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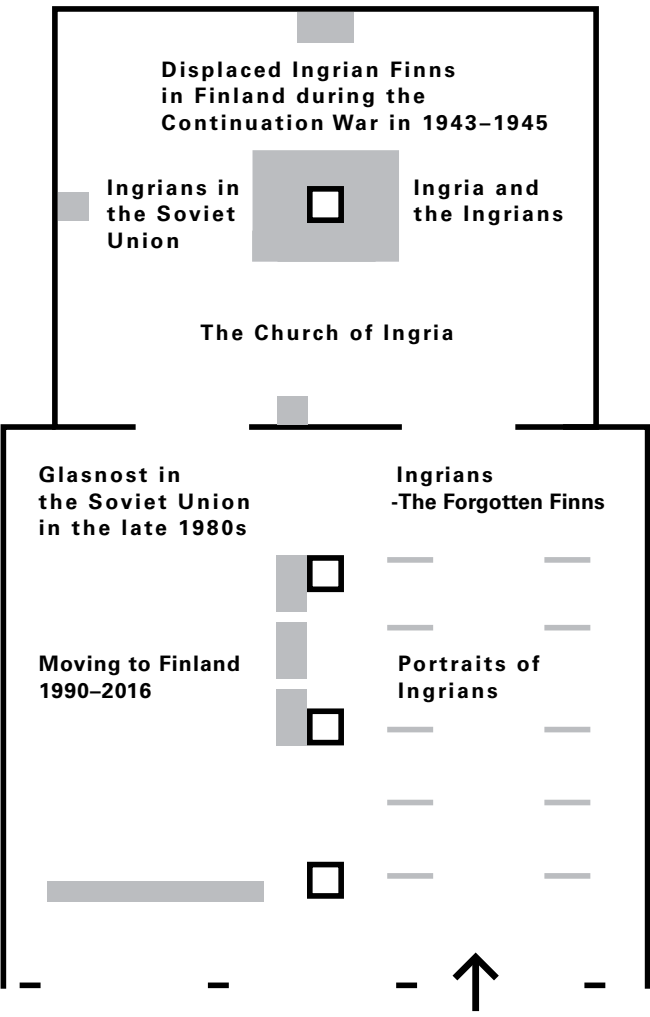
Ingrians - The Forgotten Finns

24 JANUARY – 19 APRIL 2020

EXHIBITION TEXTS

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Ingrians – The Forgotten Finns

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① Ingrians – The Forgotten Finns

This year 30 years have passed since the remigration of Ingrians to Finland began in 1990. From 1990 to 2016, more than thirty thousand Ingrians came to Finland from different parts of the former Soviet Union.

The history of the Ingrians has up till now been forgotten in the historical narratives told in both Finland and Russia. Ingrians or Ingrian Finns are the Savonians and Karelians and their descendants, who from the 17th century onwards moved to Ingria, located to the south and east of the Gulf of Finland. Until the early 20th century, Ingrian culture was founded on the Finnish language and Lutheranism, and the livelihood of Ingrians was based on fishing and agriculture. At different times in history, the Ingrian region has been a part of Sweden, Russia and the Soviet Union.

Ingrians were persecuted in the Soviet Union, especially from the 1920s to the 1950s. Mass deportations, executions and prison camps, as well as the prohibition of the Finnish language and the Lutheran religion emptied the villages of nearly 140,000 Ingrian Finns and destroyed their culture.

The exhibition focuses on the relationship between history and identity. What are the consequences of collective remembrance and forgetting?

EXHIBITION SCRIPT

The script of the exhibition is written by **Santeri Pakkanen** and **Lea Pakkanen**; father and daughter who came to Finland as Ingrian returning migrants.

Santeri Pakkanen is a journalist, who played a central role in the organisation and activism of Ingrians, when it became possible again in the Soviet Union in the 1980s. Lea Pakkanen is a journalist as well as a social and cultural anthropologist who has focused on the impact of war and conflicts on civilians in her work.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND VIDEO

The photographs and video for the exhibition are taken by **Meeri Koutaniemi**, a photographer and documentarist focusing on the documentation of questions of identity, human rights and human survival.

The material for the exhibition was collected by Santeri and Lea Pakkanen, and Meeri Koutaniemi during their field trips to Ingria, Yakutia and Central Siberia, in places where members of their family have lived, been exiled and imprisoned, and among the Ingrians living in different parts of Finland in 2017, 2018 and 2019.

THANKS TO

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Toivo Flink, Kristiina Häikiö, Antti Luoma, Maiju Putkonen, Pekka Nevalainen, Reijo Rautajoki, Kimmo Rentola

Portraits of Ingrians

Photographs on fabric by Meeri Koutaniemi

Greete Putta, 33

“It is difficult to explain to people the pain that Ingrians have in their history so that they could understand, when it feels like nobody has even any basic information about it. I wish that we were also discussed and taught about at school. It would be like saying that you are also a part of this country and its history.”

Greete Putta moved to Finland from Estonia with her family as an Ingrian returning migrant in the early 1990s. At school, others called the newcomer a Russian whore, but Greete still did her best to fit in. Later in the history class, she had to write an essay on how her family is situated in the history of Finland.

Greete wanted to write about her Ingrian grandfather Juho Putta, who came to Finland as one of the 63,000 evacuated Ingrians during the Continuation War. Later on in the same war, he fought in the Finnish Army against the Soviet Union. After the war, he returned to the Soviet Union, where he was sentenced to a prison camp in Siberia for ten years for assisting Finland in the war. When Juho was released,

he moved to Soviet Estonia and received a medal and a certificate of honor from President Kekkonen of Finland. Because the history of Ingrians was not taught at school, the teenaged Greete studied it with her father, wrote down Juho’s story, and took her homework to school. But when the homework was reviewed, the teacher ignored Greete’s essay completely.

