



Minnesota Works Progress Administration:
Writers Project Research Notes.

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Minneapolis, Minnesota *Ethnic*
Subject: Socio-Civic
Submitted by: N. A. Fryer
October 24, 1938

In 1889 the largest settlement of Finns to be found in the United States was at New York Mills, Minnesota. The place got its name from a land and lumbering company, formed in New York about the time the Northern Pacific Railroad was built in 1870 and 1871. In the little colony of Finns that arrived to work in the woods and the saw mills were two or three men of superior intelligence, who wrote letters to Finland describing the advantages of the country, got into relations with an emigrating agency in New York, and thus drew a steady stream of their countrymen to the forests and "openings" of this section of Northern Minnesota. In course of time a small newspaper in the Finnish language was established, and the copies that were mailed to Finland were the most effective kind of emigration literature. The community of Finns in and around New York Mills, at this time, numbered nearly 4,000.

The newspaper that was sent to friends and relatives back in Finland was the "Amerikan Suometar" or the "Finnish American". The Finns call their country Suomi, Finland being its Swedish name. Thus suometar is the feminine for a native of Finland. It was a well-printed little sheet of six columns, and its editor was J. W. Hahde. He, however, was not the founder of the newspaper. For five years it was published by August Nilund, under the name of "Unsi Kotima". In 1884, Mr. Nilund moved to Astoria, Oregon and took the

name of his newspaper with him. The plant and equipment he sold to Mr. Lahde.

Another prominent Finn, who was an influence in the bringing over to this community many of his countrymen, was Olof Pary. He was the most influential merchant in the settlement, and his big brick store was the meetingplace. At one time four hundred men were in his employ in the forest⁷ cutting ties and cordwood. It was Olof Pary who gave the emigrants a start in the new country. He had a job waiting for them, and he was willing and wise in assisting them to finally obtain their parcel of land, and begin their long hoped for work of breaking the soil. On these prairie openings they planted wheat, rye, oats, and potatoes. In the winter time they returned to the cutting of fire-wood and railway ties. At all times they went to Olof Pary for counsel, so that the general conditions of the people became very good and they prospered.

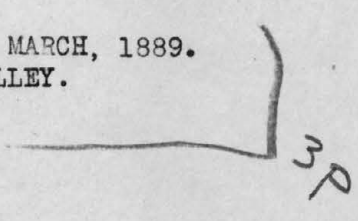
Within two or three years they were at a comparative state of independence, and that was an accomplishment because many arrived with very little means. However, they had the greatest of assets, industry and thrift. Then, too, they were homemakers. Their homes were well built and neat. In the clean kitchens and bedrooms they had rag rugs on the floor, and white muslin curtains at the windows. The walls were papered with old newspapers and during the winter months geraniums and other plants added to the comforts of the house. A stove of Finnish construction heated the two or three downstairs rooms, and sometimes the one or two above. It was a stove solidly constructed of brick, covered with white plaster and fitted with iron doors. It heated the house with a great economy of fuel, and without the excessive heat that iron stoves give. And in all the homes a copy of the "Kalevala", the Finnish epic poem, was found.

Very little that had a foreign look, except the numerous bird houses stuck up on long poles and the bands of red or green paint around the window casings of some of the houses, could be seen in the village. The architecture of both dwellings and stores were typical of the forms seen in all American western villages of this period.

Whatever was peculiar in the costume of the newly arrived Finn soon disappeared when he replaced his garments from the stock of ready-made clothing in the village stores. The women did not readily Americanize their garments. They clung to the kerchief as the headgear for all occasions, a cotton kerchief for week-days, and a silk one to wear to church and on Sundays. In winter they wore a stout woolen skirt and a heavy shawl; in summer a calico skirt and a short jacket. Their shoes were thick and heavy soled of coarse leather. When they were free from the cares of the farm, they spun and wove with flax and wool.

Source:

THE NORTHWEST MAGAZINE. ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA. MARCH, 1889.
A FINNISH SETTLEMENT IN MINNESOTA. E. V. SMALLEY.
VOL. III. NO. 3. P. 3-5.

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THE FINLAND COMMUNITY, MINNESOTA

Darrell H. Davis

University of Minnesota

A twelve page article appeared in the above publication explaining in detail the life of the people of Finland Community, the inhabitants of which are mostly Finnish. The following titles appear: "Limits and Relationship of the Community," "Communication," "Forest Resources and Lumbering Operations," "Number and Composition of the Population," "Landholdings and Farm Land," "The Agriculture Economy," "Farmsteads and Buildings," "Trade and Manufactures," "Social Conditions," etc. I quote a few paragraphs which might be of importance and helpful to our study of Finns in Minnesota:

The settlement began in 1895 with a nucleus of Finnish families. Their numbers increased until today the occupants of the farms, most of which were taken up as homesteads before 1906, are practically all Finns. . . .

The co-operative store, which profits from having the postoffice, did a total business of \$30,000 for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1934, on a stock of merchandise that inventoried \$1937.64 on the same date. . . .

Social Conditions

This is a community in which efforts have been pooled to a degree rather unusual in American life, at least in the past. There is a community hall, a cooperative store, and up to recently a community owned threshing machine and small flour mill. These cooperative enterprises are, however, confined almost exclusively to the Finnish element of the population. . .

The Geographical
Review

Monthly

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One of the handicaps of the community is the lack of amusements. The C.C.C. Camp, with its weekly motion picture and parties, has remedied this lack during the past year; before that time an occasional party at the Finn hall or Beaver Bay and an infrequent motion picture at Two Harbors, thirty-nine miles distant, supplied the only recreation for the younger people. There is no church building and there are no church services,

Suomalainen siirtokunta Pohjois - Amerikassa.

"Boston Globe" nimisessä lehdessä Syysk. 5 p. kerrotaan:

Wrightin kreivikunnassa Minnesotassa on suomalainen siirtokunta.

He ovat luterin-uskoisia ja kokoontuvat jumalanpalvelusta pitämään joka sunnuntai ja joskus myös keskellä viikkoa. Heillä ei vielä ole omaa pappia, mutta odottavat sellaista Suomesta kesän kuluessa. Heitä kiitetään hyvin jumaliseksi ja siveelliseksi kansaksi.

According to the locality and territory data compiled by Suomi-Seura from Finnish-American newspapers, local information, congregations and society directories, there are in the State of Minnesota about 250 such cities, counties, townships or villages having some mutual Finnish endeavors, like congregations, temperance societies, labor unions and the like, or where at least some reverend or speaker has visited for the sake of the Finnish residents.

Such vicinities where from the year 1874, have been either a Finnish congregation, temperance society, or labor union or other such organizations, are in Minnesota according to our list, but which, however, is not entirely complete:

- | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. Aitkin | 10. Beacon Hill | 19. Chisholm |
| 2. Alango | 11. Biwabic | 20. Cloquet |
| 3. Alavus | 12. Bowey | 21. Cokato |
| 4. Albion | 13. Brainerd | 22. Cook |
| 5. Angora | 14. Brimson | 23. Cromwell |
| 6. Annandale | 15. Brittmount | 24. Dobelius |
| 7. Aura | 16. Brookston | 25. Duluth |
| 8. Aurora | 17. Buhl | 26. Elba |
| 9. Balkan | 18. Cherry | 27. Ely |

28. Embarrass	54. Markham	80. Sandstone
29. Esco	55. Mc Kinley	81. Sebekä
30. Eveleth	56. Meadow Brooks	82. Sentaajoki
31. Franklin	57. Menahga	83. Snellman
32. French Lake	58. Messaba	84. Soudan
33. Finlayson	59. Middle River	85. Sparta
34. Floodwood	60. Midway	86. Stevenson
35. Fond du Lac	61. Minneapolis	87. St. Louisjoki (St. Louis River)
36. Gilbert	62. Mississippi	88. Stoney
37. Haukijärvi (Pikelake)	63. Mt. Iron	89. Suomi
38. Heinäjoki	64. Nashwauk	90. Susijärvi
39. Heinola	65. New York Mills	91. Tamarac
40. Hibbing	66. Oulu	92. Thomson
41. Holmes City	67. Paddock	93. Toivola
42. Idington	68. Palo	94. Toimi
43. Iron Junc.	69. Peyla	95. Trout Lake
44. Ironton	70. Pikeriver	96. Two Harbors
45. Jordan	71. Red Eye	97. Wavina
46. Kalevala (Kettle River)	72. Red Wing	98. W. Duluth
47. Kantola	73. Renville	99. W. Pike
48. Keewat	74. Riseriver	100. White Iron Range
49. Kingston	75. Rossburg (Valparaiso)	101. Winton
50. Kinney	76. Runeberg	102. Virginia
51. Lawler	77. Saarikoski	103. Vuori
52. Lonrot	78. Saari	104. Vaino
53. Mäkinen	79. Salo	

Tässä pyydämme myös huomauttaa Works Progress Administratiolle, että useat suomalaiset paikallishimet, kuten Dobelius, Lönrot, Mäkinen, Esco, Alango ja vaino ovat useimmiten väärin englanninkielellä kirjoitettuja, ollen edellä mainittujen suomalainen oikea muoto: Lönrot, Mäkinen, Esko, Alanko sekä Vaino. Olisi toivottavaa että WPA korjaisi mainitut väärät nimimuodot Minnesotan suomalaisista kirjoista. Minnesotan suomalaisten väkiluvusta on Teillä myös melkoisesti Suomi-Seuran tiedoista eroavat väkilukutiedot. Käsitämme kyllä, että numeronne ovat virallisista Yhdysvaltain väkilukutilastoista ja käsittävät vaan Suomessa syntyneitä, mutta kun Yhdysvaltain väkilukuja siirtolaistilastotiedot Suomeen nähden ovat huomattavasti ristiriitaisia Suomen mainitunlaisiin tilastotietoihin nähden, niin pyydämme ilmoittaa, että nykyisin suomenkieltä

puhuu Minnesotassa, tai pitää itseään suomalais-amerikkalaisena yli 100,000.

Kun seuran tilastotiedot Amerikan suomalaisista eivät kuitenkaan ole vielä lopullisesti valmiit, emme ole toistaiseksi tilaisudessa tarkoin määrittelemaan kunkin paikkakunnan tai valtion suomalaisten lukumäärää. Viitaukseksi Yhdysvaltain suomalaisten väkiluvusta mainitsemme tässä Suomen Hallitukselle toimitetusta Siirtolaiskomitean mietinnöstä v. 1924, että suomalaisten lukumäärä sisältyy vaan ensimmäisessä miespolvessa Ameriassa syntyneet. Kun kuitenkin Amerikassa on jo kolmen jopa neljänkin miespolven aikaisia suomalaisia, joskin ehkä suureksi osaksi kielellisesti amerikkalaistuneina. Niin on suomalaisten ja suomalaissukuisten amerikkalaisten lukumäärä huomattavasti yli puoli miljoonaa, josta Minnesotan osalle tulee noin 125,000 henkeä, ollen Suomessa syntyneitten lukumäärä Minnesotassa v. 1920 noin 30,000 henkeä.

Kun Suomessa toimitetaan väkiluvunlasku vuosittain, seurakuntien ja valtion puolesta, niin voidaan melkoisen tarkasti määrätä siirtolaisten lukumäärä. Amerikansuomalaisista on meillä parhaillan käsittelyn alaisena tilaston toimittaminen, joka perustuu paitsi viralliseen amerikkalaiseen tilastoon, myös suomalaisten seurakuntien, seurojen ja yhdistysten jäsenlukumääriin, sekä kultakin paikkakunnalta tiedustittaviin yksityisilmoituksiin.

Seuraavat amerikansuomalaiset sanomalehdet ovat eri aikoina ilmestyneet.

m. m. Minnesotan valtiossa:

Duluthissa:

1. Amerikan Kaiku 1906
2. Industrialisti Nykyisinkin
3. Kalevainen
4. Kalevan Kansa, 1931
5. Kansan Henki, 1921 ?
6. Päivälehti
7. Päivälehden Kotilehti
8. Siirtolainen
9. Tie Vapauteen

Minneapolissa:

10. Uusi Kotimaa, 1881
11. Amerikan Uutiset, 1893
12. Perheen Ystävä
13. Työmies, 1893 - 4

New York Mills'issa:

14. Aamurusko noin v. 1890.
15. Kansan Toveri, 1897
16. Minnesotan Uutiset, Nykyisin
17. Raittiuslehti, 1892
18. Uusi Kotimaa (lakkasi ilmestymästä N. Y. Millisissä)
19. Uusi Kotimaa ja Amerikan Suometar

m. m. Minnesotan valtiossa:

Elyssä:

20. Aatteita

Floodwoodissa:

21. Amerikan Farmari - Nykyisin

Gilbert, Minnesota.

Social Ethnic
Toivo Torma
Dec. 28, 1938.

FINNS

Makinen in Comparison to St. Louis River

Socially

Socially Makinen is directly opposite the St. Louis River Community. In St. Louis River, the youth are more enterprising and socially active, while the elders and parents were relatively stagnant and introverted. Makinen, however, has very few clubs which are sponsored by the youth, but the older generation is active in their administration of plays, dances, sewing bees, etc.

Sewing, knitting, and batting bees are familiar scenes in Makinen. The housewives have a practice of taking turns acting as hostesses for the remainder of the workers. These bees are quite extensive, very often including various families from St. Louis River, Hutter, and even the village of Gilbert. (I've attended one purposely and I'll give a brief account of the proceedings.)

The Quilting Bee

For days before the event, I gathered from the hostesses talk, she has been baking and cooking in preparation of the quilting bee. I arrived a few minutes before 1 o'clock, on a Friday afternoon. I was fortunately, or unfortunately, the first to arrive, and I decided to take advantage of my luck. I began to help her place various articles in preparation of the quilting. As we worked I found out that ten or possible eleven wives about the community would attend. With some of the women, their husbands would come along also so that the women need not walk. I

Gilbert, Minnesota.

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also found out that the member living farthest away, 4 miles, was to pour the coffee, and assist the hostess in her work.

Quite soon the women began appearing, some walking and others with their husband's cars. Within a half an hour the room was buzzing with activity, and after counting the members I came to the conclusion that all the members were present, plus their respective husbands.

The women, as soon as all were present, went into an adjoining room and sat about the quilting materials and amidst their constant hub-hub of noises, began to make the quilt. The men, being exempt from this duty, lit their pipes and chatted amongst themselves.

At approximately three o'clock, coffee and luncheon were served, much to the pleasure of the men, who, in sitting within the kitchen, eagerly watched the progress of the table setting. After lunch, the quilting bee was continued with renewed interest. An hour later a cheery chorus of voices arose, and the men knew instantaneously its source, reason and results. The quilt was finished.

A moment later the hostess came into the kitchen, and with a beaming face, showed to the men the newly constructed quilt. And a beautiful quilt it was!

Amidst many thanks, goodbyes, and promises to visit, the members slowly left for their homes where the evening chores were awaiting them.

This quilting bee is typical of the various, almost weekly functions of the community amongst the parents.

The functions sponsored by the younger generation are few. The St. Louis County Recreational activities sponsored by the St. Louis County Re-

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creation Department of Virginia, Minnesota is poorly attended, if the total number of members in Makinen is used as a basis. During the summer a baseball club of no little ability is conducted. It plays its games with Palo, Markham, Cherry, and St. Louis River. Basketball is played, but a lack of proper facilities, impedes interest and progress. (They play basketball in the community hall). The lack of good light, proper heating, and showers are ample reasons for discontinuing recreation in weather below zero.

In contrast to St. Louis River Community, no centralized organizations of recreation or social functions is prevalent in Makinen. The exterior work and influence of the St. Louis County Recreation Department has helped unite a portion of Makinen youth. In comparison to the St. Louis River attendance to the same organization, which is 80 to 90 per cent of the youth, and twice as high a percentage than that of Makinen.

(All this is based on the almost completed work on the Makinen census and upon my own observations. In connection with the Makinen basketball team I expressed the consensus of opinion amongst the combined communities of St. Louis River, Palo, and Markham.)

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THE FINNS IN AMERICA*
By Eugene Van Cleef

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At this time it is perhaps of special interest to know the distribution of Finns in the United States, the extent of the Finnish "invasion" into northeastern Minnesota, the results attained by the Finn in his native land and his new environments, and the possibilities of the Finn as a citizen of the United States.

Distribution of the Finns in
the United States

Although Finns dwell in every state in the union, their numbers are essentially negligible in all but the States of the northern half of the country. Hence, in the map (Fig. 1) showing the states where 500 or more reside, the southern states remain without a dot. The number of Finns in the United States, including native and foreign born was in 1910, 211,026. (1) The estimate for 1917 places their number at close to 300,000.

Michigan and Minnesota stand out preeminently as "Finnish" states. Massachusetts ranks next, the cotton and woolen mills oddly enough retaining a sort of magnetic hold upon the Finns, especially the women. Fitchburg and Worcester are the principal points of concentration. New York State ranks relatively high because of the large number of Finns in New York City. The clothing industry in the country's metropolis includes many of the Finns there to become permanent

*Acknowledgement is made to Mr. L. B. Arnold, Land Commissioner of the Duluth and Iron Range R.R. for his many courtesies which have made possible this investigation; to the Finnish people of Duluth and vicinity who have co-operated so generously; and to Mr. O. J. Larson of Duluth who has made possible the publication of this entire manuscript.

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WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (MINNESOTA)
Federal Writers' Project, 415 Harvard St. S.E., Minneapolis

1. U. S. Census, 1910.

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residents.

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The western states, Montana, Oregon, Washington, and California, present a sort of anomaly in the problem. A more detailed consideration will be given later, but here it may be pointed out that the rise of the lumber industry in these states, coupled with its disappearance in the Great Lakes region, has been a potent factor in the western migration of many Finns. The fisheries in Puget Sound District and farming in all the area have had a secondary influence. The greater number of Finns in California are concentrated in San Francisco.

The southern states show a notable absence of Finns. For example, South Carolina has only 38, Florida 137, Georgia 65, Louisiana 186, Texas 218, Arkansas 30, and Kentucky 32. (A cartogram showing distribution of Finns, native and foreign born, by States, 1910.)

Urban vs. Rural Population

p. 187

More than half (54.5 percent) of the total population of Finns live in the rural* districts of the United States. This is rather notable, for only immigrants from Norway, Denmark, Luxemburg, and Mexico show a similar tendency. The general inclination for foreigners is to concentrate in urban centers. Less than one-third of all "foreign white stock" (31.8 percent) is located in the rural districts.

