others there arrived from the Dakota prairies five families with fifteen children. They were farmers. They brought with them six strong work horses, of which two had been sold in Vancouver. These four horses, along with the fifteen head of cattle we were forced to feed with hay bought and brought all the way from Vancouver without the benefit of their services. It was



necessary to buy food along with other supplies for the people on credit. There was a plan to feed the horses without incurring additional substantial expense, but even that attempt ended in misfortune.

We loaded on board the "Vineta" some lumber and several men among whom was the secretary of the Kalevan Kansa. They were to build a barn for the horses at Wakeman Sound, some sixty miles away. But on the grassy alluvial lands tide waters rise to a height of six feet twice a day, particularly in the winter. Quite likely these affairs seemed doubtful even to the secretary since the lumber was piled and stored in the forest beneath a large fir tree. There it remained to be gathered up by the Indians although there was a desperate need for lumber at Sointula.

#### The Aika Newspaper Ceases Publication

A short time prior to the above mentioned incident the Aika newspaper had ceased publication in Nanaimo. The last edition on hand for my present use is September 20, 1902 and in it Kurikka suggests to the directorship of the Kalevan Kansa that there will be a short term lapse in the publication from this date until the end of the year, at which time it will reappear from Sointula. However, circumstances in Sointula delayed the appearance of the paper for over a year or until November 1903. During these times Kurikka did not have his own newspaper to defend the affairs of the company against the attacks coming from without. Other private or

company newspapers aimed at American Finns were not enthusiastic to publish Kurikka's writings.

The publication of the Aika newspaper as a matter of circumstance had become difficult since all the company affairs had already moved to Sointula. Yet at Sointula there was no way of accommodating it, especially when there was not sufficient accommodation for the wives and children!

### A Communal House is Built

Construction of the living quarters was started in November. As a result of the rains and the foul weather this author could only rarely go to Sointula. So several weeks had passed before, on a certain Sunday, I went to Sointula. There I saw to my amazement and joy a large tall building firmly standing and almost complete. At least it was complete to the point where the roof was being hammered on with great haste. It was said that there was a "talkout" and many men were on the roof. It was a sight to revive my spirits. I had not on my departure from Elliman's shack even been able to envision that so much might have been accomplished in Sointula.

In my memory there has remained a certain occurrence from these times which seems somewhat unimportant but I shall relate it just the same. In front of that building next to the base of a stump was a campfire and in its midst was a standing length of pipe. I did not understand the purpose of the pipe until Mckela came to feel the hot air which was

coming from the end of the pipe. Soon Kurikka arrived and began to do likewise. Then it dawned upon me that they were testing the heating system for that new building and I took it upon myself to mention to Kurikka that there were inherent dangers within those kinds of heating methods. Kurikka turned immediately and began to walk away, obviously hurt by my observation. Did that experiment relate to the use of the heating system which was later so fateful for that unlucky building and its inhabitants? Let us say that it did.

Among us were many skilled builders and carpenters. Therefore the building was soon completed to the point where it could be put to full use. It was three storeys high. Two floors were given over to living quarters with a hallway in the middle and the living areas along both sides. On the first floor the door to the outside was on the end wall in line with the hall on the bottom floor. On the first floor the first room next to the door and on the left was the office which also served as Kurikka's living quarters. On the right was a staircase to the second floor and from there extended another to the third floor where there was a large meeting hall which temporarily served as a tailor's shop. On the other end of the building was a large baking oven made of mortar and from it was constructed some form of heating system which passed through the walls into the living quarters.

During this time and much before Christmas the financial

affairs of the Kalevan Kansa were rather hazy. The debt grew as we lived on credit, both the people and the animals. Sources of income could barely be named. The task of procuring credit fell upon the neck of Kurikka. The job was not easy since we needed large amounts of many kinds of supplies beyond the necessary foodstuffs. However, Kurikka executed his responsibility incomparably. Often he would complain about the difficulty of his task, agreeing that at times it was necessary for him to lie a little. But always when the lack of supplies became an urgent matter Kurikka would travel to Vancouver and from the logging exchange supplies would arrive.

In the end of January 1903 he was on such business in Vancouver. At that time the creditors of the Kalevan Kansa demanded to know what there was on the island. Was it worth giving us further credit? For that purpose they sent a man named Bell, one of their trustees, to examine Sointula's forests and other assets. He came to see if any further debts could be paid from here. The examiner went over all the work projects and therefore came to our drainage ditch project as well.

It had become a habit that when Kurikka returned from Vancouver we would gather for a meeting and listen to Kurikka explain about the company's debts and about its present situation. Now once again the members gathered together to listen to Kurikka's explanation. I was not at that meeting. I was reading something late into the night

at my quarters at Elliman's shack when upon going outside I noticed that the horizon in the direction of Sointula was gleaming and glowing red. Although I suspected something I did not realize at the time it was:

### Sointula's Unfortunate Fire

In the morning, at the breaking of the day, I started along the shoreline for Sointula. In Sointula there were two large buildings as has been previously mentioned. I had a premonition and suspicion that one of these had now burned because the rest of Sointula's cottages or any other sources would not have made such a large blaze. Upon arriving at Kotiniemi Bay, my heart began to beat so hard that I could feel its strokes through my clothing. Which one of these has burned, the cafeteria-storage building or the communal living quarters, I frantically pondered. Upon arriving at the tip of the cape it became clear to me that the communal living quarters were missing! Hurrying and upon meeting the first group of people I inquired, "Have any people been killed by the fire?"

### Eleven

I will not try to present a description of the effect of that blow. I will simply say that the strength was gone from my feet. I lurched and slumped into a chair. Just think that eleven people, who were to me like brothers and sisters have been killed at the same time! I heard the names

of those who had died and after a few moments brought myself together and went to the site of the fire. There were the bodies, some of which were just remains, stretched out at the fire site. In the cabins and tents lay those who had received burns or had in some other way been hurt, among whom was my own daughter. The faces and hands of many were badly burned, for instance, A. B. Mckela, who we at first thought would completely lose his eyesight.

News of the tragedy had reached Alert Bay and from there arrived a policeman, clergyman, some other third person and a justice of the peace. A police inquiry was held and a board sworn in. I too had to participate in that although my heart was sick with grief.

In accordance with the accounts given by those who had been at the fire, I will try to give information about it and about how it had got started.

Almost all of the Kalevan Kansa members who had been at Sointula had gathered to hear Kurikka's news from Vancouver which concerned us all, in the upstairs meeting hall of the communal living quarters. While the meeting was in session someone had noticed a threatening danger and made it known that fire had broken loose. Following that there was a hurriedly organized attempt to go down so that there would not be any confusion on the staircase. But downstairs the fire had taken such control that only some people had an opportunity to save themselves by that route. Others were left upstairs in the smoke to fight for their lives. The

building had been constructed of green lumber and when they had dried and shrunk large cracks were left. The baking oven had just been brought up to heat. The fire began at this end and since the door to the outside at the opposite end had been left open a powerful draft was born. The gapped board walls burned as rapidly as a basket made of splinter wood. People jumped from the windows of the upstairs second and third floors. Those who were already too overcome from smoke and were faint were dropped down from the windows by others. Therefore there were many who received injuries.

The examiner, Bell, who had accompanied Kurikka back from Vancouver, had been put up in Kurikka's bed in the office and was able to escape from there with his belongings without incident. In the morning he had been taken to Alert Bay from where he had immediately gotten to Vancouver by ship. He straightaway wrote about the news and gave an explanation about the Sointula fire to the newspapers. From Vancouver two nurses were immediately sent and an assistance fund was started, which in particular provided the much needed clothing; thankfully.

Is it even necessary to present those feelings as we lived with our afterthoughts about that upsetting incident?

Eleven people had been killed and a large group was suffering from severe burns!

The following are the ones who lost their lives.

1. Herman Hantula's wife Maria and their children, Herman, Ilmari, Vilpas and Aili. They had arrived at Sointula just

before Christmas from their farm in the Dakotas. 2. The widow Maria Lofback and her two children, Tekla and Oiva. Her husband, Matti Lofback, had died in the previous spring in a mining accident at Extension. 3. August Oberg's two children, Elma and Hilma. They were born at Nanaimo. 4. The blacksmith Victor Sortell. He was an older man who had been born in Tampere.

At the time when his whole family perished in the fire, Hantula had been in Vancouver on business.

In addition, all those who had been living in the building lost all their belongings and some lost what little remained of their money as well.

All sorts of notions about the causes of the fire began to haunt the minds of people, even the possibility of outright arson. These feelings arose from the chaos amidst those who had lost their ability to deliberate and to make rational judgements and in the minds of those who had been driven to despondency. However, it can easily be understood that it would take nothing more than the kind of heating apparatus which was in use. The pipes were drawn from the bake oven and then through the walls. At an earlier time, they had come close to starting a fire. That was the cause of the fire, that alone, nothing else.

The author was not part of those meetings which were held in Sointula concerning the causes of the fire. He had neither the opportunity nor the desire to be there. I dug my drainage ditch and worked alone at the marsh since my



companion had been asked to come to work at Sointula. Those weeks and months I would not wish to live over at any price, if in this connection one can take the opportunity to talk about his own state of mind.

Since one has taken it upon himself to talk about the fate of the Kalevan Kansa, I see it to be in due form to publish Kurikka's writings about the causes of that fire. That piece appeared in the Aika which was now being published in the form of a journal from Sointula. It appeared on the first of November 1903. The following is taken from it.

The Following Article Which Was Read at the Next General Meeting Will Explain the Situation

Everyone knows that there is a difference in our conduct when we are among friends and when we are among enemies. In the company of our friends we are dressed in light weight everyday clothing and we handle the hoe and the shovel. However, when we go out amongst our enemy we dress ourselves in heavy military garb and we exchange our hoes for murderous weapons. Among friends we discuss our secrets and reveal even our weaknesses but among enemies we remain on guard and keep the necessary distance away.

We all yearn for friendship and attempt to find it. But before we can enjoy our friendship we must learn to distinguish our enemies from our friends. But by what means?

They can be identified from the consequences of their actions. He who thinks bad things also speaks and does evil. He who does not think evil will not speak badly of another nor will he do evil toward him. And by what means will we be able to attract friends? By coaxing and flattering? That sort of friendship will not endure long. By offering of ourselves we can attract friends, by giving of ourselves and not by taking. We can do this by sacrificing our own pleasures and our own peace. If we are overly hesitant in helping our helpless friends, in arousing our own peace and comfort to a point of anger and fighting in the search for our enemies, then we will soon drive away our friends.

We have come here to Sointula to search for

friends and to make friendships. Have we been successful in our undertaking? Not yet, not yet! This is so because not everyone has come here to seek friendship and comradeship. Instead they have been allowed to pursue their own self-interests because we have not developed sufficiently to understand that the seeking of self-interests is not giving, rather taking. We have been satisfied in the same manner that animals are, to accept them all as friends, providing that they do not push, kick, scratch and bite us. No one has arrived here who as a matter of fact has horns on his head, hoofs on his feet, nails on his paws or sharp incisors at the corners of his jaw. But there have arrived here those who maintain a desire to cause anger and to engage in backbiting. They bind together insidious gossip as if it were a natural right. That, however, has not been the worst of it. From those sorts of biters and stompers we got away once and we will surely get away again. But here and now we are completely and openly tolerating this misery. Here, where we have had completely harmonious thoughts those sorts of horn-headed individuals have been permitted to practice their despicable sport. It is unlikely that anyone has stepped aside, sacrificing his own well-being for the friend who is absent. Despicable rumours have been allowed to spread freely among our comrades and to soil their esteem and to poison the peace. Nothing has been done to search for the truth behind these rumours and to bring these slanderers to account for their deeds. Take a look at the form that these rumours have taken as they have been permitted to spread freely among us. Let us take a few and let them stand as representative of them all.

Since last fall the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company has been in a tight spot over money matters. It was a natural outcome since only a minority undertook to underwrite their membership costs in cash and because the logging operation did not bring the anticipated benefits. It went poorly. The membership grew and in addition to that there were more women and children among them. There was no way to make the men understand that since we needed food, tools and clothing the only work which should be undertaken was the kind through which these supplies might be obtained. They knew very well that with the ditches and other such projects these requirements of livelihood could not be procured. They could be had only through one kind of work, logging, since there was a market for logs. The problem became clear only after the passing of a half a year when all sorts of other projects, which in

themselves were valuable enough had been completed. But they were also a cause for the burdensome debt which the company accumulated. The means by which the writer of this carried the burden of debt upon his shoulders can be seen from the ledger, which is still preserved.

Then came the fire. Because of urgency and need all the Hellish powers took on authority. They who had sought personal gains from the company but had until now kept their cover, no longer saw it to be profitable to conceal their evil. Now we see the backside of the Finnish people's national character in all its obscenity.

Everyone is aware that in the management of the company finances no errors have occurred, since the ledger through which all the money came in and was discharged is still in safe keeping. Furthermore, the contents of the book in which there were the records of work days, etc., is clear and will be made known without any kind of entanglement. There is not a single person who can say that he has paid this or that much or that he has this or that many work days, which cannot be read out for his benefit. And all the money which has been received from the sale of logs, etc., is recorded to the penny in the book.

However, there are among our own Kalevan Kansa members those who openly testify that thousands of dollars have been embezzled from the company and that they can prove that at any time. Let them step aside! Let them bring the accusations and proof into the open. I am ready with all the other accused to leave the clothes on my back to the company and to leave here to go to some other place without a trace and without a sound.

That is not enough. They still have a more treacherous accusation against us. Supposedly we are also murderous arsonists. To a point which out-reaches hope I have struggled to keep up the company's credit. I returned to Sointula fatigued and in ill-health and along with me came a certain gentleman whose employers in Vancouver had sent him here to see if there truly were logging forests here so that they could give us further credit. Although after that I had organized a meeting, P. J. Vanhanan, a member who was subsequently asked to leave the island, demanded a new meeting and presided over it against the wishes of myself and Makela. Then during the meeting the building caught fire and quickly became like a barrel of fuel oil engulfed by the strength of the flames. Out of courtesy the comrades made way for me so that of the men I was amongst the first to get out. Makela,

however, was badly burned and his life was saved only by a miracle. I lost everything, all that I had over the past twenty years kept as valuable and dear, all the old memorandums and letters, all those works by which I had hoped that in the future I could make my way even if a world flood came to be.