Reijo Rautajoki, 72

“All her life, my mother was afraid that they would find her and return her to the Soviet Union. My father told us to never open the door to strangers for any reason. They would take mother away to the Soviet Union. That was our greatest fear.”

Reijo Rautajoki’s Ingrian mother Elsa Dubbelmann came to Finland as one of the displaced Ingrian people in 1944. When the order to return came, Elsa refused to go back, because she had worked for the Germans that occupied Ingria before the war and going back would have meant punishment. The mother’s fear of being returned remained with the family throughout her life, and it also led to them changing their surname.

Elena Shevakova, 58

“As a child, I asked my mother: who are we really? She said: we are Ingrians, but you mustn’t tell anybody about it.”

Elena Shevakova moved to Finland as a returning migrant in the 1990s. Her mother came to Finland as a child during the Continuation War with the displaced Ingrian people. When the family returned to the Soviet Union after the war, a journey through exile that lasted many years began. Elena was born in Ingria, and she was 4 years old when the family settled in Soviet Estonia in 1966. Her mother did not want to tell her children anything about being Ingrian or her own experiences. For a long time, Elena could not understand why her relatives spoke Finnish and why the nationality of her parents was Finnish.

Aino Makkonen, 93

“We were transported to Siberia in a goods wagon, the trip took a month. I lied on the bottom bunk of a three-bunk bed; lice kept falling on me and we starved. We bartered things we had brought with us for food. My little sister Elvira died on that journey. When we reached Krasnoyarsk, they made me go out to cut trees in the snow in 40 degrees below zero. I was 15. I have seen all kinds of life.”

Aino Makkonen and her family were exiled to Siberia during the siege of Leningrad. They could not return home again later, but they continued their life in Estonia. When remigration became possible, Aino moved to Finland immediately. The family connections she had maintained in Finland helped her start a new life.

Robert Makkonen, 44

“When we were at school in Soviet Estonia, nobody said a word about Ingrians, and it was best to keep your mouth shut about the whole thing. What I know about being an Ingrian was passed on by my grandparents; all the ordeals they had to go through left a mark on them. I have tried to learn more myself, tried to figure out how many Ingrians there were to begin with. It is important that this knowledge won’t be forgotten. I have a son, and I’m wondering how we should tell about these things to future generations? In my opinion, literature and adding the topic to the curriculum would be good ways to do it.”

Robert Makkonen moved to Finland from Estonia with his grandmother when he was 17.

Albert Kirjanen, 1936–2019

“It was an amazing time in the 1980s when we finally were able to start talking. That is when I also started to learn. We didn’t even really know what our neighbours had gone through. But then the fear started to go away. Thousands of people gathered together to talk and tell stories.”

Nearly all men in the home village of Albert Kirjanen were taken away during the purges of 1937. Albert himself came to Finland as a small child with his family along with the displaced Ingrian people. After the Ingrians were returned to the Soviet Union, the family spent ten years in exile in Central Russia, Estonia and on the White Sea costs. Finally, after seven trials at court, the family managed to get their home in Ingria back from the new residents that had moved in. In the 1980s, when the national awakening of the Ingrians took place, Albert became one of the activists in the movement.

Heidi Reis, 31 and Heini Reis, 24

“Grandmother was so ashamed of her Ingrian ancestry that she never wanted to speak about it all. Now she is dead and our family roots are like a puzzle, we are searching for missing pieces. It makes us sad that the information is unavailable, and affects

our perceptions of ourselves. It would be wonderful to one day see the place where grandmother came from.”

Heidi and Heini Reis’ grandmother’s past has remained a mystery. She arrived to Finland probably during the Continuation War with the evacuees, and stayed, even though the Soviet Union demanded Ingrians to return when the war ended. The thousands of Ingrians that remained in Finland were a sensitive topic in Finnish foreign policy. For decades, Ingrians feared being returned by force. Many kept silent about their background and the family members left behind on the other side of the border.

Juho Savolainen, 93

“I volunteered to join the Finnish Army; after all, I was a Finn. And I didn’t have to go alone, Detached Battalion Six had seven hundred Ingrian boys just like me.”

The Ingrian Juho Savolainen came to Finland in 1943 from Ingria, which was occupied by Germany, with 63,000 other evacuated Ingrian Finns. In Finland, the 18-year-old young man took the military oath and fought against the Soviet Union in the Continuation War. After the war, the Soviet Union demanded the return of the Ingrians, and Juho, along with all other

Ingrians who had served in the Finnish Army, was sentenced to a prison camp for 10 years. As a prisoner, Juho was moved all around the Soviet Union: Tver, Estonia, Siberia. Forest work, construction work, cold, mistreatment and bad food. Now Juho lives in a retirement home for Ingrian veterans in Punkaharju.

Arvi Kähäri, 1925–2019

“When we wrote letters to our relatives who remained in the Soviet Union, the letters they wrote back were already opened when we received them. We knew that they wouldn’t dare to tell us any bad news because of that. But if there was a dry twig in the letter, we knew that something bad had happened.”

Arvi Kähäri came to Finland as a young boy with the displaced Ingrian people during the Continuation War. Unlike most of the displaced people, his family remained in Finland – Arvi’s mother decided that it was not a good time to go back, and the local police chief was on their side. A lot of their relatives remained in the Soviet Union, and they tried to keep in touch with them through letters and visits.

Then the wife of Ilmarinen
Sent the cattle off to pasture
As she made this incantation,
Sang this charm to guard her cattle:
“Now I send my cows to pasture,
Milkers to the grassy clearings,
Wide-horns to the aspen spinneys,
Crook-horns to the bushy birchwood”

Part of the Kullervo cycle in the Finnish epic Kalevala, collected from Ingria in the 19th century and translated by Eino Friberg (1988)

It’s better in your own land
To trudge through a sinking swamp
Than in a strange land
To step on a stone street
Stroll on a stone mountain.