Moreover the proportion of Finns living under essentially rural conditions is higher than the figures show. Fresh immigrants gravitate almost immediately towards the mines and camps. In both instances they headquarter largely in towns of 2,500 or more and hence are enumerated as those residing in urban communities. Otherwise, if the census were taken in their cases on the basis of occupation, the percent would favor the rural districts. The very strong attraction of the out-door life is ex-

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WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (MINNESOTA)
Federal Writers' Project, 415 Harvard St. S.E., Minneapolis
(*By "rural" is meant communities of less than 2,500 pop.)

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hibited also in the case of those who are native-born but of foreign or mixed parentage, among whom the proportion in the rural area reaches the high figure of 61.7 per cent. The Finns, therefore, may be classified as distinctly a rural people.

In 26 states over 50 per cent of the Finns live in the rural districts. In such states as Illinois and New York, large manufacturing centers attract the relatively small number who happen to reside there, but these constantly drift toward the land. Interviews with many Finns who have passed through the several stages before reaching the farm, reveal the fact that the congested cities retain the Finn a very short time. As soon as he saves enough money to purchase a small acreage or to claim a homestead he establishes communion with nature and leads a life more attractive and more satisfying to his natural and seemingly instinctive desire to live in the open.

Lake Superior District

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The vicinity of Lake Superior seems to constitute the haven of refuge for the Finns. Their density is greater here than in any other equal area in the country..... The region is also forested and accordingly attracts the lumberjacks. Northeastern Minnesota presents conditions typical of practically the entire Lake Superior district. For this reason, it was chosen as the scene of the present investigation. St. Louis County in Northern Minnesota, has been the principal field for intensive study. St. Louis County has an area of 6,503 square miles. Its total population is 163,274, of whom 16,381,* or about 10 per cent, are Finns. The Finns are engaged in iron ore mining, lumbering, and agriculture. They number about 10 per cent of the total of foreigners in the mines. The number of men of all nationalities employed in the mines in 1917 was 14,479. (1)

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WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (MINNESOTA)

Federal Writers' Project, 415 Harvard St. S.E., Minneapolis

* Census of 1910; the estimate for 1917 places the number at from 20,000 to 25,000.

1. Report of W. H. Harvy, Co. Mine Inspector, Oct. 1917.

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The number engaged in lumbering fluctuates, as most of the Finns in this industry are employed only in winter for logging operations in the woods. Hence employment is generally temperoary, and these so-called lumberjacks are oftentimes the miners and farmers of the summer season. A few work in the lumber mills the entire year.

Agriculture pursuits attract most of the remaining Finns. Nearly 60 per cent (or about 1,800) of the farmers of the county are Finns. This number must be multiplied by at least 3 to obtain the total number of Finns on the land, for their families are large. Others are engaged in miscellaneous occupations in the cities. Duluth, the largest city of the county, with a population of 78,466 in 1910, was credited with 2,772 Finns.

The Finns in the Mines

The absence of large mineral deposits in Finland means that few of the natives are miners. Emigration is mainly from the northerly parts of Finland, (2) where the population is scattered, and where agriculture, practically the only pursuit, is carried on under severest handicaps.

Singularly enough, the first Finns who settled in the Lake Superior district became miners. They left their homes because of depressing economic conditions and in hope of a better future in America. The gold rush of '49 in California attracted a few, but none of them profited. A little later, between 1850 and 1860, about 250 Finns from the copper mines of Norway and Sweden arrived at Calumet, Michigan, to help in the newly opened copper mines. (3) This seems to be the only

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2. Ninety percent of those interviewed came from northern Finland, or, if native born, their parents came from these parts.
3. According to C.H. Salminen, mgr. Finnish Dly, Duluth & others.

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instance of the importation of Finns by an industrial company.

After a short acquaintance with the new land these men wrote home to friends and relatives, sometimes sending transportation tickets, encouraging them to come to this country, where tyranny was unknown and independence was a possibility. The subsequent years, up to the present, have witnessed a steady though not large inflow of their countrymen. The new arrivals could not speak English and had no money. The land was still densely wooded, and the winters were long. Mining was the only occupation open. In the years since the first settlements among the mines of Michigan, successive Finnish immigrants have entered the iron mines of both northern Michigan and northeastern Minnesota. Many who are prominent citizens in these parts today found their opportunity there.

Their Thrift, Efficiency, and Endurance

But the Finn is not a miner by nature. He is a man of the soil. After working in the mines a few years - the average is from two to five - he uses his savings for the purchase of some land or for taking up a homestead. In some instances, however, after leaving the mines as a place of regular employment, he may return temporarily when in need of money. He is credited with being the most thrifty of all nationalities represented in the mines and lumber camps.

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In efficiency in the mines the Finns rank close to the top. They make good timbermen in the underground mines, for they are reputed "clever and ingenious with axe and log." Herein one may see the result of their many centuries of training in the forests of their native land. Their struggle with nature has also developed much resourcefulness. The younger Finns coming to this country today show a considerable proficiency along mechanical lines. Some of them are employed in handling drills and other machinery requiring dexterity.

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The physical strength of the Finn contributes to his ability to endure the strains incident to mining. The work is hard, and the winter long and rigorous. Where the open pit process is used, employment does not last throughout the year. Hence many workers must find something else to engage them during the closed season. The relative isolation of the region makes travel to other industrial centers rather expensive. Therefore adjustment is made to practically the only alternative, logging. Hundreds of Finns go to the woods to labor in the deep snow and in temperature ranging from 15 to 30 degrees F. Their life is camp life, but not often their own choosing. It often-times is next to intolerable. Yet doggedness, a sense of responsibility, unusual powers of endurance, enable them to remain throughout the season. They have had vigorous training in the "land of a thousand lakes" and the land of many hardships.

The Finn in Agriculture
Condition of the Land

The Finn has acquired much of his land in northeastern Minnesota as a homesteader, although recently he has become an active purchaser in the open market. His holding ranges from 40 to 160 acres. If he is a homesteader he always possesses the latter amount. For the most part his land is heavily timbered with tall thin spruce and tamarack and the birch with its accompanying underbrush. Occasionally some jack pine is scattered about. More often than not, the desirable timer has been removed by lumber companies before the land is placed on sale, only the stumps remainining; or, if virgin timber be available, it is not in abundance.....

Humble Beginnings

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The Finn builds a little single-room or two-room tarpapered shack (see Fig. 5, two pictures, page 193) near an edge of his land where the drainage is good. He will clear about an acre the first summer. When winter interrupts his work he may

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go to the woods as a lumberjack to earn a little ready money. The next spring he returns to his farm to continue improvements. Should he run short of funds before the following winter he may work for a few weeks as a common laborer on county or town roads. It has been said that the road-building activity of the counties and towns in northeastern Minnesota has been the salvation of the farmer, not merely because it gives him an improved means of communication, but because it gives him employment and funds.

As soon as a few hundred square feet are cleared, potatoes and rutabagas are planted. A cow barn and cow follow. "Where there's a Finn there's a cow" is almost axiomatic. Another year witnesses the addition of a few chickens. Garden, cow, and poultry now assure the pioneer's food supply; he is fairly on the road to independence.

Construction of Buildings

In the evolution of the farm the construction of buildings plays an important part. One may very safely identify a Finnish farm from a distance by its number of buildings. (4) Among them may be counted the owner's first shack, his later log cabin, his recent modern dwelling, his never-forgotten bathhouse, (5) a cow barn, perhaps the old one and the new with its glacial-boulder foundation, a horse barn, a root cellar, several hay barns scattered over the fields, a tool house, a woodshed, and other miscellaneous special buildings.

The hay barn alone is a means of identifying a Finnish farm. (Photo on opposite page.) It is always built of logs spaced several inches apart. The flooring is raised from the

4. An excellent, full page photograph of a typical Finnish farm in Embarrass, Minn.
5. A splendid photo of bathhouse and residence.

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ground a foot or two and is likewise made of spaced logging. Such construction allows air to circulate freely thru the hay, keeping it dry and helping to season it. The sides of the barn slope inward toward the floor. This characteristic is determinative. In only a few isolated has a Finn erected a modern scientific combination dairy and hay barn.

Slow Development of the Land

c. 194
The cutting of timber, the grubbing of underbrush and roots, the dynamiting of stumps, the piling up of the boulders gathered from all parts of the land, and the draining of the wet places all follow in succession. The work is slow, for the Finn never hurries. Deliberate and determined, he is seldom discouraged. Some day his land will be entirely cleared and beautifully developed. The Finnish immigrant makes an ideal pioneer, a splendid blazer of the trail; but the speedy development of the land awaits the rising generations. Whatever the length of time that must elapse before success crowns his efforts, the fact that a Finn is developing the land is always reassuring. To a farmer in the corn belt these northern lands must seem almost hopeless; but to a Finn, where there is land there is hope. His struggle through the many generations has taught him to keep at the problem until it is solved, if solution there be; and he is thankful for, and appreciative of every little gain. When his farm is well along he confines his efforts largely to such crops as hay, potatoes, rutabagas, and minor quantities of rye, oats, and barley. He possesses a number of cows, inclining very strongly toward the development of a dairy farm. Swine are conspicuously absent. A few horses, and not infrequently an automobile, complete his establishment.

Reasons for Localization in
the Lake Superior Region

In view of the many hardships with which the settler

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p. 195
in northeastern Minnesota must contend, one naturally wonders why the Finns continue to assemble here. Did the first few who happened to come to the copper mines of Michigan so stimulate the successive immigrant flow as to give it a momentum sufficient to maintain itself to the present day? Could the momentum of the first influx have resulted in the concentration of about 150,000 Finns, or three-fourths of all the Finns in the United States, in the Lake Superior district? Why have not the more recent immigrants settled in the central states? Why have not those who came twenty years ago moved further south after working under such severe strains and in the face of possible failure? To determine whether the factors are geographic in any degree, one needs to consider the natural environment in Finland and to compare it with that of northeastern Minnesota, and to study the life of the Finn in Finland, both past and present.

Finland vs. Northeastern Minnesota

The total population of Finland in 1910 was 2,115,197. Its area was 144,252 square miles. The density therefore is between 21 and 22 per square mile, a very low value compared with that in other countries of western Europe.

Surface Resemblances

p. 196
Finland is a vast region of lakes, rivers, and marshes. Its very name in the Finnish language, Suomi, means "swamp land." Lakes occupy 11.73 per cent, swamps and peat surfaces 30.8 per cent of the total area of the country. (There are at least a quarter lakes in Finland." See A. Hettner: Grundzuge der Landerkunde, Vol. 1, Europa, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 178-82.) These figures are approximations, for they do not include large areas that are neither lake, swamp, nor peat bog, yet are very poorly drained. A map of Finland showing the wet lands indicates that well over 75 per cent of the surface area may be catalogued under this heading. The surface of northeastern Minnesota is

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closely similar. In St. Louis County 5.6 percent of the surface area is lake, and 29 percent swamp and peat land.

Finland has been completely glaciated. Excepting for a few small exposure of igneous rocks, the surface is entirely of drift material. Among the few outcrops Pre-Cambrian rocks predominate. Similarities with the Lake Superior region are suggested. The Finnish geologist Sederholm indicates the possibility of stratigraphical correlation. Both Finland and Minnesota have boulder strewn surfaces and in their respective localities present scenes that are almost identical. Prominent hills are uncommon; but the range of altitude in Finland is almost exactly the same as that in St. Louis County. The land rises from about 250 feet close to the Baltic Coast, to 2,000 feet along the Russian boundary. In St. Louis County the range is from 600 feet above sea level at the shore of Lake Superior, to 2,000-2,200 feet in the northern parts of the county.

The streams crossing Finland, like those in north-eastern Minnesota, are relatively short but rapid. Minnesota has no such famous as the wonderful Imatra Fall; on the other hand, the variety and frequency of small rapids and falls are strikingly similar in the two countries.

Climatic Correspondence

The climates likewise show correspondence, that of Finland being somewhat less extreme. The coldest and warmest months in Finland are February and August respectively, whereas those in St. Louis County are January and July. In the former country in January the temperature ranges from 6 degrees F. in the north to 14-21 degrees F. in the south, whereas in the latter region the range in Finland is from 56 degrees F. in the north to 60 degrees F. in the south, while in St. Louis County it is from 64 degrees F. in the north to 66 degrees F. in the south. There is, however, a great difference in latitude between the two regions. Finland extends from 60 degrees N. to 70 degrees

County N.; St. Louis reaches from not quite 47 degrees N. to 48.5
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N. Finland tempered by the warm prevailing southwesterlies blowing from the Gulf of Bothnia and the Baltic Sea shows a very high temperature anomaly--at least 10 degrees F. higher than the normal for the latitude--the divergence being specially great in winter. St. Louis County, in a continental area, is modified by the influence of a considerable body of water only along the short Lake Superior shore line.

p. 197
The precipitation in Finland averages from 12 inches in the north to 27 inches in the south; in St. Louis County it is much more uniform, averaging from 27 inches in the north to 30 inches in the south. The amount of moisture falling as snow, ranges in Finland from 30 inches in the extreme northern parts to 55 inches in the south, and in St. Louis County averages from 50 to 55 inches. The annual distribution of the precipitation may be considered identical in both places. The dates for the appearance and disappearance of both snow and ice are practically the same. February and March are the months of maximum snowfall. Frost may occur in any month of the year in the swamp areas of both region.

Similarity of Flora

p. 198
With similar soils and climates one may look for a similarity in native flora. The evergreens predominate in the northern parts, while the deciduous trees are most common in the southern portions. Pines, spruce, tamarack, mountain ash, birch, and aspen are the many varieties of trees, while the species of trees are not in every instance the same, their effect upon the landscape does not differ. The swamps lands in both countries are alike, excepting for the somewhat more extensive lowland type of swamp in Finland. Peat is common to both areas. The wild flowers are strikingly similar, as witness the following description of a scene in Finland which will apply equally well to northeastern Minnesot: "I remember that meadow distinctly.....a mass of giant bluebells, oxeye daisies, pink

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phlox, yello buttercups, and countless other varieties of flowers all growing pell-mell in a choas of color." (6)

Agriculture

From 80 to 90 per cent of the people in all parts of Finland are engaged in agriculture pursuits. The principal crops in descending order of rank are oats, potatoes, rye, and barley. Wheat is produced in minor quantities in the south-west. Corn is said to be grown as a decorative plant in gardens. Hay, mostly wild, is important, for it constitutes the foundation of the dairying industry. Truck-garden products are grown for immediate family use. All of these crops are grown in northeastern Minnesota. Excepting hay, they are not grown so largely, but that is only because of the relative newness of the region.

In northern Finland the number of cattle is 500-1000 per 1,000 inhabitants; in southern Finland the number is not so large, but is still important. Swine are notably few, especially in the north where their density is 0-10 per 1,000 inhabitants.

With respect to live stock Minnesota again resembles Finland. Northeastern Minnesota is developing rapidly into a dairy country. Swine are kept in decidedly larger numbers by the Finns in America than by those in Finland. Yet it may be noted that the Finns in St. Louis County keep fewer swine than do the farmers of other nationalities. This evidently is a reflection of conditions in their native land.

Industries and the Co-operative Plan

The variety of important industries in Finland is very small, as might well be expected in a region where raw materials are so limited and where agriculture offers practically the only visible means of gaining a livelihood. Lumbering takes first

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6. Paul Waineman: Summer Tour in Finland, New York, 1908.

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ranks. Sawmills are very numerous, especially in the coastal districts. Paper making ranks second. Beyond these two industries it is not possible to rank any of consequence as yet. St. Louis County differs only in having iron ore in tremendous quantities and in the consequent development of the mining industry.

p 201
The Finns have much faith in co-operative establishments for the conduct of their affairs, as is evidenced by the numerous co-operative creameries, co-operative general merchandise and grocery stores, co-operative savings banks, and other co-operative institutions. In 1913 there were 2,167 co-operative societies in Finland with a total membership (7) of 196,000. Into north-eastern Minnesota co-operative institutions are rapidly finding their way. While all varieties are not yet represented there they may be found in the Lake Superior region as a whole. In addition the co-operative hotel has grown to be a significant institution. /..... The very names of the Finnish people are based upon natural features. A short list of the most common names with their English meaning is worth giving: Lahti, "bay,"; Koski, "waterfall;" Nuori "Mountain;" Harju, "ridge;" Hirvi "moose;" Korpi, "swampy woodland;" Jarvi, "lake;" Murmi, "pasture;" Joki, "river;" Niemi, "cape;" Saari, "island;" Koivu, "birch;" Kangas, "moore;" Hirsi "timber;" Kantola, "stump land;" These names occur as frequently among the Finns as "Smith" and "Jones" among Americans. Some estimates give 60 per cent as the proportion of Finnish names based upon topographic features.

Music

The music of the Finns reflects their environment. It is written largely in the minor key. Sadness, seriousness of life's struggles, vain hope, and work, work, work, are the words and expressions that pass through one's mind as one listens to their melodies. Some of their folk songs, however, are quite

7. Hannes Gebhard: Co-operation in Finland, London, 1916.

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cheerful. One is reminded of rapids and waterfalls separated by quiet reaches. The song is quite different from the heavily accented folk song of the Slavic peoples of southern Europe. It seems to be very decidedly influenced by the presence of the numerous swiftly-flowing streams of Finland.

Kalevala

p. 202
..... Among the many favorite trees of the Finns, the graceful white-trunked birch is most admired, indeed one might almost say it is revered. Even in northeastern Minnesota the Finn will stop before a beautiful group of nodding birches to admire the clean white dress of bark and the spreading branches that seem to bid him welcome. The Kalevala makes clear why his love for the birch is so enduring. The tree speaks:

p. 203
"....I, alas. a helpless birch tree,
Dread the changing of the seasons,
I must give my bark to others,
Lose my leaves and silken tassels.
Often come the Suomi children,
Peel my bark and drink my lifeblood;
Wicked shepherds in the summer,
Come and steal my belt of silver,
Of my bark make berry baskets,
Dishes make, and cups for drinking.
Oftentime the Northland maidens
Cut my tender limbs for birch brooms,
Bind my twigs and silver tassels
Into brooms to sweep their cabins;
Often have the Northland heroes
Chopped me into chips for burning;
Three times in the summer season,
In the pleasant days of spring time,
Foresters have ground their ozes
On my silver trunk and branches
Robbed me of my life for ages."

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The Finns in Northeastern Minnesota
(St. Louis County)

Yet man is the creature of his native environment, however, ungrateful it may be. Its strong hold is exemplified here: given freedom and land the Finn in the United States will select an environment that reminds him of the home of his fathers. From what has been depicted thus far we are led to the conclusion that the attraction of the Finn to northeastern Minnesota has a geographical basis. It remains to offer direct evidence in confirmation.

Interviews with Representative Finns

Sixty Finns, many of them heads of families, representing various walks of life, have been interviewed by the writer. Some of these people were in a position to speak for hundreds of others and therefore their statements are representative of large numbers. Further, employers of from just a few Finns to upward of 1,500 have been interviewed. The discussion that follows is a summary of the many opinions expressed by both Finns and non-Finns, and may be accepted as unquestionably reflecting reliable and accurate points of view.