It is common knowledge to us and to those who tell those murderous tales of how the fire got started. They protested that Mr. Bell was sent by the government to examine the records of the Kalevan Kansa. What would the government have to do with the records of the Kalevan Kansa? And, that I along with the other official men of the Kalevan Kansa purposely burned all our own possessions and, in addition to that, killed eleven people in order to destroy those records which brother Makela had kept with great care and which I had not yet seen. What evidence do they have for these kinds of dreadful accusations?

1. When in my absence a temporary meeting hall was located on the upper floor above the living quarters, I, though not an expert in building, noticed that the steps were dangerously narrow. As a result of this observation I said, "This building has been constructed with the intent of frying people." I immediately began to think about how in these times of suffering and need the problem might be corrected. The fact that the matter was corrected in my absence in a haphazard manner was not the first nor the last such occurrence in our midst.

However, my statement of warning will serve as testimony against me with those backbiters. If possible, still more ridiculous, are the accusations against Makela since he had quite often cautioned about the use of fire there.

2. Upon seeing that sorrow and despair which had gained power over our weaker companions after this dreadful tragedy I tried to gather myself. Realizing my responsibility to encourage and comfort my friends I uttered a line from a renowned thinker, "Tribulations are at times disguises for blessings." Who knows what benefits this tragedy might bring with it. I would not have been able to believe that an ordinary mortal human could understand this in any other manner than as fatherly advice to reawaken new hopes among those who had sunk into despair. At any rate there are such black souls here who understood it to have been proof of my criminality and guilt.

3. Upon my leaving on a lecture tour a couple of months after the fire, I managed to get brother

Hakala to set into print in the greatest of haste my latest poems. In the last instance I had the fortune to include among them some of the poems written by the other members so that we could call the folio Kalevan Kansan Sointuja. These I sold on the reading tour and sang them on so many occasions that my voice became hoarse. I sold two thousand five hundred copies and made an accounting of this to the company.

But think beloved brothers and sisters, think, about that despicable nature which can reside among our own ideal-seeking companions' hearts when here in our midst such a story is put into circulation that I supposedly in secret salvaged those poems from the fire and then went out into the world to sell them.

4. Here there has been unwarranted discussion about the fact that when the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company advances and gets its base of credit into an unfaltering position, it can establish and make legal its own bank. In it American Finns will be able to save their wealth and they can begin to lend money for tickets for those who are coming here from Finland. Having discharged their obligations through labour after having arrived here at the destination, some of our own inner members are said to have placed their money into a common savings account even before the bank has begun its operation or even before such an undertaking could be thought of as reasonable. Was not the desire for incorrect disclosure of facts and for deception strong when at that time this small matter was created into such a tremendous affair? It was stated that Kurikka and the others have without the knowledge of the government established their own bank and are speculating with their money without any consultation with the settlers who are made to work without compassion. There appear to be such fools even among the representatives of the Finnish Americans that they see it as their responsibility to people to testify to their innocence in such slander. In the midst of enlightened people such slanderers and defamers are evil doers, if they cannot substantiate their accusations. There can be some delight for the Finnish American newspapers and their readers in seeing me pursue all those companions in betrayal; those who had sneaked into our close comradeship and who are now secure in the capitalist anarchy, reproaching us with poison arrows. However, it is of no consequence what American Finns should think of me, say of me, or write of me, as long as my idealistic companions, be they Finnish or of some other nationality, are

clear of the kinds of elements in our midst from which we must advance if we are to purify ourselves. Before all else it touches upon the people from Sointula. Is it necessary that we cease to be here as it is said with bare heads and with bare hands as is fitting among our own? Do we need to become stationed for combat or do we demand to create a brotherly open heartedness and a sisterly joyfulness which is even more fulfilling than before? I have to know this since upon it hangs my present relationship to Sointula. I can wait twenty years for that harmony which my spirit thirsts for, but I do not intend to be along to accept even an inch of discord.

It is obvious from the reasons which I have stated concerning the terrible occurrence that there were people on Malcolm Island who were not responsible for their actions. I am encouraging the directorship of the Kalevan Kansa to decide at an early date whether it is necessary to take legal action against the slanderers. Or can we still through companion-like means try to bring them back into their right minds. Let the directorship decide one way or the other; I, the writer, am willing to accept the decision of the directorship.

Matti Kurikka

The lengthy and controversial piece of polemic writing by Kurikka gives an indication that the author had an understanding of the concerns around this event. But it shows to even a greater degree a reflection of that embroiled discord, suspicion and argumentativeness which soon after tore apart the collective community of Sointula.

When it came time to deal with the suggestions in Kurikka's article, the directorship of the Kalevan Kansa was of the opinion that it would be fruitless to try such companion-like methods. However, before taking any action the directors decided to listen to the opinions of the residents on the island at a general meeting. At that time the majority felt that legal action was the only fitting

recourse against such slanderers. A minority would have been satisfied if those known to have spread the rumours would openly publish their retractions in the newspapers. Based on this authority the directorship decided to suggest that Matti Kurikka and August Oberg toward whom the slanderous remarks were primarily directed should undertake legal action against the worst of the defamers. It was decided to leave the matter where it stood for those two who published an announcement saying that the accusations attributed to them were without truth.

Having begun to prepare a case Matti Kurikka travelled to Nanaimo, British Columbia, to discuss the matter with the company's lawyer. In the interim, however, all those guilty ones who were responsible for organizing those slanderous activities and whose identity could be made public into the newspapers with the assistance of witnesses, had left for Vancouver. Remaining were only two simpletons who could not be asked to account for their words. Since the guilty ones had fled and because the legal process now would have brought about many difficulties and additional expenses, Matti Kurikka, the company's president, suggested upon his return that the legal action be left for another occasion. It should be left at least until the ring leaders can be found within Canada's borders. The directorship on its own behalf did not push the matter any further.

In addition, it should be mentioned that the attorneys indicated that those kinds of slanderous remarks in this

country belong to the order of the day. Therefore, anyone who gives himself to a public task should at the same time be ready to accept all sorts of downpours of filth. He is considered to be looking for personal vendettas, who from such small matters undertakes legal action in order to satisfy his pride and reputation. For the American, the weapons in these matters are the fist and the revolver, but by no means the law.

The person who has taken it as his task to discuss historical matters, the kind which will be preserved in history, must honestly discuss those affairs as he sees and knows them to be. Because of this I saw it as my responsibility to publish Kurikka's writing from the Aika newspaper despite the dark picture it gives of some of the members of the idealistic community. I did not have an opportunity to follow all those sad and troublesome wrangles and fanatical meetings which followed the tragic fire.

From the beginning it was the duty of the Kalevan Kansa directorship to serve in the selection of members by examining their requests for membership and then to either accept them or reject them. Rejection very seldom took place. I, on my part, do not recall that it ever happened because we were always hoping to attract more members. Furthermore, it was impossible on the basis of the applications to decide about the personalities and dispositions of the applicants and about their shortcomings and their faults. In addition to that, the ideas and perceptions about our company among many



Finnish workers were entirely singular and twisted. Many of them took the Kalevan Kansa to be some form of private business headed by Kurikka. Since there were unemployed Finnish workers in Vancouver and because there appeared to be no hope of finding jobs, they among themselves thought, "Should we go to Malcolm Island to work for Kurikka?" When the membership under such circumstances grew large it was a natural outcome that the congregation would be a mixture.

It is possible that we were all in some ways unsuited to begin to build a new idealistic community, but to a large extent there were members who looked toward it with earnest interest and goodwill. They, however, could not compensate for those mistakes which had been made and were being made in ignorance and stupidity on the basis of Kurikka's speeches and writings. We had come to Malcolm Island as if to come to school, to be cleansed and to grow spiritually in accordance with the teachings of Nazareen theosophy and other lessons. However, they were not helpful in assisting us in organizing our affairs and in putting their lessons into practice. There was great interest, however, in spiritual matters. They were much discussed and there were many mind engaging and interesting meetings and debates, especially on those occasions when two separate world views both in terms of their spiritual and material components, dashed against one another. These debates were followed with enthusiasm, especially when Kurikka and Makela took

contradictory viewpoints.

### The First Annual Meeting After the Large Fire in 1903

We held a directorship meeting in the beginning of February before the annual meeting of the Kalevan Kansa. There a board of members was selected to distribute the clothing assistance which had been sent from Vancouver and elsewhere for those who had suffered after the fire.

The overall annual meeting began on the 21st of February. It was the first such meeting after the large fire. It was held in the nearly finished sauna which was constructed from logs. According to the "Proceedings" there were 93 members taking part.

The first matter on the daily agenda was a question of withdrawal. It concerned two members who left the company and the community. About it there immediately arose a fierce controversy between Kurikka and the other members. The majority of the assembly opposed the withdrawal of the memberships in question and at that time Kurikka threatened to resign as the president of the company and to leave from the island entirely. Because of this the assembly, on the next day, decided in the prevention of further discord to support Kurikka's wishes and to divorce those members from the company. The handling of this affair for the first time caused a rupture in the relationship between Kurikka and Makela. It is unlikely that the relationship ever again returned to its former shape.

### New Undertakings and Financial Designs

After the February annual meeting when nearly all those injured in the fire had recovered, we began the great task of building living quarters, first for those families who had children. Towards spring we built a spacious barn and a shed for the protection of the following summer hay crop. In all honesty there were not enough hay fields on Malcolm Island to make it worth mentioning but there was a fair amount of natural grass to be cut. We could be assured of a harvest.

For those who are unfamiliar with the coastal areas of British Columbia, this space is allotted to give them a brief description. Along the shores in the vicinity of Malcolm Island there are carved grooves, inlets, into whose bases rivers descend from the mountains. Into the larger ones there are at times two rivers. In the passage of thousands of years the flood waters from those rivers have brought with them silt which through time has filled the grooves of the inlets. In this way in the bases of the larger inlets there have come to be hundreds of acres of tideland which grow magnificent wild clover. Cattle eat it with vigour and the nutritional value of that grass is said to be equal to that of the domesticated grasses. The only problem with that grass is that it is difficult to dry due to the dampness of the soil.

Since we knew of the existence of several such grass-lands we began early in the year to prepare all the equipment

needed for hay making. We built a roomy flatboat with a tall rack around it made from a lathwork of wood strips, got a two horse mower and a horse pulled rake. The closest of these haying areas was at a distance of sixty to seventy miles. The time for making hay having arrived, the steam vessel "Vineta" pulled the flatboat, the men, the equipment and the two horses to the suitable location. After the tents were erected we began to cut hay, a process which went well since the land surface was smooth like a table. Since the low tide waters of the summer did not rise to the grasslands in these parts we harvested the crops without difficulty. In this way we managed to avoid the expense of buying feed in Vancouver for the animals.

In the meantime living quarters had been built in Sointula for the most needy and on Sundays and during the evenings the single men had erected for themselves a shack in which they could sleep during the nights. Because of these activities it was later in the summer before we could get around to sawing the boards and planks needed to make a shelter for our newspaper. At the February meeting it was decided that the publication of the newspaper should begin, but it was not until November 1, 1903 that the first edition was printed in Sointula.

On the 19th of December a special company meeting was held at Sointula. There were close to 80 members holding voting privileges in attendance. It was decided that in order to straighten out the debts of the company a loan

amounting to a maximum value of \$10,000.00 should be applied for and that the various buildings and equipment which had a value in excess of \$20,000.00 should be given up as security. The company's representative was authorized to sort out the details of the loan. No other means existed at that time for taking care of the matter. The only sources of income for the company were from the sale of wood products and from fishing.

The business of producing and selling wood products along the British Columbia coast was generally small at that time. At the time there were excellent logging areas to which there was easy access in close proximity to Vancouver. They supplied the need for wood products so that logs were relatively valueless. First grade pine sold for \$5.00 per thousand board feet in Vancouver and cedar and fir logs sold for \$4.00. Hemlock and larch logs were not accepted for sale. Towing from Malcolm Island to Vancouver cost approximately \$.75 per thousand board feet. Since not all the logs would be first class it can be calculated that the most that the company could realize would be about \$3.00 per thousand board feet from its logs.

For the sake of interest and observation let it be mentioned that afterwards in Vancouver at the best times the log market has paid \$30.00 or more per thousand board feet which truly indicates at what small wages logging work was done at that time on Malcolm Island. During the wartime when spruce was needed for airplane construction it sold for

up to \$60.00 per thousand board feet. For clarification it is fitting to mention that one board foot is equal to a piece one inch thick, twelve inches long and as wide as its length.

Let us then look at the possibilities for income and livelihood offered by fishing at that time. From the outset it should be made known that fish was at that time unusually inexpensive. At Rivers Inlet, which is at present the center of fishing for people from Malcolm Island, they paid at that time for the most valuable summer salmon \$.07 a piece, whether they were big or small. This was because the canneries owned the nets with which the fishing was done. The government had granted sole fishing rights around the mouth of the Nimpkish River and for seven miles in either direction to the Alert Bay cannery. Fall salmon which is not quite as valuable as the summer salmon could be caught abundantly from the beginning of August on and it was consumed fresh or salted. Due to its abundance there was no call for its harvest and it did not enhance our income so that it deserves mention. The idea of constructing our own cannery in those tight times could not even be discussed despite the fact that the company had been given sole right to construct such an operation at Knight Inlet where it was known that a substantial run of the valuable summer salmon rose to spawn. With matters being in this state there was no other option than to get a newer and larger sawmill, since the old one was not profitable, even though a new \$2,000.00 machine for

hauling logs from the forest had been bought for it.

But surely there would be other sources of income for the company? There was a shoemaker's and tailor's shop, a foundry, a brick works, a blacksmith shop with the necessary equipment and a twice monthly appearing Aika newspaper. Let us look at their value as producers of income.