Ingrian folk poem, Larin Paraske, 19th century

② Ingria and the Ingrians

Since the late Middle Ages, the birth of Ingria and its population has been affected by the battles between Sweden and Russia over the strategic area on the shores of the Gulf of Finland. Ingria was annexed by the Kingdom of Sweden in 1617. At the time, a large number of the Finnic Izhorians and Votes, who were Eastern Orthodox, escaped to Russia to avoid the Lutheranisation practiced by Sweden. Finnish-speaking Lutheran farmers from Savo and the Karelian Isthmus began to move to Ingria in their place.

The Finnish language and lutheranism

In Ingria, the settlers from Karelia became known as Äyrämöiset, while those originating from Savo were known as Savakot. In the late 17th century, there were already 45,000 members of both groups in Ingria, constituting nearly 70% of the whole population there.

Today, these people and their descendants are known as Ingrians and Ingrian Finns. They subsisted on farming and animal husbandry as well as fishing. Lutheran faith and Finnish language were the cornerstones of the Ingrian identity, which remained even after 1721 when Ingria was annexed by Russia again after the Great Northern War. In Russia, the Ingrian farmers became serfs and important suppliers of food for the city of St. Petersburg that was established in 1703 and became the capital soon after. Later, Ingria became a part of the St. Petersburg Governorate.



140 000 Ingrians

Serfdom was abolished in 1861, which made it possible for the Ingrian peasantry to grow prosperous, because they could now benefit from the fruits of their own labour. The birth of an educated class of Ingrians started with the establishment of the teacher's college in Kolppana in 1863. By the 1920s, there were approximately 140,000 Ingrians living in Ingria. They considered themselves Finns, and so did everyone else around them. During the Russian Civil War, the Ingrian national spirit had grown so much that, from 1917 to 1920, they sought first to gain autonomy and later for the area to be made a part of Finland; their attempts were unsuccessful, however. Thousands of Ingrians came to Finland as refugees.

Photographs from the Picture Collections of the Finnish Heritage Agency

- 3 Villagers in Tarassina**
Ylä-Laukaa, 1911
Photograph: Jussi Lukkarinen
- 4 Girls in the Soikkola dress**
Karpio, 1911
Photograph: Samuli Paulaharju
- 5 Luggage of Ingrian refugees inspected
at the Rassuli customs station**
1921
- 6 Haymaking**
Kallivieri, 1931
- 7 Matti Pukonen plays the aspen flute**
Ropsu village, Narvusi, 1914
Photograph: A. O. Väisänen

Photographs from Ingria

Photographs by Meeri Koutaniemi

- 8** Aino Krasnova (née Kallonen) lives in the village called the Great Ontrova, with her son Pavel and his family in the house that has belonged to the Kallonen family for generations. During the war Aino's father Juho changed the spelling of his surname from a Finnish "Kallonen" to a Russian "Kalonin". This way the family managed to keep their house, the houses of the other Ingrians were given to new inhabitants.
- 9** Katri Näppinen, (née Skippari) was 7 years old when her father was imprisoned, because he refused to join the local collective farm.
- 10** The village of Ontrova in Central Ingria was a parish with nearly two hundred Ingrian Savakos in the late 19th century. Nowadays, there are only a few houses with Ingrians living in them. 94-year-old Elsa Ivanova (née Kallonen) still remembers how her family was exiled to Kemerovo in Ural in the 1930s.
- 11** Mari Hutilainen grieves her dead sister who has been buried in the village their family was exiled to, Pskov, instead of Ingria. Pastor Arvo Survo has come to bless the soil of the sister's grave.

- 12** Mari Hutilainen, 92, was born in Ingria in the village of Korka and escaped during the war to Nurmijärvi, Finland along with the Ingrian displaced people. When the family returned to the Soviet Union after the war, they were not allowed to return home but exiled to Pskov instead. Later Mari became the best milker in Pskov and received a medal of honor from Stalin for that.
- 13** A bouquet of flowers is hanging from the ceiling of Nikolay Ivanov's home.
- 14** Nikolay Ivanov, son of Elsa Ivanova (née Kallonen) no longer speaks Finnish, because his mother was too afraid to teach it to her children.

Ingrian Artefacts in the Collections of the National Museum of Finland

- 15** **Gloves**
The patterned knitted gloves are from Tuutari from the late 19th century. They were a part of the festive costume of an Äyrämöinen girl. In addition to the säppäli headband, its distinctive elements include a shirt with an embroidered rekkö front panel and a clasp, a dress with shoulder straps and an apron, knitted socks with decorative patterns as well as leather shoes. A belted cloak made out of white broadcloth was worn as outer clothing for trips to the church.
- 16** **Säppäli headband**
The headband of an Äyrämöinen girl was called säppäli. This säppäli headband was made in Ylikylä in Tyrö in the late 19th century out of broadcloth. It has been embellished with pieces of pyrite, pewter studs and glass beads.
- 17** **The Äyrämöinen costume**
The dress with shoulder straps and shirt with an embroidered rekkö front panel are a part of an Äyrämöinen costume that was made for a young woman in Skuoritsa in the late 19th century. The donor of the costume described how people

* In Ingria, the settlers from Karelia became known as Äyrämöiset, while those originating from Savo were known as Savakot.

hid their own old costumes during the Soviet era due to persecution. These clothes were also kept hidden in a pit in the ground until they were brought to Finland in 1943.

