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Family Histories of Soviet Exile and Terror

The Case of an Ingrian Finnish Memory Culture

By Anni Reuter

In this article, I explore the memory and great transformation of Ingrian Finnish families originally from Ingria (a historical area around Saint Petersburg) in the Soviet Union during deportations, Stalinist terror, and clashes of ideologies and practice. In an Ingrian Finnish memory culture, families were an important source and carrier of memories of exile and repression from one generation to another.

Family members and other Ingrian Finns were deported on account of their social background as “kulak” peasants¹ and ethnic background as Finns, and many were arrested during the Stalinist terror (Gildi 2007; Reuter 2020a; Jääskeläinen 2001). I have used the family archival material of letters, life histories and family narratives, poetry, family trees, and photographs as research material and analysed the social genealogy of repressed Ingrian Finnish families. This is a case study of an extended family including several nuclear families, 33 members and three generations in the 1930s. The extended family studied included the generation born during serfdom (before 1861), the generation deported or arrested as adults in the 1930s and at the beginning of the 1940s, and the diaspora generation, who were of a young age at the beginning of the Soviet internal exile (see also Jääskeläinen 2001).

This article aims to examine the family histories of repressed Ingrian Finns, and the memories and interpretation of this history in the context of Ingrian Finnish memory culture. My research questions are:

- What kind of repressions and mobilities did family members experience?
- What cultural heritages and memories were passed on?

- How were experiences of repressions made sense of?

Based on my analyses, I argue that family histories of repressions were a meeting point with life histories and the minority/national history of Ingrian Finns. Family histories of repressed families build a bridge over the personal and collective memories in the context of Ingrian Finnish memory culture. In this way, family histories are a missing link between micro- and macro-histories (see Ginzburg 2012).

In addition to individual remembering, remembrance occurs in cultural, political, archival, artistic, and social practices. Cultural memory refers to the collective practices that societies and groups use to build and uphold their past. Memory constructs, creates and selects the past. Cultural remembering is not just recalling the past, but also about the interpretation of it. Cultural memory in literate societies also includes archival material that may be rediscovered. Memory culture is concerned with the social obligations to the ethnic or other group, where the question “what must we not forget?” is central to the community and its identity. Carriers of memory may be individuals within a cultural group or collective subjects (Assman 2011; Erll 2011a).

Families are one of the fundamental carriers of memory and identity, through which narratives are shared, thus helping to remember and interpret events. Family memories are typically intergenerational (Erll 2011b). Memories are often told within the families, by an older generation to a younger one. In this way family members may carry, not only their own memories, but also the memories of other family

members and previous generations. Family memories can be transformed into larger collective memories, and conversely, collective memories, cultural texts and images shape family remembrance. In this way, the family is an important link between the individual and the collective memory. Memory studies have favoured large-scale national memories, but a refocus on smaller-scale family memories sheds new light on transgenerational and transnational memories (Erlil 2011b).

Stalin's centralized system aimed to control political, social, intellectual, and family life. Soviet leaders tried to destroy both the memory of the past and the family, both of which were seen to threaten the totalitarian power. Family properties, enterprises, homes, and farms were seized. Having been a "kulak" peasant, a political dissident, a member of an ethnic minority, or merely being a child of one of them became a reason for deportation or imprisonment (Passerini 1992:7–8; Figes 2007; Bertaux & Thompson 1993:5–6).

Parts of the history that did not fit into the Soviet history, such as the deportations of minority nationalities, were omitted from the Soviet history books (Ro'i 2009). Despite the totalitarian efforts, the history of deportations and the terror lived on in the private memories. Before Stalin's death in 1953 "there was only silence, or at most, rare whispers between intimates, because to tell anyone about the prisons and concentration camps was deadly dangerous" (Sherbakova 1992:103). The cumulatively stored-up fear was lost only gradually, if ever (Figes 2007).

The policy of the Soviet Union with its repressions and stigmatization silenced victims for decades and made several fam-

ily narratives disappear from Russian and Ingrian Finnish family histories, causing non-transformation of family memory (Duprat-Kushtanina 2013; Siim 2016; Peltonen 2009). At the same time, oral histories and family correspondence have been central sources of deportation history among the Ingrian Finns, Estonians, ethnic Germans, and other minorities in the Soviet Union (Reuter 2020a; 2020b; Kõresaar 2016; Pohl et al. 2009).

Ingrian Finns are "the forgotten Finns", who are not given a place in the Finnish historical narrative, society, and identity (Pakkanen et al. 2020). With this study, the objective is to contribute to the deportation history of Ingrian Finns since it has not been thoroughly studied (Flink 2010), nor have the experiences of people deported within the Soviet Union (Klimkova 2007:105–139). The repressions and stigmatization concerned whole families as Stalinist purges were kinship-based (Alexopoulos 2008). That is why it is relevant to study families in a context of repressions

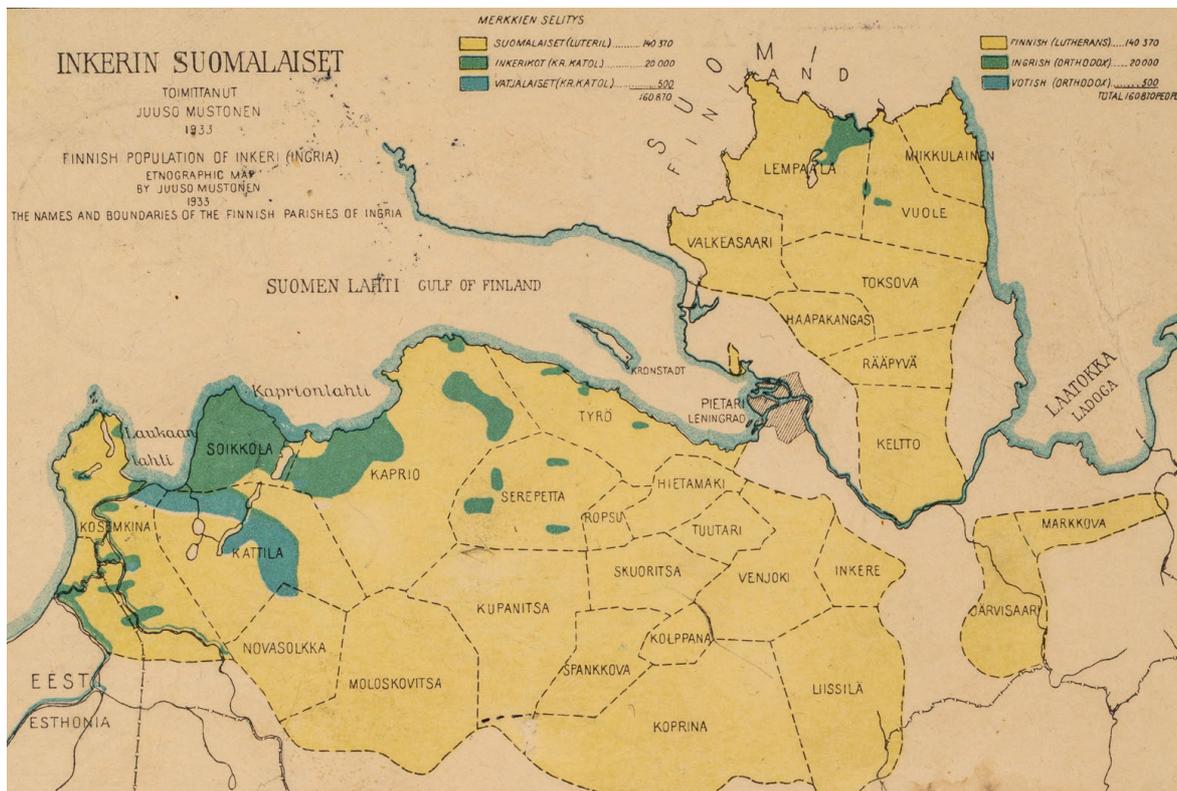
Ingrian Finns are descendants of Finns who moved to Ingria from eastern Finland during the Swedish rule in the seventeenth century. After the Russian Empire took over Ingria in the eighteenth century, the city of Saint Petersburg was built in the middle of Ingria. Ingrian Finns became an ethnic minority in the multicultural area and serfs until 1861. They were mostly Lutherans and literate, they spoke Finnish, and they lived in the countryside, working as peasants or in other occupations connected to the city. The number of Ingrian Finns (Finns in Leningrad oblast) was approximately 115,000 in 1926 (Matley 1979). After the October Revolution, aspiration for autonomy or being part of Finland led to estab-

lishment of an independent Republic of North Ingria (1919–1920), which was soon crushed. The resistance against the Soviet power was widespread but turned from public to silent resistance during the 1930s (Reuter 2019).