It was not worth while for the shoemakers to finish shoes by hand because by the time that the leather was brought to Malcolm Island it cost nearly as much as the finished boots. There was no question about the non-profitable repair work which was brought to the cobbler. There always was a surplus of tailors, particularly in the summer just prior to the salmon spawning season. Because their work ended in the spring and the preparations for the winter did not begin until the fall, they became visible. That was taken to be an indication that soon the salmon would be seen at the spawning grounds. Only a few of the tailors were suited to the more arduous outside work. But even of them there were only a few who were suited to the logging tasks. Manufactured fabric was purchased for the tailors and they sewed clothes from it, but they came to be more expensive than those which could be bought as finished goods. To remain in accordance with the principles on which Sointula was founded it was necessary to provide the two die casters on the island a foundry even though those pieces of equipment which were needed could just as easily have been cast in Vancouver. At Sointula there also happened

to be a competently skilled wood die or mould craftsman. A few machine parts were cast at the foundry for Alert Bay, for the sawmill and for the reinforcements needed for the two bridges which were being constructed as an undertaking by the Kalevan Kansa in Vancouver and about which a more detailed account will follow later.

The income from the brick works from which we had hoped to realize a profit did not materialize because it was reduced just to providing material for our own needs. Due to the lack of a means of transportation the bricks couldn't be sent to more distant places and our closest neighbours were the wilderness and the Indians. The last mentioned most likely were not in need of bricks since they kept their fires on the earthen floors of their communal houses.

Then what more is there to come? It became necessary to search for a new press for the Aika newspaper since the one obtained from the purchase at Nanaimo was a very old model and too slow. For the newspaper a new building was needed although as a result of the fire there was a more critical need for housing for the people. In total fourteen editions of the newspaper were published there and the whole project brought forth a considerable deficit to add to the many other losses.

The blacksmith shop was a particularly important thing and there we had all the equipment which was generally needed in a blacksmith shop. As well as all the others there were among us trained blacksmiths and people with



mechanical knowledge so that in this regard the company was well supplied.

The unfortunate year of 1903 finally came to an end and we moved into the year 1904. The secretary of the Kalevan Kansa, A. B. Makela, drew up the annual report for 1903.

#### The Annual Report of the Kalevan Kansa for the Year 1903

Under the circumstances it naturally blossomed into an expansive document, which Kurikka and Makela had authored on behalf of the directorship on the 15th of February 1904. This document which in its beginning deals with the large fire on January 29, 1903 and its consequences along with the various sorts of tasks which needed to be done as a result of this tragedy at Sointula is too large to publish here. But certain excerpts from it are surely in their place here. That can be said in relation to the following segment which deals with the fire.

First impressions would have led one to understand that from such a great mutual tragedy as the fire was for us there would come about in our midst a feeling which would draw us together and ennoble us. But the experiences of the past year have indicated to us just the opposite. A group of Kalevan Kansa members who reside here have publicly joined with our enemies, taking with them that segment of the Finnish American press which until this time had remained favourable to our affairs. This does not even mention the spreading of slanderous undercover remarks.

If our enemies have been alert and energetic, they will now perceive to exist a crisis period during which there will be the most convenient opportunity to cause the destruction of the Kalevan Kansa. From the other side there have come forward in full strength proper men of ideals pledging all their being to make the affairs of the Kalevan

Kansa their affairs. That is the reason why our renewal despite all of our troubles has gone forward with good speed. The mood in our midst is indefatigable and our trust in the future is definite.

From that there follows an extensive explanation about tasks concerning production among Sointula residents. The account is given in the same manner as has already been explained and an account is given of the weak profits as well. Future hopes, as was stated in the above article, are to be focused toward the sawmill and it was suggested that the sale of wood products in the form of uncut logs should be ended as soon as possible.

Further, the article touches upon the education of children and on the organization of hospital care for the infirm on the island. Both are understood to be in a needy state.

A substantial part of the annual report touches upon the new allotment of lots which became necessary as a result of the fire.

There will still be a division in the work that needs to be done. The following section from the annual report will be published in its entirety because it illustrates the future plans of this society's directors.

The question of what will constitute the spheres of work of women who are married is borne from their suggestions and from the decision which was reached at the last annual meeting and which has been in practice since that time. When they have a sufficient number of children to care for they are not expected to perform other work which would otherwise be required as part of the obligation of being an inner member. Only after

we have realized our plans for a children's residence school and a handcrafts building and after the maintenance and rearing of the children becomes the responsibility of the company can the troublesome distinction relating to the spheres of women's work disappear.

Continuing, it is said in the annual report about the financial affairs of the Kalevan Kansa that:

In order to provide for the financial needs of the company there have during the past year been several attempts to seek out a substantial loan with the company's possessions being offered as security. Since these attempts have not been successful the attention needed to run the company's affairs has brought onto the parties concerned undue hardships.

The following statistics touching on population figures also deserve attention.

At the beginning of the year there were a total of 193 people on the island of which 87 were men, 39 were women and 67 were children. At the end of the year there were 100 men (47 married and 53 single), 50 women (43 married and 7 single) and 88 children (53 boys and 35 girls) which combine to form a total of 238 in all.

Of them 117 were spending their first year on the island, 138 were on their third year and 10 were born on the island.

Finally there will be a description of the spiritual aspirations of the island's residents, their meetings and proposals, the discussions which they had arranged, etc.

#### The Children's Home

In Sointula there had not been taken, for a long time,

a step as important for the creation of a new society as that which happened at the end of March 1904 when a communal home was opened for the children of the Kalevan Kansa. That matter had been under consideration for a long time. There had been publicity over people's feelings concerning it and personal views had been argued over. The affair had been sifted over in the women's meetings and the directorship accepted their final points of organization.

However, after everything had been gone over, we still found ourselves unable to move although there were over thirty children offered to the communal home and about ten mothers could thereby be freed to be part of the work force doing communal tasks. Whenever the matter was brought up the company found more important sorts of tasks to be engaged in. We could not get a building for the home and when finally we began to discuss its construction that too was a hardship. However, we eventually made that home operational at Sointula after it had first been talked about for years. The home was organized in the following manner.

Lempi and Matti Myrtti took it as their responsibility to care for the building in which there initially were three large well lit rooms. Outside there was a dry sunny yard. Each mother would take all her children to this home except those still in arms. If the children were entrusted entirely to the home, to stay there day and night and to be brought up there, then the home was responsible to care for their clothing and hygiene. If for some reason a mother

insisted on taking her children away for the night, a step she was not in any way prevented from doing, she then became responsible for the child's maintenance and clothing.

But as can be expected Sointula's children's home did not become what it was expected to be. Not all the mothers were satisfied with the care that their children received there. When the application of the ideals concerning the children's home took this unfavourable turn of events, Matti Kurikka lent himself to the affair. He wrote a lengthy editorial about it in the Aika newspaper. As an illustration of his thought concerning child rearing and as an indication of his demagogic nature the following excerpt is published.

. . . what do they know about child rearing who have not had a single child? There is the argument which springs forth from them almost at the strength of God's word, when one is forced to discuss communal child rearing with mothers.

But is this truthfully so? Is that what teaches one to raise children properly; to carry them, to give them birth, to suckle them and to wash and pamper them? That much a cat does for its kittens and I have not thus far heard that a cat has been made a model for child rearing. Does it guarantee for an individual the skills of a doctor that he as a charlatan feeds poison to people and thereby assists them to their graves? . . . that a woman has been able to become a man's life long dependent, that she has given birth to and roughly treated ten or so children, mauled them when she herself happened to be in a bad mood and slobbered on them on those occasions when her humour happened to be good; that does not make a woman competent to raise her children.

The argument that only women themselves understand child raising is stupid talk. However, the matter has still another side which makes it even more outrageous. If a chicken has made its nest in some dangerous place and you go to bring her along with her chicks into some better place, what will

the chicken do? She will squawk, peck and try out all her resources to prevent the move. That she does from motherly love. How many tender loving mothers in past times have prevented their husbands from placing her only child into a school and for what reason? From the problem that her motherly love has not been able to let the child go away from her.

How large is that majority of mothers who destroy their children's sense of right already in their early years by making them cryingly obey their mothers. And how very many mothers as their children are taking their first steps divert their thoughts away from the logically natural path? And why? Because they imagine that their children are for them. By being obedient to their own idiosyncracies and weaknesses they forget that true nurturing begins only at that moment when the mother begins to search for the reasons for her child's wrong doings and for methods to remove such reasons.

So long as the mother, while being in good spirits, permits her child even on one occasion to do bad things without indicating her displeasure or without punishing the child according to the problem and so long as she even on a single times scolds, gives a fast rap or strikes her child because she, the mother, happens to be in a bad mood, she will not be a nurturer at all. Rather, she will be an injurer and at the present time individuals who injure their children in this way are a majority. By holding on to them they tear away from their children during their early years the noble qualities of their birthright.

. . . for the most part these are the kinds of returns that mother's nurturing brings at the present time but undoubtedly there are in their midst proper mothers who can separate motherly love from a love of humanity. The former encourages love and admiration of one's own child inspite of his faults and above all it encourages jealousy of the fine qualities of other children. But love of humanity encourages us to love all that is good . .

. .

## The Concerns of the Company and the Organization of its

### Inner Members

Since the members of the company were compelled to do

work for the company and because some of them had lent their money to it and because the financial affairs of the company were now in a tight situation, it was seen as a necessary protection for the company to draw up some kind of agreement with the inner members. It would provide security for the company against such members who in the future might possibly obtain their release from it by legal means.

For that purpose A. B. Makela, the secretary of the company, drew up the following agreement binding the members. The directorship approved it. There certainly were some members who disapproved of it and not all were willing to sign it. The form of the agreement speaks for itself.

The Agreement Concerning Liability of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company

By becoming an inner member of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company on Malcolm Island in British Columbia, I give notice by signing my name in this contractual letter to being clear about the nature of its co-operative actions, joint ownership and collective economic undertakings. I recognize its authority here and agree to it, so that I will not look upon my personal shares, contributions of work, money or other donations from the perspective of normal wage workers and creditors on the outside. I will keep these contributions in our midst for the purpose of founding and preserving our own home and our society's ideals. Such actions I take to be my responsibility unless some other form of agreement has been made in my name between myself and the other members of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company.

The previously mentioned way of looking at things is most likely quite foreign within the province of British Columbia, with its prevailing views toward legal matters, even at the present time. Since this is so and because it is generally difficult for the stranger to become completely clear about the new understandings which we created in our midst, it would obviously be wrong to submit our internal and our Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company's possible disagreements or demands relating

to personal ownership to be interpreted within the law courts of the land. For that reason the undersigned makes a commitment on his behalf to have all the disagreements which could arise and all the matters requiring legal intervention between himself and the other members of the Kalevan Kansa resolved on his behalf through arbitration. Towards this kind of contractual solution both parties concerned must select an equal number of members who in turn will select one additional judge. In this manner the decision of the majority of the arbitration judges become final. However, if the undersigned refuses or hesitates an excess of fourteen days before selecting his arbitration judges, it is taken to mean that he will find acceptable those arbitration judges which have been selected for him on his behalf and will comply with their decisions. If the panel of arbitration judges does not within fourteen days come to an agreement about the additional judge, then one or the other of the disagreeing parties, having given notice to the other party, will demand that the nearest court of law appoint the additional missing judge. Both of the disagreeing parties will carry their own expenses and half of the expenses of the additional arbitration judge, unless the decision of the court has otherwise decreed.

Authorized by section 21 of the Rules of Memorandum of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company it is stated that I will not under any other conditions except with the company's specific consent, demand possession of any more of the company's land than what is the general allotment given to all the inner members.

According to section 20 of the Rules of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company it is necessary that I, in the very least, above and beyond the 150 days of labour will become obligated in relation to my ability and potential to do work for the company under the conditions and responsibilities that are mutually decided. Only through consultation with the company's directors can I temporarily be excused from the communal work. In addition, I will not demand financial or other remuneration for the days of work put in except that which is granted to everyone, such as the necessary supplies needed for livelihood, medicines, shares to the company, etc. This shall persist until the financial affairs of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company are on such a foundation that the yearly dividends can be dispersed according to section 32 of the Rules of Memorandum regarding compensation for the company's working population.



This agreement aroused argument and dissatisfaction among certain members and if I don't remember incorrectly there were some who did not underwrite it. But those members who saw it to be their responsibility to make the company's internal affairs secure and who were willing to sacrifice their personal gains in order to keep the company together were a large majority. This was the experience with many other issues when the matter in question was the prosperity of the Kalevan Kansa.

#### A New Sawmill -- New Inspirations

After the above problems had been resolved the company had no other means by which it could make its existence more secure than by building a larger sawmill capable of greater production. This matter was apparent to the company members much before the annual meeting in February. Upon the arrival of a new companion who had savings amounting to several thousands of dollars it was decided to use that member's money along with the savings of those earlier members who still had considerable savings left to build a new sawmill. In return, ownership of the sawmill was granted to all those who loaned money towards it. Work was begun just before Christmas 1903 and it progressed so briskly that by the end of January the building had a rain-proof roof. Since all the other projects were halted for the period of construction, except logging, we built a separate building from bricks for the steam boiler along

side the other, dug a deep well to feed the boiler, a well which never went dry, and finally we were able to install the machinery. Soon boards began to come out of the sawmill although not as rapidly as could have been expected from such a fast sawmill, most likely not in excess of 10,000 board feet per day. The machinery was too weak. From the old sawmill we made a planer and we obtained for it two small used planers which were still practical and in running order. In addition to these, we obtained still another larger new planer and we moved the old shake saw from the old sawmill to the new.

In this way with great sacrifice we put our new mechanism of production into operation. At that time on Malcolm Island we still lived in very withdrawn circumstances and far from the places of commerce where our building materials were needed. As a result there was no way we could sell them from home. Since there was a small sawmill owned by the Indian missionary society and operated by Indians at Alert Bay it supplied the materials for the surrounding areas. It is unlikely that the Indians needed much lumber for their simplistic lodges and there were only a few white skinned people in an area of hundreds of miles. Because of this there arose before us the important question of how to get the lumber and the building materials to market. The small steam vessel "Vineta" which we had purchased in the summer of 1902 was too small and low-powered to perform the task of towing on longer trips.

We were, however, fortunate in obtaining from Vancouver a new craft for a price of \$1,950.00, the cost of which we hoped to underwrite in terms of lumber products. The name of the vessel was "Lottie" and with it we hoped to tow lumber and other construction materials to where there would be a demand for them. Under the circumstances the purchase of the vessel was a good deal because the price which could be discharged though the sale of wood products could also be paid in small installments. Now we had overcome that problem as well and we could with enthusiasm adjust ourselves to the future. In addition, we had obtained from the British Columbia government full rights of ownership to 640 acres of land around the town of Sointula for the Kalevan Kansa under the condition that the company undertakes to construct a school house of a minimum value of \$2,000.00. These were the conditions under which we pursued our rights of ownership. Concerning this development, the directorship was authorized to give notice that the school house would be completed by the first day of the following August.