18 A sleigh blanket brought from Ingria

The Närjänen family with Ingrian background living in Finland has not talked much about being Ingrian. A sleigh blanket brought from Ingria decades ago has been preserved by the family as an important, highly valued heirloom. Originally it was used to keep travellers warm and covered. Here it has served as a reminder of the grandfather who lived in Tuutari and made his living by transporting cotton by horse from Gatchina to Tampere and bringing fabric to the St. Petersburg market on the return trip, as well as driving a horse-drawn cab in St. Petersburg during the 1920s and 1930s.

19 Ingrians in the Soviet Union

Starting from 1922, Ingrians became citizens of the Soviet Union. As for many others, the Soviet era was also devastating for Ingrians, especially during Joseph Stalin's regime from 1924 to 1953.

In the Soviet Union, in addition to ethnic minorities, political suspicion also fell on wealthy farmers called the kulaks, practitioners of religion and the intelligentsia, as well as members of the Communist Party and the Army that had fallen out of favour. Millions of citizens were exiled, and tens of millions were sentenced to Gulag prison camps. Several hundreds of thousands were executed, and millions died as victims of the brutal conditions during imprisonment and forced displacement. Those sentenced and their family members were called the enemies of the people in the Soviet Union.

Exile, executions and prison camps

In the late 1920s, Ingrian peasants were targeted by the kulak purges, during which they were exiled to the Kola Peninsula and Central Asia. The Ingrians' Lutheran priests were exiled and executed. As the nationality policy of the Soviet government became stricter during the 1930s, the fact that the Ingrians were considered Finns meant that they were suspected of anti-Soviet sentiment. In 1937, teaching in Finnish was prohibited in Ingrian schools. Teachers were also persecuted.

The deportations, imprisonment and executions occurred in several waves, leading to approximately 140,000 Ingrians in total being shot, imprisoned or exiled from their home region by the end of the 1940s. Ingria was practically emptied of its Ingrian population.

In the locations of exile and in the prison camps, the Ingrians were ordered to conduct forced labour in mines, fishing, cotton picking and forestry, among other things. The exact number Ingrian Finns that had been in the prisons or prison camps of the Soviet Union has not been investigated yet.

Destruction of the community and culture

After being released, it was often impossible for the Ingrians to return to their home villages, because they were prohibited from settling within a radius of 100 kilometres from Leningrad or other important population centres. The Ingrians' houses had often been destroyed or given to new occupants. Nevertheless, a few thousand Ingrians managed to return to Ingria after Stalin died in 1953.

Even after Stalin's death, the exiles and the sentenced often did not dare teach Finnish to their children; practicing their culture was impossible. The experiences of the "enemies of the people" were silenced in Soviet society for decades. The Ingrian culture withered.



THE EXILE OF THE INGRIONS IN THE 1920S –1940S

In the late 1920s

During the kulak purges 18,000 Ingrian peasants and their families were exiled to the Kola Peninsula and Central Asia.

From 1935 to 1937

Approximately 27,000 Ingrians were exiled to areas such as Kazakhstan and the White Sea, when the NKVD, the Soviet secret police, purged the Karelian border zone and the Leningrad region from people suspected of being loyal to Finland.

In 1942

An estimated 30,000 Ingrians who had survived the Siege of Leningrad were exiled to Siberia and Yakutia, when the Soviet leadership decided to deport those of its citizens that shared the same ethnic background as Germany and Finland, which were its enemies during World War II.

In 1945

Approximately 55,000 Ingrians who had returned from Finland were exiled to the area between Moscow and Leningrad.

20 Displaced Ingrian Finns in Finland during the Continuation War in 1943–1945

During the Continuation War and World War II, Ingria became a war zone. It is estimated that 30,000 Ingrians remained in Leningrad during the siege. The areas west of Leningrad were occupied by the Germans, and more than 76,000 Ingrians remained there, including nearly 9,000 Izhorians and a little under 700 Votes. Members of Finnish nationalist and Finno-Ugric activist organisations became concerned for the civilians that remained in the occupied areas and started campaigning for bringing the Ingrians to Finland.

Transfers of Ingrians to Finland

An agreement on transferring the Ingrians was made between the governments of Finland and Germany in the turn of 1942–1943. From 1943 to 1944, more than 63,000 Ingrians came to Finland; 80% of them were women and children.

The Ingrians were first gathered in refugee camps in Klooga and Põlkkylä in Estonia, from which they were transported to Paldiski harbour and from there to Hanko by ships. After reception and a medical examination, the Ingrians were transported by train to dozens of camps in different parts of Finland. They spent three weeks in quarantine camps to prevent spreading of infectious diseases. After

that, housing and work was found for the Ingrians on farms or in factories, for example. The children went to Finnish schools.

Return of the Ingrians to the Soviet Union

The war between Finland and the Soviet Union ended with the Moscow Armistice agreement signed in September 1944. The Allied Control Commission led by the Soviet Union arrived in Finland and demanded the return of the Ingrians to the Soviet Union. The demand was based on Article 10 of the armistice agreement, according to which Finland had undertaken to return all Soviet nationals who had been deported to Finland by force back to their homeland. The interpretation of the term “by force” caused a problem of interpretation for the Finnish authorities, because the Ingrians had mainly come to Finland voluntarily and confirmed this with their signature upon arrival.

At the same time, the Soviet officers of the Control Commission travelled around Finland, persuading and pressuring the Ingrians to return. The Ingrians were promised that they could go back to their home villages. The return started on 5 December 1944. Many went back voluntarily, but many were motivated by fear. The most important reasons for the return were the possibility of going back home, and the wish to find relatives who had remained in the Soviet Union. The Finnish authorities could not guarantee that those who hesitated could stay in Finland permanently.

55,000 Ingrians in total returned to the Soviet Union. Instead of going back to their home villages, they were

exiled to the area between Leningrad and Moscow, without a right to return to their home region.