Ingrian Finns became victims of mass deportation in the 1930s, when approximately 45,000 Finns were deported from Ingria to diaspora inside the Gulag. They were first deported because of their class origin as “kulak” peasants and their acts of dissidence (Reuter 2020a; Matley 1979). Later, from 1935 onwards, ethnic background became the major reason for the deportation; the deportations of diasporic “enemy” nationalities were based on communist ideology and Soviet leaders’ mis-

trust and fear of Western influences (Martin 1998; Polian 2004). The deported groups were also targeted in the Stalinist terror (Martin 1998). During the Second World War over 28,000 Ingrian Finns were deported from the siege of Leningrad in 1941 and 1942 to Siberia, where they suffered high death rates, hunger and forced labour as told in narratives (Reuter 2020b; see Gildi 2007). Ingrian Finns returning from Finland after evacuation (56,000) were deported to Central Russia (Flink 2010).

In the Baltic and Ingrian Finnish context, narratives of exile, diaspora, and terror started emerging during the perestroika period, contributing to the return of memory and the life history. A large number of oral and published narratives of the Soviet past



Ethnographic map of Ingrian Finnish population and parishes by Juuso Mustonen 1933. Family archive of Kuortti in the archive of Finnish Literature Society.

fulfilled the desire to discuss and condemn the Stalinist period (Davoliūtė & Balkelis 2018; Kõresaar 2016). In the Ingrian Finnish memory culture, deportations and terror have been described in oral histories and written testimonies (Reuter 2020a; 2020b; 2019; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1997; 1999; Miettinen 2004; Savolainen forthcoming). Personal and family narratives of Ingrian Finns from Stalin's time address many violent turning points in life: deportations, arrests, death sentences, and forced diaspora from the homeland Ingria, that held an important role also in exile (Reuter 2020a; on diaspora Brubaker 2005).

Ene Kõresaar (2016) points out that despite similarities, diverse groups encounter great differences in how important repressions have been for their memory cultures and what time horizons they use. The Soviet period was sometimes ignored in the oral histories of older Estonians. In the public discussion and memory, it was described as a time of suffering, ideological pressure, and “a rupture” that interrupted the harmonious national development (Kõresaar 2001; 2004). Ingrian Finns do not have a similar possibility to ignore the Soviet time, or describe it as a foreign and passing period, because Ingria was never an official country but part of the Soviet Union from its beginning to the end. This means that the Soviet time lasted a lifetime, over 70 years, and historical Ingria is now part of Russia. At the same time, many Ingrian Finns perceived Finland as their second home country after Ingria (Reuter 2020a).

In the Ingrian Finnish memory culture, family histories play a central role.² According to Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj (1999; 1997) the older generation of-

ten felt obliged to tell the next generation about the “suffering history” of the family and Ingrian Finns. The same kind of duty to talk about the genocide can be found among many Jews (Waxman 2008). The vitality of the oral history tradition of Ingrian Finns describing the family histories of the Stalinist time can be explained by its purpose, which is to bring to light the repressions, terror, and deportations faced by the teller, family members, and others, and to maintain the memory.³

I analyse the social genealogy of repressed and deported Ingrian Finnish families using the method of *Social Genealogies Commented On and Compared* as the sociologist Daniel Bertaux (1995) has suggested. It is an instrument that can be used to study the (forced) social mobility and family transmissions over a long period of time with different generations. I frame my research in terms of social genealogy and family narrative to understand the different individual and family paths, heritages and layers of meaning. Social genealogy refers to biographical data of family members, their lineages, heritages, and narratives explaining events. I analyse, compare, and describe the social genealogies and family histories using the family archive of letters, oral histories, memoirs, diary notes, photographs, family trees, and other material (Bertaux 1995; see Jääskeläinen 2001).

In this article I first introduce the family archive of a repressed family. I show the pattern of repressions and deportations, how they affected the families and how repressions were interpreted.

The Archive of a Repressed Family

In the words of Pierre Nora: “To begin with, there must be a will to remem-

ber” (1989:19). In the case of the Ingrian Finnish Jääskeläinen family there seems to have been a determination and a feeling of obligation (Assman 2011) to write and remember what happened to the family during Stalin’s years; it is difficult to explain the exceptionally large family archive otherwise. The extended family wrote, collected, archived, and researched the personal and family histories from the 1920s to the present day in Finland, the Soviet Union (Russia), and Sweden (see Jääskeläinen 2001; Jääskeläinen 2011). Letters, diaries, and poems of peasants from the 1930s Soviet Union are rare because of the terror and the low rate of literacy. Literacy among Finns was relatively high in the Soviet Union (Matley 1979), which partly explains the extensive family correspondence. Dispersed family members kept contact with each other via letters and some wanted to tell about the repression to a wider audience.

I use the family name of Jääskeläinen, because of the nature of family genealogy, and to lessen the stigma of repressed persons and to respect the copyright of the writers. Most of the persons studied have died. Those I interviewed stated that they wanted the family history to be studied and did not wish to be anonymous. I am a relative of the family through my grandfather Juhani Jääskeläinen (1907–1988), who moved to Finland in 1925 as a refugee at the age of seventeen. He received letters from Ingria and exile areas after his family was deported, and even from labour camps and prisons via Ingria. This correspondence and other material he received was formed in time into an extensive archive. The family archive could be stored relatively safely in Finland, although he was afraid of

deportation to the Soviet Union. Later, he became a Lutheran pastor and one the first to study the repression of Ingrian Finns in the Soviet Union, mostly concentrating on the Ingrian church (see Jääskeläinen 1982).

I have continued my grandfather’s work by gathering research material, archiving, and studying the history of Ingrian Finns and the family. As a member of the family, I was able to gather research material that an outsider could not obtain. I became interested in deportations from early on as I met my deported relatives when they visited Helsinki in the 1980s and early 1990s. The family stories of Soviet exile, forced work, escapes, and repressions contrasted starkly with the picture of an equal Soviet society prevailing in Finland during the time of Finlandization.⁴

The archival materials include a diary written in Siberia from 1931 to 1938, 11 oral histories and unpublished memoirs, photographs, poems, family genealogies and 80 letters written between 1928 and 1938.⁵ Letters are common sources in historical research and have been used to study the history of deportations of Lutheran minorities in the Soviet Union; the correspondence of the family members and other Lutherans in the 1930s was mostly religious and critical of Soviet society, and religious expressions were even used to circumvent censorship (Reuter 2020a; Pohl et al. 2009). The family history was also described in the published memoir of Maria Kajava, a well-known preacher, family friend, and neighbour in Siberia (Mesiäinen 1990).