With no more than ^{Ten} exceptions, everyone volunteered unqualifiedly some geographic element as the principal reason for either the establishment of Finnish colonies in northeastern Minnesota, or for their persistence in spite of the adverse living conditions. Climate ranks first among all the reasons assigned. Of 42 interviews, 30 indicated climate as the prime cause for settlement in northern United States, instead of central or southern, and 12 asserted that friends were the influencing factor. Of these 12, all but two stated as their reason for remaining in northeastern Minnesota the similarity of the country to their homeland, both in general appearance and in climate. Again emphasis is laid upon the fact that these 42 interviews are representative of the

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opinions of thousands of Finns. A few quotations will be significant. These are in reply to such questions as "Why did you come to St. Louis County?" "After your arrival and your observation of the rather unpromising conditions, why did you not go further south or return home?" "Why have you remained in these parts so long, when you have known of opportunities elsewhere?"

A clerk in charge of a Finnish co-operative in a township populated by 59 Finns and their families replies: "The climate is similar to that of Finland. The winters here are somewhat less severe; the summers are a little warmer, but the days are shorter than in Finland." A student and schoolteacher who has been in this country for ten years and has experienced the struggle for existence says: "Some came to work in the mines to make money, as my brother did, intending to return. But, like others, after a few years he quit the mines and began farming, his natural occupation. The similarity of this north country to Finland caused those who came before me to become enthusiastic and to send for their friends and relatives." According to the County School Supervisor of Agriculture, a Finn whose father claims to be one of the first two Finnish* settlers in St. Louis County, "even now they (Finns) will buy land here in preference to taking up homesteads elsewhere even when conditions for farming are easier." A Finnish farmer of long residence, well acquainted with farming conditions in other regions, states: "Hearing of greater opportunities to make money elsewhere the Finns will not leave, for climate is the attraction

(*The name should be traced. A.B.)

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here." "The Finns don't know how to choose land, for they select the stony and poorly drained lands seemingly in preference to the dry lands." This is the opinion of a Finn of many years experience in St. Louis County. He surmised that since their experiences in Finland had been with such poor land these similarly appearing areas "made them feel at home."

Many referred to their love for the deep snow and their admiration for the beautiful glacial lakes set among the dense evergreen forests. One who had seen much of the United States says that nowhere are the views so nearly like those in Finland as in the vicinity of Ely, in the northern part of St. Louis County. The myriads of lakes, the boulder-strewn inter-lake areas, the extensive woods of pines and birches are "just like home"....

The Finn as Settler and Citizen

P.267

Perseverance, doggedness, tenacity of purpose, and endurance characterize the Finn. These qualities oftentimes develop into extreme, even detrimental stubbornness. He has a strong desire for independence, an ambition to own a bit of land and to free himself from all "bondage." His fondness for the land is obviously the result of the centuries of influence of his native environments, but his zeal for the attainment of independence to the extent even of complete isolation, seems to have resulted from the long period of political oppression.

The Finn is frequently stolid and phlegmatic until opposed by some one or some idea not to his liking, when he becomes thoroughly aroused. Among the lumberjacks and miners this spirit has often led to serious disruptions and sometimes even murder. However, it would be on to the Finns as a whole to imply that this is as common a characteristic as is their attitude of suspicion.

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The Finn's suspicion is difficult to explain. It is a most unfortunate characteristic. Either tribal raids of ancient times or comparative isolation on the scattered farms of Finland is the cause. The latter seems very plausible, for where there is isolation and little opportunity for self protection a stranger will necessarily be under suspicion until he proves his good will. However, the idea of fear is not to be associated with Finns, for few people are as courageous.

Educational Aspirations

....He is an enthusiastic reader. There is said to be less illiteracy in Finland than in any other country. According to the census statistics for 1910 of persons of 15 years of age and above only 9 per 1,000 are illiterate (unable to read). In Minnesota the Finn demonstrates his desire for mental growth by the attendance of his children in the public school. "The Finns demand schools no matter how remote they may be. The daily attendance record of their children is very high," says the St. Louis County Superintendent of Schools. In a town on the Mesabi Range, Minnesota, where the Finn constitutes only about one-tenth of the total population, the Superintendent of Schools report that "he is the backbone of the night school. Out of a total attendance of 900 over 500 were Finns."....

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Further evidence of educational aspirations is furnished by the extent of the Finnish press in the United States. Including four yearbooks, one may count 29 periodical publications. Of these, seven are Socialistic, one is an organ of the I.W.W. and the rest liberal. The total circulation of these publications is as follows: Socialist 29,000, I.W.W. 3,500, liberal 59,000, yearbooks 20,000. This gives a grand total of 115,500. These figures do not all represent different individuals who read these periodicals, for some subscribe to several of them. A single subscription, however, may reach many individuals: one must take into consideration not only the several members of a usually large family, but also the fact that many Finns live in a

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community houses (co-operative hotels) and take advantage of the co-operative subscription.

Health and Hygiene

Strangely, the appetite for learning and the high state of intelligence among the Finns have not served to improve all their hygienic environment. In general all the home and business establishments which were visited were immaculately clean. This was found to be so, however, humble the home; but, with only a few exceptions, proper ventilation was lacking. This is proving the death knell of many a worthy Finn, for it is courting successfully the spread of tubercular diseases. Furthermore the belief is still common among many of the older Finns that diseases are not contagious and that the contraction of a disease is the will of God. A similar apathy towards ventilation is shown in the management of their barns. Diseases among their livestock are all too common.

In partial notice to this attitude toward ventilation, one should note at least one important responsible factor.

even in the north of Finland it is bitterly cold in winter, and fuel, excepting wood, is scarce. The atmosphere is humid, and the sensible temperature is therefore quite low. Under these circumstances, conservation of heat as a matter of economy has undoubtedly led to the sealing of the log cabin windows and doors. Isolation from medical help has readily established credence in the theory that disease is not communicable and is incurable if the Finnish bath does not prove effective. The faith of centuries cannot be broken in a single generation, and failure on the part of the immigrant to reform at once can be understood. . . .

The Bath

The bathhouse is the "sign of the Finn." It is one of the first of the many buildings to be erected upon his farm. Figure 17 is a photograph of a stone in a bathhouse. That the house is dark is well attested by the picture. Glacial boulders

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gathered about the farm are piled up so as to leave a low oven-like space at the base, extending well back under the rocks. A fire is built in this stove and allowed to burn only until heat has penetrated every stone. Buckets of cold water are then thrown upon the stone, and a vast cloud of partially condensed steam fills the small room. Occasionally a single special vent in the roof allows the smoke and excess steam to escape. But more often the cracks in the walls and ceilings and the space around the door casement perform the same function. When the latter is the case the uninitiated might suppose the bathhouse to be afire. The neighborhood knows when a Finn bathes, for the smoke and clouds issuing from all sides of the bathhouse are an index to what is happening within. Several platforms at varying heights around the room allow of a certain adjustment to the degree of heat. The bather beats himself with a bunch of birch or aspen leaves. After about ten to twenty minutes in the steam bath he retires to a small adjoining room where he dashes cold water upon himself. He then dries himself and runs to his house where he dresses. In winter he may roll in the snow before returning to dress. For nearly all ailments the Finn applies one of these vapor baths. His training from childhood enables him to endure its rigors, and hence benefits he derives are large. His faith in it are unbounded.

The Finnish bath introduces an element in the survival of the fittest, for babies are subjected to it. The infant mortality is very high. Were it not for the anti-ventilation sentiment among so many Finns their health would undoubtedly rank first among the peoples of the earth. Those of them who do observe the modern principles are rarely ill.

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Whole families very frequently bathe at the same time. The house is large enough to accommodate from eight to ten people if necessary. Herein is undoubtedly one of the basic reasons for the high moral plane of the Finn. Members of both sexes, beginning with childhood, are educated in the form of the human body and, thereby, that ignorance in later life which

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so often accounts for sexual immorality is at once discounted.

The Finn as a Worker

Reference has been made to the excellence of the Finn as a worker. An employer of large numbers of Finns says: "We find that a great many of the Finns are very good men in every way; not only are they sober and steady, but they remain at their work for a period of years. These belong more often to the Temperance class". . . .

.....The political aspect of the Socialist versus the Progressive party movement perhaps should receive no attention in a geographic discussion. Yet, the recent introduction of Socialism has influenced these people so strongly that it cannot properly be passed without some consideration. The question has often been asked, "why should the principles of Socialism have found such fertile soil among the Finns?" Nearly 40 per cent of the population of Finland and perhaps 25 per cent of Finns in America now belong to the Socialist party. Most of the latter are settled in the mining districts. In Minnesota, where the Finn labors in a lumber camp hardly fit for human habitation, he soon develops an antipathy toward employers that is not easy to counteract. He then becomes a fit subject for conversions by agitators of the radical type and is easily won over. In striking contrast, however, is his attitude after he has established himself upon the land and has had an opportunity to experience the privilege of independence, even with hard work. . .

.....Considering the Finns virtues and and his defects and the fundamental facts of his evolution within a well-defined environment, there is no doubt in the mind of the writer that in the Finnish immigrant lies an assurance for the agricultural development of northern Minnesota. All his imperfections are not of his own making and can be corrected under proper influences. In the main, his life, his habits, and his customs have been shaped by certain unmistakable geographic conditions. These conditions are

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reproduced in northeastern Minnesota. The region has attracted him by reason of its general physical resemblance to his homeland, and thus far he has met with a degree of success in it which no other nationality has known. These facts should be recognized that they may be made available in the upbuilding of this part of our country.

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Add these paragraphs:

Page 202, preceding first sentence:

... In the Kalevala reference is made to the burning of the forest that the ashes may enrich the soil {burn-beating }:

Hark! the titmouse wildly crying,
From the aspen, words as follows:
"Osma's barley will not flourish,
Not the barley of Wainola,
If the soil be not made ready,
If the forest be not leveled,
And the branches burned to ashes.

A familiar picture of the Finnish landscape is given in the farewell song of Pohjola, daughter of the Rainbow:

Send to all my farewell greetings,
To the fields, and groves, and berries;
Greet the meadows with their daisies,
Greet the borders with their fences,
Greet the lakelets with their islands,
Greet the streams with trout disporting,
Greet the hills with stately pine trees,
And the valleys with their Birches.
Fare ye well, ye streams and lakelets,
Fertile fields and shores of ocean,
All ye aspens on the mountains,
All ye lindens of the valleys,
All ye beautiful stone lindens,
All ye shade trees by the cottage,
All ye junipers and willows,
All ye shrubs with berries laden,
Waving grass and fields of barley,
Arms of elms, and oaks, and alders,
Fare ye well, dear scenes of childhood,
Happiness of days departed. *

*Kalevala: Epic Poems of Finland, translated by
J.M. Crawford, Cincinnati, 1888, passage from Rune XXIV, "The Bride's
Farewell."

Page 212, following second paragraph:

class

.....to the Temperance class." The temperance consists of the non-Socialists. Employers state that about 25 years ago the honesty of the immigrant Finn was never questioned. Today this statement does not appear to be generally true, especially in the lumber camps. The change has been attributed to the spread of radical Socialism among them.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Politically, the Finns may be grouped into two classes, the Socialists, and the Temperance or Progressive party. The Socialists are subdivided into two classes, the Reds and the Yellows. The Reds are the more radical, and advocate force, if necessary, to accomplish an end; the Yellows oppose force and foster legislation as the best means of accomplishing a purpose. Some of the radicals have helped swell the ranks of the I. W. W. Socialism is growing rapidly, although the Progressive party says the days of the Socialists are numbered. The conservative Socialists credit themselves with all real progress attributed to the Finns. The Progressive class disagrees, crediting them only with the organization of modern athletic clubs and community opera houses.

The Outlook Wkly. 895 2

Aug. 18, 1900

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Mpls. Pub. Libr.

Apr. 6, 1939.

(Finnish Study)

"Reasons for Emigration of the Finns."
(Editorial)

"The announcement that one steamship lone alone has agreed to bring over fifty five thousand Finnish peasant to America this year calls renewed attention to the reasons for such emigration. Last year fifteen thousand Finns left their own country for other lands; this year the number will be many times greater. Finland is said to have about twenty-five hundred thousand inhabitants. No other region so far north is as intelligently tilled; eleven-twelfths of the population are agriculturists, and for their instruction in the best methods of farming the Finnish Government has supported a dozen schools. During the past two years, however, these agriculturists have suffered from unusual cold and widespread floods, ruining much of their rye crop, the main bread-stuff of the land - a disaster which, however, would not have caused much, if any, emigration. The real reason is found in the fact that last year the young Czar gave the lie to the solemn

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(Finnish Study)

Emigration - Reasons

assurances which his ancestors had renewed since 1808, when Alexander I. wrested Finland from Sweden and confirmed the Finns in all constitutional rights and privileges which they had before enjoyed, the only change being that of suzerainty from Sweden to Russia. On their part the Finns have unswervingly kept the pledge, in return for which they enjoyed local self-government, and the ruler of all the Russias has been safer in the streets of Helsingfors than in those of St. Petersburg. There have been almost countless conspiracies in Russia since 1808; there never has been one in Finland. It may be that the desire of Nicholas II. to Russianize Finland was due to the very virtue and ability of the Finns themselves. It is well to know that there are no better sailors than the Finns; they have long manned the Imperial Russian Navy. In his desire to strengthen the Russian army, the Czar must have wished to compel his Finnish subjects to serve. The disaster to Finland would have been only half as great had the Czar stopped there. He resolved upon a complete Russianization.

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(Finnish Study)

Emigration - Reasons

When the separate organization of the Finnish army was seen to be a thing of the past, he ordered Russian officers to displace Finnish in the organization of local affairs. Following this, Finnish postage stamps and even the Finnish flag went by the board. Nicholas II. not only refused to receive the indignant appeal signed in a fortnight, by half a million of his Finnish subjects, but crowned his acts of oppression by laying an autocratic hand upon the Finnish schools, by far the best schools in Russia, and, indeed, among the best in all Europe. The Czar ordered the Russian language to be exclusively used in those schools, and furthermore proclaimed as seditious half the studies which had hitherto been pursued. The Finns, Lutheran in religion, now saw themselves also menaced by a Greek Catholic proselytizing crusade suggesting Spanish methods. These things could have but one result. Comprehending the vanity of resistance to superior force, many decided to leave Finland. They have done so in a year when Russia has rung with denunciations of other oppressors!

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(Finnish Study)

Emigration - Reasons

The only advantage to the world seems to be in the addition to the population of the United States and Canada of a particularly hard-working, enterprising, well-educated, and thrifty people. Would that all our immigrants were equally desirable."

A. Backman

Lit. Digest Wkly. 34 1-2

May 24, 1919.

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Mpls. Pub. Libr.

Apr. 11, 1939.

(Finnish Study)

"Firms in the United States."
(Editorial)

Early advent of the Firms.--

There are between 300-400 thousand Firms in the United States. Some of the earliest immigrants and some of the later were born in northern sections of Norway and of Sweden, where there has been for a long time a considerable Finnish population. This explains why the first Finns to come to this country accompanied a settler's group of Swedes who made domicile in what is now the State of Delaware, in the year 1627. The second party of Finns adventured hither in 1637 and the third, between 1642 and 1644. All these Finns made their home in Delaware, Pennsylvania, and southern New York. These Finns soon became landed proprietors, and no less a personage than William Penn engaged with them in real-estate dealings. He bought land from them and has left written testimony to the cleanliness of their home life, their large families, and their

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hard-working habits. The fact that in nearly all Finnish families there were from ten to twenty children was impressively noted by Wm. Penn. They quickly merged with their neighbors, because they made it their business to learn the English language and American ways.

Why the Finns Emigrated.- The Finns came here because at the close of the Thirty years' War in Europe, Sweden ceased to be a great European Power. As other nations, so also the Swedes sought to establish colonies in the new Land of Promise of America. This encouraged the Finns in the same aspiration, knowing that the Finns, like themselves were hardy and thrifty - the real material for pioneering. Between 1830 and 1850 another tide of Finns was drawn toward this continent. They were bound for Alaska. Alaska, it will be recalled then belonged to Russia, which empire ceded it to the United States in 1867. At the period above mentioned the governor of Alaska, by appointment of the Russian Government, was a Finn. Knowing the physical

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fiber and the spirit of his countrymen, he urged the Finns to settle in a new field of opportunity, where the climate would favor them, being similar to that of their homeland. As fishermen, hunters, and foresters in the Sitka district the Finnish immigrants greatly prospered. Naturally, a number of Finnish ministers accompanied or followed them to Alaska. One, the late Rev. Cygnaeus, later became famous as the founder of the public-school system in Finland, which, according to Finnish authorities, is second only to that of the United States. These informants tell us that the Rev. Mr. Cygnaeus undoubtedly imbibed many of his educational ideas in the United States, through which he traveled extensively.

Location of the Finns.- To a certain extent the Finns cohere in colonies. The largest number of them is reported in the northern part of Michigan, in Minnesota, and in North and South Dakota, in which States they are chiefly engaged in agricultural pursuits. If we look for them in cities we find

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the largest number, 4,000, in Chicago and 2,000 in Cleveland. Most of our Finnish population is located inland, and of it from 75 to 80 per cent. is engaged in agriculture.

How the Finns Get Along.-

They hold the esteem of their fellow citizens, we are told, and they have an alert interest in politics. There are no persons of Finnish descent in Congress now, but not a few are to be encountered in the State legislatures of Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wyoming, and Oregon. Judged politically, we are advised, the Finns may be classified with one or another of the parties or rank as independents. A minority affiliates with the Socialist party.....

The Finnish Bureau of Information is our authority for saying that American Finns and Finns at home in the vast majority utterly abhor the doctrines and practices of Bolshevism., Wherever there are Finns there are the so-called Temperance Societies, and the supreme organization to which most local societies belong is the National Temperance League. Helpful toward its aim is the Finnish press in the United States, repre-

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sented by five dailies and about twenty weekly and monthly
publications.

*(Emphasis, Lit. Dig.)

A. Backman

Duluth, Minnesota
Clayton A. Videen
June 13, 1939

The New Republic, pp. 108-109; September 2, 1916
Vol. 8, No. 96; no dateline
Duluth Public Library; May 31, 1939:
Item #4

"The strike of iron miners employed by the Steel Corporation in northern Minnesota was one of those spontaneous walkings-out of unorganized men which leave the managers and the community a trifle dazed.