Staying in Finland and escaping to Sweden

After the war was over, approximately 8,000 Ingrians remained in Finland; it is estimated that half of them had escaped to Sweden by the early 1950s. After the end of the war, the Ingrians who had stayed in Finland kept a low profile for fear of being returned. For ten more years, individual Ingrians were returned to the Soviet Union. Ingrians became a sensitive topic with regard to foreign policy in Finland for decades.

21 A memory of the Himanen family that disappeared in the Soviet Union in 1944

The National Museum of Finland

The Ingrian family Himanen of five people returned to the Soviet Union in late 1944 in accordance with the terms of the Armistice. When they were leaving, they gave a few items as mementoes to the Valtonen family; they had lived in the same courtyard with the other family for almost a year. The Valtonen daughters received a hair clip and a picture with a Bible verse, and the mother was given a footed bowl.

The bowl was used to serve plum soup during Christmas while remembering the Himanen family that disappeared in the Soviet Union. Despite promises, nothing more was heard from them ever again.

The last sign of life was a postcard sent from the Finnish side right before they crossed the border. It said: "Now they will take us away, but we don't know where." The Valtonen siblings have wondered what happened to the family ever since.

22 **Memoirs from the exile and prison camps written on bedsheets by Amalia Susi**

The National Archives of Finland

Amalia Susi (1898–1972) was an Ingrian teacher of mathematics in the Korpiselkä primary school in the municipality of Toksova. In the spring of 1921, she was arrested for the first time. At that time she was released after only a few days, but soon after that, her several years of exile in different parts of the Soviet Union began.

In 1942, Amalia Susi was sentenced to ten years in prison for anti-Soviet agitation, which she served at several different prison camps. After being released, Susi recorded her experiences of the exile and the everyday life in the camps on old bedsheets and underwear. Her notes were kept at the family home, sewn inside the children's mattress, apparently to keep them out of the hands of the Soviet authorities.

Amalia's relatives only found the notes after her death. In the late 1980s, her relatives started to think that it would be the safest to keep them in Finland. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Albert Kirjanen, an Ingrian, and Raimo Jalkanen, who was the vicar of the Rautalampi parish, brought the textiles to Finland. The memoirs that consist of 28 pieces of fabric are currently kept at the National Archives of Finland in Helsinki.

Photographs from Yakutia, where Ingrians were exiled from the siege of Leningrad

Photographs by Meeri Koutaniemi

- 23 During World War II, Leningrad was besieged. In 1942, the Soviet authorities exiled the 30,000 Ingrian Finns that had managed to survive in the siege. The people were packed into goods wagons and transported to different parts of Siberia. Some of the exiles ended up in Yakutia (currently known as the Sakha Republic). They were transported north on barges along the Lena River, to the vicinity of the city of Tiksi on the shores of the Arctic Ocean. In addition to Ingrians, there were also Lithuanians, Latvians and Koreans among the exiles.
- 24 At their destination, the exiles were ordered to conduct forced labour in a fishing kolkhoz called Communism, supervised by the security police NKVD. The barracks used to house the exiles still stand in the surroundings of Tiksi. Even though the fishing kolkhoz produced plenty of fish, the exiles were not allowed to eat it. It is told that some tried to smuggle fish offal and scales to their children in their boots. Hunger and deficiency diseases were common. The NKVD prohibited the locals from helping the exiles, but it is said that the Yakuts smuggled food to the Ingrians by hiding it in their children's clothing and sending them to play with the children of the exiles.

25 The city of Tiksi was designed to promote the economy of the Arctic regions of the Soviet Union. During the Soviet era, the city had an army base as well as state subsidised industry. When the Soviet Union collapsed, the base and the industry withered, and now there are only 4,500 people living in the city compared to the 30,000 inhabitants of the Soviet era. Many of the buildings have been abandoned.

26 The headquarters of the fishing kolkhoz called Communism was on the Bykovsky Mys peninsula, close to the city of Tiksi. Vasily Burchev, a storeman who lives in Bykovski Mys, has collected information on the exiles who worked in the area and keeps the documents in plastic folders in the museum he has established himself.

“I am no historian or teacher, but it hurts my soul that these people froze, toiled and died here, and they are being forgotten. When my generation is gone, there will be no one left to remember them,” says Burchev.

27 The death rate of forced labour was high. At the tip of the Bykovsky Mys peninsula on the shores of the Arctic Ocean, remnants of the cemetery for the exiles can still be found. The ice breaking in the spring and the rising sea level have eroded the bank with the cemetery and torn up entire coffins out of the ground. The permafrost in the Yakutian soil has prevented the coffins and

their content from decomposing completely. It is unknown how many of the exiles were buried in the area.

28 A foot preserved by permafrost sticks out from under driftwood in the cemetery for the exiles in Bykovski Mys, Yakutia. The identity and ethnicity of the corpse are unknown.

29 Aino Kärssä, who now lives in a retirement home in Tiksi, is said to be the last Ingrian Finn in the area. She was born on the island of Tit-Ary in the northern end of the Lena River, where her parents conducted forced labour in a fishing kolkhoz. On the island, the exiles lived in holes that they dug in the sand on the beach, because there were no houses. Even though there are no longer any restrictions on the movement of the exiles, Kärssä has been unable to move to the area where her parents were born, because she has lost contact with her relatives and cannot speak Finnish or proper Russian any longer; instead, she communicates best in the Yakut language.

30 Finnish ethnicity was entered in Soviet passports

Private collection
Finnish Literature Society (SKS)

In the column indicating ethnicity of the Soviet passports of Ingrians, the word *fin* for men or the word *finka* for women was entered to note that they were Finnish.