During the Stalinist period, mass deportations, censorship, house searches, and arrests were common, which made it dangerous to possess dissident texts: even

a single letter or a joke could lead to arrest. Family members sent their letters to Finland with the help of the Finnish Embassy and a Finnish Lutheran pastor Jalmari Laurikkala, which partly explains the amount of surviving evidence of critical correspondence about the Soviet system (see Reuter 2020a).

Juhani's uncle wrote in Whitsunday 1931 to Finland:

In our beloved Ingria we live like a mouse in the mouth of a cat. My heart is trembling whose turn is next. Persons you sent greetings to have been deported already. Everyone with some awareness is under suspicion, which is why I ask you not to mention any names or the content of these papers. I visited the Hell of Krasnoyarsk [an exile area in Siberia] and now live as a runaway. I send here some letters from your family. You can probably appreciate them in the free country you are living in.⁶

Already from 1960s onwards family members started to gather oral histories with visiting sisters in Finland and Sweden (in 1967, 1972 and 1982). The narrators took the position of being representative of the family and Ingrian Finns. The atmosphere of these interviews was intense and warm, with laughter, tears, and fear about being recorded as sisters and brothers had not seen each other for four to five decades. Gathering of the family's oral histories in Finland and Sweden started early in comparison to Russia, where interviewing started at the beginning of perestroika, and many were still afraid to talk (Passerini 1992).

I interviewed six exiled family members between 1999 and 2001. These interviews resembled cultural exchange between generations, in which the older generations shared their historical and cultural knowl-

edge with the younger generation. Oral histories often reveal forgotten or novel points of history of repressed groups and meaning attached to events; they tell what people thought and believed happened, which is not always historically correct information (Portelli 2015). At least four family members wrote unpublished memoirs.

There were also many photographs preserved in the families. Photographs are visual representations of the family; photos reveal their identities and have a testimonial value giving insight into the family histories. The idea of the family forms the basis for exploring the past (Arnold-de Simine & Leal 2021). Remembering was connected to the narratives passed on in the families, but also to the materiality of family archives, which were made up of several media, such as photographs (see also Savolainen et al. 2020).

The extended family studied was a large network in the 1930s. The data gathered includes systematic biographical information on 33 family members, three generations, nine nuclear families,⁷ and unsystematic information about their family members and later generations. In concentrating on families, I was able to understand the complex historical picture of diverse forms of repressions, forced migrations, social mobility,⁸ and family heritage. The method of social genealogy also included family members who did not have descendants and died in the terror or of disease and hunger, not only the survivors, making both the quantitative and qualitative analyses possible (Bertaux 1995).

The voices of the older deported generation, who were deported as adults, could be heard in letters, diary notes, and historical poems. The diaspora generation who were

deported when they were young told their stories in the oral and written histories and in some letters. Information about the same events could be found in different sources in the family archive, public archives, and literature (e.g. Mesiäinen 1990). Considering deportations, imprisonments, deaths under the terror regime, and lives in exile and diaspora, the family archive is extremely rich, showing the determination to conserve the memory and history of the family and of Ingrian Finns. This is not always the case in Ingrian Finnish families as in many, the terror – and even being a Finn – has been silenced or hidden (Peltonen 2009; Siim 2016).

The family histories of Ingrian Finns were typically “historical narratives” arranged around certain persons, dates, places, and events (Wertsch 2008). At the same time, narratives were connected to Ingrian Finnish narrative traditions and collective memories, which are representations of the past shared by the group, actively recalled and relevant to the group’s identity (see e.g. Ketelaar 2016:255).

The Family History of Repression

This is a case study of an extended Ingrian Finnish peasant family originally from Keltto (Koltushi), only 15 kilometres from Saint Petersburg (Leningrad). After the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, the family members became smallholders. Grandmother Helena (1857–1932)⁹ and her generation were born during serfdom, which explains why the time of “slavery” was still remembered in the 1930s.

Most of the family members were peasants, but many worked in small trades and other professions as well. The oldest son Matti (1875–1935), for example, worked

as a peasant on his small farm, but was also a carpenter, the head of the voluntary fire brigade, and a trumpeter. His brother Pietari’s (1879–1938) family was labelled “kulaks” at the beginning of the 1930s because of their social background as relatively prosperous farmers. They lost their citizen’s rights, right to vote and receive ration cards. Pietari’s daughter Eeva (1915–1994) explained: “We had a large family with twelve persons. Persecution started with those who believed in God and people who were a little better off. Our property was robbed but that was not enough, we had to leave our home and wander the world.”¹⁰ Bolsheviks tried to silence the opposition and waged a war against groups whose values made them potential supporters of counter-revolution (Figs 2007).

Members of the family resisted forced collectivization of agriculture as it meant giving away the family farms, animals, and tools without compensation to the collective farm. One of the brothers, Antti (1884–1944), said at the village meeting that: “If even we brothers cannot live together, the collective farm is not going to work!”¹¹ Open resistance was dangerous: Antti lost his citizenship and voting rights and was soon arrested. Family members started to resist the Soviet politics silently. They hid their property before confiscations and did not cultivate the land properly anymore as they did not know who would harvest it. After the first deportations of the family members in 1931, family members wrote secretly with other Ingrian Finnish peasants an appeal to the Finnish Government, telling about the deportations and repressions of Ingrian Finns and asked for help. Most of those who signed the letter by their initials for security reasons were reported

to the secret police by an informer and imprisoned.¹²

In the 1920s and early 1930s family life and marriage were regarded as bourgeois and socially harmful by the Soviet leaders, and they were expected to disappear during the development towards socialism. The state tried to accelerate the disintegration of the family and introduced communal housing and supervision of the personal sphere (Figs 2007). This influenced family life, especially in the internal exile areas where family members were forced to live in crowded barracks supervised by the Gulag administrative organ and the secret police NKVD,¹³ which organized the political terror in the country as well. The ideal of stable families was resurrected in the mid-1930s in Soviet propaganda and legislation

aiming for higher birth rates and the prevention of social exclusion (Ivanov et al. 2006). At the same time ethnically based deportations of minority families became common, with a high death toll. Whole families, villages, and peoples were deported from their home regions to remote exile areas. Soon after followed the mass killings of members of vulnerable ethnic and social groups in the Great Terror, especially during the kulak and national operations (Martin 1998; Gildi 2007).

Two out of three Jääskeläinen family members (22/33) were deported in the 1930s. The family history described the “robbing” of their property, farmland, houses, animals, even clothes and other small items were confiscated, but also the loss of their former freedom and social



The extended Jääskeläinen family in Keltto in 1921. Grandmother Helena in the middle. The family of Pietari on the right was deported to Siberia in 1931. His brother Simo, above Helena, was imprisoned and his family was deported. Matti on the left was forced to work in Ingria 1932–1934 and deported in 1935 with the family to Central Asia. Antti, beside Helena on the left, was imprisoned for 10 years in Vorkuta and his family was deported to Kazakhstan. Archive of Anni Reuter.