With this decision on behalf of the government of British Columbia we understood that there would be substantial indications of the strengthening of the company's financial affairs. This was because the land on which the company's most valuable buildings and possessions were located now had become our own.

We had progressed so far that the company had a sawmill which produced nearly 10,000 board feet per day, planers

which could dress first class building materials of all the required kinds and we had an almost endless supply of raw materials. Therefore it seemed that we could disentangle ourselves from the current financial difficulties, even if slowly. This was particularly so since there were among the company's members more than enough men who had skills in the preparation of wood products. However, it would have been unheard of and previously unseen in the business affairs and economic management of the Kalevan Kansa if we could have progressed in this way without major misunderstandings, stupidities and losses. They accompanied the progress of events from the beginning to the end.

#### The Unfortunate Bridge Venture

On one of the occasions in the spring of 1904 when Kurikka had been in Vancouver he had noticed an advertisement from the municipal government of North Vancouver seeking a contract to build two bridges over two rivers. First, Kurikka's notice about it in the Aika newspaper will be published.

The first major construction project of the Kalevan Kansa has been undertaken by contract since the municipal government of the township of North Vancouver had approved our offer to construct road bridges over the Capilano and North Seymour Rivers. The bridges must be completed by the end of next September and the \$3,000.00 sum of the contract is very low. But since we plan to prepare all the wood products on the island and from our own forests we judge that it will be worthwhile. The main advantage was to gain the acquaintance of that town which is just now beginning to build so that we might get contracts valued at tens of thousands of dollars

providing that this first contract is properly discharged.

So innocent in appearance was the matter of which Kurikka had news in his newspapers. Kurikka cannot be blamed for the contract sum having dropped so low. The man who drew up those estimates for Kurikka was a certain fellow from the United States, from Seattle. His worth was doubtful but he was a man who enjoyed Kurikka's trust. He was a businessman named Jacobson. As a guarantee toward completing the agreement it was necessary to include along with the bid \$150.00 which would be lost if the deal was not completed. Kurikka had hastened to leave an offer in the name of the Kalevan Kansa. At the same time he left behind some money as a guarantee.

This contract offer was for the woodworkers of Sointula a matter for energetic debate. We made new estimates of the expenses and the general understanding was that it would be better to back out of the whole offer and to lose the \$150.00 than to adhere to a project which would bring a greater loss. But Kurikka, in keeping with his passionate manner, explained that our affairs were so tight that our supplies and even our food supplies would end unless we undertook the contract. Later, when the work began to stretch out, Kurikka saw what a tremendous folly had occurred when the estimates had been drawn up and he began to encourage the workers to strike. But these men would no longer bend their ears to catch Kurikka's talks.

In the following I will put forth a few pieces of information about the bridges.

1. On the bridge over the Seymour River there was to be a 180 foot arch which needed strong foundations at each end.
2. Over the Capilano River there was to be a similar arch of equal length and in addition to this there would be on the opposite shore a bridge span of similar length supported on 36 foot buttresses. The entire bridge came to be 360 feet long and it too needed a strong foundation.
3. In the calculation of the estimates of the expenses there was no allowance made in any way for the work relating to the foundations.
4. Similarly, there were no estimates or, at least only minimal ones, for the metal side supports for the bridge spans, bolts, nails, etc. However, to the Kalevan Kansa they came to cost \$1,600.00 and when we made a complaint about the matter to those who gave us the contract they were able to reduce our misfortune by \$600.00
5. Also it was not taken into consideration in the estimates that the building materials would need to be transported from the seashore which was at a distance of three quarters to one mile. For that purpose it became necessary to buy a team of horses and a proper conveyance. By the accounts made at that time the total sum of the extra work, metal products, etc. came to over \$3,000.00. When all this was taken into account and the final expenses concerning the bridges were totalled it became clear that the Kalevan Kansa

men did \$8,000.00 to \$9,000.00 worth of wage free labour for the municipality of North Vancouver.

In a way the contract's disadvantages are revealed by the following numerical information. In the annual February meeting which was held in Sointula's recently finished meeting hall, Taidetemppele, it became apparent from the company's books that in the broadest estimates of the directorship there were 210 members who had straightened out their obligations with at least \$50.00. Almost all of the Kalevan Kansa members had been bound to the bridge contract in one way or the other. Some worked in the woods suffering the hardships of timber work, others transported the logs to the shore and to the sawmill and a third group sawed from them square timbers for beams, lumber or whatever other wood products were needed in the bridge construction. All the material was towed to North Vancouver by the "Lottie", the boat we had purchased shortly before for this purpose. Finally, there were tens of men building those bridges. After the previously mentioned annual meeting in the spring there was new labour strength as additional workers came to the island for the purpose of doing the bridge work. We can estimate that many more than a hundred Kalevan Kansa members did close to four months of unpaid work under their own board in order to complete the bridge contract. In addition to that, we sacrificed for it thousands of feet of the best wood products to be found on Malcolm Island.

This sort of thing surely sounds almost impossible to

believe, but it was true.

Since material life in the midst of the Kalevan Kansa had again suffered an irreparable shipwreck, the hopes of its members were dealt a severe blow. Temperaments were embittered enough but they had not yet risen to a ferment. All this touched painfully those who thought well of our society and who had sacrificed their all to take our interests forward. But since the directors were what they were, what else could be done except to suffer onward or to go away from the island and give up all the aspirations on behalf of which so much had been sacrificed. In an embittered state of mind many chose the first alternative and went again to work for the company.

But not even that was done with enthusiasm. We certainly had an island which was naturally well-endowed, forests to an excess, with enough even for future needs and a sawmill where once again we could begin to cut wood products, even for sale. There was such a supply of fish in the ocean that even in poor times a family man could make a livelihood.

#### Disagreement About Free Love

In addition to all this confusion in Sointula, there was still further confusion concerning morals focused around the issue of free love.

Kurikka's articles in the Aika newspaper had for some time, without any attempt to conceal the fact, pointed toward the fact that women need not be ashamed of their



motherhood outside of wedlock. Those articles attracted such attention that even among the language there was talk that on Malcolm Island they were thought to practice free love and notice of this was given to the government. However, none of that sort of free love had transpired here in our midst up to this time. Because of this the more steadfast men and women rose in strong opposition to those kinds of tendencies, knowing full well that if that sort of young men's eagerness came to the island and became settled in, the government with the support of the clergy would become entangled in the affair. In that event the life of the Kalevan Kansa could easily become part of history because the government in granting title to Malcolm Island had specified that we needed to honour and obey the laws of the land.

The kinds of disagreements which arose in this fashion we could not find the means among ourselves to reconcile. The meetings which were held concerning this matter were discordant and because the matter took on the form of a factional dispute one side could not concede the least little bit of validity for the perspectives of the other. We needed to wait to see what the company's president Kurikka said himself when he returned home from Vancouver.

When this finally happened and Kurikka and the bridge builders returned home it was coming to the end of September. Since the president had in practice observed his theories and because he had the support of the young men the

bitterness of the discord became only more fierce. In these matters Kurikka and Makela were staunchly against one another. On the basis of this it was suggested that both should be asked to leave Malcolm Island for a short period of time until their temperaments had calmed. That suggestion did not win support, although now, afterwards, it seems so reasonable when all the other possibilities have been tried. Kurikka's manner at those meetings was so anger inspiring and blameworthy that there eventually arose among those who felt differently from him the question, can such a man remain as the director of the Kalevan Kansa? We then began to arrange for a general meeting of the Kalevan Kansa so that the issue might be decided in favour of one side or the other. In order to hold such a meeting we undertook a general accounting of names which brought forth the required number of names which according to the rules were needed to bring a general meeting into being.

Having become aware of this and knowing that his position was threatened, Kurikka at the directorship meeting of October 10, 1904 gave notice of his intent to separate and left Malcolm Island never again to return to Sointula. On two separate occasions he lived for lengthy periods of time on the outskirts of Vancouver raising chickens. The chickens were kept on the lower level of his shack and he lived above them. From there he sent news to New York.

Upon Kurikka's departure from Malcolm Island to Vancouver he began to speculate about a large communal home

and undertook to rent one. Soon after his leaving all of Kurikka's faithful supporters left Sointula following him. Their departure was on the same company flatboat on which the bridge workers had returned from their disastrous undertaking. In this way nearly one half of the Kalevan Kansa members "hit the road"; men, women and children among whom were those who had sacrificed everything in the bridge contract. These companions with whom we had worked in brotherly agreement at Sointula left embittered. Together we had aspired, suffered and known need and misfortune, but we had also rejoiced whenever we found reason for joy.

Since we knew that among those who were leaving there were young men with whom we were not acquainted, we feared that the bitterness of mind might unload in some form of disturbance before their departure. The moment of their departure, however, passed without such happenings because A. B. Makela's thoughtful and soothing speech had a calming effect.

Those who left arrived in Vancouver without misfortune. They lived the winter there and then founded, under Kurikka's direction, a new communistic society called Sammon Takojat. As an illustration of this enterprise let it be said that when Kurikka returned from his trip to Finland and attempted to go back and put the Sammon Takojat onto a firm foundation he was no longer wanted. Prior to this time Kurikka worked zealously in Finland during and after the great strike in the winter of 1905-06. After his attempt at getting back

to Sammon Takojat had failed, he became embittered and cut off his relationship with the rest of his supporters.

A fair amount could be said about Kurikka's departure but I will be satisfied with just a little. He had taken as his life's work the emancipation of the oppressed and the worker and he tried to make their lives more joyful with all his ability by trying to found a new society which would act as a road marker for those others who are suffering. He knew well that in the creation of such a society everyone must be willing to sacrifice his own means and his own personal desires. Kurikka himself did not have any possessions to sacrifice but he had leadership, the occupation of being the company's president. However, when matters developed to such a point that as a result of the previously mentioned shortcomings he would have needed to give up that position for a short while, he was ready to destroy all of it instead, everything which he had put together. That was the form of Kurikka's sacrifice to the Kalevan Kansa. It is said that "about the dead only the good points are mentioned" and it is not my intention to strike at a dead man who cannot defend himself. Kurikka was a complete complement to the Finlander who is steadfast and tough and enduring in suffering. His outwardly brilliant attributes attracted honest and straightforward workers to him with blind obedience. In turn they, having become perceptive of the shadowy sides of his nature, condemned and hated him.

Without denying Kurikka was in his own way ingenious, at the same time he was ambitious and had high aspirations. He was brotherly to those who blindly followed him but he was cold and unsympathetic towards those who found themselves in the way of his plans. Despite his ingenuity he always destroyed his own accomplishments at exactly the moment when it was necessary to gather things together and to build. The Kalevan Kansa honoured him for what he had been. However, once his credibility had been lost, his work had no significance.

### Dissolution

The Kalevan Kansa had now split into two. Nearly one half of its members had left and gone elsewhere. The work force had decreased in a similar way and an enormous debt was left upon the shoulders of those who were left on the island. It certainly felt hopeless to begin anew but there were no other options. All the more we needed to resort to those means of production which we had. Before all else the sawmill needed to begin making lumber.

Those jobs which did not urgently need to be done were reduced into as few as possible and the men were placed into those tasks from which we knew some benefit could be derived, namely, sawmilling and logging. These busy undertakings prospered comparatively well in light of the work force which was available. From the forests we dragged good quality cedar trees. We began in October and after Christmas

we had fine loads of lumber waiting to be planed. We tried to sell this material according to the possibilities which presented themselves to us so that we could get assistance for food and supplies. From the past spring's planting we had such a fine crop of potatoes that they easily lasted until the next harvest and we had more salted fish than was needed.

However, we were uncertain as to how we could gain a livelihood and how we could free ourselves from the large burdensome debt. The company's most worthwhile belongings were totally committed. The new sawmill however, was owned by our society's members so that we were able to hold on to it. But the other commitments, especially the agreement between the government and the Kalevan Kansa were more complicated.

In order to make our position more secure Austin Makela suggested at the meeting held on the 5th of December 1904 that the company should rent allotments of 80 acres for a period of 50 years to those members who wanted to remain on the island under the option of renting. The purpose of the suggestion was that the company could secure for itself those pieces of land which it rented to the members in its name even if the rest of the land would have to be forfeited to the government. In this way the possibility for continuance existed without concern for the existence of the company and the communal economy.

Those new allotments were made on the eleventh day of

the same month. Almost all the former family heads took them as did some of the single men and women as well. In the distribution of the allotments it was arranged that if two individuals wanted the same piece the first right was given to the individual to whom the company owed the most. There was a map to be consulted at the meeting and all the allotments were taken from the shore at the island's south end in an area where the majority of the island's clearing work had been done.

In the directorship meeting of the company on December 4, 1904 it was decided to end the publication of the Aika newspaper and to balance the loss suffered by subscribers with other literature. On the 18th of January 1905 it was decided to sell the printing press for \$500.00. From that purchase as well the company undertook a loss of many hundreds of dollars since the press was sold for about half the cost at which it had been brought to Sointula.

#### The Last Company Meeting of the Kalevan Kansa

The last general meeting of the stockholders was held according to the rules of the Kalevan Kansa on February 5, 1905. Fifty owners of shares had gathered and ten were represented by letters of proxy. Among other things it was decided at the meeting to invite new settlers to the island and to offer them some of those previously mentioned 80 acre allotments for a rental charge of \$1.00 an acre. The first twenty who would come would get their allotments without a

rental fee. Several months prior to this two miners from Washington state had come to Malcolm Island looking for land. However, since the secretary of the Kalevan Kansa had demanded that the newcomers must join and become Kalevan Kansa members and because they were aware that the bankruptcy of the company was imminent, the individuals seeking land refused to agree to do so. Otherwise the men were quite pleased with the island and under different circumstances it is possible that there might have been other newcomers.

In the same meeting it was decided to discontinue the practice of granting inner memberships. From this day forward the company was responsible for compensating all the work days with cash or by some other means. Recompense for wages could be provided from the materials being produced, through land and so forth.