"The Mesaba range is a high plateau running back from Lake Superior for one hundred miles or more, with rich bodies of iron ore for its whole length and ten miles of its width. It is a pleasant, open, sun-lit land, in spite of its long, rigorous winters and its great expanses of brush and stump land, denuded by the timbermen of the forests that still thrive to the north. When the Steel Corporation acquired title to the richest deposits, built modern docks at Duluth, seventy miles to the south and east, and created a great fleet of ore carriers, the Mesaba range became at once the most important iron-mining district on the continent and the chief support of Duluth's hope of becoming a big industrial city.

"On the range this winter and spring the Steel Corporation, through its subsidiary, the Oliver Iron Mining Company, had twice increased the wages of laborers employed in the open-pit mines, each time by ten per cent, as in the Pittsburgh district, and at the time of the strike in June they were receiving \$2.60 for ten hours' work. With six days' work a week for every week in the year, they would have earned a little less than the amount ^(agreed ?) upon by all governmental and private authorities as the minimum on which a family can be supported in decency and health. But the winters are long and hard, and the open-pit laborers lose many a shift when work closes down and they are compelled to leave their families for a winter in the distant lumber camps.

"Underground, where a majority of the men are employed, a peculiar piece-work system of payments prevailed. Each miner was assigned to a stope

or chamber by the mine captain, or foreman, and his rate per ton was then fixed by the mine authorities according to the softness of the ore. These rates were fixed weekly or bi-weekly, according to the mine, and the miner was neither consulted nor informed concerning his rate until the end of the month, when he received his pay. If a miner's tonnage for the week ran up to a figure that yielded wages disproportionately high, the rate was cut. Sometimes, when a miner struck hard ore, it would be at least a week before his rate was increased, and in the meantime he worked for as little as fifty cents a day. In one of the best of the mines, the company payroll showed a range of wages from \$1.21 to \$4.90. The man earning \$1.21 this week might earn \$3 or \$4 the next. A miner never knew, until the end of the month, what his income would be for that month. The company claimed an average wage of \$3.40 per day at this mine. Yet the men were even then on strike for a flat rate of \$3 per day in dry places and \$3.50 in wet places.

"This piece-rate system, with every factor in production fluctuating and uncertain and requiring constantly the exercise by the bosses of a discretion that the miners were not permitted to question, was frankly a speeding-up device, designed to prevent 'Soldiering.' If a miner complained of his cheque, he was told to work harder. No system was ever devised more certain to create friction by encouraging favoritism and corruption on the part of petty bosses, or, when these did not exist, by leaving in the mind of the miner a smoldering suspicion that he was the victim of discrimination.

"Without an organization, with no mine committee to speak for him, the Austrian or Italian miner was helpless to make effective protest against actual abuses, or to satisfy himself that the suspected abuses did not exist. Today Mr. Davies and Mr. Fairley, the federal mediators on the ground, have in their possession an imposing stack of affidavits alleging to extortion of bribes by mine bosses, bribes that took many forms from the buying of drinks to the buying of lottery tickets, or the paying of direct bribes at the rate of \$5 or

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\$10 a month for 'easy ground.'

"When the strike began at an independent mine where conditions were particularly bad, it spread rapidly across the length of the range. Estimates of the number of men out vary from the 20,000 claimed by the I.W.W. leaders to the 15,000 estimated by Mayor of Virginia in his telegram to the Department of Labor, and the claims of the company officials that only a few thousand were out. The Western Federation of Miners had no agents in the field. It was even then undergoing reorganization and preparing to forget a past marked by dissensions and failures, even changing its name as a part of this process to the 'International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.' So the only organization of the American Federation of Labor having jurisdiction in the metal mines could offer no aid. But in every large group of unorganized foreign-born workers are men who have espoused the doctrines and given their allegiance to the I.W.W. An appeal to William D. Haywood met ready response. Carlo Tresca, Sam Scarlet, Frank Little, and others responded. But the strike was not a week old before the permanent force of Oliver private police had been augmented by a swarm of guards, recruited from Duluth, St. Paul, Minneapolis, anywhere where men could be found willing to go to the range, strap on guns, grasp riot sticks, pin deputy sheriffs' badges on their shirts, and go forth to attack picket lines, menace strikers' parades, and brow-beat strikers wherever they should be met, singly or alone. Sheriff Meining, of Duluth, told me he had deputized 'over a thousand' of these men, and he admitted cheerfully that except for the comparatively few appointed personally by him, he had attempted no investigation of the character of the men thus armed with firearms and public authority. Mayor Power of Hibbing intercepted a letter sent with two toughs to a mine superintendent by Chief of Police McKercher of Duluth, in which McKercher asked that he be notified if the two worthies did not do their work satisfactorily, as 'I have something on them.'

"The reign of frightfulness, inaugurated by this army of privately-paid thugs is beyond belief by those unaware, through personal experience, of the methods of American industrial absolutism in crushing a revolt. Strikers were beaten and thrown into jail on trumped-up charges or no charges at all. Women and babies followed them into prison cells. A striker was shot and killed while on the picket line several blocks from the nearest company property, a notorious character named Nick Dillon, a private mine guard deputized by the sheriff, stormed into a miner's home to arrest him on a charge of selling liquor illegally. Dillon and the deputies with him carried guns in their hands, as they strode into the house without knocking and confronted the striker surrounded by his family and a few boarders. A general melee followed. A peddler who was calling at the house was shot and killed. One of the boarders was shot twice through the thighs. A deputy sheriff was killed. Many miles away, at Virginia, Carlo Tresca and five other I. W. W. organizers were taken from their hotel at three in the morning, manacled, and placed on a train for Duluth, where they are now awaiting trial for murder in the first degree. The claim is made that their speeches had induced the killing. The striker, his wife and two of his boarders are in jail on the same charge.

"The I.W.W., left without leaders on the range, promptly sent Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Joseph J. Ettor, both active at Lawrence and Patterson. Miss Flynn remained in hiding for several days. Then the coming of outside investigators gave pause to the license of the gunmen, and today she and Ettor are unmolested. While the federal mediators remain, the Steel Corporation apparently will modify its methods.

"It is too early to judge the effect of the present strike. Certainly the Federal investigators, now completing their investigation, will be able to present to the managers a bill of grievances, a record of specific abuses, that no decent man could ignore. There are sure to be improvements. And the company has suffered too severely to court a repetition of last summer's exper-

ience. Stock piles have been exhausted and the engineering plan of many an open pit has been spoiled as the steam shovels gouged out the ore wherever it could be had most easily and quickly. Best of all, public opinion on the range and throughout Minnesota has been aroused, and there is a possibility of a strong organization of miners at an early date. Governor Burnquist, who authorized local officials to go the limit in beating down the miners, no longer finds it easy to defend his action. Other officials at Duluth and in St. Louis County may, at the next election, learn that public authority cannot be used brutally and recklessly of the side of the oppressors in a struggle against industrial tyranny."

The article is signed by George P. West.

The Literary Digest, PP. 732-733; September 23, 1916
Vol. 53, No. 13, Whole Number 1379; no dateline
Duluth Public Library; May 31, 1939
Item #5

"In a season of great industrial unrest, a strike affecting thousands of people and characterized by shootings, murders, and wholesale arrests, a bitter contest in which Industrial Workers of the World have been arrayed against the United States Steel Corporation, has been waged since June 3 in the most important iron-mining district of the country without attracting more than passing attention from the daily press... The strike of the iron-miners in the Mesaba Range of Northern Minnesota has been described as 'one of those spontaneous walkings-out of unorganized men which leave the managers and a community a trifle dazed.' The employers, on the other hand, have maintained that the strike was not at all spontaneous, but was stirred up entirely from the outside by agitators of the Industrial Workers of the World. Well-known I. W. W. names have, indeed, been conspicuous in the news from Mesaba, and one of William D. Haywood's calls for relief funds for the strikers opened with this belligerent sentence: 'War has been declared against the Steel Trust and the independent mining companies of Minnesota by the Industrial Workers of the World.'

"....The largest operator in the Mesaba Range is the Oliver Mining Company, a subsidiary of the 'Steel Trust.' The strike actually began last June in a small independent mine. It spread all over the range till some 15,000 miners were affected, in great part employed by the Oliver Company.... The miners...were employed in two ways--The open-pit workers and the non-mining underground workers by the day, and the underground miners by a piece-work arrangement known as the contract system. Now the Oliver Company's open-pit miners had had their pay increased in February and again in May, bringing it up to \$2.60. The company alleges that the wages of the contract system miners were raised proportionately.... The miners objected to the contract system as practiced on the Mesaba Range because it makes wages uncertain and leads to 'much petty graft and unjust discrimination on the part of the shift bosses and captains.' Hence the workers have made these demands: '\$2.75 a day for open-pit mining; \$3 a day for underground mining, dry work; \$3.50 a day for underground mining, wet work; an eight-hour day; pay twice a month; abolition of the contract system.'

"The company maintains that the strike, in so far as it is affected, is not a spontaneous strike of the employees, but that it has been stirred up entirely from the outside by Workers of the World agitators.... They maintain that it has been managed exclusively by the Industrial Workers of the World leaders, with whom the corporation positively refuses to deal.'

"The company believes the men are well paid, and thinks the contract system necessary because of the varying nature of the work and because of the difficulty of supervising men working underground."

The news story continues with statements for and against the mining companies' "gunmen." Three or four paragraphs are devoted to George P. West's report, which has been submitted in these notes in its entirety and referred to several times since. Because these particular phases of the strike have been thoroughly covered, I feel that it is a waste of time to go over them

again.---CAV

The Survey, PP. 703-709; September 7, 1912
Vol. 28, No. 23; no dateline
Duluth Public Library; June 1 and 5, 1939
Item #6

The following article, written in 1912, has no direct bearing on the strikes on the Mesabi Range, but it may be useful in the Social-Ethnic study because it deals chiefly with the immigrants in Northern Minnesota. Since the immigrant population is so large on the Mesabi and Vermilion ranges, the article ought to provide part of the background for the study.

The name of the article is "Immigrant Life in the Ore Region of Northern Minnesota," by "Le Roy Hodges, special agent and geographer, former United States Immigration Commission; former Commissioner of Immigration the Southern Commercial Congress." The story is illustrated, a picture of a Finnish miner's shack and a company cottage being among the most interesting.

The story follows:

"North of Duluth there is a region where the falling rains and melting snows on one hill drain northward to the ice wastes of the Arctic Ocean. The waters on the second hill pass down to the Great Lakes, plunge over Niagara, and rush through the St. Lawrence into the gray, storm-tossed Atlantic. Providence has also decreed that the more favored waters of this place shall fall on a third hill and flow southward into the Majestic Mississippi, traverse the heart of the southland, and enter into the blue, sparkling depths of the Gulf of Mexico.

"Great wastes of land stretch for miles covered only with the charred, blackened stumps of a once magnificent pine forest. Yawning chasms, in all their ugly nakedness, mark the spots where man has discovered the removed or is now at work removing the treasures of the hills which nature so carefully stored away.

"The babel of more than thirty different alien tongues mingles with the roar of mine blasts and the crash and clank of machinery. Here side by side work Finns, Swedes, Montenegrins, South Italians, English, Irish, Bohemians, Frenchmen, Hollanders, Syrians, Belgians, Croatians, Danes, Russians, Magyars, Bulgarians, Germans, Greeks, Scotchmen, Welshmen, Dalmatians, Norwegians, and Servians.

"More than 22,000,000 tons of iron ore are produced here annually, giving employment to about 15,000 men. Nearly 2,000,000 tons a year of the hard hematite ores are dug from the surface of the earth with as little difficulty as though they were the common sands of the sea.

"Embedded in these rock strewn hills lie the wealth and power of the American steel industry. Here is the home of thirty great iron mining companies. Man can lay back a few feet of top soil and load, with steam driven shovels, an almost pure ore into the cars of waiting trains. It is an Eldorado where iron takes the place of gold!

"This region is divided geologically into two districts, or ranges as they are popularly called, known respectively as the Vermillion and the Mesabi.

"The Vermillion, the oldest of the two ranges, was explored and recognized as an iron bearing district as early as the late forties, but was not developed to any extent until 1880 when the locating of large deposits of iron ore caused a stampede. The majority of the new settlers came from the iron ranges of Michigan to seek employment. In 1882 the town of Tower, the first permanent mining camp in Minnesota, was established. A mining company was soon organized which has since been merged into a controlling iron-mining and steel-manufacturing interest which now owns and operates all mining properties on the range.

"The records of a Roman Catholic church built in 1884 show that in that year the congregation was composed of thirty families of Irish, German, Italians, and French-Canadians: 120 souls, forty-five of them single, most of them from the Michigan ranges.

"Systematic operations in the Mesabi Range were begun in 1890, thirty years after the ore was discovered. The most important find was that of an exploration party from Duluth which struck a rich deposit of iron at what is now the Mountain Iron mine.

"After the first discoveries of the vast ore wealth of the Mesabi were made, towns and railroads were built and a steady immigration from the Vermillion and the older ranges of Michigan set in. By the fall of 1892 the first shipments of ore went from the Mountain Iron Mine.

"The production of ore on the whole range in 1892 amounted to only 4,245 tons. Today the Mesabi, with its annual production of more than 20,000,000 tons of high grade ore, is the greatest iron producing region in the world.

"The same company which owns the Vermillion properties controls and operates about two-thirds of the mines on the Mesabi, employing three-fourths of the men working in the industry. More than thirty other important concerns also own properties on the range. The centers of production are the towns of Hibbing and Virginia, and after them Chisholm, Eveleth, Coleraine, Nashwauk, Bovey, and Biwabik.

"About 1900, to the original inhabitants--Finns, Slovenians, Scandinavians, Irish, north Italians, Carnishmen, and native Americans--were added in the influx direct from Europe of Bohemians, South Italians, Bulgarians, Servians, Croatians, Montenegrins, and other South and East Europeans who now make up the unskilled element required in the development of the mines. At present the Finns and Slovenians greatly outnumber all other races, and about 77 per cent of the total population is composed of aliens.

"Underground mining is employed exclusively on the Vermillion Range where some of the shafts have been sunk more than a thousand feet. On the Mesabi are found the great 'open pit' mines which have made the region famous. These mines are operated chiefly with steam shovels, but a few employ what is known as the milling process.

"Mining in open surface cuts, or under the 'open pit' system, consists in simply removing with steam shovels the glacial drift or overburden, composed of clay, boulders, sand or low grade ore, which covers the deposits from a depth of from two to eighty feet at an average of between twenty and forty feet. The ore is then loaded by the same means into standard-gauge cars.

"The Mesabi ores are soft, with a texture varying from a fine flue dust to a coarse, granular ore which requires little blasting to enable the steam shovels to remove it from its bed. A few of the mining companies have taken advantage of this soft character of the ore and have employed the 'milling' process.

"By this method a shaft is sunk on the edge of the ore body from which a tunnel is run under the ore and connected with a vertical, funnel-shaped hole made from the surface through which the ore is milled down into tram cars at the tunnel opening. The tram cars are then run out to the bottom of the shaft and the ore dumped into skids, or elevators, and raised to a tippie on the surface. From here the ore is loaded into railroad cars for shipment. The milling process thus employs some of the features of both the open pit and the underground methods of mining.

"When methods of mining are taken into consideration, the number of accidents, both fatal and non-fatal, have been abnormally high throughout this region, fatal accidents being very nearly as frequent as in bituminous coal mining districts. The Vermillion mines are deep for ore workings, but are free from dangers of gas explosions. The earth formations on this range permit

much freedom in sinking shafts and running cross cuts for there are no very great difficulties to be overcome in preventing caving or strata displacement. On the Mesabi, explosives are used chiefly in the open mines and can not be considered an especially dangerous element in the mining operations. Mine fires and floods are rare, and can be quickly controlled.

"During the seasons of the year when lake transportation is open the demand for labor greatly exceeds the supply, and the mining companies make sweeping concessions in order to keep their pay rolls full. Unskilled labor from the South and East Europe is imported and mine discipline has been made as lax as possible, in order to keep the men satisfied after they are secured. This practice, the absence of both state and federal laws compelling the company to employ only trained and experienced miners in the responsible and dangerous occupations, the inability of the majority of the operatives to speak English and understand the rules of the mines and the orders given them, and the recklessness and rank carelessness of a number of them, no doubt account for the appalling annual accident rate.

"As the lake transportation lines are tied up during winter, this season is slack in the mines. On account of its open pit system of mining the Mesabi is more seriously affected by winter weather than the Vermillion. The mines on the latter range, all being underground, can be operated even in the most severe weather, the ore being 'stock piled' at the surface and held for shipment during the summer. If the demand for ore is active, employment can be secured on the Vermillion range the whole year round, which is not the case on the Mesabi.

"Under normal conditions, during the shipping season, ten-hour periods for both day and night shifts are worked on the two ranges. No regular Sunday work is carried on except that of repairing, cleaning and track laying which is done in a day shift of from six to eight hours.

"Wages average from \$12.50 per week to \$20 and over. More than 90 per cent of the Poles, Slovenians and Finns earn under \$15 a week, while only a very few of the native Americans, English, Irish, Germans, Scandinavians, and other races from northern Europe earn under this amount. Wage payments are made monthly in currency by all the more important companies. Gold and silver coins are principally used. There are no company stores, or other institutions, upon which script can be used.

"Compulsory accident insurance is conducted by the principal mining concerns. The usual method is for companies to deduct from fifty cents to a dollar a month from the wages of each employee. A representative system is that of the largest companies on the Mesabi, whose employees are entitled to receive \$25 per month when injured in the performance of their duties for a period of not longer than six months. For the first four days of disability no indemnity is paid. Should an employee be confined for more than four days and less than a month he receives a dollar a day. In case of death the relief benefit is \$300. In the event the permanent injury results from an accident, he is paid a cash indemnity of \$240. A few of the companies, instead of carrying their own insurance fund turn the money deducted from the wages of their employees over in payment of premiums to a liability company.

"In addition to accident insurance the majority of the companies maintain also a compulsory hospital and medical service, for whose support they deduct an additional dollar from the monthly wages of each employee. This money is paid by the companies to a contract doctor who attends all employees in case of accident or sickness, except cases of confinement and venereal diseases, for attending which they may charge extra. Some of these doctors have contracts with several mining companies.

"In several instances this system has been taken advantage of by mine superintendents and made a means of personal revenue. The superintendents contract with a doctor to render medical services at from fifty to seventy-

five cents per individual employe per month and themselves retain the balance, which in some instances amounts to several hundred dollars a month. As a result of this petty graft the personnel of the contract doctors is greatly injured and the efficiency of some of them is questionable.