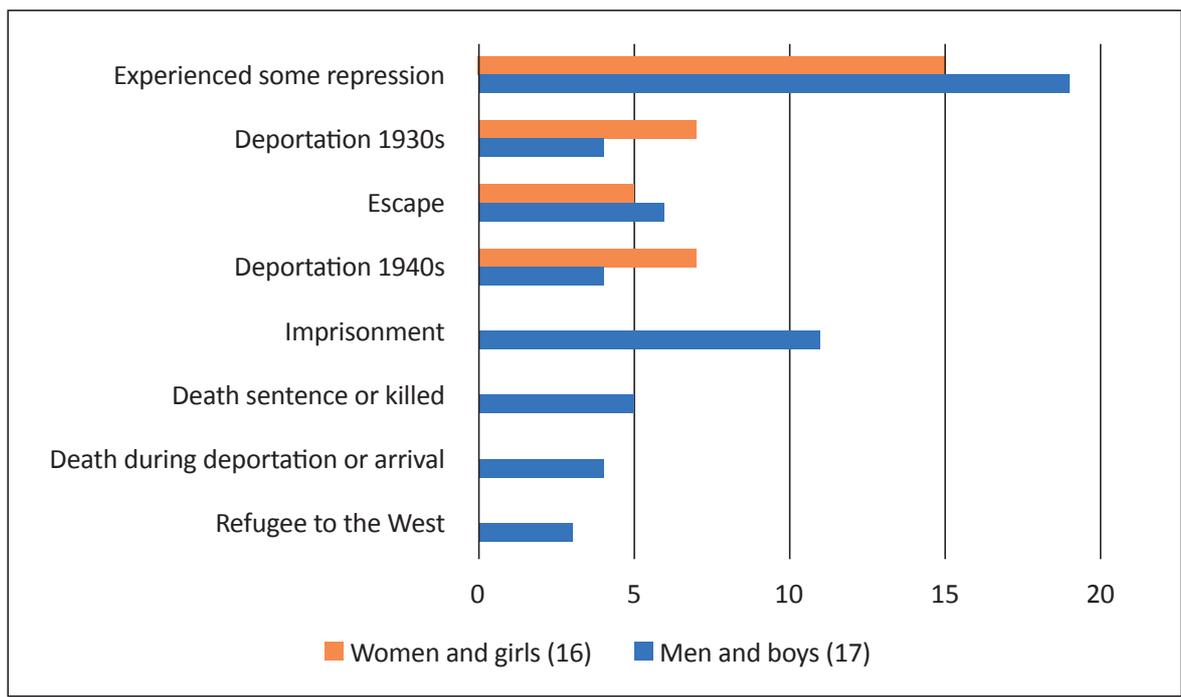
standing. Huge social changes included the destruction of the Ingrian Lutheran church (Jääskeläinen 1982), the Ingrian village environment as a way of life, forced migration and the loss of the home country Ingria, which led to the great Ingrian Finnish diaspora (see Reuter 2020a). Helena, the old mother and grandmother of the family, was “suffering like Job” according to a letter from Ingria in 1931, as 14 family members had been deported to internal exile, her house and property had been confiscated “to the last needle”, and her three sons imprisoned.¹⁴

One third (11/33) of the family member were deported because of their Finnish ethnicity during the Second World War in 1942 suffering high death rates, hunger and forced labour (Reuter 2020b; see Gildi 2007; Polian 2004:139).

In the family photo from the 1920s Ingria, the grandmother of the family, Helena, is

sitting in the centre, her sons, their wives, and her grandchildren around her. The family is pictured in front of the oldest family farmhouses, men and boys wearing clothes that show the prosperous peasant way of life later lost. Older women wore traditional dresses and headdresses of “*varsinaiset vallanomat*”, serfs previously owned by the Tsar family, revealing the historical roots. Photos taken during the internal exile were often taken of work collectives, only part of the family, gatherings of Finns or funerals showing the decline of family coherence.

Over a period of ten years Ingria was emptied of Ingrian Finns. None of the 33 persons studied lived in Ingria after the year 1942. The extended family was dispersed from Ingria to the *diaspora*, mostly to the Gulag as deportees and prisoners, with only three men managing to escape to the West as refugees (see also Reuter 2020a). During the exile they lived in Siberia, Central Asia,



Repressions experienced by family members (no.=33).

and the Kola Peninsula, and in prisons and labour camps at least in Ingria, Leningrad, the Far East, Siberia, Vorkuta, the Urals, and Central Asia.

A letter written in Siberia on 5 June 1931 reads: “The storm waves of the world throw us here and there, tearing our families to shreds, scattering our children to the edge of the stormy sea.”¹⁵ Family members tried to keep in touch by writing letters, sending packages and photographs, and meeting each other if possible, even in Siberia and Central Asia. They hoped to return to Ingria and gather there. The diaspora of the family was seen by the older generation from the Biblical point of view as the dispersion and oppression of a holy people resembling the history and narratives of the Jews as told in the Bible (also Reuter 2020a).

All the nine nuclear families studied were violently broken up during the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s. Soviet practices of separating family members in internal exile for reasons of working capabilities, gender, and age also broke up families. In Siberia, Simo (1905–1938), Pekka (1910–1945), and Matti (1912–1977), able young men, were ordered to walk a couple of hundred kilometres from Krasnoyarsk to the gold mine area in North Yenissei in May 1931. “This is how they broke the families”, wrote their father Pietari.¹⁶ Meanwhile, their brother Jaakko (1903–1941) had been interrogated for five weeks in Leningrad suspected of espionage (1931) as their brother lived in Finland. Jaakko was sentenced for four months to forced labour (1932) after which he was summoned to be interrogated again, which is why he escaped to Finland in 1933.¹⁷

Two out of three of men (11/18 men) were arrested in the 1930s either in Ingria or

whilst in internal exile.¹⁸ They were sent to prisons and labour camps in different areas, which spread the diaspora of the extended family even further. Matti was forced to work for two years in a peat bog in Ingria 1930–1932. His brother Antti was sentenced to ten years in Vorkuta 1931–1941. Their nephew Simo (1893–1942) was sent to work camp in the Urals from 1931 to 1935. His cousin with the same name Simo (1899–1938) was sentenced to three years in labour camps in Alma Ata and Tashkent. His destiny in Asia is still not known, but he was most likely shot during the Stalinist terror. His brother Juhana (1901–1938) was arrested in Ingria and executed in 1938 three months after his arrest.¹⁹ Information on the repressed family members can be found in open internet sites concerning Stalinist repression. Research has become easier lately because of this and has gained in popularity.

Stalinist terror was highly gendered, and the head of the household was typically seen as a political enemy (Alexopoulos 2008:92). Altogether five men died of political violence, four of them suffering the death penalty in 1938 during “national operations” against Finns. All the Finnish men in the Siberian gold mine area of Yelisevetka were arrested in March 1938; Pietari and his sons were suspected of counter-revolutionary activities. The youngest of them, Matti and Pekka, were released back to internal exile after interrogations and torture that left Pekka partially deaf.²⁰ The NKVD said that Pietari and Simo had been imprisoned for ten years under penal code 58 and had no right to correspond. After twenty years of waiting, the Soviet authorities announced misleadingly again that Pietari had died of a heart attack on 14 March 1942 and rehabilitated him posthu-

mously. The compensation for a lost life was just enough to buy a radio in 1958 in Soviet Karelia, which enabled the family to listen to Finnish radio. Only recently did it become known in Finland that Pietari had received the death penalty already in May 1938 soon after his arrest.²¹ His son Simo was also shot in 1938, claimed to belong to a hostile anti-Soviet group.²² Family members honoured fathers who were victims of Stalinist repression by giving their names to their children, and even in the next generations to great-grandchildren.