Since there was no longer any certainty about whether the company would stay intact, all those members in whose name the 80 acre allotments had been given now demanded full and lasting ownership of them. Since there was clearing work done on these allotments, with more on some than on others, it was decided that on behalf of the company two appraisers would be selected. They would appraise the amount of work done in cash terms. We further decided that everyone would need to be in agreement with the appraisals of these two men and that their judgement would be final. In this way we felt that we could protect everyone's



advantage. However, it did not turn out that way. One after another individuals who were unhappy with the appraisals appeared. The appraisers had clearly made mistakes in their estimates about how much work had been done and in some instances they had shown favour as well. Even this matter fell upon the directorship to be handled on February 8, 1905. About it a decision was reached but the quandary did not substantially clear up. Since the company had dissolved in the meantime, it was necessary for the owners of these allotments to now pay the government \$1.00 per acre before the government would grant them full rights of ownership. In addition, ten dollars would need to be paid for a deed of transfer.

According to the decision reached at the annual meeting everyone was now an outer member of the company and as such were entitled to be paid wages for their work since February 4, 1905. On the 18th of February the directorship decided to begin sawing the so-called "hut lumber" of which there eventually was completed only 2,000 board feet per member providing that he was present and assisted in the work. After that we undertook to plane the best of the previously cut lumber in order to make it available for sale by the middle of March. By then we had on hand, ready to take to Vancouver, approximately 150,000 board feet.

The Kalevan Kansa, according to my memory, still had a building lot on the seashore of North Vancouver on which they had hoped to establish a lumber yard in order to sell

their products. At a directorship meeting on March 17th we gave authority to the manager of the Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company, A. Jarvinen, to sell that quantity of wood products according to the following decisions, assuming that the creditors would be satisfied with such an arrangement. The large quantity of lumber was sent to Vancouver on a flatboat.

. . . 2. From the money received from the sale of the lumber and wood products which were sent we wish to make a remittance of \$200.00 towards the market's mortgage interest and the rest is to be spent on food, clothing and footwear.

Not taking into account the salt fish and the potatoes, the food supplies of the company were at an end. In addition to that, the majority of the members were without adequate clothing and shoes. We now hoped to begin life anew with this quantity of lumber.

#### The Final Deathblow for the Kalevan Kansa

A. Jarvinen had purchased a building lot in North Vancouver. He wanted building materials for himself and because of that he put aside the previously mentioned agreement reached by the directorship and towed the wood products over to the other side of the harbour to North Vancouver. The tow boat captain gave notice of this to our company's creditors and as a result they seized the lumber. Since it was sold for about one half of that which the purchaser would usually be inclined to offer, the price was not sufficient to make any restitution concerning the debt, to

say nothing of obtaining food and supplies for the men, women and children on the island. Along that path went the wood products valued at \$3,000.00 which we had finished in hunger and need with our last strength. The following article from the proceedings of the next directorship meeting of the Kalevan Kansa gives further indication of the progress of events.

We read A. Jarvinen's letters about the seizure of the lumber which was sent to Vancouver and the arrangements for a government loan. In place of the letter of authorization which was requested by A. Jarvinen we sent Austin Makela to make the preliminary settlements with the creditors concerning the percentages that were outstanding and to make arrangements with the government for a loan which would satisfy the other debts. In turn we will cancel the agreement concerning Malcolm Island and give the land back to the government providing that the regular company meeting comes to an agreement about giving this authority to Austin Makela. According to his judgement he could operate either separately or in consultation with A. Jarvinen.

In accordance with the above decision the Kalevan Kansa secretary, Makela, left for Vancouver and Victoria. With the government magistrate's consent he made an agreement with a Vancouver based company, The Dominion Trust Company. They would become the administrators of the Kalevan Kansa. When Makela returned from the trip we held the last general meeting of the Kalevan Kansa on the 27th of May 1905. There were 36 shareholders on hand.

Among other things at this meeting it was decided that the Kalevan Kansa from this day onward will cease work on all the projects that it has up to now started on Malcolm Island. We also approved Austin Makela's actions in

turning over its assets to the Dominion Trust Company for the purpose of straightening out our debts. Again we gave authority to Makela as the company's representative in all matters.

The Dominion Trust Company sold all the movable chattles of the Kalevan Kansa up to and including the cows. From within its own stocks it created a company called Marine Lumber Company which for a short time kept the sawmill running. However, in a few months time it was sold for cash and removed from Malcolm Island. Some distance into the second year after the dissolution of the company the Dominion Trust Company sold Malcolm Island's forests for a price of \$5.00 per acre and with that money they paid the Kalevan Kansan Company's debts. It did not take into account the value of the shares of the capital stock or the wages which were expected as a result of the February 4, 1905 agreement.

In this manner the Kalevan Kansa had broken apart. On its island were left members who had experienced many disappointments and hardships and who now without money were forced to make for themselves individual homes. But, in spite of all the tremendous difficulties, disappointments and adversity which remained after the Kalevan Kansa there grew on Malcolm Island a flourishing community. There, among the young, even after generations, will be those who will read in their own native Finnish tongue about the passing times and activities of their fathers' lives in the

Kalevan Kansa struggle.

### Later Aspects of Sointula's History

#### Means of Livelihood

We, the older members of the Kalevan Kansa, had sacrificed all our means into our co-operative effort. Upon its collapse we were left on an isolated island on which there were very few ways of gaining a livelihood. The enthusiasm to go on was in part derived from that land which was divided into 80 acre allotments, which first were rented and later could be procured of our own. In the year 1905 we fished comparatively little. Around the first of July we travelled 75 miles north from Sointula to Rivers Inlet and fished there until the beginning of August, a period of about six weeks. Fishing methods were still primitive.

After the dissolution of the Kalevan Kansa, logging camps appeared on the islands approximate to Sointula. We could get to them from Sointula with rowboats and sailboats so that we did not need to spend our small amounts of cash on transportation. Fishing became more vigorous as well. We worked on the construction of fish canneries as well as on other buildings which were in conjunction with the canneries and logging camps. As the years rolled by life became more satisfying. Poverty and scarcity disappeared. Wealth and well-being increased. New homes were built in place of the wretched buildings of the Kalevan Kansa on Malcolm Island.

When motor-boats came into use there was a large surge of progress. They enlarged the possibilities of net fishing. Fishermen who now practice this own motor-boats valued at about \$1,000.00 and salmon nets which are 200 fathoms long and are valued at \$300.00. This fishing gear almost every fisherman now owns. Some have as many as three of the \$4,000.00 purse-seine vessels. In the past we fished for only the most valuable summer salmon but now we fish for all five varieties. Already now, the vicinity around Malcolm Island is the center of a major fishing area. Fishing begins early in the spring and ends late in the autumn. In the winter we fish for flounder, cod and the other so-called bottom fish. The young and the old take part. The boys go fishing in the company of their fathers during the school's summer break in the beginning of summer. In this way they get to take part in the fishing for over a month and learn the principles of the trade. For them fishing begins at an early age with the operation of equipment. By the age of sixteen or seventeen they have become independent fishermen. The government even grants fishing permits to such youngsters.

Fishermen give their catch to the canneries, to the "fishing barons" and are thereby dependent upon capitalism. For the urgent purpose of directing them towards co-operative action the fishermen have their own organization, the union. They have been forced to use the labour movement's usual method, strikes, against those who would trample the

fishermen's opportunity to earn wages. The strike which arose during the 1936 fishing season touched the whole wide-spread coast. Among those affected were hundreds of Finns, Norwegians, Indians and others. It is worth noting that no Indians went out strike-breaking but seven or eight Norwegians did. They offered their catch of many thousands of salmon to the canneries but when the strikers notified the canneries that if any accept the fish they will not be given further salmon during the next fishing they refused to accept them. The strike-breakers were forced to throw their thousands of salmon into the ocean.

Fishing, besides being the primary means of livelihood, provides a nutriment which we use the year around. Agriculture is not practiced to the degree that it deserves mention. It does not suit fishermen well. There are just a few here and there on Malcolm Island who try to gain their livelihood from farming. The fishermen's wives raise chickens and keep a cow or two so that we have our own supply of eggs, milk and cream. Vegetable gardens and fruit trees provide a harvest. In addition, we pick many varieties of berries which we also preserve. All these valuable sources provide additional sustenance.

Without taking into account the past period of panic, the standard of living of Sointula's fishermen has been much higher than that of the average wage earner who must live in rented quarters and buy with his wages all the necessities.

Those utopian dreamers who came to the wilderness of Malcolm Island could not truthfully realize their ideals. However, this comparatively better means of livelihood came to us in this life's struggle.

### Community and Social Endeavours

The original group who lived and worked as the Kalevan Kansa on Malcolm Island was progressive and interested in innovation. Its legacy has not been discarded nor forgotten on Malcolm Island. Sointula people have devoted money for the good of Canada's Finnish labour movements during the last twenty-five years in greater proportion than any other Finnish working group. The desire to read has always been praiseworthy and the library is among the largest among Finnish-Canadian groups. The majority of its content is Finnish literature. The residents are teachers, not to mention Finns. The young people use fluent Finnish in conversation and read both Finnish and English literature.

After the Kalevan Kansa had dissolved we founded a socialist chapter at Sointula and it became attached to the already existing Canadian Socialist Party. Having worked together with it for several years it then joined with the Canadian Socialist Democratic Party and gave it devoted and enthusiastic support until the World War. After that the chapter belonged to the Canadian Communist Party until this was declared illegal as a result of the old guard having altered a section of the law. Since that time the chapter



has functioned in connection with the Finnish-Canadian Organization. In relation to the overall conditions the chapter has a fine building, a hall, a separate library and a club house. Their combined cash value would approach \$10,000.00.

A co-operative store has existed at Sointula for about twenty-five years. It carries on a noticeably prosperous business selling boat motors, salmon nets and other valuable equipment used by fishermen.

The population of Malcolm Island has not increased substantially as a result of those who have moved here from without because there has not been an important source of employment on the island which would have attracted people here. In the census of the year 1931 the number of residents was 452 and now in the year 1936 it is much over 500.

#### Old and New Ideals by Edvard Valpas

The first people on earth utilized nutriments from nature which could be put into the mouth as they were. They also had snares and weapons adapted for the use of individuals with which they could obtain game. Co-operative effort was needed to snare large game animals. Similarly, it was needed to fight against powerful beasts. Our beloved forefathers therefore found it advantageous to live in groups. Even though it was caught by individual means the catch was brought to the communal living areas. A large portion of the sustenance was communal. In their groups

there were therefore characteristic elements of communism. Many researchers believe that groups of people living in a communistic mode have been upon the earth for hundreds of thousands or perhaps millions of years. As the group enlarged to the point where it became difficult to find the necessities of life for everyone, some of them moved away and formed a new group. If too many would crowd into an area there would be strife over the land. Wars sprang forth. It became increasingly necessary to build more weapons and to have training in their use. This became a concern for everyone and particularly so for a segment of the male population. Communities also came to need special functionaries. Others grew to gain control over them. They then tried to provide advantages for themselves by exploiting those beneath them. Through war they stole the most beneficial objects and even people. From that arose notions of class and private property. These are only a few indications of what is an unmanageably long period of development.

During the period the class rule there have been many different forms of expression of power. The oppressed have needed to endure dreadful suffering. We all have read and heard about them. We remember well the complaints made on behalf of the oppressed which are in the writings of the Biblical prophets. The scriptures overflow with anger and revenge against the oppressors and threaten them with fire and destruction which Jehova will enact. Removing the threat

of the violent force of oppression is an idea which travels in the fiber of history for thousands of years. Together with it there is another idea. According to its principles people are forced to be noble and good. Anyone who is capable of doing work must support himself with his own labours and also be willing to help those in distress. The Ephesians did so even before the coming of Christ. Whoever had a need received according to it. As well, Jesus made it known that he was sent to proclaim a joyous message to the poor, to heal the broken hearted, to comfort the prisoners and to free the oppressed. The early ways of the Christians were communist as were the ways of the Ephesians. In the deeds and words of the apostles it was stated that "everyone was as if one and held everything in common". They sold their possessions and valuables and distributed the return among everyone according to the need of each.

Later, in the times which followed, communist ideals appeared in the statements of the church fathers and other Christians. They have circulated about and have been approved of and disapproved of until our present time. Those ideals have produced all manner of sectarian groups; socialists, anarchists and, in addition to that, many important authors. They have also impregnated much of the fictional writing. A whole host of communist utopias have been written. Of them, Historique des Serverabes, written in the year 1675 is exceedingly noteworthy. We know it as Ihannemaa and there are others.

Our Matti Kurikka belonged in the same group with those who wrote about such beautiful ideals. On innumerable occasions he made reference to the Nazarene on the one hand, while on the other hand he lashed out at the church's clergy in his eloquent presentations. "Important spiritual leaders have attempted to guide mankind back onto the path opened for us by Jesus", he would say. In this way, in this manner he revealed to everyone his position and that of his spiritual kinsmen. Those ideals which were two thousand years old and even older were still needed to set the example in the beginning of the twentieth century. They commanded increasing response because they stood for assistance to the poor and for the emancipation of the oppressed. These principles needed to be adopted and to be separated from the regime of oppression. The harassed Christians searched the corners of the earth for a place where they could live in peace and use all the benefits of their labour according to their wishes. Since there still was room in America they moved there from many different countries. The Shakers, those who shake and toss, founded in New York state in 1776 communities in which there came to be 5,000 members. These people needed to be severe and moral. The possessions were held in common, therefore it was as if they were communist. They thrived and became prosperous. The religious people who had left Schwaben founded in Pensylvannia in 1803 "Harmonym", "Sointula" or place of harmony. Here also there was equality and communal ownership. When in 1814 they sold

it they realized \$100,000.00. Ten years later they sold a settlement founded in Indiana and received \$150,000.00. They founded Economyn. It flourished. It became a joint stock company. Within it there was accumulated valuable real estate, oil wells, factories, etc. The Schwabens' other agricultural venture, Zoar, also prospered. Upon its dissolution in 1898 each share holder received \$1,500.00. In 1842 communists from central Germany moved to Iowa. There they founded Amanan. In 1901 it had 1,767 members who held communal property valued at \$1,647,000.00. To it belonged farms, shops, factories, etc.