"Another line of petty graft is practiced to some extent by the sub-officials of a number of companies. A group of Croatian and Servian laborers employed by one of the larger companies complained publicly that they had been forced to pay from \$5 to \$20 each for a job in the laboring occupations to one of the minor officials. Investigation substantiated the charge, and unearthed the additional fact that just prior to this instance a gang of fifteen laborers was laid off by an employment boss of the company, and the members re-employed by the same boss immediately on the payment of \$5 each. On another occasion when a Servian laborer complained in person to the general superintendent of his company that he had been compelled to pay one of the foremen for his job, that official replied: 'If you have so much money you can pay for a job, that is all right, for the foreman has a lot of little children and needs the money.'

"Labor is unorganized on the ranges, and an 'open shop' is maintained by all companies. There is an unimportant local union at Hibbing, on the Mesabi, but it has never been recognized by the operators. The Western Federation of Miners has made several attempts to organize the miners, but all have failed on account of the militant opposition to organization on the part of the larger mining interests, who import immigrants as strike breakers.

"Drunkenness is common among all races, and the efficiency of the Finns and Slovenians especially is visibly impaired by excessive drinking; the Scandinavians, though heavier drinkers, carry their drink better.

"Each town in the region has its full quota of saloons. The only community in which the number is not abnormally large is Coleraine--the 'model ore town'--with an estimated population of 2,000 on the Western Mesabi range.

There are only two saloons in this town, while a mile away, Bovey, the sister town, with a population of about 1,200, has twenty-five saloons. Bovey conditions are typical of the ore region.

"In the principal fifteen towns on the two ranges, with a combined population of about 50,000, there are more than 350 saloons, or one saloon for every 140 individuals. About 110 of these places are run by Poles, 80 by native Americans, 60 by Finns, 50 by Slovenians, 45 by Scandinavians, 35 by Croatians, about 30 by South Italians, and the remainder by the several other races in the region.

"The majority of the saloons are well fitted up, and it is not unusual to find card rooms, dancing halls and lodging quarters run in connection with the establishments. Lodging rooms in connection with saloons are most often found among the Finns. The Montenegrin and South Italian saloons are nearly all low-class places, and many of those of the Slovenians are little better. Those run by the Americans are elaborately fixed up to cater to the better classes. When out of work, or on the 'off shifts,' the loafing places of the miners are the saloons conducted by members of their respective races.

"A number of typhoid epidemics have occurred as a direct result of poor sanitary conditions that are fairly general. In Biwabik, on the Mesabi, for instance, a widespread epidemic of typhoid broke out a few years ago which was attributed to common flies carrying the disease from dry closets improperly cared for. An epidemic of the same disease at Hibbing was caused by using the waters of a small stream alike for drinking purposes and sewage disposal.

"Municipal sewage of the towns of the Vermillion range is emptied now, without passing through septic tanks or other purifying processes, into the Vermillion lakes.

"The towns on the Mesabi Range dispose of their municipal sewage by emptying it into running streams and lakes. Virginia and Chisholm, for example,

employs lakes. The sewage of Chisholm is run through septic tanks before allowed to enter the water, but as the lake is slowly being drained by mining operations in the vicinity the practice can hardly be considered as conforming to the best principles of sanitation, especially as the lake is in the town itself.

"In all communities on both ranges, whether a municipal sewerage exists or not, will be found a number of houses which have either open or dry closets, especially on the mine locations. A few are equipped with cesspools.

"Garbage and similar refuse is required to be placed in cans or barrels at each house and is collected by scavenger carts at regular periods, in most places daily. In the camps, refuse of all kinds is generally scattered indiscriminately on the ground, especially where the inhabitants are Montenegrins and South Italians. These camps are also badly congested, unclean and unsanitary.

"The most common disease on the ranges is pulmonic tuberculosis, typhoid and scarlet fevers, diphtheria, trachoma, smallpox and venereal diseases.

"Pulmonary tuberculosis is most prevalent among the Finns and Swedes, being chiefly imported. Scarlet fever, diphtheria and smallpox are common among all races. Trachoma is brought in largely over the Canadian border and is endemic among the Montenegrins, Servians, Slovenians and Croatians.

"The reason for the universality of syphilis are the large number of unmarried men in the region, who frequent illegal houses of prostitution not under the jurisdiction of municipal or state health officials. The only medical attention these houses receive is that provided by the proprietors who in some cases make examinations of the inmates at intervals of two, three, and four weeks, and use the fact as an advertisement.

"On the Vermillion range the only two towns of any importance are Ely and Tower, where general housing conditions are excellent. Nearly all immigrants live in their own houses, though a few occupy rented company houses.

There are no 'camps,' as they are called on the Mesabi, because there are but few immigrants from the South and East of Europe. The races composing the population, principally Finns and Slovenians, are permanently settled and take an interest in their homes.

"The common type of house is a frame dwelling, one or two stories high, containing from four to six rooms. A few boarding and lodging houses owned by the mining company, contain about twenty rooms and are rented to the favored employed at the same rate as the smaller cottages, the rent of company houses being \$5 a month, irrespective of whether they contain six or twenty rooms. There is little congestion.

"The homes of all races have small gardens and flower beds among them, and the visitor passing through the streets of Ely or Tower is struck with the general cleanliness. It is hard to distinguish the difference in living conditions among the different races on this range for they are all above the average.

"In the towns on the Mesabi range the natives, English, Irish, Scotch, and Scandinavians have the most substantial houses. These are chiefly two-story frame buildings, four to eight rooms, with flush closets and piped water on the inside. The Finns and Austrians live in small cottages in the larger towns, while in the outlying settlements they are found in log cabins and tar-paper shacks. In both small and large communities persons of all these races are found in boarding houses.

"Around the mine locations is found the mining camp, generally a shack or cottage in which an unusually large number of persons live together, under a boarding boss system. Camps are very common among South Europeans, and among them filth and congestion are pronounced. The standards of the Slavs are higher; of the North European higher still.

"Cottages and camps in the mine locations are usually owned by the mining companies and rented for \$6 to \$12 per month for a cottage, \$15 to \$30

for a boarding house. In some communities the mining companies rent the land for fifty cents to one dollar a month and allow their employes to erect shacks of their own. In such cases the right is reserved to move the builder off at any time should the land be needed.

"The usual price of boarding and lodging among the Swedes, English, Scotch, and Americans is from \$18 to \$20 a month on the American plan; among the Finns and Slovenians, \$14 to \$18 and among the few American plan boarding houses among the South Europeans \$16.

"The cost of food and lodging under the boarding boss systems varies among several races; and among the same race in different localities with varying standards of living. In the little town of Gilbert, for instance, the Montenegrins pay \$8 to \$15 a month for food, and \$2 to \$3 for lodging and cooking; while in Nashwauk they pay \$15 to \$18 for food, lodging and cooking. Among the better classes of immigrants in Eveleth board on the American plan costs from \$14 to \$16. The Croatians, Italians, Servians, and Syrians, living under boarding boss systems in this town pay from \$2 to \$4 a month for lodging, washing and cooking, and \$10 to \$15 for food.

"One of the most striking things on the ranges is the excellent school facilities provided in every community. Even the minor settlements where the inhabitants live in small frame dwellings, often provide school buildings which would be a credit to a large city. School attendance is compulsory in Minnesota, and members of all races are found in the class-rooms of the public schools.

"The public school system is one of the best of the state, in respect to general facilities and equipment. About 95 per cent of the school taxes are paid by the several mining companies, who are all heavy contributors to all educational movements. There are no parochial schools. The Roman Catholic parishes in nearly all settlements are made up of South Europeans. Smaller Lutheran, Methodist and Baptist churches are supported by the North Europeans.

All of these churches maintain a number of benefit and sick societies whose monthly fees range from 50 cents to \$1.50. They pay sick benefits from \$5 to \$10 a week and death benefits from \$200 to \$1,000.

"The Scandinavians are making the most noticeable progress. They entered the region as unskilled laborers, but are moving up in the scale of occupations and are found chiefly as skilled workmen in the ore mines, or as industrial law-abiding citizens who have established independent businesses.

"The Irish, English, Scotch, and French Canadians have worked up from unskilled labor to skilled occupations in the mines. The Russian Hebrews are mostly store-keepers, and are slowly progressing, as are the Finns and Slovenians on the Vermillion range.

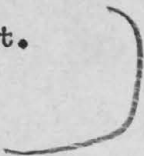
"A few of the Finns have gone from the mine colonies into the northern wilderness and cleared small patches of land miles away from the centers of population where they remain practically the whole winter living on provisions hauled out during the fall. They seem to thrive where the hardships are most severe, but their progress in the mines is retarded by their surliness and radicalism.

"There has been very little advancement in the scale of occupations on the part of the Bohemians, Bulgarians, Croatians, Greeks, Poles, Servians, Montenegrins, Italians, and Syrians. The Poles are good workmen but not at all ambitious. The Croatians are lazy, indifferent workmen and are among the lowest in the industrial scale."

Two or three of the pictures in this article merit consideration.

One is the shack of a Finnish miner. The building has the inverted V-roof; and the dimensions are about eight by ten or ten by twelve feet. A smaller vestibule, or "stoop" is annexed to it. The roof of the structure appears to be shingled, the main building is covered with rough, unpainted siding, while the stoop is merely put together with two-by-fours and rough boards. No windows are visible on the side from which the picture was taken.

Another picture shows a company cottage which is inhabited by seventeen Magyars. This structure is a single-storey affair, painted. It is in good state of repair. It is about eighteen feet wide and twenty-four feet long. It seems incredible that seventeen persons should crowd into a building such as this. The last picture shows a Montenegrin shack, inhabited by the boss and fourteen men. This building consists of an inverted V-roof building, about 10 x 12 feet, covered with tar paper; a log leanto is attached and the dimensions of this is about 8 x 12 feet.



The Survey, P. 535-536; August 26, 1916
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The title of the article in this issue of the Survey is: "WHEN STRIKE-BREAKERS STRIKE" and the sub-title is "THE DEMANDS OF THE MINERS ON THE MESABA RANGE." The article is written by Marion B. Cothren.

"The strike-breakers of 1907 have become the strikers of 1916 in the iron mines of Minnesota. Coming over in boat loads from southeastern Europe nine years ago and hired by the United States Steel Corporation to break the iron strike called at that time by the Western Federation of Miners, these polyglot nationalities speaking thirty-six different tongues have become Americanized in the melting pot of the Mesaba mines. Today Finns, Slavs, Croats, Bulgars, Italians, Rumanians, have laid down picks and shovels and are demanding an 8-hour day, a minimum wage of \$3.00 for dry work and \$3.50 for wet work in underground mines and \$2.75 in open pit mines, abolition of the contract labor system, payday twice a month.

"The last of May, so the story goes, Joe Greeni, an Italian employed underground at the Alpena mine at Virginia, Minn., opened his pay envelope to find a sum much less than he had understood his contract called for. 'To hell with such wages,' cried he, throwing his pick in the corner, whereupon he vowed never to mine another foot of ore.

"Second thought, however, convinced Greeni, that action was deadlier than inaction. For three days he stayed at his post, going from stope to stope, saying, 'We've been robbed long enough, it's time to strike!' Then he left for Aurora to begin agitation at the extreme eastern end of the range in the little St. James' mine with its force of forty miners.

"On June 3 Joe Greeni saw the effects of his revolt. The St. James' mine struck and the flames of discontent soon ate their way across the entire range from Aurora to Hibbing. Long lines of miners, halted occasionally by mine guards and deputy sheriffs, wound their way over the 75 miles of mountain road which connect the ten-odd towns of the Mesaba Range, and passed the word 'strike' from place to place.

"Beginning at Aurora this procession, sometimes augmented by children and wives wheeling baby carriages, gained in numbers as the men from different locations joined

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in. In this way, say the mine owners, were men 'intimidated' to leave their work; in this way say the miners, were their fellow workers given courage to revolt against long-standing grievances and a vicious contract system.

"Gradually the spontaneous uprising became organized, the Industrial Workers of the World who had held two meetings along the range in April were called upon to direct the strike, and Carlo Tresca, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and other I.W.W. leaders were sent from Chicago to advise the local committee. The Western Federation of Miners, an American Federation of Labor organization, has played no part in the strike, but the State Federation of Labor, affiliated with the A.F. of L. has endorsed the strikers' demands.

"Unlike other great mine strikes, living conditions and working conditions are rarely mentioned in the committee meetings of the strikers or in the speeches of the organizers. In the midst of this network of mines producing 60 per cent of the iron ore of the United States, flourishing little municipalities have grown up, each with its own elected mayor and other officials, and with populations ranging from 2,000 in Buhl to 15,000 in Virginia.

"Here the miners have the advantages not of paternalism but of enormous taxes wrung from the Steel Corporation property, and supporting school houses excelled by none in the country; well stocked libraries, and streets paved in the most approving manner, lined with beautiful trees and illuminated by clusters of electric lights, which makes 'the great white way' look pale and gloomy!

"Just a stone's throw from these spotless towns lie the mines and the 'locations' or settlements of miners' homes. Some of the men own both the land and the one- or two-story frame house upon it; others build their own house on leased 'company land'; still others live in company houses or boarding homes on the company property. But while dwellings vary from modern little structures with well kept grounds to unspeakable shanties in filthy surroundings such as exist in the Carson Lake location, there is nowhere the interference with personal liberty and restriction upon social relations which aggravated the Colorado Coal Miners' strike. Indeed, the social life of the towns enriched by the cooperative spirit of the Socialist Finns, who form about 15 per cent of the 12,000 miners, is particularly free and democratic. In almost every town is a

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hall or opera house owned by the Finnish Socialists, as well as cooperative stores, cooperative baths and cooperative boarding houses.

"Likewise, the working conditions in both underground and open pit mines although difficult are on the whole fairly good. The report of the inspector of mines of St. Louis County for 1915 states that there were only 24 fatal accidents and 28 serious non-fatal accidents among the 11,346 employes in the 120 mines.

"In a word, it is not against the social or industrial conditions, be they bad or be they good, that the 6,000 striking miners are protesting (the I.W.W. place the number out at 8,000, the employers at 3,000) but against the contract system with its alleged graft, favoritism and resulting low wages.

"In the open pit mines, employing about 50 per cent of the men, the miners receive \$2.60 for a ten-hour day. They are demanding \$2.75 for an eight-hour day, a difference which in itself might be settled amicably.

"The crux of the trouble, is the demand of the underground miners, for a minimum of \$3.00 for dry work and \$3.50 for wet. The underground men are paid either by the foot or by the carload, the rate depending on the quality of the ore mined and conditions of work--hard and wet mining for instance bringing more than soft ore and dry mining. Thus, although the captain (boss) of the mine agrees beforehand upon the rate to be given a miner, this contract price may be changed from time to time as the character of the ore changes.

"At the end of the month the miner receives his pay, less the cost of powder he has used at \$7 a box, or fuses at \$1 per hundred, and caps at \$1 per box. In the coal mines an itemized due bill is given the miner with his wages, but in the Mesaba iron mines the due bill simply states the total amount paid without showing the varying rates or the deduction for supplies. The result is that the miners complain that the total amounts are often much less than they had expected, that while they had figured on from three to four dollars per day net, the wage actually received is actually less than \$3 and sometimes less than \$2.

"As for the companies, they offer no explanation for using this kind of due bill in dealing with men, many of whom are foreigners and none of whom are expert bookkeepers.

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The claim, however, to have raised the wages of contract miners on February 1 from \$2.67 a day to \$3.13 a day; on May 1 from \$3.13 to \$3.40; and to have raised the open pit miners from \$2.25 to \$2.60 a day. These figures show that while 11.8 per cent of the men are getting \$4 or more, over 27 per cent are still receiving less than \$3 a day. The miners themselves admit the raise of wages in open pit mines but say that if a change has been made in contract work it has been offset by deductions, which still give many of them far less than the desired three dollars.

"Miner after miner, voice ringing with indignation, will pour out, not in excitement or violence, but in carefully measured words, giving dates places and amounts, innumerable instances where the contract system has robbed him, as he says, of his just wages. Hundreds of affidavits sworn to by notaries public relate specific cases of mine captains guilty of extorting money from men to get them jobs and keep them jobs; guilty of reducing contract prices if wages became too high; guilty of favoritism toward those who bought them whiskey, who bought chances on fake raffles and who even suffered their wives to be maltreated.

"On the other hand, Pentecost Mitchell, vice president of the Oliver Iron Mining Company, which is a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation and employs three-fourths of the men on the range, states that he personally had authorized the expenditure of \$2,000 to discover graft among the captains and found none. He also declared that the contract system was the only feasible one because work on the day plan had no incentive. When it was suggested that, in that case, the company might discharge miners, who were 'laying down on their jobs,' Mr. Mitchell clinched the argument with the words, 'Well the men want the contract system!'

"For two months and a half the strike has continued. Fully one-half of the strikers have left the range to take up other lines of work. With a remarkable absence of violence, according to the employers themselves, the remaining half has stood firm in its demands in spite of a hostile press; of the presence of some 2,000 armed mine guards and deputy sheriffs; of evictions from company lands; and of about 200 arrests for so-called disorder on the picket lines and other minor charges.

"The 'gunmen' or armed mine guards in the pay of the mining companies, yet sworn

in as deputy sheriffs, and the large number of deputies under Sheriff Meining of St. Louis County are generally admitted to have been recruited from the worst elements of society. Stationed at frequent intervals along the roads, silhouetted against the sky as they stand, gun in hand, on the tops of the surrounding hills, stationed at the very doors of the miners' cottages, sometimes drunk and often brutal, they are a constant source of irritation to the miners and an undoubted cause of much of the trouble which occurs.

"There have been only two serious disturbances, however, one resulting in the shooting of a striker, John Aller, on the picket line in Virginia and the other in the death of Deputy Sheriff Myron who went with two other deputies to the home of a miner, Philip Mesonowitch, to arrest him for some minor offense. A general shooting affray resulted and although the coroner's jury could not fix the responsibility, the police arrested several I.W.W. organizers, including Carlo Tresca, far from the scene of the shooting, as 'accessories after the fact.' This in Minnesota carries the same penalty as first degree murder. Mrs. Mesonowitch, leaving four little children behind, and taking with her a seven-months' old baby, was also thrown into jail accused of murder in the first degree.

"During the strike four different investigations have taken place. That the investigation of George P. West for the Industrial Relations Committee 'would be unfair and one-sided was known before he arrived and consulted only miners,' say mine officials. That Gus Lindquist, Governor Burnquist's special investigator, would whitewash the officials in his report 'was evident to every miner from the fact that he never tried to hear the miners' side,' according to the strikers.

"The two investigations now being conducted on the range, one by the Minnesota Labor Department at the request of the State Federation of Labor; one by W.R. Fairley, a miner, and H. Davis, a mine manager, for the United States Department of Labor are looked to by both sides for fair play and justice.