Men in the family often experienced both exile and arrest combined with forced labour and an early death. Especially the years 1935–1938 were dangerous, as is attested by the deaths of nine family members. Four male family members²³ died during and just after deportation which broke up families. Matti (1875–1935) and his family were deported in April 1935 to Central Asia to a cotton sovkhos in Pahta Aral, where heat, malnutrition, diseases, and hard labour under forced conditions were too much for the 60-year-old father of the family. He died of a “bloody stomach disease” just a couple of months after arrival. The symptoms suggest dysentery, which was common in concentration camps, and among exiled people during Stalin’s time. In Pahta Aral people endured terrible sanitary conditions along with hard labour and poor housing in cramped barracks with a floor made of soil. They were also forced to drink from the canal water that “looked like milk coffee”.²⁴ Matti’s brother, 49-year-old family father Simo (1893–1942),²⁵ died a couple of years later of starvation during the forced deportation of Finns from the siege of Leningrad to Siberia in 1942, leaving his wife a widow and his children orphans.²⁶

During a ten-year period 1931–1942, most of the families lost their fathers. After the mass imprisonments and early deaths of many Finnish men, there was a deficit of males in the families, and women were left alone to care for the families in exile. One of the fathers, Antti, managed to find his wife and daughter in Central Asia after ten years’ imprisonment in Vorkuta. His son Toivo (1919–2010) had already escaped. Another man in my sample experienced the labour army, where the conditions resembled labour camps, but returned to his home in exile.²⁷

As a teenager Toivo fled from Pahta Aral in Asia to Ingria to save his life after getting severe malaria symptoms. He and two other men in the family managed to flee from Ingria to Finland. They all served in the Finnish army during the Second World War and gained refugee status in Finland or Sweden.²⁸ After the peace treaty, Toivo continued his escape from Finland to Sweden as he would have been returned from Finland to the Soviet authorities and imprisoned for 10 to 25 years in the Soviet Union. Altogether, Toivo’s escape route took him on a long journey from Kazakhstan to Leningrad and Ingria, the Kola Peninsula, Soviet Karelia, Finland, Lapland, and Sweden, where he arrived after rowing over the Tornio River. He became a remembrance activist and was interviewed several times in television programmes, newspapers, books, and research projects in Finland and Sweden. In this way he engaged in the transmission of the history of Ingrian Finns to the next generation and even to the wider public²⁹ (see Martikainen 2006).

Escapes were common and some family members escaped several times. Half of those deported in the 1930s escaped (11/22), and in total every third family

member attempted or succeeded in escaping (11/33). The frequency of the escapes reflects not only a longing for home, but also the hostile, hunger-stricken, and life-threatening situation in exile. Most of the runaways were teenagers, but even children and elderly people escaped, which in several cases led to their death through illness or violence. Pietari's adoptive father, Jaakko Multainen (1858–1931), was beaten so badly that he died of his injuries after being captured.³⁰ The pregnant Maria (1898–1981), wife of Simo, managed to flee from the Kola Peninsula with her daughter. During her flight she gave birth to her second daughter and gave her the name Inkeri (born 1931) to honour the home country “in the time of suffering ordered by God”.³¹ Maria was later deported again during the Second World War.

Susanna (1881–1936), the mother of nine children and wife of Matti escaped from Asian exile and was constantly on the run after her husband's death there. The illegal departure made the family, already under suspicion by the authorities, into lawbreakers and runaways who lived in constant fear of arrest without protection, shelter, civil rights, or health care. They fled the likelihood of death in exile, but escape did not help their situation. Susanna and her youngest and oldest sons died soon after their escape in 1936 and 1937 due to the illnesses they had incurred already in exile. The life of a runaway was dangerous not only because of disease but also because runaways were arrested and killed during the terror.³² As Antti, the father of the runaway Toivo put it, “People are chased like wild animals, even worse. You can escape, but a runaway has no place to run to.”³³ Although many family members

tried to return to Ingria, none of them succeeded in returning permanently.

Many family members experienced several acts of terror, and some women more than one deportation. Kati (born 1920) recounted her experiences in an interview: “I had to leave home four times and wander from one place to another.”³⁴ Deportations from Ingria were the structural turning points in her life narrative. She was deported from Ingria to Central Asia in 1935 with her childhood family. After her escape back to her home village at the age of sixteen, she could stay there because her parents had died. Five years later she was deported to Siberia during the war in 1942 with other Ingrian Finns but escaped again. After her second escape to her home region, she was not allowed to stay in Ingria but was forced to leave by the local authorities in 1947. She moved to Soviet Estonia but was deported for the fourth time with other Ingrian Finns to Central Russia in 1948. Later she moved voluntarily to Soviet Karelia although the leader in her workplace was against it. In the 1990s she emigrated to Finland as a return migrant. As a pensioner she told me that she was happy as she got enough food in Finland without hard manual work.³⁵

Thinning of Cultural Heritage in Exile

The future of deported families was highly uncertain in exile and even before in Ingria. Exiles were kept under the watchful eye of the NKVD, whose job was to oversee the Gulag and implement political terror. This did not mean only deportation from Ingria to diaspora in different locations, it also meant economic, cultural, and political repression, which made their cultural heritage thinner (also Reuter 2020a). As

Toivo, born in 1919 and deported in 1935, described it: “Already in my time, there was no time for storytelling. You had to think where to get the food.”³⁶ Stalinist repression and fear meant a long rupture in the Finnish culture and Lutheran religion. Continuation was supported by a memory culture in exile and diaspora that included religious meetings and narratives against the Soviet power (Reuter 2020a; 2020b; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1997).

Central to the narratives about the early stage of exile were a lack of living space, inhumane treatment, poor health care, and shortage of food. On 13 May 1931, at the beginning of the exile, Pietari wrote home:

Greetings from the Hell of Krasnoyarsk!

To my country and people of Ingria, I write to you about our life, about our children’s destiny. It is as if children are being sentenced to death. Those ten days we spent in the cattle wagons were too much for their health. We got food three times, but not the children, not even the women here, although they had promised us.

In this barrack there are 635 persons. The floors, beds, every corner and inch are crowded with people sleeping. I can hear weeping, which breaks my heart. Near to me, side by side, are two sick children sleeping and next to me rests a mother who is so weak that she can hardly open her mouth, her five sick children near to her. The oldest daughter is trying to take care of them. Their father has been sent to work.

Here are also two bodies looking like angels, one mother smiling. Over there you can see a woman who is crying again after her tears dried out, but are now again falling, because death took away her three children in one night. Over there I would not like to turn your sight but there you can see six children sleeping like lambs in their stall. From them death, like a wolf, has taken away their mother. In the middle of the night everybody wakes up to a terrible cry, when a child calls for her dead mother. Mother! Mother! Mother!

We work 16 hours a day. Guards are like those

from the prophecies in the Bible. What happens to us is difficult to say because we have been sold to the gold company. But we believe that the time is coming when God will have mercy on us, and this gang of Pharaoh’s asks us to leave these rivers of Babylon...³⁷

Letters and oral histories told how Ingrian Finnish exiles and their children’s lives had hardly any value in the Soviet system. Mass deaths, poverty, illnesses, repressions, and other miseries were described in the narratives targeted against Soviet power (also Reuter 2020b; 2019). The letter quoted above illustrates in detail the suffering caused by the forced deportation. Pietari, the author of the letter, directs his words to the Ingrian Finns. He uses culturally available narratives found in the Bible, and the letter ends with a hope of leaving exile and going home (or to heaven), where he would meet the others. This kind of Messianic message is quite typical among forcibly deported and diasporic groups such as the Ingrian Finns (see Reuter 2020a).

The social status of the family members was significantly reduced from socially respected peasants to stigmatized “kulaks”, exiles, refugees, prisoners, runaways, orphans, and servants.³⁸ Most of the family members were forced to do hard physical work in forests, buildings, mines, and kolkhozes. In agricultural kolkhozes they lost their autonomy and fell from relative prosperity to poverty. In the Pahta Aral kolkhoz, the hard land was cultivated manually even by children, and cotton was picked and purified by hand. In Siberian exile Matti worked in a goldmine, other family members as carpenters, blacksmiths, and young women as forestry workers. Women were expected to do heavy manual work but typically received lower pay than men.