The French medical student and student of law, Cabet, published Voyage en Icarie, Roman Philosophique et Social (Matka Ikaariaan) which had been written in 1840. In its first 300 pages were descriptions of how past customs have come down to the present. The next 300 pages discussed the coming of fine communist societies and institutions, the kinds of internal organization that there will be and what the principles of communism will be like. The work was read with great voracity. From that a substantial business arose. It is estimated that there were close to 400,000 followers of Cabet. A large number of them demanded that the new ways be put into practice. Cabet presumed that the number who would leave would be between ten and twenty thousand and later perhaps as many as one hundred thousand. A whole race of communists would be created. There would be no servants, no armies and no slaves. Also there would be no spies and

no executions! Agencies or means for spreading the new ideals were created. Money was collected. With unbelievably good fortune they were able to move their finances to that large wilderness area of Texas. Arrangements were made for the departure. In 1848 small and enthusiastic groups of individuals left. On their way through the wilderness they suffered dreadful hardships. Upon reaching their destination they became ill. The doctor lost his sanity. It became necessary for them to return. Discord followed. In 1849 487 followers of Cabet left France but of them 200 had already started to split away. Those who were left were able to buy land for settlement and some buildings from the Mormons at a low price. By 1855 they had accumulated at Nauvo land with a value of \$76,500.00 and had an outstanding debt of only \$11,000.00. In addition, in Iowa they had 3,115 acres of land among other things. This was a great achievement. Then internal quarrels appeared. Cabet was ousted. One hundred and eighty of his supporters split away. After the death of their leader 150 of them founded the Cheltenham settlement. It began to prosper. Discord became evident. Forty-two split away. After five years there remained only eight men, seven women and a few children. In 1857 the property and possessions of Nauvo were valued at \$60,000.00 and the debts amounted to \$19,000.00. The financial crisis within the capitalistic world undermined this venture as well, to the point where it needed to be sold. Of its residents 200 went to Iowa. The settlement there was also

forced to give up a large section of land, 2,000 acres, to its creditors. After that the growth of the settlement appeared quite promising. In the river valley there were 2,000 acres of productive land of which 700 was under crop. There also were extensive pasture areas in which there were 600 sheep and 140 head of cattle. Seventy-five of the countrymen ate around a communal table. The housing, meeting hall, festive quarters, etc. were pleasant. Then came bitter arguments! There were appeals to magistrates. They ordered that the settlement should be disbanded because they had practiced milling and they only had a permit for agriculture. It became divided into two. The others sold their half interest and moved to California. There Icaria-Speranza was created in 1884 with 52 members.

There were still others who had gained prosperity and then took a summersault. The above mentioned are only examples. The progress of the previously mentioned Schwabens was rather remarkable and one of the reasons behind this was that among them there were experienced farmers. With this as the basis of their livelihood they were able to become independent. On the strength of their agriculture they were able to progress and it became possible for them to cautiously spread their activities into other areas without becoming the victim of debts. With this prosperity their communism went beyond the limits of the communism of the early Christians. They worked as manufacturers and businessmen in the manner of the

bourgeoisie. Amanan also employed wage workers. At Icaria-Speranza there were nine white and seven Chinese workers who were poorly paid. This occurred even though its members lived as communists internally.

Matti Halminen's detailed history gives us information about the various stages of Sointula. There they were not satisfied to have a lapse in the progress. Their desires to acquire a means of transportation for commerce and to construct industrial factories was unrealistic without capital stock. Even food had to be obtained on credit. It was the same with most other things. Debts could only be discharged by the transportation of wood products to market. In their sale it was necessary to compete with the much larger logging operations who had better equipment to finish and transport the goods and could therefore do it less expensively. Matti Kurikka's promise that "we will set for our products the only guide to their value the amount of human effort that has been consumed in their creation", could not be made truthful. The islanders were always forced to sell at prices which were appalling. In this way sales were dependent on the capitalist market and were subject to its deflationary periods as well. As debts increased their position of dependency grew greater. That allowed for the piece by piece transference of the rights of proprietorship to the creditors. This was further increased by those things which made such a shocking effect on their history: the fire at the major building, the altogether



poor bridge contract and the failure concerning the sale of the large shipment of lumber. Even after ten years have passed the collapse of that settlement brings sad feelings of depression. But it all must be marvelled at, all that which the industrious workmen created in those few years. For their wages those workmen deserved golden castles. By looking at the effort from aside it appears that with better management of the economy and with more thoughtful spending practices they could have passed through the phase of poverty and progressed and prospered. Their activities would then have become capitalist in part but they would still have preserved certain inherent communist notions. Matti Kurikka's vision of idealism in which Finns could create a society separate from capitalism and its vices so that the ideals of the Kalevan Kansa could give direction even in the vast English speaking world could not be realized. It was as big a house on the wind as the previously referred to utopia of Cabet. He too had envisioned being capable of creating principles of organization for a large group of people living communistically.

Many visionaries had the habit of making images and plans for good and successful societies yet to come. They held expectations that all individuals were moral and that they would come to exemplify this. Even clergymen, generals, sovereigns, emperors and dictators were thought to be this way. The powerful effect of good ideals was thought to be thus. Some believed that at least those who are suffering

from distress and need and those close to them can be made to work by simply flashing portraits of idealistic societies to them. The same expectations were made of one's countrymen or, at least, of the majority of them. Even a socialist order we thought could be accomplished this way. This was so, even when the economic activities were only in a minor way suited to the suppositions. Practical attempts at realizing the ideals suggested that we could struggle with those ideals but that we had insufficient strength. The attempt at times ended in bloody defeat.

We will now leave that high-flying idealism behind and become concerned instead with historical materialism, of which many of the readers of this work have heard only abuses. In keeping with this perspective it is necessary to seek our indications of human development from economics. Therefore, it is necessary to become acquainted with the history of human economics from the earliest times to the present. It can be imagined that some early group of people made use of a form of cord and that the process of development from that to the smoothly purring spinning wheel has been of a rather long duration. From the spinning wheel we have progressed in strides to the practical thread mills of the present. We will make of this a particularly important principle of development: the economic activities of people are transforming, they are dynamic. It is in motion. In the practice of cultivating land it has been observed that there was a stationary period of almost

indefinite duration, a period of stagnation. But even in this field of endeavour we have progressed from the primitive use of fingers and rounded sticks, to plows made from limbs, to other forms of more practical cultivation, to steam powered tractors and plows and to other useful pieces of agricultural equipment. In addition, we have become more knowledgeable about farming methods. In many other fields of activity the changes which have occurred cannot be denied. Those kinds of changes in their totality have brought about other upheavals. The tools of the hand craft epoch and the period of guild organization have been wiped away. The same process is occurring with the following. The shop method of manufacturing is being replaced by the manufacturing in a factory industry. Initially, small factories expanded into larger ones. These were put together as cartels and trusts. From this arose powerful syndicates of production. They controlled certain realms of manufacturing. In addition to that, some came to have factories in other countries. Besides their primary enterprises they accumulated wealth from other undertakings.

In those kinds of large capitalistic organizations there are understandably powerful means of production. They rely on both animate and inanimate resources for strength. Some have tens, others have hundreds of thousands of workers. These syndicates of companies whose inner and upper half is made up of profit-sucking capital stock-owners command still larger numbers of workers. These

usurping stockholders often dangle even governments with their control and keep nations under their power as the case is now with Japan. They use the resources of the nation to better the extent of their profiteering, all to the detriment of the working people and the other members of that class.

Changes in economic development will dictate the form that improvements in the position of the working class will take. So it has already happened. The local organizations of the local trade groups have fought and gained advantages from their local employers. When the business owners joined together into broader federated fronts of combat against the working people, the workers were forced to do the same. In a period of about a hundred years many improvements have been gained for the lot of the worker through such conflict situations. This has also been true in the fields where the workers' willingness to join in such organizations of struggle has not been close to unanimous. In some other areas the ability to gain victories has been still more difficult. The business syndicates referred to above are so immensely wealthy that it is generally difficult to make them feel as though they were in danger of extinction as a result of a work stoppage. It is difficult to make them come into an agreement. If through strikes it is possible to bring sufficient losses upon them, they might in an effort to bring it to an end grant something. These kinds of strikes can last many months and demand not only

extensive preparation in advance but also unbreakable and united co-operation among the workers. To the extent that these syndicates have brought about a rift between people it will be necessary to think about and carry out strike action against people.

In some countries the big capitalists have used the laws of the nation against the working class. The openly known counter organizations of the working people have been wiped away.

Despite this, these big capitalists still needed to have their workers on the same work sites. These working groups suffered the same sorts of misfortune and need. This aroused in them the desire to better their position. It made them take part in united action. When they were unable to do this in the open they became active in secret. That too they tried to repress. It is unlikely that tighter and more ruthless methods of repression can be used anywhere than those which were authorized by the Czars of Russia. At any rate, in the past they have had more defiant and broader based conflicts than have occurred anywhere else. Even the later history of Russia bears evidence, in a rather ghastly manner, for the Fascists, of the consequences which will follow from irrational repression of development.

Repression of that sort can at times make countries appear like peaceful cemeteries. But even then there is growing activity against their schemes and actions. Everyone knows that all the labour and equipment in manufacturing

derive from the working class who are fed and clothed by the workers and not by the gentlemen of leisure. These individuals make the others work in order to obtain further wealth for themselves. That wealth is not distributed according to their need for livelihood. When they are unable to make a profit they will bring their projects to a halt and drive their workers onto the streets and into starvation. Everyone will recall that in the past few years there have been millions of people who have been forced to be unemployed and that this has resulted in need, disease and death. There has been suffering for hundreds of millions of people. From that arose the need for an important observation: capitalism prevents production and prevents the needy from obtaining a livelihood. Consistent with that is the following thought: the means of production should be removed from the controls of the capitalists and should be given to the people and it is necessary to begin to use them in such a way that all the people will get sufficient return for themselves to ensure that they have the means to their livelihood. That is socialism! The fascists think that they can destroy it with prison camps, torture, murder and by destroying books. But they cannot do away with those places of work and the disadvantages which constantly arouse such thoughts and inspire millions of minds to create them in the future.

Because of the quarrels over profits among the capitalists, we have already gone through wars and there is the ever threatening danger of more wars. There are hundreds

of other reasons why there is a need to transfer the means of production to the people.

Over a half a century ago Karl Marx instructed us, based on principles evident in human development up to that time, that development was progressing towards socialism. The economic developments which have followed have strengthened that conclusion. In general people's thoughts change in a slower manner. They follow changes in the economic conditions. Despite that there are now more than ever those who adhere to socialistic ideals. Their numbers are increasing. We are living in an age of enlightenment. If economic development moves onward in the same direction as it now appears, the following eras will be times when there is a movement towards socialism and towards the fulfilment of its ideals.

The transfer of the means of production from the capitalists to the people will give them the opportunity to organize production according to the needs of the people. Useless production can be stopped. If the large capitalists are put into a peripheral position then their profits, armaments, etc., will be without purpose. Power will be free for use in advantageous enterprises. Those who are lazy though capable of working and the idle will be made to do useful work. Forced unemployment will cease. The power derived from machines and elsewhere will be used to finish things according to regulations. The entire manufacturing process will be organized according to principles which have

been worked out. At any rate, excess production could be prevented by shortening the number of hours being devoted to those tasks. From calculations done in America, it appears that the work period in a well organized system of manufacturing will become quite short. The conveniences and necessities of life will be in abundance and people will have considerable free time. The fulfilment of this grand ideal will bring into being large numbers of other ideals.

The forthcoming socialist societies will then glow bewitchingly. They will rise resplendent and give warmth. Misery will be ousted from them. The people will come to be prosperous, content and fortunate.

Building on the foundation of what has happened up until now and on the development which will evidently continue, we will be able to create many captivating wonders in the future. We must aim at trying to realize them as far as the conditions permit. Socialism must be advanced.



## Appendix II

### This Agreement made the twenty-ninth day of November, A.D. 1901,

Between HIS MAJESTY THE KING, represented by the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, of the first part, and

"THE KALEVAN KANSA COLONIZATION COMPANY, LIMITED,"  
hereinafter called "the Company," of the second part.

WHEREAS the Company above mentioned has been duly incorporated for the purpose amongst other things, of assisting the immigration into British Columbia of Finlanders, and others, and the establishment of colonies or settlements of such immigrants in this Province:

AND WHEREAS the Company propose to establish upon Malcolm Island a large colony of Finlanders upon certain terms:

AND WHEREAS the Lieutenant-Governor in Council is empowered by section 39 of the "Land Act," for the purpose of encouraging immigration, to make such special arrangements respecting the grant of unoccupied and unappropriated Crown lands of the Province as to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council may seem most advisable:

AND WHEREAS it is of great importance to the Province that the said Finlanders should be brought to and located in this Province:

AND WHEREAS, to insure the above object it has been deemed advisable to enter into the following Agreement with the Company:

NOW, THEREFORE, THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSETH as follows:—

(1.) The Company shall obtain a free grant of Malcolm Island, Rupert District, Vancouver Island, British Columbia, for the purpose of settlement and development, upon the following terms and conditions.

(2.) The Company shall perform, in the aggregate, the amount of improvements required under the "Land Act," viz., \$2.50 per acre for the whole 28,000 acres, more or less.

(3.) The Company shall, for a term of seven years after the signing of this Agreement, in lieu of the payment of all taxes levied by the Province of British Columbia—with the exception of the Revenue Tax—on their own behalf and without cost to the Government, make all public improvements required by the settlers, in the making of roads and building of bridges, public buildings (other than schools) and wharves.

(4.) The Company shall not obtain a Crown Grant of the Island, or any part of it, or acquire any rights to or in the land whatsoever, until the expiration of seven years from the date upon which the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works has been satisfied that the required number of settlers, under this Agreement, has been placed on the island, and not until after all the other terms and conditions of this agreement have been complied with fully.

(5.) The roads, streets, bridges, public buildings and wharves made and erected by the Company shall be made and erected under the supervision and control of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, and any local system of survey and allotment made by the Company for the convenience of its members must be first approved by the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works before being carried into effect.