"While no response has been given to resolutions drawn up by the mayors of the range municipalities, a committee from the miners, asking for a conference between the mine officials and the strikers, it is confidently expected that the report of these investigators will form the basis of a settlement which will bring both sides together and win

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a higher standard of living for the miners of Mesaba Range."

The Survey, P. 8-14; April 1, 1916

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The name of the article from which the foregoing is taken is "FROM 'BOHUNKS' TO FINNS," and the subtitle is "THE SCALE OF LIFE AMONG THE ORE STRIPPINGS OF THE NORTHWEST," by C. Whit Pfeiffer.

"Seventy-five miles north of Duluth, Minn., lies a group of low hills extending about fifty miles east and west, known as the Mesaba Range. Along the southern slopes of these hills there is a clustered group of cities and villages which are in the heart of the greatest iron ore deposits in the United States. Of this country as it really is, most people know but little. Even in Minnesota the residents of the older part of the state have vague and variant ideas of what the ranges are.

"That there exists a group of cities and villages so closely connected that they form one big community of 60,000 people, is just beginning to become apparent. Much is being heard of the wonderful municipal improvements, of the miles of 'White ways,' paved streets and alleys, and of public buildings and schools of unparalleled excellence. Much has been said in the Minnesota Legislature of 'extravagance' and profligate use of money, and the newspapers have had many columns about 'controversies' between the mining companies and city officials. Beyond this little is known.

"What is actually the case is that almost within a decade a group of mining locations have suddenly been transformed, externally, at least, into cities. Virginia and Hibbing, the two largest of these, with populations estimated in the neighborhood of 15,000 apiece, were only villages of two or three thousand in 1900. With this growth has come a strong rivalry between the different municipalities, each to outdo the other; and there have developed side by side with splendid municipal achievements, many of the social evils familiar to the older cities of the East.

"The seasonal employment of the mining industry, the low wages of the lumbering industry, and the cosmopolitan character of the people with widely varying standards of living, all give rise to many social and economic conditions which tend somewhat to

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dim the artificial brightness shed by municipal white ways.

"Here the problem of the cost of living is a most pressing one. Get into a conversation with any resident about conditions on the Mesaba range and he will soon be telling you that it costs much to live. An examination of the facts will corroborate his statement. In the first place, rents, especially in Virginia, are excessively high. A good, thoroughly modern six-room cottage well located will rent for \$40 or \$50 a month, as compared with \$25 to \$30 in most other places. Even in the Twin Cities such a house rarely brings more than \$35 or \$40. Houses which cannot be duplicated for wretchedness outside the slums of great cities will demand \$8, \$10 or \$15 a month.

"The mining companies build fair little cottages with adequate lots, which they rent to their employes for \$8 a month. But these do not take care of half the workmen. There is a 'location' built by a lumber mill, of about a hundred houses, all exactly alike, of the cheapest construction--all painted, until recently, a barn red--with six rooms, 12 feet by 12 feet, no basements, located in an undesirable part in the city where the houses, with water supplied, bring \$14 a month rent.

"Foodstuffs, many of them, are equally high. Truck gardening as an industry in the outlying rural districts is still in the initial stages of development. The unfavorably short growing season, 100 days on the average as compared to 132 days, the average for the state, has had a discouraging influence. Much of the land which was once all covered with great pine forests is either swampy or full of large boulders, and everywhere the pine stumps are thick. To clear and develop this land is a slow and expensive process. As a result little produce is raised and the local merchants must buy a large part of their spring and summer vegetables and fruits from Duluth or Minneapolis and St. Paul and sell them at prices at 50 per cent or 100 percent higher than those prevailing in southern Minnesota, Iowa or Wisconsin.

"This point was emphasized by the answers to a questionnaire sent early in October, 1915, to a few typical cities of Minnesota, inquiring the prevailing conditions a few of the necessities of life. Meats were from two to four cents higher a pound than in southern Minnesota cities. Porterhouse was 35 cents at that time at the best markets in Virginia, Minn., compared with 25 cents in most cities. Fresh eggs were 7 or 8 cents

more per dozen, in the north. Potatoes were from 20 per cent to 40 per cent higher. Apples cost twice as much on the Range as in Winona, Northfield and other cities. Shipped-in citrous fruits and bananas were higher. In fact, I found bananas selling in Minneapolis and St. Paul, last summer, for from 5 to 15 cents a dozen when they were 20 to 30 cents on the Mesaba Range.

"Finally, the severity of the winters with their two to four weeks of 30 or 40 degrees below zero weather--47 below on January 13, this winter--makes the cost of fuel high and demands much warm clothing. It is estimated that \$800 a year is the very lowest income upon which a man can support a family of five in any kind of an American standard of living, even then without making any provision for the future.

"To meet this cost of living a workman anywhere has of course only his wages. It is quite widely believed that wages generally are not keeping pace with the advancing cost of living. As Mr. Rubenow concludes, after a most illuminating examination of wage and price statistics: 'From four-fifths to nine-tenths of the wage workers (of the United States) receive wages which are insufficient to meet the cost of a normal standard of health and efficiency for a family and about one-half receive very much less than that.'

"Is this condition true of the Minnesota Iron ranges? It is a hard question to answer with absolute certainty because of the lack of statistical information. Aside from the reports of the Bureau of Labor on the mining industry, the writer has been unable to find any wage statistics for this state since the federal census of 1910. The census figures show that the average wage for all workmen employed in manufacturing industries in Minnesota in 1900, was about \$450 a year or \$8.64 a week. By 1910 this had increased to about \$560 a year or \$10.75 a week, an increase of 24 per cent. These figures are obtained by dividing the sum total paid for wages by the average number of men employed in the industries investigated.

"But at the same time the value of butter per pound rose 47 per cent, of flour, per barrel, 57 per cent, of grain per bushel 53 per cent and farm land per acre 73 per cent. The average value of land per acre increased in the decade from \$21.31 to \$36.82, an increase of 72.8 per cent....

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"Iron miners on the Range have been better paid than ordinary unskilled workmen. In 1910, according to the census, they received \$100 a year more than workmen in manufacturing. Since then their wages have continued to improve. The average wage of men engaged in mining has increased from \$2.10 a day in 1910 to \$2.90 in 1915. But this is the average paid to all workmen including clerks, engineers, machinists and skilled workmen of all types. General labor, which is in the majority, has been getting a minimum of \$2.25 a day. The increase in wages, announced by the United States Steel Corporation the first of the year, which applies to 10,000 miners in Minnesota, has raised this minimum to \$2.40 a day. To what extent this figure is offset by unemployment, we shall see later.

"The lumber mill employes and the men in the woods are not as well paid. Two dollars a day for ten hours work is supposed to be the standard wage which upwards of a thousand unskilled lumber mill employes receive. Their wages, however, are regularly cut 20 per cent during the winter months. In the summer of 1914, their wages were not restored to \$2 but left at \$1.80 and in the fall they were further reduced to \$1.75 a day, where they remained till late in the summer of 1915. The more skilled men received proportionate reductions. In the woods around Lake Vermilion, 3,000 men were employed that same winter for from less than \$15 to \$25 a month and board, compared with the customary scale of from \$26 to \$45. It is claimed by people not connected with the logging companies that most of the lumberjacks were paid \$13 a month and board, out of which \$1 was deducted for hospital and medical fees; and that many men received \$8 a month and board.

"When we remember that \$800 a year is really the lowest wage a man can receive and support his family in the American standard, it becomes apparent that the majority of workmen on the Mesaba Range are not earning enough to maintain a desirable family standard of living."

"THE SEASONAL ON AND OFF"

"The problems arising from the high cost of living and the payment of an inadequate wage are augmented by the amount of unemployment no satisfactory statistical information on unemployment in Minnesota is available. The census of 1910 (p. 362) shows that at

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that time manufacturing concerns, including logging companies employed 10,702 less men in January than in October. If we count the number in the month of October as 100 per cent, it gives us a percentage of 11.8 of unemployment in January in the manufacturing industries. Of course, it is possible that many such unemployed men might be engaged in other pursuits. Yet this is very unlikely, because January is generally a slow month in the northwest.

"This is especially true of the industries of northern Minnesota. When navigation on the Great Lakes closes, the shipping of iron ore ceases; several hundred railroad employes and dock laborers are then out of work. With the opening of the new steel plant in Duluth, two or three of the mines have begun winter shipping. But this does not materially affect the general situation. Open-pit mining and loading from accumulated stockpiles must all stop with the coming of winter, releasing in St. Louis County more than 3,000 men. Frequently part of the 3,000 may be employed in stripping the new ore bodies. This past winter, with conditions especially favorable, practically all the regular men have been continuously employed. But a year ago when underground properties shut down and very little stripping was done, conditions were bad.

"Business and industrial activities on the Range are closely dependent upon the steel industry. When the steel market is dull, eastern furnaces will not purchase the ore and mining companies close up. On the other hand, when prices of ore advance and steel is 'prince,' operations are carried on with feverish activity. The 'big season' which is expected this summer in mining is the reason that so many men are engaged in stripping this winter. The Oliver Iron Mining Company, which is the United States Steel Corporation's subsidiary, is always steadier in its employment than the so-called independents, because with its large property holdings, it can continue its operations and stockpile the ore for future use. But even this great company makes serious curtailments nearly every year, and of course, must entirely cease open pit work during the winter months.

"The mining industries are not alone in their curtailment of the number of men employed. In the winter of 1914-15, the Duluth, Winnipeg and Pacific Railroad, a Canadian Northern subsidiary which hauls no ore, laid off 175 men in Virginia. One

lumber mill closes every winter, making 125 men idle. Another mill, which is the largest individual employer on the Range outside of the mining companies regularly reduces its help from about 1,250 to 900 during the November to April period. A year ago it shut down its smaller mill entirely, and all the mills and International Falls ceased operations. The various municipalities do their best to keep good men employed, but paving and municipal work is done more generally in June than in January.

"In 1914-15, when everything was at a low ebb, and very few underground mining properties were operating, the problem was really alarming. The head time-keeper of the Virginia and Rainy Lake Lumber Company says they could have hired 5,000 men at a dollar a day. In the lumber camps men offered to work for their board. The 'bosses' were literally besieged with unemployed men seeking work on any terms. The public efforts to keep men employed barely scratched the surface of the problem."

"BACK SETS IN SOCIAL LIFE"

"All this maladjustment results in certain well defined social evils. There is much of dire poverty and extreme suffering. One of the most utterly discouraging things in a man's life is complete inability to find work. As one woman, whose husband had found no work from December to May, said, 'My husband is like a caged beast. He's got strength but he can't do anything.' Yet every winter there are hundreds of such men unable to buy meat for their families, or if they can find a way of getting food and fuel are still unable to buy clothing, as the wretched appearance of many of our grade school children eloquently testifies. The extent of the poverty on the Range is not known. Well organized charity work is just beginning, and so there is really no enlightening information made public. But the evidences of it are on hand, and teachers come in contact with it continually. In many families the standard of living is very low.

"Miserable housing conditions naturally follow. The lumber companys 'location' has already been mentioned. A more monotonous and dreary outlook for a family to face than existence in one of these houses cannot be imagined. The mining locations are more attractive, much less expensive and on the whole quite satisfactory. But in spite of these the majority of the workingmen in all the Range cities live in ugly-looking houses, with dilapidated fences and outbuildings, and a general appearance of wretched-

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ness that is comparable only to the slums of our great cities. As a result of our high rents, nowadays, and of the low standards of our immigrants, formerly, and the desire to increase profits from renting, the houses are now packed in so that almost everywhere they are built nearly touching each other. Twenty-five foot lots are the rule. On these it is common to find a single dwelling house with from two to four families living in it and a small dwelling in the rear of the lot facing either the dismal back yard of the house in front, or the array of the garbage cans in the alley. The congestion of the population, as a result, is very great.

"We naturally think of our larger cities as being the places of dense population. But in Virginia there are 66 inhabitants per acre for the actually inhabited area and 22 for the entire platted area. In Minneapolis there are 9 per acre, and in cities like Mankato or Winona there are even fewer. This congestion, added to the poverty within many homes and the wretched way in which many of them are kept up, makes a housing problem which is described by a widely traveled physician of the range as being worse than anything he has ever seen.

"Let us now consider what has caused these conditions. I have already spoken of the seasonal nature of iron mining and ore shipping. Mining operations on the Mesaba Range are coming to be more extensively of the open-pit variety. Most of the ore bodies on this Range lie near the surface of the earth. This is 'stripped' off so that the steam shovels may get at the ore and scoop it up by the ton. This method of mining is much cheaper than the underground operations and hence is becoming increasingly more important. It is expected that some of the underground properties will in a few years be stripped and converted into open-pit mines. But this means seasonal labor. And the communities must take measures to offset it. Stripping new ore bodies does this to a certain extent, but only in part. Other provisions should be made. The number of men to be laid off can be exactly determined weeks and even months beforehand. With this advance information as a guide some arrangement ought to be possible.

"Another cause of unemployment appears to be the great number of immigrants who live on the Ranges. Half of the residents in these mining towns have come from Europe and 40 per cent are sons and daughters of immigrants. According to the Minnesota Abstract

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of the Thirteenth Census, pages 625-6, native born of native stock form but 10 per cent of the population. Of these immigrants only 35 per cent are from Scandinavia, Germany or Great Britain. The remaining 65 per cent come from Russia, Italy, Austria or the Balkan countries."

"THE FINNS AND THEIR FARMS"

"Of all the people on the Range the Finns are numerically the strongest, and their political influence, especially, is a power. Their standards of life, however, are widely variable, depending largely upon what use they have made of the educational advantages offered to them. On the one hand we find the most progressive business houses on the Range in the hands of live Finnish merchants, thoroughly Americanized, while three blocks distant from such a store we may enter a home where the sanitary and moral standards are unspeakably bad. The Finns enter with zest into the American contest of money-making.

"This zest develops a great deal of independence on the part of their workingmen that is objectionable to many employers; it leads them early to purchase their own homes, but it also leads them to overcrowd these homes with roomers and boarders, accommodating day shifts and night shifts in the same beds. It has also caused them to pack their homes in closely together, frequently with two dwellings on a twenty-five foot lot. Mine bosses claim that they will not work as well as the 'Austrians'--A term applied not only to the various races from Austria-Hungary but to men from the Balkin countries, including many Montenegrins--and their strong Socialistic tendencies cause much friction. They played a prominent part in the strike of 1907, which was waged on the Mesaba Iron Range of Minnesota over the question of an eight-hour day and a straight day-scale of wages in place of the prevailing contract scale. The strikers lost out and since then certain mining companies will not employ Finns if it can be avoided.

"Yet with all this, these people have come to America to found homes. They study the English language assiduously, for it is difficult for a native Finn to acquire fluency in our language. They are not clamish politically. In a recent election for municipal judge two strongly Finnish wards cast many more votes for an American-born candidate than for a Finnish candidate, though the latter, a practicing attorney, was

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technically better qualified than the former, who was not an attorney.

"Their children are hard workers in school, obstinate and sullen at times, it is true, but very anxious to make progress. They are cleaner, and their standards of morality are much higher than those of the men without families from southeastern Europe. But most important of all, the Finns do not all remain in the cities, but may be found all over St. Louis county laboriously cleaning out the stumps and boulders of the cut-over forest lands, redeeming the country for agriculture."

"THE SO-CALLED AUSTRIANS"

"There are in contrast, however, many people from southern and southeastern Europe. Men came alone; so that in 1910, there were nearly two men to every woman in the mining cities. Those who came from the region of the Balkan states live very much like cattle. The typical privately owned boarding camp has a long table in a room downstairs with a stove at one end. The food seasoned liberally with garlic, is placed on the table and the men bring out their eating utensils, like as not from under the bed clothing, and devour the food. The walls may be lined with bunks, one over the other. All the beds are always kept warmed, the day and night shifts alternating with each other.

"The men spend much of their money for liquor. Its sale is prohibited generally on the property of the mining companies, but saloons abound in the Range towns and it is alleged that blind pigging is widespread. The recent enforcement of the Chippewa Indian Treaty of 1855 has closed the saloons of Chisholm, Hibbing and some locations. Arrests for the illegal introduction of whiskey into these cities are now frequent. It is worth observing that the liquor business is not so flourishing as a few years ago.

"These people send most of their surplus money home, and when they have accumulated enough they expect to return. They are mostly illiterate, and may never learn the English language. They do not and will not enter agriculture. The inadequate scale of wages which prevails is riches to them, and they can afford to loaf through the winter months for the prospect of summer work. Sunday is no different from any other day, and they prefer seven days' work to six. As such matters as sanitation or the proper respect for women, and other factors of American progress which we deem vital, they know nothing.

"With such people acting as a dead weight pulling down the wage scale, is it any wonder that labor receives an insufficient return to support an American standard of living? With this rough labor overabundant, employers cannot be expected to keep wages high. When a representative of a lumber company was asked how much they paid their lumber jacks in the camps, he replied, 'That depends upon the supply of labor.' When these immigrants are pouring in, in a never-ending stream, the available supply will be large, and wages accordingly low.

"Moreover, this never-ending supply of labor is an invitation to make industry more seasonal than it needs to be, and thus aggravate unemployment. Employers have not needed to look to the morrow. It has been taken for granted that when labor is wanted it will be on hand. Why then bother about keeping men employed the year around, especially when many of them are men without family and only the despised 'Bohunks,' anyhow? If nine-tenths of the workmen of marriageable age on the Range had families, the companies would have done much more than they have to relieve this situation; else they would have soon found themselves short-handed when the rush season came on. The men would have left or gone into farming as the Finns are now doing.

"There is much evidence on hand just now to substantiate this point. Immigration has practically come to a standstill since the war broke out, and with a busy winter behind and the prospect ahead of a boom year in mining this spring as a result of the great activity of the steel trade, brought on by the war, there is much talk of an expected labor shortage. The lumber companies have paid practically 100 per cent more for men in the woods this past winter than the year before, and half had difficulty in securing sufficient numbers. Miners' wages have advanced, and yet the mining concerns are beginning to wonder if they will be able to get the labor they need this summer.

"Of course, the steel 'boom' is partially responsible for this. But another explanation clearly is that the hundreds of men left idle winter after winter, and practically destitute in the winter of 1914-15, have been gradually drifting out; and now with immigration cut off, there is not the customary influx to take their place.

"When the unemployment problem is keen, as it was two years ago, there is everywhere much discussion of sending all the surplus labor supply of our cities to the farms.

And there are hundreds of thousands of acres in northern Minnesota that still are to be cleared. But the truth is, many of these people do not and will not enter farming. The employers of labor, the landed men, contractors and a few others profit by the arrival of these rough laborers from Europe and can always be expected to preach that America, as a land of opportunity, should not close its doors to its brothers from Europe. And others, secure from deteriorating influences, may regard the immigration movement with tolerance.