The tools for land tenure, gold sifting and working were in general primitive, if they existed at all; for example, in the goldmine, people pushed the wagons.³⁹ Family members were “enslaved” according to older generations, who had heard stories of serfdom, “slavery” as they called it, during the rule of the Tsar. In Siberia Pietari described their position as followings: “We became slaves like the previous generation, only the weapons used against us changed from whips to rifle barrels.”⁴⁰ The experience of collectivization and exile in Russia drew partly from centuries of serfdom, repression, and physical punishment of peasants.

The family members struggled to stay alive during the exile and were faced with starvation, illness, poor housing, and harsh weather conditions ranging from freezing cold in Siberia and the Kola Peninsula or burning heat in Central Asia. During the famine (1932–1933) the family survived in Siberia eating nettles and bread made of tree bark. As they had not experienced hunger in Ingria, they got the idea for this way of surviving from the Finnish poem *Saarijärven Paavo* (Bonden Paavo) written by the national poet Runeberg.⁴¹ The older generation shared the textual community with other Finns and used Finnish literature to find ways to survive in exile. The remembering was later somewhat disconnected from the textual traditions and forced into the private family sphere (see Skultans 1998).

The family members started to cultivate the cold Siberian soil and used their experiences of centuries of farming in order to produce good harvests. Although repression was continuous and many-sided, family members were active in working after official hours to earn food and

money for the family, manufacturing and selling goods such as old clothes, and in Siberia they leached gold.⁴² They adapted to the work community, but at the same time passed on to their children some of their cultural and social heritage. Children were taught to work and study hard and to live according to Finnish and Lutheran cultural traditions. Communism and atheism were propagated at the Soviet schools and workplaces, which led to a double life in the private and the public sphere.

The family and the nearest circle of Ingrian Finns were often seen as a protective sphere preserving Finnish identity and the Lutheran religion against the hostile exile environment. Far from withering away, religion, preserving the memory of the past in Ingria, and national Finnish sentiment, remained a part of private family life. In Central Asia, exiled Ingrian Finns gathered secretly in religious meetings in graveyards. In Siberia, religion was kept usually inside the barrack rooms. In both places the male members of the family took leading roles in the preaching and in arranging funerals (also Mesiäinen 1990).⁴³

The main Finnish and Lutheran celebrations, such as Christmas, Easter, and Midsummer, were celebrated when possible, although it was difficult to keep to traditional celebrations and Sundays as they were often working days and school days.⁴⁴ Belief in God remained, although religiosity seemed to be strongest in the older exiled generation. The spiritual role of religion and the continuations of traditions were important, not just physical survival,⁴⁵ but religious and national (Ingrian) Finnish identity had to be hidden for the sake of security. There was the hope of returning home and meeting, if not in their



Ingrian Finnish exiles, including family members gathered at the graves of the Pahta Aral cotton kolkhoz in Central Asia in 1937 or 1938. Archive of Anni Reuter.

lifetime in Ingria, then in heaven, as many letters ended.

There were also traces of resistance in exile as the family members were so clearly against communist ideology and practice. Finnish was spoken at home and with relatives and friends and was sometimes used as a secret language that others in exile did not understand. Outward pressure from educational institutions insisted that the Russian language taught at school should also be used at home. “Teacher advised our parents to teach us kids Russian at home, but father told us that school is for that purpose. ‘We speak Finnish!’ My sister did not speak any Russian when she went to school and learned everything by heart.”⁴⁶ The totalitarian state pressed for cultural unification so that they would become Russian-speaking Soviet people, *homo Sovieticus* (Anepaio 1999:180). In

exile, many children, and even some family members, had to go to boarding schools, because of the long distances, or go to orphanages after their parents’ imprisonment and death. In these closed institutions the Soviet values were imposed upon the children, such as the communist ideology, atheism, and collectivism.

Exiled parents and their children often wanted the next generation to obtain a better life than their marginalized parents. The attitude to education was positive in the family although the oldest generation were afraid that the children would become atheists and communists at school. Daughter Elsa (1917–1983) recalled that when she went to greet her father in prison, the last words of Pietari were: “Do study!”⁴⁷ Her oral history shows that a good education for the children was of great importance for the family. The changing position of wom-

en included work outside the household, first hard manual work, but later even higher education with social upward mobility.

The life stories of the youngest women in the sample were often influenced by professional biographies. Although the life histories typically start with good times in Ingria and later difficulties of their families including the hard life in exile and the imprisonment and death of their fathers, they soon turned to happy childhood memories in Siberia, education, and the subsequent job history. Specifically, the women of the younger generation achieved higher education and professions valued in Soviet society, such as working as a teacher, a university lecturer, a university researcher (docent), a bookkeeper, a chief, and a doctor.⁴⁸

Some men were able to achieve a valued position at work as prized or promoted workers without education. In this way, some family histories challenge the “history of suffering” (Miettinen 2004; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1999, 1997). The possibility of achieving education was unequally distributed, however, and was dependent on sex, place of exile, age, time, and social class. Some young family members were not allowed to study as children or young adults, because of their background as children of “the enemies of the people”.⁴⁹ In Central Asia, child labour seemed to be common; at least Hilma (born 1927) started to work as a 12-year-old with her brother Toivo in the cotton fields without the possibility of being educated.⁵⁰

Family members strove to gather the family together: “It was home-like when father came to us [from prison] and we had our corner in the barrack.”⁵¹ Exile places were not described as homes, but instead it became “home-like” even in exile when

everyday life became stabilized over the years (Reuter 2020b). However, the Great Terror hit the Finnish community hard in 1938.⁵² Eeva said: “We started to work and cultivate the land and were given apartments. Then started the years of imprisonment. It was home-like there, but we were like prisoners. They arrested all the men from the prison we lived in. Just we women and children were left behind.”⁵³ During and after the Great Terror (1937–1938) all references to practising Finnish culture posed a threat that was best kept concealed from the authorities. The Soviet system demanded displays of loyalty and punished expressions of dissent. The histories of repressions were told only in the privacy of homes and among the most trusted persons. The family history was mostly structured by descriptions of deportation, terror, and other forced turning points in life.

Many narratives highlighted collectively experienced repressions and shared history with other Ingrian Finns describing the history of “our family”, “we Finns”, “people of Ingria” or poetically “Kullervo’s people”, referring to *Kalevala*. Eeva described in brief how the family managed through the Siberian exile: “People of Ingria suffered so much... We cultivated the land. We had a cow.”⁵⁴ From the photographs I was able to see that her life history was not only about “the history of the suffering” as she married a handsome Estonian-Russian man in Siberian exile. It may be that on some other occasions Eeva talked about romance, building a family in Siberia, and becoming a wife and soon a widow, but in the interview, she focused on repressions and the history of the family and Ingrian Finns in exile.