(6.) The improvements made by the Company to entitle it to the land grant must be to the satisfaction of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, and amount in the aggregate of value to \$2.50 for every acre of the whole 28,000 acres, more or less, of Malcolm Island. In case of dispute, the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works may refer the matter to arbitration, one arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, one arbitrator to be appointed by the Company; and should said arbitrators fail to agree, the matter in dispute shall be settled by an umpire to be appointed by the said arbitrators.

(7.) The Company shall place a settler or head of a family on Malcolm Island for each eighty acres in the island.

(8.) The Company shall enter into an agreement with each settler that the settler, or those claiming through or from him, shall have no vested right in or to the land for improvements performed upon the land, and that he or they shall not make any claim upon the Government for or in respect of said land or improvements, and such agreement shall be in the Finnish language, or the language of the settler (if not English), and shall be filed with the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works with the true English translation of the same attached thereto, signed in duplicate and with the seal of the Company affixed thereto.

(9.) Any agreement entered into between the Company and the Industrial Power Company shall be submitted to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for his approval, and receive the same before being carried into effect.

(10.) The Company shall file with the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works an affidavit, signed by each settler in the Finnish language or the language of the settler (if not English), deposing that he has read and fully understands all the terms of this Agreement, and of the Memorandum of Association and Articles of Association of the Company, and is individually agreeable to abide by them, the same to have attached a faithful translation of English, and to be signed in duplicate.

(11.) The settlers located on Malcolm Island under the terms of this agreement are to sign a declaration, in their own and in the English language, binding them to the following effect:—

- (a.) That they are immediately to take steps to become British subjects and take the oath of allegiance:
- (b.) That they are willing to conform in every respect to the requirements of the law, without reference to any "conscience clauses" or religious or political doctrines they may hold:
- (c.) That they are willing, whenever called upon, to bear arms in defence of the country:
- (d.) That all their children shall be educated in the public schools in the English language.

(12.) The Company is to submit annually to the Government a full report of the preceding year's operations.

(13.) In case of the failure of the Company, from any cause whatsoever, or the withdrawal from, or suspension of business by the Company, at any time prior to or after the expiration of the seven years before which the Company is to obtain the Crown Grant of the Island, it is understood and agreed that the affairs of the Company are to be placed in the hands of the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works to act as a receiver.

(14.) It is also understood and agreed that if the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works has, after three years' residence by the settlers, satisfied himself as to the success of the colony, the Government will grant another similar area to the Company for the purposes of settlement in a locality as near as possible to Malcolm Island.

Signed, sealed and delivered by the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works in the presence of (Signed) R. E. GOSNELL.	}	(Signed) J. D. PRENTICE, For Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works.	[L.S.]
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Sealed with the corporate seal of the Company and countersigned by in the presence of (Signed) FR. W. BJORK.	}	(Signed) MATTI KURIKKA. (Signed) AUGUST OBERG. (Signed) AUSTIN MCKELA.	[L.S.]
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## Appendix III

### ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF "KALEVAN KANSA COLONISATION COMPANY, LIMITED."

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1. The business of the Company will be managed by a Board of Directors, consisting of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, Manager and eight others, to be elected at the General Annual Meetings, as hereinafter provided.

2. Until the Board of Directors be elected at the first general meeting, the subscribers of the Memorandum of Association shall be deemed to be Directors.

3. The first general meeting shall be held at such time, being not more than four months after the registering of the Company, and at such place as the Directors may determine.

4. Subsequent general meetings shall be held in February of each year, at such time and place as the Directors may determine, and three weeks' notice of the time and place of such general meeting shall be given in manner hereinafter prescribed.

5. Any notices required to be given to shareholders of the Company shall be deemed to be sufficiently given if published for the necessary period in any newspaper which may be published by the Company. If the Company publish no paper, then such notice to be published in the newspaper published in the Finnish language within the Province of British Columbia, nearest to the registered office of the Company. If there be no newspaper published in the Finnish language in the Province, such notices shall be posted to the shareholders in the post office nearest to the registered office of the Company.

6. The order of business at the annual meetings of the Company shall be as follows:—

- (a.) Report of Directors.
- (b.) Report of Auditors.
- (c.) Declaration of dividends.
- (d.) Election of officers.
- (e.) The discussion of any business of which one month's notice has been given.

7. The Board of Directors may, when they think fit, and they shall, upon a requisition in writing by not less than thirty members of the Company, convene an extraordinary general meeting of the Company. Any requisition made by the members shall express the objects of the meeting proposed to be called, and shall be left at the registered office of the Company. Upon the receipt of such requisition, the Directors shall, forthwith, proceed to convene an extraordinary general meeting. The Directors may convene such meeting by giving notice of the time and place, and the object for which the meeting is called, at least three weeks, but not more than five weeks, before the date of such meeting.

8. No resolution or decision of the Board of Directors shall be rescinded by an extraordinary general meeting of the Company, except at least two-thirds of the members present at such meeting vote in favour of such rescission; and any such rescission shall not affect the validity of anything previously done in pursuance of such resolution or decision.

9. At any general meeting thirty members shall form a quorum.

10. In the meetings of the Company every member shall be entitled to one vote only (except in the election of officers), which may be given either personally or by proxy, provided that no member shall hold more proxies than a number equivalent to one-tenth of the number of members present at such meeting.

11. The instrument appointing a proxy shall be in writing, signed by the appointer, and shall be attested by a witness.

12. Every shareholder who may not be able to be present at the annual meeting may send to the Secretary, so as to reach him before the meeting, a list of the members he desires for officers for the ensuing year, signed by him, and enclosed in a sealed envelope, marked on the outside with the words "Voting paper"; and it shall be the duty of the Secretary, or the person appointed to receive the votes for officers at the election of officers, to open such voting papers, and receive and count and give effect to such votes (provided the persons named in such paper be eligible for election), as though the members sending such paper were personally present at the meeting.

13. The President shall be elected annually by a majority vote; but in the election of the other Directors, the principle of proportional voting shall be adopted, and the election carried out as follows: Every member shall have as many votes as directors to be elected. He may distribute his votes as he pleases, for all, or one or more of the directors to be elected, provided that he does not cast a greater number of votes than the whole number to be elected.

The votes shall then be counted, and the required number of candidates having the larger number of votes shall be elected. Provided the requisite number of directors be not elected on the first vote, another ballot shall at once be taken for the remaining number required.

14. Every shareholder of the Company, who is of the full age of twenty-one years, shall be eligible for election as a director, always providing that two-thirds of the Directors must be Resident shareholders. Of the twelve Directors (other than the President), four shall retire from office each year, to be replaced by four to be elected at the annual meeting. The order in which the Directors shall retire shall be determined by the Board of Directors by lot, after the first general meeting. Any Director shall be eligible for re-election.

15. In case any vacancy occurs in the Board of Directors, the remaining Directors shall at once appoint a Director to be in office until next annual meeting.

16. The Board of Directors shall, immediately after each annual meeting, appoint the Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and Manager for the ensuing year from among their number.

17. The Board of Directors may meet together for the dispatch of business, adjourn, and otherwise regulate their meetings as they think fit. They may regulate the order of business at their meetings, determine the quorum necessary for the transaction of business, regulate the method of calling their meetings. The Board of Directors may delegate their power to committees.

18. The Secretary shall keep a share book, showing the names of the shareholders and the number of shares held by each member. Any shareholder may transfer his shares by instrument in writing, under the hand of the transferer, and attested by a witness, but no transfer shall be complete until the same be entered in the share book, and the transferer shall be deemed to be the holder of such share until the name of the transferee is entered in the share book in respect thereof. The share book shall be closed during the fourteen days immediately preceding the general annual meeting of the Company in each year. The Company may decline to admit the transfer of the rights of a Resident shareholder to a person not a Resident shareholder.

19. The Company may contract with the shareholders for the performance of any number of days' work for the Company at any stipulated occupation and day's wages.

20. Shareholders shall be "Resident" or "Non-Resident." Shareholders are those who contract with the Company for at least one hundred and fifty working days in each year.

21. Every resident shareholder shall be entitled to hold for his own use for a period not exceeding fifty years a part of the land of the Company, not exceeding ten acres. Such holding may be leased or sold to any other Resident shareholder.

22. All resident shareholders and their families dependent upon them, shall in the event of sickness or disability of the shareholder, be maintained and cared for by the Company, and in the event of the death of a resident shareholder, his rights and holdings shall be enjoyed by his widow (if any) for the benefit of herself and the family of the deceased shareholder.

23. If a resident shareholder fails to comply with his contract concerning the performance of work for the Company in any year, he shall, except in the case of sickness or disability, pay to the Company in lieu of such work, an equivalent for the work he should have done, estimated according to the value of the whole work done in that year.

24. Persons desiring to become Resident shareholders shall make application to the Board of Directors in writing, in the form to be prescribed by the Board, and the Board shall have absolute discretion to accept or reject such application.

25. Should any resident shareholder be, in the opinion of the Board of Directors, guilty of immoral or disorderly conduct, he shall be first privately censured by the Board. If such censure be not effective, the Board shall publicly caution such member by public notice. If such warning be not sufficient to effect a reform, the matter shall be brought before the general meeting of the Company, and such member may, by resolution of such meeting, be deprived of his rights as a Resident shareholder, when his holding shall revert to the Company, who shall pay him for any improvements he may have effected on the same. In case the value of the improvements cannot be agreed upon, the value thereof shall be determined by the arbitration of three men, of whom one shall be appointed by each party, and the arbitrators so appointed shall appoint a third arbitrator, and the decision of two arbitrators shall be final. In case either party, after receiving notice in writing of the appointment of an arbitrator by the other party, fail or refuse to appoint an arbitrator within fourteen days of the service of such notice, the arbitrator already appointed may proceed to hold the enquiry, and fix the value of such improvements. In case the arbitrators appointed by the parties fail within fourteen days of the appointment of the last of such arbitrators, to agree upon a third arbitrator, either party may, upon notice to the other party, apply to the Court to appoint an arbitrator, as provided for in the "Arbitration Act." Each party to the arbitration shall pay his own costs and half the costs of the third arbitrator.

26. In the event of any Resident shareholder becoming involved in any litigation, the Board of Directors shall, in the case of a defendant, and may, in the case of a plaintiff, obtain legal assistance on behalf of such member.

27. The manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors shall not be permitted on any lands of the Company, or any lands held under the Company.

28. All employees of the Company shall be paid the same wages per day; but the Board of Directors may annually fix the number of hours per day to be reckoned as a day's work for each occupation.

29. The Directors may grant to any person over the age of fifty-five years, whether able to work or not, the privileges of a Resident shareholder, upon such applicant paying to the Company the sum of one thousand dollars.

30. Every applicant for shares shall, upon the allotment to him of a share, pay at once twenty-five per cent. of the par value of the share, and shall pay the balance in yearly payments of twenty-five per cent. each, either in cash or in work.

31. In case any shareholder refuses or fails to carry out his agreement with the Company or comply with the regulations of the Company (except as otherwise provided), the Board of Directors may, upon giving due notice to such shareholder, declare his share to be forfeited, whereupon such person shall cease to be a member of the Company, and any moneys he may have paid to the Company for his shares shall be forfeited to the Company. Such person may be paid for any improvements he may have made on any lands he may have held of the Company, the value of such improvements to be determined in the mode set out in article 25 hereof.

32. The Directors may, with the sanction of the members in annual meeting, declare a dividend out of the profits up to five per cent. in any year. Any excess of profits over five per cent. shall be utilised as follows:—One-half of such excess to be distributed among the employees of the Company for the past year in proportion to the number of day's work done by each employee, and the other half to be expended for the common use or benefit of the resident shareholders.

33. The Board of Directors shall have the right to interpret these regulations, and may make subsidiary rules for the carrying out of the objects for which this Company is organised, provided such subsidiary rules be not inconsistent with these regulations.

34. The Directors shall not be bound to begin operations until they have on hand from the sale of shares the sum of ten thousand dollars.

35. These regulations shall not be altered or amended except by a two-thirds majority vote of the members present at any annual or extraordinary general meeting, or unless one month's notice of the intended alteration or amendment shall have been given prior to such meeting.

36. The Company may be voluntarily wound up by a vote of two-thirds of the members present at an extraordinary general meeting called for that purpose, provided that at such meeting two-thirds of the members of the Company are present.

37. Sections 26 and 28 of Table "A" of the "Companies Act, 1897," shall apply to this Company, but Table "A" shall not otherwise apply to this Company.

## Appendix IV

### MEMORANDUM OF "KALEVAN KANSA COLONISATION COMPANY, LIMITED."

—o—

1st. The name of the Company is "Colonisation Company Kalevan Kansa, Limited."

2nd. The registered office of the Company will be situated at Nanaimo.

3rd. The objects for which the Company is established are:—

- (a.) To assist the immigration of Finlanders and others to, and the establishment of Colonies or settlements of such immigrants in, the Province of British Columbia:
- (b.) To acquire by purchase, pre-emption, or otherwise, land within the said Province upon which to establish colonies of Finlanders and others, such colonies to be conducted upon a plan of mutual co-operation and assistance:
- (c.) To establish and maintain in said colonies or settlements all such trades, industries and occupations as may be deemed expedient for the purpose of affording employment for the members of said colonies, and to provide them with the articles necessary for a proper method of living:
- (d.) To enter into contracts with other companies or persons to supply materials or manufactured goods, or to perform work for such companies or persons:
- (e.) To buy, sell, lease and rent lands, or mines, and to improve, develop and operate same:
- (f.) To engage in farming, fishing, lumbering, manufacturing and commerce:
- (g.) To build and construct roads, wharves, factories, mills, boats, ships, and doing all such other things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects:
- (h.) To purchase the undertakings of other companies or persons:
- (i.) To amalgamate with any other company or companies having the same or similar objects:

4th. The liability of the members is limited.

5th. The capital of the Company is one hundred thousand dollars (\$100,000), divided into five hundred shares of two hundred dollars each.

We, the several persons whose names and addresses are subscribed, are desirous of being formed into a Company, in pursuance of this Memorandum of Association, and we respectively agree to take the number of shares in the capital of the Company set opposite our respective names.