"But unless we wish to see workmen suffer, and our standards of living pulled down, we must stem or control this tide of immigration. For the present, at least, the European war is doing this. Partly as a result there have been no wage reductions in the lumber mills, lumber jacks have been well paid, and workingmen have for the most part been engaged throughout the winter, and miners' wages have advanced."

Here, there are two long paragraphs on restricting immigration and the Americanization work that is being carried on in night schools, where foreigners are taught.

"In Virginia today, one of the biggest causes of abnormally high rents is a perfect fever of land speculation, an inordinate desire to gobble up the increment of land values. The lumber companies leave the land barren and desolate and unreforested. The mining companies, many of them, are hurrying to get the ore out as rapidly as possible. People see on every hand the country being stripped of the great wealth of natural resources. So there comes the spirit of 'grab what you can and the devil take the hindmost.' The idea that labor is dignified, or intelligent, or that it should share in the management of industry would be scoffed at.

"So the final solution must be found in the slow development of the ideals of industrial democracy. We must strive for better housing, it is true, for better wages, for a universal eight-hour day, for twelve months a year employment. But we must go farther. We must recognize that proper social adjustment will never come until the factor of labor has the right of determining many of those things for itself. We do not want industrial paternalism no matter how good it may be. Eventually we must have industrial democracy.

"And that is a doctrine which must be learned, slowly and laboriously by 'Bohunk' and Austrian, and Finn, and American; by lumber jack and miner; by laborer and boss and

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superintendent; in bunk houses and schools and strippings and polling-places; in the company towns of the American iron industry no less than in the cleared stump-lands of the immigrant settler."

Note:

I copied this article because it seems to offer an excellent background of the Mesaba Range at the time of the 1916 strike. However, the article appeared about 2 months before the strike occurred, which is to our advantage, since the contents of the story are not colored by prejudice, either for or against. Housing, food prices and wages seem to have been the result of impartial study, and the illustrations with the story bear out the description of the housing situation. The lumbering industry, which will no doubt be of value in the social-ethnic study, received unusual and interesting treatment--Videen.

Duluth, Minnesota
Harold E. Rajala
July 18, 1939

From Sosialisti, page 2, col. 2-3; Tue. Nov. 21, 1916
Vol. 3, no. 274; Editorial columns
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 14, 1939
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"WAGES AND PRICES"

"'Prices are increasing so greatly that no more do we know what to eat or what to drink' say the working-family mothers. And the fathers become worried and frantic when they do not know how to increase their income.

"This high price problem in America is just as severe as the European War, and recently the workers began to speak of the price increases of necessities more than of any other problems.

"Some say this and some say that. Some blame the democrats, others blame poor production, and still others blame the European War for the condition. But seldom do they strike the real reason for the workers heads have been stuffed with all kinds of capitalistic propaganda, and there stuffed up fully that no decent thoughts can be born, except when pinched by hunger.

"If the workers will stop to reason out the true facts which create such a pitiful existence, then surely would come about changes in living conditions.

"The workers have only to join together in one big union then not permit the capitalists to split their ranks. That would completely settle the question. Then the capitalists cannot anymore 'monkey' with wages and prices, like they do now.

"But before such a condition can be brought about the worker must have speedy relief. Hunger is acute. Children want bread, clothes and warmth. We have got to live from day to day. The capitalistic noose keeps right on tightening. The prices of necessities are increasing rapidly while wages are very slow.

"Capitalistic gain is ever growing larger. The trust's clear gain has risen to over a million dollars daily.

"Some speedy relief from this existence must come soon to the workers. We must find some method by which we can alleviate the condition.

"We cannot wait four years until an election, then attempt to elect good men to offices. We cannot also trust to luck which might come our way, for no such thing ever

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comes to pass for the worker. Nor can we hope that the bourgeois will have pity for us and will stop increasing prices and quit crowding the workers. No, not by any of these means can the worker expect relief.

"Nor will any help ever come to the worker by any other means except by unyielding fight and organization in one big union."

From Sosialisti, p. 2, col. 6; Nov. 23, 1916
Vol. 3, no. 276; no dateline
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 14, 1939
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"CUSSON"

"Here at camp 32 we gained small improvement by demanding and organization. The occurrence was as follows: We together demanded dismissal of the cook for he would not make decent meals, but the boss would not take any action except by force. We nailed a notice on the camp door which we said that we would not go to work unless the food is better prepared. The result was that the food was immediately improved and the boss promised to get a new cook at the earliest opportunity.--This activity was started by us I.W.W. boys and the unorganized came along with us. In all other matters we can get approval of demands when we all stand together. But remember, we must be organized in one big union before we can make any demands or struggle.--This is a very good example.--"

From Sosialisti, p. 2, col. 5-6; Fri. Nov. 24, 1916
Vol. 3, no. 277; Editorial columns
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 17, 1939
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"THE STEEL-TRUST'S EXPLANATION OF 10% WAGE INCREASE"

"The steel trust's local official newspaper, the News Tribune states the following in an editorial entitled 'A step further.'

"A 10 percent increase in wages is the Steel corporation's answer to the threat of a renewed I.W.W. strike on the ranges next spring. We do not mean to say that the two are cause and effect. This is not the case as the wage increase extends to all the corporation's 200,000 or more employees.

"But it comes just at this time when the I.W.W. is calling for funds to help the 'oppressed' miners to get higher wages. It will make it necessary for the leaders to raise their wage demands or lose this field where the milking has been profitable.

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"The corporation should now do one other thing which we have before suggested.

It should have a labor bureau that would keep in close and direct touch with labor conditions and learn of discontent and grievances while in the bud.

"The corporation should have this independent means of knowing exactly what is labor sentiment not only in their own minds and in those of other companies. It should have men trained to the job and who would appreciate the miner's point of view.

"They should report to the headquarters and not to the immediate bosses and superintendents. The corporation will not recognize labor organizations and to prevent such organization makes wages, safety, working and living conditions for their men larger and better than like labor has in other places.

"This has been fairly effective. It is probably enough with skilled men who are American speaking and reading. But the other step is needed with common labor, who are mostly foreign born, as in the mines.'

"As will be noticed the News Tribune tries to convey the impression that the wage increase is not a result of the miners' strike and that the workers can with singular efforts raise their own wages. They say that the raise came at a coincidental time and not by demands of the unions, so that the workers need not raise in strike again next spring which the miners have threatened. (the I.W.W. has not threatened).

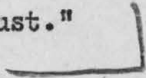
"The Tribune takes great pleasure in saying that this wage increase has taken effect at the time when the I.W.W. plans organization saying that the I.W.W. will find it exceedingly difficult to call for funds and promote organization. This trust's word-carrier is in great hopes that it will be impossible for the I.W.W. to organize the workers. Word for word it amounts to this, that the workers are so self-minded that they let this 10% wage increase fool them into dropping all organization activities.

"Taking everything into consideration the steel-trust has feared and is still afraid that its workers throughout the iron-range will continue organization and if the trust cannot stop it on their side the workers will go into strike again next summer. The steel trust bosses are aware that next spring prices of necessities, rent, clothes and etc. will become even higher and so the workers will become more disgusted than ever before resulting in demands for betterment of wages and conditions, so they try in advance

to keep the workers in subjection, which the official word carrier has inferred by mistake.

"I.W.W. organizational activities have been in force in all branches of the steel industry, in the East as well as the West and its efforts will result in a gigantic organization embracing workers in all steel industries. The trust pretends that the organization's efforts are small and do not affect all steel workers.

"Now is the time to organize, for it is noticeable that it brings results from the world's greatest trust."



Duluth, Minnesota
May 4, 1939
Harold E. Rajala

From TYOMIES, page 1, col. 4; June 9, 1916
Vol. XIII, no. 135. Date line June 9, 1916
Consulted at Tyomies Society, Superior, Wis., April 27, 1939:

"OVER TEN STRIKERS JAILED"

"(BY TELEPHONE)"

"Aurora, June 9--This morning near eleven o'clock when several hundred miners in the parade of strikers marched from Aurora, on the way to Biwabik, came to meet the strikers, St. Louis County sheriff Meining and deputies, and ignoring the fact that no disturbance had been created, jailed more than 10 strikers. Those jailed were Finns, Austrians and Italians. (The correspondent explains the occurrence in tomorrow's issue.)"

From TYOMIES, page 1, col. 3; Sat. June 10, 1916
Vol. XIII, no. 136. No date line
Consulted at Tyomies Society, Superior, Wis.; April 27, 1939:

"12 AURORA STRIKERS AND I.W.W.'S STRIKE-LEADER, ARTHUR BOOSE, JAILED"

"THE JAILED MEN'S NAMES"

"Those jailed men's names, who were jailed Friday, when the strikers peacefully were marching to Biwabik to urge the miners there to join in the struggle, as appearing in English newspapers were: Arthur Boose, Duluth, strike leader and I.W.W. organizer, and 12 strikers: William Halmi, Louis Paulmeri, Martin Cacic, Gust Micala, Joseph Gruni, Mike Arwy, Charles Seppänen, Arvi Lahtinen, Jack Byra, August Palmeri, Sam Sparkowitch and R. B. Calokar.

"The men are confined in the town jail and the general prosecutor's aid E. L. Boyle will charge them with inciting a riot and resisting authority."

From TYOMIES, page 1, col. 3; June 10, 1916
Vol. XIII, No. 136. Date Line: June 8, 1916
Consulted at Tyomies Society, Superior, Wis., April 27, 1939:

"CORPORATION'S BOSSES DO NOT RECOGNIZE THE STRIKE COMMITTEE"

"Aurora, Minn. June 8th--(from our own correspondent)--Strike continues peacefully, and progresses continually forward. No changes have occurred in the strike picture. All mines stand, not even one miner has gone to work. This evening was again the usual strike parade in which several hundred took part, and marched behind a band, around the town, and then gathered at the Finnish workers' building to hold strike meeting. At

the beginning of the meeting the strikers had opportunity to hear the strike committee's report of the visit by the committee with the mine corporation's bosses to discuss the workers' demands. The employers had made no arrangements but had only urged the men to go to work. Otherwise they mentioned that they would not begin settlement with any kind of strike committee, but wanted only to settle with the workers themselves. I.W.W. league's manager Arthur Boose spoke for 40 minutes, explaining the meaning of the organizing activities. At the end of the speech began taking in members to the I.W.W. We do not know how many joined, however in the next issue we can publish that number.

"Today the strikers had planned to go from here and march to Biwabik, but they did not get a large enough crowd, so postponed the trip until the 9th, and will go in the morning at 9 o'clock. Music corps will accompany the procession. It is believed that all strikers should be interested in this trip. The failure to make today's trip was attributed to the fact that it was to begin at 7 o'clock in the morning. This is too early, it was for this reason many did not appear. In Biwabik are several mines, it would be well if those mines were struck.

"The I.W.W.'s initiation fee formerly was \$2.00, but this evening it was announced that it was lowered to \$1.00. It is possible now that all can join the union for there is not, a large initiation fee now. We remember last time that we mentioned that it was planned to ask a Finn, F. Westerlund, here. If we have made an error in the name let it be straightened now, for we are asking W. Wesman here, and not Westerlund. It is said that the local mine-bosses have ordered that no strikers are permitted to come on corporation land as long as they are in strike.

"Workers of other communities! Remember to stay away from Aurora until we can straighten matters here and until the employers have conceded to the demands of the workers. Do not come here to take the bread from the mouths of your fellow workers. Do not come here to trample down the homes of your fellow men for in so doing you will trample your own."

From TYOMIES, page 1, col. 7; Monday, June 12, 1916
Vol. XIII, no. 137. Date Line June 10th, 1916
Consulted at Tyomies Society, Superior, Wis., April 27, 1939:

"SIX AURORA STRIKERS FREED"

"Just before this issue went to press we received word that in Biwabik there has joined in strike 400 men and that spreading of the strike is a matter of waiting only.

"Virginia, Minn., June 10--Of those 13 jailed strikers last Thursday, today, six were freed on 200 dollar bond, when 25 dollars should have sufficed. Their case will come to trial next Monday when they will be charged with creating a mob. It is hoped this evening that more will be freed on bond."

"MORE WORD OF THE STRIKE SITUATION"

"(From our own correspondent)--This morning gathered at the local Finnish workers' building, several hundred strikers, from where they left in a parade, accompanied by music corps, marched along the county road to Biwabik.

"When the procession arrived within a mile and a half of the town, from the town was brought word that just a half mile away from the parade on the so named Tammen bridge is a strong police-army, known to be waiting for the strikers. Temporarily the procession stopped, but soon it was planned to continue on toward the destination.

"The band began to play a march and in that manner began the peaceful strikers to march with heads high toward this bridge to see whether such a condition had come to pass that respectable workers would not be permitted to go along a county road. When the procession arrived at the bridge for a fact there was near thirty police and special police to receive them at the bridge. The St. Louis County Sheriff Meining was directing this army. They did not ask the strikers where they were going, with clubs raised, in readiness to break in the skull of every slave if need be, they grasped by the neck and jailed 13. Obviously the police were attempting to probe them to riot because they were kicking and poking the strikers with their clubs. The strikers only remained calm and did not give this hound-crowd an opportunity to practice their hobby and so beat these workers, and possibly slaughter, which this hound-squad in the bottom of their heart wished to do. The strikers obeyed the command and turned back to Aurora. Among the jailed were four Finns, whose names are: Arvid Lehtonen, Kalle Seppälä, Wilho Holm and Gust Mikkala. I.W.W. league's organizer, Arthur Boose and an Italian Joseph Greeni were also jailed, the last mentioned has been from the beginning of the strike a strike leader. The remainder of those jailed were Italians and Poles. We do not know for certain where the arrested were brought, but believe that they are being saved at Virginia.

Obviously the road-blocking hound-squad had intended to arrest more than they did, for they had prepared at least 30 autos at the scene of the arrest. As a result of the happening exasperation is evident among the strikers.

"The strike continues on. Strike-breakers have not appeared. The strikers hold meetings regularly every day. The town's saloons remain closed. We are waiting for a Finnish arranger, who is coming to the strike-scene tomorrow. I.W.W.'s English speaker we are waiting for also, to arrive here.

"(More news on page 5.)"

(There was none).

From TYOMIES, page 1, col. 1-2-3; Tues. June 13, 1916
Vol. XIII, no. 138. Date line: June 12, 1916
Consulted at Tyomies Society, Superior, Wis., May 2, 1939:

"BIWABIK ORE-MINERS IN STRIKE"

"Biwabik, Minn., June 12--Yesterday, during the day was held here a mine-workers' meeting, in which they resolved to announce that the strike began Monday-morning, and so 250 men left work early this morning. The strikers held a meeting this morning at which they planned to march in parade to the city hall and ask the Mayor to close the saloons for the duration of the strike."

"THE STRIKERS' DEMANDS"

"At the same meeting this morning was arranged to present to the mine-owners the same kind of demands as the Aurora miners are asking, namely an 8-hour day and 3 dollars the lowest day-wage and abolishment of contract work.

"Strike parade, containing 500 miners with wives, marched in the evening to the Ruddy and Belgrade mines with intentions of asking those working miners to join in the strike and so demand rights for themselves. The Aurora music-corps were at the head of the procession, playing revolutionary tunes. As the parade arrived at the Belgrade mine there were to receive them 15 armed rifle-hounds and large bulletin-boards in which was prohibited strikers from coming into the mine. The parade stopped near the mine and the band played several pieces, after which the procession turned and continued their trip on to McKinley where I.W.W. organizer Scarlet spoke to the strikers and residents of the town.

"The women marched in the parade four miles and have planned to walk to Elba and

to Gilbert. It is grand to see the strikers' wives in the struggle against the employers, for it shows the employers that the workers are determined to better their existence.

"Rifle-hounds pass the marchers in automobiles, but the parade just marches onward, and every time a rifle-squad passes by the strikers shout hurrahs at them to show them that they do not fear the hounds even though they frown and glare upon them as if they want to eat alive every striker.

"In the evening joined the strikers all those miners who were yet today at work, after that not even one mine is operating. The total number of strikers then reached 600. In the Bangor mine between Aurora and Biwabik, the workers have also joined in the strike, and have demanded of the employers the same demands as asked for by the Aurora strikers."

"JOSEPH ETTOR AND TRESKA HAVE ARRIVED AT VIRGINIA"

"I.W.W. union's organizers Joseph Ettor and Tresca have arrived on the iron-range and are taking part in directing the strike and meetings. In Biwabik is also two I.W.W. union's organizers, Scarlett and a Slovenian, Smith, who can speak Slovenian."

"STRIKERS' ATTORNEY LATIMER DISAPPEARED"

"As we are going to press we were notified by telephone from Aurora that from Virginia has disappeared the strikers lawyer Latimer, who last Friday was jailed, and did we know where he is. It is feared that the Steel trust hounds have captured him and have hid him somewhere behind locks until after the trial of the jailed strikers before the Virginia court."

From TYOMIES, page 1, col. 2; Tues., June 13, 1916
Vol. XIII, No. 138. Date line June 11.
Consulted at Tyomies Society, Superior, Wis., May 3rd, 1939:

"THE WOMEN HAVE TAKEN PART IN THE STRUGGLE AT AURORA"

"Aurora, Minn., June 11--(From our own correspondent)--The strike situation is the same as before. No changes nor any arbitration has taken place between the bosses and strikers. The usual strike parades have been held every day. The last few days only around the town. In today's parade took part many women. Rifle-hounds are stationed on the Tamm bridge between Aurora and Biwabik watching so that no strikers can in a body go to the neighboring community. This indicates what consideration is

given the demands of the workers. If a person dares to just breathe freer then he will get lead or will land in the jail.

"Several organizers have arrived the last one from Chicago, and several have come who can speak the language of Southern Europe. Finns have not come, nor do we need any, for we will follow through any moves made to our advantage."

From TYOMIES, page 1, col. 2; Tues., June 13, 1916
Vol. XIII, no. 138. Date line June 13th.
Consulted at Tyomies Society, May 3, 1939:

"JAILED STRIKERS TRIAL-ACTION ADVANCED"

"Virginia, Minn., June 13--Concerning the 13 strikers that were arrested near Aurora last week charged with creating a mob and rioting, they have moved the trial to next Monday, when their plea was presented before Judge James P. Carey for trial yesterday morning.

"The accused are engaging T. E. Latimer of Minneapolis. Some of those jailed, at first, engaged for their representative C. A. Onka, but now they want Latimer.

"Jack Brea, Sam Sparkovich, A. B. Calakar, Kustaa Mikkola and Wilho Holmi were released yesterday morning without backing. They are obliged to be at the hearing Monday morning.

"Arthur Boose and Kalle Seppänen are being held in the local jail. Joseph Green is trying to gather \$300 bail, and Martin Cacie, August Palmeri and Mike Aron gave \$200 bail.