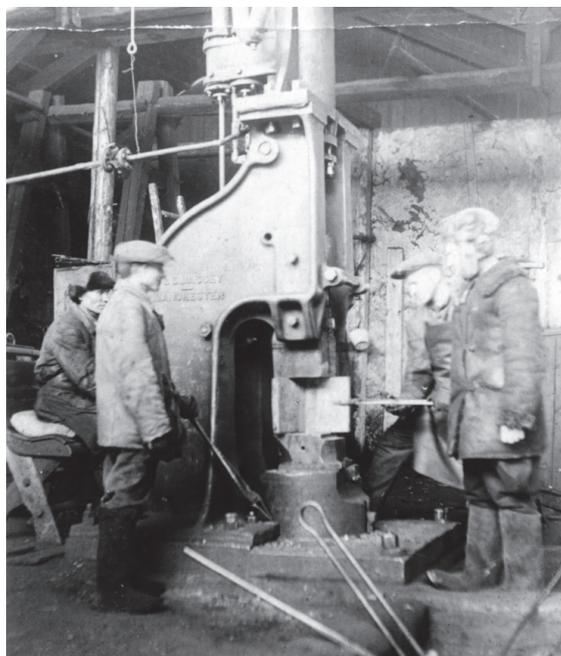
Comparing families showed the different paths of nuclear families through

escape, education, living in silence and Christian belief, and even resisting Soviet rule. The collective suffering of family members and Ingrian Finns was remembered, but family histories also included success stories showing the possibilities, especially of deported young women, to gain education and a career.

The Meaning and the End of Exile

Family narratives of deportation and exile were structured in the older generation with the help of Biblical events and stories. The fate of family members and believing Ingrian Finns was linked to the fate of Jews in the slavery in Egypt, in exile, and diaspora. Some family members even saw signs of the apocalypse.⁵⁵ Eeva's oral history of deportation to Siberian exile was filled with religious meanings as well: "It was a road led by God. It was a miracle that when the cattle wagons started to move towards Siberia everybody started to sing the hymn '*Jumala ompi linnamme*' ('A Mighty Fortress Is Our God')."⁵⁶ The older generation and some of the next generation before perestroika typically formulated their narratives of deportations to resemble Biblical histories. Family members felt that they were protected by God in exile, in which way they were able to give a moral meaning to their deportation. The Bible and other culturally relevant texts shaped family memories and provided tools to interpret historical events (Assman 2006).

The meaning of deportation and exile has been in transition, which could be noticed when the narratives of the older generations and the younger generation were compared. The younger generation, who were children or adolescents during the 1930s, respected the older generation and



Pekka worked in Siberian exile as a blacksmith (third from the left). Archive of Anni Reuter.

had confidence in their sayings and decisions: "Father always told us: 'You must wait. God will send us back home'", the children of Pietari recalled and thus did not attempt to escape from Siberia.⁵⁷

The younger generation, however, found explanations for family and Ingrian Finnish history from research and published memoirs rather than the Bible after perestroika. Soviet exile was described as a repression of Finns, wealthier people, independent peasants, and dissident thinkers under Stalin's rule. Moreover, his hatred and dislike of Finns was given as an explanation for the repression of Finns in oral histories.⁵⁸ According to the research literature, Stalin disliked multiculturalism and his attitudes to Finns became more hostile after the wars with Finland and the false revelation of an anti-Soviet conspiracy of Ingrian Finns in 1938 (Zemskov 2005; Gildi 2007). During the decades,

the meaning of deportation and exile was transformed from the Biblical and mythical exile of God's promised people in exile and diaspora to the interpretation of deportation as political repression and Stalinist terror.

The family members longed to return home to Ingria from exile but were forbidden to go there. They were subject to the "101-kilometre rule", which denied released prisoners, deportees and Ingrian Finns in general, residence permission within a 100-kilometre radius of larger cities, including the surroundings of Leningrad (Saint Petersburg), in other words Ingria, where Ingrian Finns traditionally used to live. Those family members who tried to get home after the exile were ordered to leave within one day. "24-hours" recur in narratives as a most dispiriting and frustrating experience. Kati structured her whole life narrative around four incidents of forced migration, where the hours left to leave home in Ingria played an important part. These numbers – the 101-rule, 24-hours, and political sentence under article 58⁵⁹ – are markers of totalitarian power over the family and Ingrian Finns (see Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1999).

Although family members were disappointed that they could not return to Ingria, there was a great feeling of gathering the family and other Finns from the diaspora in Soviet Karelia at the end of the 1940s. Hilma described⁶⁰ the meeting of people and their recognition after her departure from Central Asian exile:

Ingrian people were all gathering at Petrozavodsk. I got work in the building of the university. It was called Little Finland because there were so many Finns. We worked hard, lived in the same building in the middle of dust, dirt, and insects, but after work we went dancing. Boys played the accordion

and sang, and we danced. Finnish boys had fights with Russians [laughing]. Poverty and dirt did not bother us. We were young.

I wrote to an Ingrian prisoner. He fell in love with me and moved to Petrozavodsk. I felt sorry for him. His whole family had been killed, and he had been ten years in prison. So, I met him [and he became my husband].

One day I recognized our uncle Vania⁶¹ in our backyard. He was still very wise, but so dirty. We washed him and dressed him in clean clothes. He sat in our home in a corner and said: 'I won't go anywhere from here.' So, he moved to live with us. [crying]

Later I wrote to my cousins, to Pietari's children in Siberia, asked them to move to Petrozavodsk, and they came. Then I also had a family around me, someone to talk to.

Chain migration from different exile areas and imprisonment to Karelia and the importance of even remote relatives with their help and social support, and the mutual solidarity of Ingrian Finns can be noticed in her description. A large part of the extended family gathered to live in Karelia, where they met. A new family photo was taken in the year 1961 in Petrozavodsk with 28 extended family members, many of them young children.

The past of families was silenced in public for decades in the Soviet Union. In the family gathering of the extended family in Petrozavodsk in 1982, Juhani, who was visiting from Finland, attempted to bring up the themes of deportations and terror, but his sister interrupted saying: "We don't talk about these things!" She was most likely afraid that there was an informer in the restaurant.⁶² It might be that some traumatic and difficult aspects of the family's past were silenced even in the privacy of homes and not shared with others. There was not much room for romance, weddings, family rows, child-

births, or other everyday matters in the family narratives in my research material (also Miettinen 2004; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1999). Narratives of love, communist ideology, and sexual violence were absent or only briefly mentioned in the family histories. Everyday work in exile was however described at length as well as lucky meetings with relatives and helpful locals (Reuter 2020b).

The deportations were partly so traumatic because the experiences were suppressed for decades. Not until the end of the 1980s during perestroika, after almost 50 years of almost complete silence, did it become possible to discuss the history of Ingrian Finns in public (Anepaio 1999). Remembering the past and sharing it with the next generation has been important. As Hilma said to her brother in Sweden in 1982: “Do remember! Do not forget what Ingrian Finns suffered, are still suffering.”⁶³ It could be noticed that family members remembered the repressed family members, at least close family members.

Several family members were active in collecting archival material and writing memoirs and family histories in Finland, Russia, Sweden, and Estonia.⁶⁴ Family members were repressed and dispersed into diaspora, but still carried the memory of Ingria, exile, and relatives killed in the terror.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia rehabilitated Russian Finns as a repressed nationality in 1993 (see Gildi 2007). The time of fear, Cold War, and taboos surrounding Ingrian Finnish history gradually ended. Finland welcomed re-emigration to Finland, which made it easier for family members to migrate. However, Ingrian Finnish history continued to be in many ways hidden or forgotten,⁶⁵ which made it even more important to remember

the victims of terror and deportations in the suffered families.

Conclusions: Family History as a Bridge between the Personal and Collective History of Repression

In this article, I have explored the memory and genealogy of Ingrian Finnish families during Stalin’s time in the context of Ingrian Finnish memory culture. In the case study, Ingrian Finnish families were important sources and carriers of memories. The family histories demonstrated the great transformation and social collapse of the Ingrian Finnish family members in the 1930s and early 1940s from independent peasants to poor deportees, forced labourers, refugees and prisoners in the Gulag.