## Appendix V

### This Agreement made in duplicate this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_

, A. D. 190 \_\_\_\_\_, between "THE KALEVAN KANSA

COLONISATION COMPANY, LIMITED," hereinafter called "the Company," of the first

part, and

hereinafter called "the settler," of the second part :

WHEREAS by an agreement bearing date the 29th day of November, A. D. 1901, between His Majesty the King, represented by the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, for the Province of British Columbia, and the above-mentioned Company (a copy of which agreement is hereto annexed), the Company, upon complying with the terms of said agreement, has the right to acquire grant of Malcolm Island for the purpose of establishing upon said Island colonies or settlements of Finlanders and others:

AND WHEREAS the said settler desires to locate upon said Island, subject to the terms of said Agreement, and the Company have agreed to allow him to enjoy the privileges of resident shareholder of the Company, according to the Articles of Association of the Company:

NOW, THEREFORE, THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSETH that the settler, for himself, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, in consideration of being allowed by the Company to enjoy the privileges of resident shareholder of the Company, according to the Articles of Association of the Company, hereby covenants and agrees that he, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, shall not have any vested right in or to any land he may be allowed to occupy as such resident shareholder on account of improvements made, or to be made, by him or them, or settlement duties performed, or to be performed, by him or them upon said land, and shall not make any claim upon His Majesty the King or the Government of the Province of British Columbia for or in respect of said land or improvements.

The said settler hereby further covenants and agrees as follows :—

- (a.) That, as soon as possible, he will take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty the King and his successors, and become a duly naturalized British subject :
- (b.) That he will conform, in every respect, to the requirements of the law without reference to any conscience clauses or religious or political doctrines that he may hold :
- (c.) That he will, whenever called upon, bear arms in defence of the country :
- (d.) That all his children shall be educated in the public schools in the English language.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF "the Company" have hereunto affixed their corporate seal and "the settler" has hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of—

As to the seal of "the Company,"

As to the hand and seal of "the settler,"

BRITISH COLUMBIA, }  
TO WIT: }

I,

, of

in the Province of British Columbia, make oath and say as follows:—

1. That I am "the settler" mentioned in the within Agreement between "The Kalevan Kansa Colonisation Company, Limited," and myself, bearing date the  
day of , A. D. 190 .

2. That I have carefully read over and understand said Agreement.

3. That I have also carefully read over and understand the Agreement between the said Company and His Majesty the King, a copy of which is attached to said Agreement between the said Company and myself; and the Memorandum and Articles of Association of said Company.

4. That I am agreeable to abide by the terms of said Agreement between said Company and His Majesty the King.

Sworn before me at , in  
the Province of British Columbia, this  
day of A.D. 190 . }



Appendix VI Finnish-Canadian Songs Collected at Sointula,

B. C., 15 August 1973 by Allan H. Salo.

Transcribed in 1974 by Allan H. Salo.

S<sup>1</sup> Kulukeissani poikkesin eraassa hotellissa,  
menin mina katsomahan  
kuin ipot ovat johlimassa.

Heti kun ovesta sisalle astuin,  
oksennuksesta kenkani kastui.  
Voi sitakin poikaparkaa,  
joka myrkkyä siellä niin naukkaa.

Yksi ipoista istu oven pieles,  
toinen ryskasi seinan vieres,  
ja toiset ne tanssia koitti,  
kun Mandoliini-Frankki se soitti.

Huusivat: "Meilt ei raha lopu koskaan."  
Kaikille luoasivat ryypyt he ostaa.  
Sano: "Tuoppa sa tummu vaan juomaa,  
ettei me janoon kuolla."

Emannankin naamalla aurinko loisti,  
kun taalan ryypystä viisitoista otti.  
Karen laski han poikien kaulaan  
ja kaski han poikien laulaa.

Mutta ilohan ei kestanut kun viikon verran,  
kun ipojen taskussa ei ole taalaa.  
Ei poikia laulata enää  
kun itsestään ku he heraa.

Ku loimainin taulu oli aivan musta,  
niin ipot sillon toivoivat huumausta,  
ja yhteiskuntaa he moitti,  
kun taalla niin pian menee poikki.

Ei sovi meidän moittia yhteiskuntaa  
eika emantaa joka hotellia runnaa,  
vaan moittikaamme itseämme,  
tuota lyhyttä jarkeamme.

Aik olis meidän tasta jo laata  
eika aina ryssän kirkossa maata.  
Kohtei oo meistä viavaa,  
meidän saa kohta haudan jo kaivaa.

S<sup>2</sup> Hastingsilla kuljin iltaasin  
siela natin tyton kohtasin.  
Han silmaa vinkkaa, karellansa  
lahemmaksi itseansa vinkkaa.

"Hei," kuiskas tyttö mullen  
"armas oon ma sullen."  
"Hetken aivan omanas,  
taalan ehka maksat; eihan liikaa lie?"

Sitten mentiin Empariin  
siela tilaan lasin parinkin.  
Sitte koitan utaroita noita,  
tutkin joka paikan tarkalleen.

Hei, alasti riisun naisen  
kauniin, ihanaisen.  
Paalle kay ja vuora  
lemmen kuuma vuo.

Sitten hanta hallan  
kunnes taivas palaa.  
Taalan lykkään kourahan  
ja austun karullen.

Mutta naises paha tauti on  
cankkeri, tuo melko vaaraton.  
Helevitin huora, kun nain nuorena  
hankin Ranskantaudin saanut on.

No eihan sita arvaa  
kun tutki joka karvan.  
Ens kerralla varmaan  
varovampi oon.

Kun maksaa laakelaskut,  
tyhjentyypi taskut.  
Kalsea on seista aina  
tunti kusella.

s<sup>3</sup> Kerran kun paiva oli kasainen  
iikat me istuimme tuumien.  
Etta jos nyt teemme sen reisun Alaskan  
ja alotamme siela kullan huuhoonnan.

Viisi meita on lukua  
Flantta Matti, Kauppis Heikki, Petroista  
Jakki Palsman, Norpakka  
ja mina Rannan Aapeli.

Hyvasti ja laulaen  
laksimme me satamasta Seattlen,  
rikkaina kun palaamme  
niin silloin heilat kihlaamme.

Puolisen vuotta oli kulunut,  
pojat oli kleimilla hikoileet.  
Silloin erran kerran siela paatimme  
etta missa kissa hiukan huvittelemme.

Raa, raa taa, kun tanssisalaissa  
seinatkin ne oli haljeta  
kun nama pojat vuorostansa lauleli  
huoket kaikki alas huuhteli.

Jakki, se istuu ja murehtii,  
Heikki hanta riensi ja lohdutti.  
Heita, heita poijes turhat surusi,  
saatiinhan me yomme viettaa reilusti.

Jakki yksin kaihoten  
vain lupas olla uskollinen vaimolleen,  
vain kun neidot harnaili  
lankes, lankes Jakki Palsmanni.

Alkoi aamu valjeta  
pojat kaikki kaantelivat taskujaen,  
puolen vuoden tienestista  
senttia ei jalella.

Jakki nyt istuu ja murehtii,  
Heikki hanta riensi ja lohdutti.  
Heita, heita poijes turhat surusi,  
saatiinhan me yomme viettaa reilusti.

Kunhan tasta hiukan selvitaan  
itsellemme kleimin aukaistaan,  
kulta siela juoksee, se on varmaa se  
ja meille hymyilee taas elomme uudelleen.

Flantta Matti yksin potin sai  
kunhan Parsta-Kallen lesken sai.  
Siina, siina han sai tummun lihaa vain

ja paalliseksi vielä lasta kahdeksan.

Kauppiis Heikki, kerrottiin  
hanet keitoi Intti tyttö pauloihin.  
Jakki Palsman, Norpakka,  
me vain huuhtelimme Petrakkaa.

Itse aloin huomata;  
kaivaa kultaa, kuparia, hopeaa,  
aina sielta viime tie  
T. Morgannin hollien vie.

S<sup>4</sup> Ela elaman hymyillen aina  
silla turha on sen olla onneton.  
Pettymys suurikin  
kerran katoa kuitenkin

Kerran vielä nousee aurinko  
ja kaikki kirkastuu.  
Ela elaman hymyillen aina,  
silla turha on sun olla onneton.

Eihan ne haavan lehret lakkaa  
tuulella huiskumasta.  
Eihan lakkaa vanha kulta  
mun mielehen muistumasta

Sina pidit musta ja  
mina pidin susta.  
Ja ero piti tulla meista  
eika mun silmani kesken kuivaa surun kyyneleista.

Mitas tulit narraamaan  
kun olin vielä lapsi.  
Olisit pysynyt kotona  
sen hyvän aitisen luona.

Mitas tulit narraamaan  
ja surua mulle tuomaan.  
Olisit antannut kasvaa mun suuremmaksi  
ja tulla vanhemmaksi.

Ela elaman hymyillen aina  
silla turha on sen olla onneton.  
Pettymys suurikin  
kerran katoa kuitenkin.

Kerran vielä nousee aurinko  
ja kaikki kirkastuu.  
Ela elaman hymyillen aina,  
silla turha on sun olla enneton.

S<sup>5</sup> Kulukijapoikia olen mina vain,  
nytten sitten laulujani laulella ma saan,  
kun ei kuu ja aurinko  
niin kirkkahasti, komeasti  
kultani ikkunahan paistaa saa.

Taivahan rannalla kirjat ne on.  
Mistas tuo kulkuri oppinut ne on  
lukemahan, laulamahan,  
soittamaan ja nauttimahan  
tyynesti murheenkin maljasta vaan.

Sammalille kayn mina lepaamaan.  
Sirkka mulle univirren virittaa.  
Oravainen pienokainen  
rapistellen, napistellen  
aamulla ylas minut herattaa.

Ei kulkija joura lepaamaan.  
Matkallen taytyy han kiiruhtaa.  
Niin luonnonlehret taman kerran  
suutelevat, kuuntelevat,  
kulkurin laulu on niin hurmaavaa.

Enka mina vaihtaisi onneani,  
kuningasten linnahan kotiani.  
Koti mul on lavealla  
mailmalla avaralla,  
harjahirsi pilvia piirtelee.  
Ku koti mul on lavealla  
mailmalla avaralla,  
harjahirsi pilvia piirtelee.

Kedon kukka siskonani,  
veljenani, armaanani.  
Kaikki on tyynta ja rauhaisaa.

S<sup>6</sup> Heikih haita kun tanssittiin,  
niin haitarilla siella soiteltiin  
ja kolomen tahden koniakilla  
nitta huuliamme voideltiin.

Halipati hilipati hilipati vaan  
nurkasta pimeasta kuului vaan.  
Likkoja hieman kainalon alta  
teki minun mieleni kutituttaa.

Alina oli ihana,  
se lanteiltaan oli lihava,  
kolomantena naista haista  
morsiamena haarailee.

Halipati hilipati hulipati vaan  
nurkasta pimeasta kuului vaan.  
Likkoja kieman kainalon alta  
teki minun mieleni kutituttaa.

S<sup>7</sup> Hannuri ja hattu  
perintoni sattui.  
Kun mita minä huijaili huolinkaan.  
Hurja oli pappa mulla aikoinaan,  
mutta hurjempi tuli vielä pojasta.

Kun pappa otti kolmen tytön ensi lemmen vain,  
mutta minä otin enempi kun muistankaan.  
Hei ja, viime yönäkin halusin ma ensi kerran,  
kun sain kullaa kaulahan  
niin halusin ma ensi kerran.

Hei, koputtelin ovehen tyttöjen aittaan,  
laulain ja soittain; sydämiä voittain.  
Laulaja Mies kulkee aina.



S<sup>8</sup> Yks haamu seiso Marjaanan ovella  
ja se hiljaa kolkutti.  
Ei Marjaana unesta herannyt  
ennen ko avainta liikutti.

"Onkos se isani joka kolkuttaa  
tai veljeni Juhani,  
vai onkos se sulhoni Velhelmi,  
joka kaukaa tullut on?"

"Ei ole taal isas joka kolkuttaa  
eika veljesi Juhani,  
vaan taal on sun sulhosi Vilhelmi,  
joka kaukaa tullut on."

Nyt Marjaana ovensa aukaisi  
ja vaieten tervehtaen  
ja vuoteeseen lampimaan sulhoaan  
levolle pyytaen.

"En ole työstäni vasynyt  
enka matkasta pitkasta,  
vain vaadin sen valani takaisin,  
jonka sinulle vannonut oon."

"En anna valaasi takaisin,  
ennenko suutelet minua."

"En suudella voi mina sinua,  
silla haamuna olen vain.  
Mina suutelen huulilla kylmilla,  
jonka kuolo toi minullen."

Kun kukko se lauloi ja kello loi,  
niin silloin se haamu huokasi.  
Niin silloin se haamu huokasi . . . .

S<sup>9</sup> Sanokoon kuka mita taitaa  
kyllä Harmassa tullaan aikaan;  
puriloita myorahan, herkkuja syorahan,  
meijeri piimaa silakan kans.

Harmassa on palion juoksijoita  
orihia, tammoja, salavioita:  
joilla he ajaa, julki ja salaa,  
kaikilla joilla on rahaa.

Sanokoon kuka mita taitaa  
kyllä Harmassa tullaan aikaan;  
puriloita myorahan, herkkuja syorahan,  
meijeri piimaa silakan kans.

Yhrellä on kortit joille he pelaa  
toisella on kappele Rankinevaa;  
kolomas se hieroo, kuppaa ja kylvaa  
ja nelias se keittää viinaa.

Sanokoon kuka mita taitaa  
kyllä Harmassa tullaan aikaan;  
puriloita myorahan, herkkuja syorahan,  
meijeri piimaa silakan kans.

S<sup>10</sup> On metsan siimeksessä  
pien villiruusu niin;  
sen salon sydämmessä  
on olla rauhainen.

Ei ylta sinne myrksaat  
sen korpikuuset piirittää;  
kun aivan sattumalta  
ma loysin villiruusunen.

Sa olet villiruusunen,  
ruusuista kaunehin.

Pois unhottaisin kaiken muun  
jos omani olla saisin sun;  
sa olet villiruusuinen  
ruusuista kaunehin.

Se piikki oksillansa siita  
orjanruusun nimen sai.

Kun aivan sattumalta  
ma poskiasi suutelin

Sa olet villiruusuinen,  
ruusuista kaunehin.

Kesaisen sateen jalkeen  
kukka kauneimmin kukoistaa  
ja niin monet varin valkkeen  
tuo villiruusu sai.

On ruusun kukat pienet  
niita en poimi pois;  
sen salon sydämmessä  
on olla rauhainen.