Albert Kirjanen (1936-2019)

Hilma-Maria Heistonen (1913-2014)

Lyyti Heistonen (1911-1996)

Photographs from the Norilsk prison camp settlement, where also Ingrians were sentenced to harsh labour

Photographs by Meeri Koutaniemi

- 31** Norillag was one of the largest and harshest camps of the Gulag prison camp system of the Soviet Union, and approximately half a million prisoners toiled in its worksites from 1935 to 1956. The coal and ore mined by the prisoners practically by hand were used by the war industry of the Soviet Union. Today, glimpses of the ruins of barracks of the female prisoners who mined the coal can be seen among the ice and snow. Some of the prisoners are buried on the same slope. It is estimated that as many as 250,000 prisoners died in Norillag of the cold, hunger and hard labour. No comprehensive report has ever been drawn up on the prisoners in Norillag, their number or their fates.
- 32** Nowadays the operation of the mining industry in Norilsk is continued by the mining company Nornickel. Hundreds of kilometres of mining tunnels managed by the company run under Norilsk.
- 33** Norilsk is one of the most polluted cities in Russia. The emissions from the mining industry, such as the sulphur dioxide released into the air, have destroyed the trees within a radius of 15 kilometres from Norilsk.

34 The portrait of Stalin is on display in the hallway of Nor Nickel's office building.

35 As the political purges intensified in the 1930s, the Soviet leadership wanted to isolate the prisoners from the rest of society. The locations of the prison camps were kept secret, and they were not marked on ordinary maps. Norilsk remained a closed city until the collapse of the Soviet Union, and travelling there required a special permit. The city opened up in the 1990s, but in 2001 the Russian authorities decided to close it again, this time from foreigners.

36 The city of Norilsk in the region of Krasnoyarsk in Central Siberia was created in the era of Joseph Stalin, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when it was decided to establish a mine to take advantage of the ore deposit discovered in the permafrost in the 1930s. The system of prison camps known as Gulag was tasked with acquiring workers, and the prison camp of Norillag was established in 1935. The prisoners also included Ingrian Finns. Currently, ruins of the administrative buildings of the prison camp can be found in the area known as the Old Town of Norilsk.

37 The snowfall in Norilsk is so heavy that the roads in the city are closed while it is snowing. The snow barriers designed by the imprisoned engineer M.G. Potapov are still used around the city to direct the masses of snow. In addition to ethnic minorities, a large number of the prisoners were political dissidents, discredited members of the Communist Party, or members of the intelligentsia. A considerable number of engineers and experts in the field of ore useful to the mining industry were also sent to Norillag – they were often arrested on fabricated allegations.

38 The Church of Ingria

The Lutheran Church has been a central pillar of the Ingrian identity. The first Lutheran parish in Ingria was established in Lempaala in North Ingria in 1611, already before the region was annexed by Sweden. During Swedish rule, the area was divided into civil parishes, churches and vicarages were built and vicars appointed.

When Russia conquered Ingria in the early 18th century, the Lutheran Church was allowed to continue to operate. During the era of the Grand Duchy of Finland in the 19th century, the connections of the church with Finland increased. Most of the priests in Ingrian parishes came from Finland, just like the alphabet books and religious books.

The Destruction of the Parishes During the Soviet Era

In the early 20th century, approximately 30 parishes operated in Ingria. During the Soviet era, the practice of religion was prohibited, and Ingrian priests, too, were exiled, imprisoned and executed in the 1930s. The churches were closed by the spring of 1938 and either demolished or used for other purposes. In the late 1930s, the Church of Ingria was practically destroyed.

The Ingrians continued their religious meetings at their homes and in cemeteries, led by laypersons. Female preachers played an important role in the spiritual life of Ingrians who had been exiled to different parts of the Soviet Union. Ingrian parishes only received operating permits again in the 1970s. At that time, they operated under the supervision and restrictions of the authorities.

39 Bible (1903)

Urho Tervo's home archives

When Ingrians were exiled or transferred, the Bible was often one of the few items they took with them. In the late summer of 1941, the Ingrian family of Tervo escaped into the woods, when they heard the war approaching the Marienburg part of their hometown of Gatchina. They hid their valuables, such as the sewing machine and down duvets, down the well, and took the family Bible with them.

The Bible is one of the few items left of the Tervo family home, because when they came back from their hiding place in the forest, their house had been burnt down. In May 1943, the Bible was once again packed into their few pieces of luggage when the Tervo family moved to Finland with the displaced Ingrian people, and it travelled with the family via Hanko and Lohja to Hartola, where they were hired to work at the Pohjola estate.

When the family moved back to the Soviet Union in December 1944 along with the returned Ingrians, they managed to smuggle the Bible over the border. Instead of going back home, the family was exiled to Central Russia. Later, they escaped to Estonia due to a lack of food and settled there, like thousands of other Ingrian Finns. The family was never able to go back to Ingria. The Bible has remained with the family as a reminder of Ingria.

40 Arvo Survo visiting Mari Hutilainen

Video: Meeri Koutaniemi

The Ingrian pastor Arvo Survo goes around the Ingrian homes left in Ingria to provide spiritual guidance, carrying a kantele, a guitar, a Bible and a hymn book. In the video Survo visits the home of Mari Hutilainen in the village of Tillitsa in Ingria.

41 Glasnost in the Soviet Union in the late 1980s

A sense of freedom was brought with Glasnost, the policy of openness started in 1985 by Mikhail Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the Republics of the Soviet Union and among the ethnic minorities, the openness activated national movement and awakened self-awareness. People could now talk out loud about which relative had suffered in which of Stalin's camps.

The Ingrian Finns who had settled in Estonia, Leningrad, Ingria and Karelia after World War II also started to think about their roots and the fates of their relatives during exile and in prison camps.

A focal turning point was the publication of the special issue on Ingria by the cultural magazine Punalippu (Red Banner) in September 1987. It was the first publication to tell the story of the sorrowful journey of the Ingrian Finns.