Members of the extended family were repressed during Stalin’s time, with some managing to take refuge in Finland and Sweden. Two out of three family members were deported in the 1930s and one in three during the Second World War. Half of those deported in the 1930s escaped. Several family members experienced many repressions during their life span; some women were deported several times and most men were deported, arrested, and died at an early age. At least five men were killed in the political violence, four of them were executed in the Stalinist terror in 1938. The nuclear families studied were violently broken up, leaving them without a father. I found a range of family mobilities from escape to education.

The family histories I studied were a meeting place between individual and collective memory, a bridge over personal life history and the minority/national history of Ingrian Finns. In this way, family history can be a missing link between micro- and

macro-history. My sample of 33 persons is of some statistical value, suggesting how common deportations, escapes, arrests, and executions were among Ingrian Finns. The analysis of family genealogies and histories has significant methodological potential for future research. There was a cultural continuum between generations, but also intergenerational differences concerning making sense of history. The meaning of repressions shifted and was different in the older and younger generation changing from the Biblical implications of deportation and terror to historical explanations also found in research.

Families were dispersed to diaspora inside the Soviet Union and to Finland and Sweden but still carried the memories of Ingria, deportations, and Stalinist terror, and even established an extensive family archive. For a long time, it was the family histories that told the real history of Ingrian Finns, not the official history books. The Ingrian Finnish families I studied live today in diaspora in Russia, Estonia, Sweden, and in Finland. The land of Ingria and the family's past in Keltto exist only in archives, maps, literature, and memories, if even there. The loss of the original land and home as a place where people once lived highlights the importance of collecting life and family narratives, and archival material to build a group's own history and a collective memory of the past.

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Notes

- 1 A comparatively wealthy peasant who employed hired labour or possessed farm machinery and who was viewed and treated by the Communists as an oppressor and class enemy.
- 2 This can be noticed, for example, in the Ingrian Finnish Facebook groups.
- 3 Ulla-Maija Peltonen (1996:132) writes about the Reds' memory tradition in Finland after the Civil War in 1918.
- 4 Finlandization is the process where a country favours or refrains from opposing the interests of a more powerful country referring originally to the influence of the Soviet Union on Finland.
- 5 Archives of Finnish Literature Society archive of Anni Reuter.
- 6 Letter from Ingria written in Whitsunday 1931 by uncle, whose name is not included in the letter. The letter writer is most likely Juhana "Vanja" Jääskeläinen (1887–1956).
- 7 I included these families in the sample that had been established in the 1930s or before.
- 8 I use the term mobility broadly, including common family strategies used in exile, namely escape and education.
- 9 Helena had eight sons with her husband Simo, who died in 1918 (1853–1918). Five of their sons lived in the 1930s. Some names, like Simo, have been popular in the family and used in several generations.
- 10 Interview with Eeva 1972.
- 11 Interview with his son Toivo in 1999.
- 12 Appeal of Ingrian Finnish Peasants to the Finnish Government, 8 May 1931. Archive of the Finnish Foreign Ministry in Helsinki; Russia 100. Jääskeläinen 1982:40–45. Interview with Toivo in 2001.
- 13 People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. Its tasks included the secret police, political terror, and camp administration.
- 14 Letter from Ingria, Keltto written by "Juho" Juhana, son of Matti, 25 November 1931.
- 15 Letter of Pietari from Krasnoyarsk of 5 June 1931.
- 16 For example, letter of Pietari 20 November 1931 from Yenissei.

- 17 Written memoir of his daughter Aino 2003. Transcripts of Jaakko's interrogation in Finland; Detective Central Police 145:1933. Finnish National Archives.
- 18 The number may be too low as there might have been some arrests that I am not aware of.
- 19 Information about Juhana can be found, but not his brothers. Martyrology of Leningrad area.
- 20 According to the interview with his sister Susanna 1999.
- 21 Information found in <https://ru.openlist.wiki>. Archives of FSB KK P11080 and Memorial in Krasnoyarsk.
- 22 Many family members are found in *Open list* (Открытый список) which lists people repressed on political grounds in the Soviet Union, using different sources like Memorial and state archives: <https://ru.openlist.wiki>.
- 23 One baby, two middle-aged and one elderly man.
- 24 For example, interview with Hilma 1982.
- 25 He was living hiding in his home village as released prisoners could not live near big cities.
- 26 Interview with his daughter Elma 2001.
- 27 Also called the German labour army in some sources. Pietari, son of Matti (1904–1959) experienced both the labour army and forced deportation to Siberia in 1942 with his family. See Открытый список “Open list”.
- 28 The brothers Juhani and Jaakko gained refugee status in Finland. Toivo gained refugee status in Sweden after his escape from Finland in 1946.
- 29 Interview with Toivo 1999; 2000. See Jääskeläinen 2001.
- 30 Interview with Eeva 1972. Pietari's poem to his adoptive father Jaakko Multiainen 30 May 1931. Mesiäinen 1990:97–104.
- 31 Letter from Ingria by “Juho”, Juhana, 25 November 1931.
- 32 Letter from a runaway and relative through marriage, Juho Huuhka, 10 September 1931, Leningrad.
- 33 Jääskeläinen, Antti. Poems 1930s–1940s, page 14.
- 34 Interview with Kati 2000.
- 35 Interview with Kati in 2000 in Finland. Archive of Anni Reuter. Jääskeläinen 2001:110–111.
- 36 Interview with Toivo 2001.
- 37 Letter of Pietari from Krasnoyarsk, 13 May 1931.
- 38 For example, Eeva worked as a servant. Letter from Yenisei written by Eeva 11th of December 1932.
- 39 Interview with Aili in 1999.
- 40 Pietari, Easter 1932. Poem.
- 41 Pietari 30 March 1933. Diary.
- 42 About the busy life of the family and leaching gold, Pietari 18 March 1934; 19th October 1934. Also, interview with Elsa 1967.
- 43 Letter written by Pietari from Siberia, the town of Yenisei 16th July 1931.
- 44 For example, Elsa described how she had school on Sundays. Letter from the town of Yenisei 11 December 1932.
- 45 For example, a letter of 25 March 1932 describes Pietari's belief, religious learning, and celebrations in Siberia.
- 46 Interview with Elsa 1967.
- 47 Interviews of Elsa in 1967 and Eeva in 1972.
- 48 Interviews of Elma 2001, Susanna 1999, and Eeva 1972.
- 49 Interview with Elma 2001.
- 50 Interviews of Hilma 1982 and Toivo 1999; 2000.
- 51 Interview with Hilma 1982.
- 52 Letters of 18 March 1933 and 18 October 1934, and poem 19 October 1934 by Pietari describes gold leaching.
- 53 Interview 1972.
- 54 Interview with Eeva 1972.
- 55 Also, Jääskeläinen 2001. Letter of Juhana 25 November 1931. Letter of Pietari 1 December 1930. Poem by Antti, 1940s.
- 56 Interview with Eeva 1972. Also, Elsa 1967.
- 57 Interview with Elsa 1967.
- 58 Interview with Susanna 1999.
- 59 Article 58 was put in force to arrest or execute people suspected of counter-revolutionary activities or not reporting these activities. People imprisoned under this article were called political prisoners as opposed to common criminals.

- 60 Interview with Hilma in 1982 in Sweden by her brother Toivo. Archive of Anni Reuter.
- 61 Juhana Jääskeläinen (1887–1956). He had no wife or children and had been in Siberia.
- 62 Interview with Juhani 1981.
- 63 Interview with Hilma 1982.
- 64 For example, Jääskeläinen 2011: Jääskeläinen 1982; Jääskeläinen 2001.
- 65 Exhibition Ingrian Finns – the forgotten Finns in the National Museum of Finland by Lea and Santeri Pakkanen and photographer Meeri Koutaniemi in 2020.

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