Ingrians become organised

In 1988, the Inkerinsuomalaisten Liitto (association of Ingrian Finns) was founded in Estonia and the association Pietarin Inkerin Liitto in Leningrad. On Finnish Independence Day in 1989 the Inkeri-liitto association of Karelian Finns was established in the offices of the Punalippu magazine in Petrozavodsk. The main goal of the associations' cooperation group was to develop Finnish culture and the studies of the Finnish language.

On Midsummer in June 1989, the first post-war summer festival was held in Keltto, with thousands of visitors arriving all the way from Siberia and Canada. The Ingrian flag flew again. Soon, active cooperation with the Finland Society also began.

The associations discussed arranging the remigration of Ingrian Finns, who had been exiled and ended up in other parts of the Soviet Union, back to Ingria, and even establishing an autonomous region for Ingrians. Instead, the invitation for returning migrants came from another direction.

42 Moving to Finland, 1990–2016

In late 1989, representatives of Finnish companies came to Estonia, Leningrad and Petrozavodsk to ask if anyone wanted to come to work in Finland. The economic situation in the Soviet Union was poor, which attracted especially young people to Finland. The opinions of the leaders of the Ingrian associations varied. In Estonia, they helped those who were going to Finland. In Leningrad and Petrozavodsk, the attitudes were more reserved. Learning the language while working in Finnish strawberry fields or construction sites might be effective, but from the associations' point of view, the most important thing was still to develop their own Finnish-speaking culture in Ingria and Karelia.

President Mauno Koivisto on live TV on 10 April 1990

The President of Finland, Mauno Koivisto, expressed the idea that Ingrian Finns could be considered expatriate Finns and returning migrants on live TV in the current affairs programme 'Ajankohtainen kakkonen' on 10 April 1990. The Ingrians in Estonia who watched Finnish TV became aware of the idea first, and after a few weeks' delay, it spread to Leningrad and Petrozavodsk. A record-breaking 8,000 people gathered at the summer festival in Tuutari in 1990. Martti Häikiö, the Executive Director of the Finland Society, spoke on the stage about the possibility of remigration. He had also brought guides for returning migrants drawn up by the Ministry of Labour of Finland with him.

During that summer, the cooperation group of the Ingrian associations met with the leadership of the Ministry of Labour, who were interested in whether Finns living on the other side of the eastern border were willing to come to Finland. The Ingrian associations were flooded with people asking about moving to Finland. The collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991 resulted in a wave of return migration, which brought Finns from Russia and Estonia and their descendants to a Finland, which already was amidst a recession.

Ingrians in Finland and around the world

In 2016, the right of Ingrians to receive a residence permit as returning migrants was terminated. Today, 50,000–70,000 Ingrians are estimated to live in Finland. The number includes 32,000 returning migrants as well as the Ingrians who remained in Finland in the 1940s and their descendants. According to the 2010 census, there were approximately 20,000 Finns living in Russia, 95% of whom were estimated to be Ingrians. The estimated number of Ingrians in Estonia is approximately 4,000. In addition to this, there are Ingrians living in countries such as Kazakhstan, Sweden and Canada.

43 President Mauno Koivisto on live TV on 10 April 1990

YLE Archives

In April 1990, the Finnish president Mauno Koivisto was interviewed for the Finnish TV programme on current affairs 'Ajankohtainen Kakkonen'. President Koivisto's comment on treating the Ingrians as returning migrants is considered to have started the remigration of Ingrians to Finland.

44 Punalippu magazine, August 1987

Private collection of Toivo Flink

The number on Ingria was written by the staff of the Punalippu (Red Banner) magazine, which included many Finns and Karelians led by the head editor Kalle Ranta, who had come from Canada to Karelia as a schoolboy in the 1930s. Despite glasnost, publishing the Punalippu magazine was no walk in the park. The reporters who wrote and compiled the material for the number on Ingria were summoned to the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Karelia, where the First Secretary Vladimir Stepanov, who had acted as the ambassador of the Soviet Union in Finland, shook his head and told them that something like this must not be published, not yet. "Never mind the glasnost or what they say in Moscow, things will settle down soon enough."

The reporters did not give up, and the number on Ingria was published after a month's delay. The Punalippu office was flooded with feedback from different parts of Russia and abroad, which indicated that the timing was right; the Ingrian Finns and the other Finns were on the move.

45 Textbook for the Children of Ingria

Private collection of Toivo Flink

Inkerin lasten oppikirja (Textbook for the Children of Ingria), 1995, was intended for children learning the Finnish language in Russia as a part of the cultural work of the Ingrian associations.

46 Rehabilitation certificates

Private collection of Robert Makkonen
Private collection of Lea Pakkanen

Another common goal of the Ingrian associations was to rehabilitate all Russian Finns who had suffered from Stalin's purges, i.e. restore their reputation. Ingrians and other Finns exiled, arrested and executed without cause were rehabilitated in the 1993.

Katri Savolainen (1918–1998)
Susanna Vartiainen (*1903)

Portraits of Ingrians living in Russia

Photographs by Meeri Koutaniemi

47 Aleksander Sirjanov, 39

"When I was at school, the history of the Ingrians was not mentioned at all, my friends didn't know anything about it. Now they know, because I have studied it myself and told them about it."

Aleksander lives in Yakutsk and works as a lawyer. His grandmother was an Ingrian who was exiled from Leningrad to Yakutia in 1942.

48 Raisa Sirjanova

"I regularly travel to Ingria, where my ancestors once lived, together with other Ingrians from Yakutia."

Raisa is descended from an Ingrian and a Jewish exile. Now she works as the chairperson of the Association of Finnish Culture of Yakutsk. It consists of the Ingrians exiled after the Siege of Leningrad and their descendants.

49 Maria Potopova

“I don’t remember how we travelled to Yakutia. The only thing I remember from that journey is my mother’s death.”

Maria was orphaned on their way to exile, and when they reached Yakutia, the aunt that had taken care of her also died. A Yakutian teacher took Maria in and raised her as a part of the family.

50 Inna Nippolainen, 34

“When I was younger, I found old photos in family albums with writing in Finnish behind the photo. Nobody could read the text. I decided to learn and started to take private lessons in Finnish. I got so excited that I went to the university to study for a degree in the Finnish language. Now I have also made the Ingrian national costume of Tuutari for myself, and I wear it on the Ingrian summer festivals.”

Inna works in Petrozavodsk as the Director of the Centre of the Karelian, Veps and Finnish Languages and Resources.

51 Aina Jaakkola, 42

“I didn’t really know anything about being an Ingrian, because nobody said anything about it in our family and they didn’t dare speak Finnish. I’ve started to study the language as an adult. After the first year of studying, I was already thinking in Finnish.”

Aina Jaakkola is an artist and dancer from St. Petersburg, and she performs actively, playing Ingrian folk music, among other things.

52 Susanna Parkkinen, 34

“I grew up in the village of Kolpina close to St. Petersburg. In our home we spoke Finnish and I grew up in a Finnish speaking bubble playing with my cousins. For me it has always been clear that I am Finnish and an Ingrian and that they are almost the same. Lately I have started thinking about moving to Finland. Almost no Ingrians are left here and our history is not known nor accepted, even though we are in historical Ingria. I feel they don’t like the Ingrians in Russia. I would like to create something new for the Ingrian culture, but it is difficult, because today Ingrians don’t speak Finnish.”

Susanna Parkkinen lives in St. Petersburg and works as a graphic designer.

Lea Pakkanen and Santeri Pakkanen

Photographs by Meeri Koutaniemi

53 Santeri Pakkanen, 69

“The past is not real. It is life we have left behind, without its smells, colours or the humming of trees. Still it evokes emotions. When half the nation has been destroyed, its land, language and history has been taken and the only response is silence, the past turns into anxiety. Our Ingrian parents wanted to protect us by hiding from us the horrors they experienced in Stalin’s purges. However, the burden of the past, the pent-up pain and anxiety were passed on to their children, who were left with feelings of rootlessness, of not belonging, and questions without answers. This exhibition aims at providing an answer.”

Santeri Pakkanen, currently living in Finland and working as a journalist, took part in the national awakening of the Ingrian Finns in the Soviet Union in the 1980s. He was one of the journalists working for the Punalippu (Red Banner) magazine, and the first chairman of the Inkeri-liitto association of Karelian Finns.

54 Lea Pakkanen, 36

“My relatives from both my mother’s and my father’s side of the family experienced the persecution of the Ingrians. However, for me the history of the Ingrians was shrouded in mystery for a long time. It has been heartbreaking to see in Yakutia and Norilsk what kind of conditions the Ingrians were sent to. There was no human dignity there. So many questions remain unanswered. Still I feel that now I understand myself better, as well as my family and my community. Cruelties experienced by one generation are felt also by the generations that follow.”

Lea Pakkanen is an Ingrian journalist who has remigrated to Finland as a child.

Meeri Koutaniemi took these photographs on a ferry from Yakutsk to Tiksi in the autumn of 2018.

55 “Goodbye granny, don’t cry or miss us”

Sauna door
Private collection of Lea Pakkanen

“Goodbye granny, don’t cry or miss us,” wrote the 7-year-old Lea Pakkanen with chalk on the door of the sauna for her grandmother Aino as a goodbye message, when the family moved to Finland in 1991 and the grandmother stayed in Russian Karelia.

They say that Ingria no longer exists,
They can say whatever they want.
Ingria is in me and in you,
Like Atlantis, deep down in the sea.

...

It remains, because we still live.

From all windows of all lands you can
only see your homeland.

Armas Hiiri, 1988

**INGRIANS
– THE FORGOTTEN FINNS**

KANSALLISMUSEO

The National Museum of Finland

24 January – 19 April 2020

EXHIBITION SCRIPT

Lea Pakkanen, Santeri Pakkanen

PHOTOGRAPHS AND VIDEO

Meeri Koutaniemi

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EVENTS

HOW DID THE EXHIBITION COME ABOUT? MEERI KOUTANIEMI AND LEA PAKKANEN IN DISCUSSION

Thu 30 January 2020, 5-6 PM, The National Museum of Finland, Pop up
Meet the makers of the exhibition. (Language: Finnish)

HOW DID THE EXHIBITION COME ABOUT? LEA PAKKANEN AND SANTERI PAKKANEN IN DISCUSSION

Sat 15 February 2020 at 2 PM, The National Museum of Finland, Pop up
Meet the makers of the exhibition. (Language: Finnish)

LOSS OF MEMORY CLUB

Sat 15 February 2020, at 6:30 PM, The National Museum of Finland
In discussion the makers of the exhibition: photographer Meeri Koutaniemi and journalist Lea Pakkanen. Music: Tiiu Helinä. (Language: Finnish)

ALL MY JOYS I FORGOT. INGRIAN FOLKSONG

Thu 27 February 2020, 2-3:15 PM, The National Museum of Finland
Researchers and artists in dialogue, sound theatre Iki-Turso with guest folk song researcher Kati Kallio. (Language: Finnish)

SEMINAR

Wed 8 April 2020, 1-5 PM, The National Museum of Finland, Auditorium
Specialist seminar in collaboration with The Finnish Literature Society (SKS).
(Language: Finnish)

BOOK A GUIDE

A guided tour can be booked by e-mail, skm.opastusvaraukset@kansallismuseo.fi
or phoning +358 29 533 6902 (Tue – Fri 9-12 PM).

For further information about the events, please see: www.kansallismuseo.fi

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