"The court-room was all full of people when the trial of the strikers was debated. The official prosecutor for the state was attorney Edward L. Boyle.

Bureau of Labor Bulletin Vol. 19 - Page 393, 1909

The causes of the strike were increase of wages, an eight hour day, and the abolition of the contract and bonus systems.

The strike was called July 20, because of conditions growing out of the handlers strike at Duluth. The places of the strikers were gradually filled and they sought other employment. By common consent the Finns have been the most efficient workmen on the range

The Outlook - May 2, 1908

(A Labor Crises and a Governor) Charles B. Cheney - Page 25

The Finnish Socialists incited the Western Federation of Miners to the range, for the purpose of organizing and leading the strike. They sent Teofilo Petruella, an educated Italian Socialist. The leaders among the miners were N. di Stefano, Oscar Luikhunen, Aote Keiskanen, Jr., A. Anderson, J. Maki, John Kolu, A. Takala, Frank Lucas, John Movern, P. Lundstrom, E. McHale, F. Manarini and J. Connors

Discontent was the main aim of the Socialist leaders. Whether the strike was won or lost, they hoped to make the men all Socialist.

Inflamed by fiery speeches and rosy promises, the masses followed them blindly to defeat. It was reported among the men that they would win the strike in six months, with the aid of money from the West and then the union would own the mines, and the railways and every man's share would be good for \$2,500 a year

P. 26. The business men, were bosses and skilled employees despised the strikers as "cattle"

John Maki, a young Finn, undersized, simple-looking and roughly dressed had come down to Duluth to see the governor while he was on tour.

He spoke slowly but well for a laboring man only six years in America, Maki made this remark when the governor asked him if he had gone to school, "I go to school all the time in the poor man's fight for existence. I learn by fighting for existence." In one way his talk tended to show the strike leaders more solicitous for order than the citizens and local officials.

P. 27. He complained of the bonus system under which part of the men's pay was withheld till the end of the season in order to hold them. He also said that the contract system was unjust because of the different degrees of hardness in ground. He also claimed that the men were overcharged for dynamite and other materials.

P. 28. John Kobu, a union organizer and also a prominent Socialist. Kobu was a Finlander, tall and loud voiced, he took the part of a real agitator. He said that men had been detailed to keep their fellows out of the saloon. The strike failed through poor leadership and the strikers themselves going back to work.

The Finns are still the main reliance, but the young Finns most active in the Socialist movement are being weeded out.

Clayton A. Videen
May 16, 1939

"1916 STRIKE"

The Labor World, Page 6, cols. 3 & 4; June 24, 1916

Vol. 23, No. 46. No dateline

Consulted at Labor World office, 320 West ^{First} Superior St., Duluth, Minn., May 10, 1939:

Reported from "The Labor World." The first strike news appears in editorial form on page 6 of the June 24th issue of the paper. This paper is a weekly. Wm. E. McEwen was the publisher.

Small headline:

"I.W.W. STRIKE ON MESABA RANGE SPREADS; PRIVATE POLICE A MENACE"

The editorial starts out by denouncing the I.W.W. stating that the A.F. of L. "has no use for it." He further comments, however "That the strike of the iron miners was not instigated by the I.W.W. but was provoked by a bully superintendent of the St. James Mine at Aurora, who worked the miners into accepting a contract under certain representations and when the men attempted to carry out their contract they found they could not make a living at it. They were bothered considerably with the large amount of earth and rock in the ore, for which they received no pay. The men protested.... asked for a revision of the contract and they were told point blank that no revision would be made. A strike was then called and it spread like wildfire throughout the range.

"The I.W.W. leaders, who were in Duluth, heard of the trouble and offered their assistance, which was accepted. The only organization of miners recognized by the A.F. of L. is the Western Federation of Miners. It is not believed that any kind of labor organization would be tolerated on the ranges, that is if the mining companies and their agents can have their way.

"The law does not permit the importation of non-citizens of the state to act as special police or deputy sheriffs, and many Duluth men are urged to serve as such. All of the special police of the Steel Trust are employed as peace officers and so far as we have been able to learn about the only lawbreaking that has occurred on the ranges has been provoked by these men.... If the Sheriff of St. Louis County knows his duty he will not tolerate meddlesome interference in enforcing the law from the private army of the Steel Trust."

Another news item castigated a Virginia Judge--not mentioned by name--for sentencing men who tried to coax their fellow employes to join the strike.

The Labor World, Page 6, col. 4; July 1, 1916
Vol. 23, No. 47; No dateline
Consulted at Labor World office, May 10, 1937:

This issue contains only a short news item to the effect that the iron range strike may spread to the local ore docks. I.W.W. organizers are distributing literature.

The Labor World, Page 1, cols. 3, 4, & 5; July 8, 1916
Vol. 23, No. 48. No dateline
Consulted at Labor World office, May 10, 1939:

Page 1 of this issue contains a 2-col. editorial. The article states that both the steel company and the I.W.W. are fundamentally opposed to "collective bargaining," but adds that had the A.F. of L. attempted to organize the miners, the steel company would have given it an equally distasteful reception. The editorial further cites that the steel corporation has ignored social and economic progress to the point of being woefully unfair, and this makes collective bargaining necessary if the miners and their families are to live decently.

Mr. McEwen brings up the fact that the steel corporation is always crying "'foreigners who come over here stir up all this trouble.'" The writer pointedly asks "who brought these foreigners over here, and for what purpose were they brought?" He further states that the Western Federation of Miners in 1907 received the same kind of abuse as did the I.W.W. organizers in 1916. The editorial condemns the steel corporation for not paying better wages.

The Labor World, Page 1, col. 3 & 4; July 15, 1916
Vol. 23, No. 49. No dateline
Consulted at Labor World office, May 10, 1939:

In this issue, McEwen writes a strong 2-col. editorial on page 1, under the following headline.

"TIME TO ASCERTAIN TRUTH ABOUT MESABA RANGE STRIKE SITUATION"

McEwen says Governor Burnquist is taking too much for granted in listening only to the story of the steel men. "There are two sides to every question," says the editorial. "Daily papers are trying to befog the issue by laying the entire blame on the few 'agitators' who belong to the I.W.W.... But, we repeat....no set of agitators would be able to start anything on the iron ranges or anywhere else unless there was

'something rotten in Denmark.'" He said that the shooting of Deputy Myron had another side to it. McEwen said "the shooting was started solely on account of the aggressiveness of one Nick Dillon, a mine guard, who received his training as a bouncer for a house of ill fame in the outskirts of Virginia..... This is common knowledge among the people on the range! The account stated that Dillon stormed the miner's home and demanded the surrender of the striker. The woman who answered the door said that her husband would submit to arrest only by a regular officer, not employed by the Steel Trust. McEwen further states that Steel company employes should not be deputized, and he asks that Governor Burnquist forbid this practice, and ends the editorial with "Governor Burnquist, its up to you!"

The Labor World, Page 1, col. 7; July 22, 1916
Vol. 23, No. 50. No dateline
Consulted at Labor World office, May 10, 1939:

The following news story appears on page 1.

"The real facts concerning the strike of the miners on the Mesaba Range have been beclouded by misrepresentation and much prejudice aroused against the miners, according to Attorney John A. Keyes of Duluth, who is acting as counsel for some of the leaders who have been placed under arrest. Mr. Keyes denounces the mining corporation police, the 'gun men' as termed by the miners, and the courts and daily press in part. Stories from the range have been highly colored, Mr. Keyes declares, and so for the sake of justice, he has made the following statement regarding the cause and development of the strike and conditions up to the present time:

"So many false representations and misstatements have been made in the public press and otherwise with relation to the strike of miners on the Mesaba range, in St. Louis County....that I have finally determined to give a statement of facts as they exist and which have come within my personal knowledge and observation with reference to this strike.

"The miners first went out at the St. James mine, near Aurora, Minn., on account, as they claim, of unfair conditions in the mines.... When they first struck they went to the saloon keepers and mayor of Aurora and asked that the saloons be closed. They then appointed a committee and in connection with the mayor approached the mine owners for the purpose of getting an adjustment of their grievances. The mine owners refused

to consider the application or to meet the committee. The men were not organized, a desiring something of the kind, wrote to Minneapolis to secure organizers.... Finally some men came to the range, including Mr. Boose, who was for years a teamster in the city of Duluth, and a man of good reputation and character.... They came to the range and started to speak to the miners with reference to forming a union. Before they could cover the range the miners in mine after mine struck, and many thousands of men had walked out. There was then, of course, an attempt, more or less, to enroll the miners under the constitution of the I.W.W. as they had requested. It was not, however, until efforts had been made in several directions to have the grievances of the miners considered by the mine owners.

"The next thing that followed was the arrest of a large number of strikers, who were on a peaceful parade from Aurora to Biwabik to attend a meeting there, and their trial proceeded in the court at Virginia.

"The next thing of moment that took place was the killing of a miner and the shooting and seriously wounding of another miner whose name has not yet come before the public. Both of these crimes were undoubtedly committed by mine guards, called by the workmen, 'gun men,' and not by the regular deputies. They carry revolvers and police clubs and are under the jurisdiction of the mine captains, and not under the command of the sheriff direct.

"This condition....has existed in the state of Minnesota for some years, and is one of the most dangerous and anarchistic conditions that can exist in any country....

"The next thing of any particular importance that occurred was the small clash at Hibbing where a man was injured, which was directly caused by the mine guards coming into the city and assuming to patrol the streets and interfere with the movement of men therein..

"The next thing....was the tragedy at Biwabik where two men were killed and which has been the excuse for the arrest and imprisonment, without bail, of many men who were perfectly innocent of any offense whatever, and the failure to arrest the guilty. Hundreds of men are constantly being seized without warrants all along the range for no cause whatever, except that they are supposed to be prominent. These men are placed first in one jail and then another, and in many instances they have no hearing before

the court for days and when brought before the court excessive bail is required and they are thus prevented from taking an appeal when convicted before prejudiced courts, because of inability to furnish the excessive bonds required. This wholesale arrest has been so notorious that I have been unable to reach many of the men who are thus seized, and even with able assistance it has not been possible to have the cases tried or heard within reasonable time. These men naturally feel that the administration of justice is being perverted and that they are being subjected to unjust treatment...."

Mr. Keyes' account goes on to say that the municipalities are generally fair and have made honest efforts to assist in reaching an agreement. Also, the account says, "the tales of violence have been highly colored" in the press and it is high time the truth of the situation be known.

The Labor World, Page 6, col. 2; July 29, 1916
Vol. 23, No. 51; No dateline
Consulted at Labor World office, May 10, 1939:

A news item reprinted from the Biwabik Times says that "the American Federation of Labor is welcome on the Mesaba Range." The story says that the A.F. of L. would accomplish much if it could take the Mesaba miners under its wing, stabilize wages, and bring better living conditions to the Mesaba range.

The Labor World, Page 3, col. 3-5; August 5, 1916
Vol. 23, No. 52. No dateline
Consulted at Labor World office, May 10, 1939:

There was little about the strike in this issue, except an item which stated that the Minnesota State Federation of Labor had refused to sign a petition demanding the impeachment of Governor Burnquist for his stand in the Mesaba Miners' strike.

The Labor World, Page 1, cols. 3 & 4; August 12, 1916
Vol. 23, No. 53. No dateline
Consulted at Labor World office, May 10, 1939:

An editorial on page 1 was headlined: "TIME FOR MINE OWNERS TO TREAT WITH RESPONSIBLE LABOR UNION." The editorial said that the steel corporation should have learned something from the 1907 strike; that the steel men complained of Finnish radicalism, and now it was the Austrian who was in rebellion. The Labor World says "The Industrial Workers of the World is an irresponsible outfit," and that the A.F. of L. should step in.

"Not long ago one of the daily papers carried headlines something like the following: "PITCHED BATTLE BETWEEN THE STRIKERS AND DEPUTIES."

"We have taken the trouble to learn the facts, which are as follows:

"A miner near Biwabik owned a mongrel dog. The dog had a habit of barking at almost everything he saw. One morning, real early, a porcupine crossed the dog's path. Doggie went after the porcupine. The miner watched the proceedings with some degree of satisfaction until the dog began to get the worst of the argument. The miner ran for his gun and fired five shots at Mr. Porcupine and five times missed him. Deputies, hearing the shots, ran to the scene---after it was all over."

The Labor World does not mention the name of the newspaper, but he is bitter towards it for sensationalizing lies. The Labor World continues that the people are gradually beginning to learn the truth, are beginning to learn that the steel corporation permits itself to be "babied" in the press and that St. Louis County "people are going to remember that the steel trust will have nothing to do with any kind of labor unions."

The Labor World, August 19, 1916: There was no strike news in this issue of the paper.

The Labor World, Page 1, col. 2; September 2, 1916

Vol. 23, No. 56. Washington, D.C. Sept. 2

Consulted at Labor World office, May 10, 1939:

A news dispatch with a Washington dateline is as follows:

"Washington, Sept. 2--Every charge brought against the United States Steel Corporation by the striking miners of northern Minnesota is sustained in a report just submitted to Governor Burnquist by his own state labor commission. Miners have been exploited by the contract system, cheated, oppressed, forced to give bribes to their mine captains, arrested without warrants, given unfair trials, and subjected to 'serious injustices' at the hands of the mine guards and police. This is the substance of the findings.

"Mine guards employed by the company, deputized by Sheriff Meining without investigation, and supported by Governor Burnquist, are to blame for all disorder. The report says:

"We are not entirely in sympathy with the belief that vigorous measures were necessary to maintain peace and safety in this strike. We are entirely satisfied that the mine guards have exceeded their legal rights and duties and invaded the citizenship rights of the strikers; that such violence as has occurred has been more chargeable to the mine guards and police than to the strikers; and that the public police departments have entirely exceeded the needs of the situation, and have perpetrated serious injustice

upon the strikers.

"'Numerous cases of arrest without warrant, and unfair trials in the justices' courts were brought to our attention. We will not go into these cases in detail, as the federal men have promised a thorough investigation, but we are seriously impressed that the mine guards should have been compelled to remain on mine property or disarm when they left it.

"'Every shooting affray that has occurred on the range has occurred on public property. In no case have the so-called riots on or even near company property.

"'The parades of the miners have been peaceful, the public police have had no trouble in maintaining order, and if the private mine guards had been compelled to remain on company property we do not believe that there would ever have been any bloodshed on the range.'

"Governor Burnquist, whose telegram to Sheriff Meining was generally accepted as an order to go to the limit in breaking the strike, is now on the defensive. In the face of reports from the committee on industrial relations and from his own state labor department, he can no longer escape a reckoning for the part he has played in aiding the steel corporation to maintain industrial tyranny. After reading the report of his own state labor department he issued a statement saying:

"'As an official I am interested only in the enforcement of the law. Personally I have had four men up there to investigate conditions and none of the four has ever reported to me any undue violence on the part of officials.'

"Apparently Burnquist's investigators were carefully selected."

The Labor World, Page 6, col. 3 & 4. No date published.
Vol. 23, No. 58. No dateline
Consulted at Labor World office, May 10, 1939:

"Lenora Austin Hamlin of St. Paul was sent by the Women's Welfare league to get first hand information about the treatment accorded to men and women during the miners' strike on the Mesaba range, following a speech made before the league by Mary Heaton Vorse and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

The St. Paul women wanted a colorless story of actual conditions. Mrs. Hamlin, well trained for this sort of investigation, was requested to do the work. She visited all the important points in the strike zone, and her story confirms the claims made

during the strike by the miners. Minnesota is closely following in the footsteps of Colorado and West Virginia, as is shown by the report. It reads in full as follows:

"Members of the Women's Welfare League will recall that on Aug. 15 we were addressed by Mary Heaton Vorse and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn on the subject of strike conditions on the range and that great interest was aroused by their description of the part women were taking in the strike and the hardships they were enduring in consequence.

"Following the meeting an informal request was made by officers and members of the league that an investigation of strike conditions as they affect women and children be made by the State Labor department with special reference to the case of Mrs. Masonovich held, with her baby, without bail, in the St. Louis County jail. This case was endorsed by other women's organizations and later a committee of three members of the league, of which I was one, was appointed to follow up the inquiry.

"In response to our request, and investigation was made by the Labor Department into the Masonovich case, and into certain charges of child labor in the mines, and a report filed with the governor.

"My visit to the range was of course quite unofficial, but as I enjoyed rather exceptional opportunities of meeting and talking with the strikers and their families, a brief summary of my impressions and conclusions may, perhaps, be of interest.

"From the Keewatin picnic on Sunday, when several hundred men and women walked a distance of 14 miles or more to protest in a half a dozen different languages against the refusal of the sheriff of Itasca county of the right of free assemblage in that county, to my visit to Carlo Tresca and Mrs. Masonovich in the Duluth jail, the week was a continuous motion picture performance of the most novel and vital sort.

"Reel after reel unrolled....stories of simple foreign people; of tragedy suddenly injected into a homely domestic scene; of the heart-breaking struggle of the workers against wealth and power and hunger and stupid, sometimes brutal, officialdom; of defiance and the swift, sure descent of the law; of slow imprisonment and the marshaling of legal forces for the final battle---all against a background of bare, riven red earth.... Verily a cross section of American life.

"There was a wild ride through the rain followed by a careful, painstaking examina-

tion of the house near Biwabik in which the shooting of Deputy Myron occurred, a tragedy as stupid, as unnecessary as could well be imagined. Four armed deputies enter a home and demand the immediate surrender of a man who happens to be asleep at the time in an adjoining room---on a charge of 'unlawful assemblage.' The people in the house are immigrants from the south of Europe, speaking little or no English. 'Wait till O'Hara come' says the woman. O'Hara is the Biwabik police officer whom all the foreign people in the district respect and obey.

"But no, these newly created officers of the law clothed in a little brief authority, will not wait. They pull their guns and begin to shoot. The woman struggles with one of the deputies and tries to take his gun away from him. The husband and the four boarders and the woman struggle with the deputies and beat them off. A deputy is shot dead. A man delivering a case of pop at the gate is shot dead....two women made widows, and their children fatherless, all because they couldn't 'wait till O'Hara come.'

"Now a slender darkeyed Montenegrin woman with a pale-faced baby at her breast waits in a close, sunless, inside jail room, along with a dozen 'drunk and disorderly' women of the streets, charged with murder because she joined in defending her home and her family against an attack of armed and apparently lawless men. The pity of it and the shame of it--in America.

"There was a visit to two women in a Duluth hospital, one a young Finnish woman whose back had been severely injured by being dragged over railroad ties and then tumbled into a ditch while on picket duty. The other, an Austrian woman, was arrested in her kitchen, also on a charge of picketing. She denied the charge and resisted arrest and lost her unborn baby as a result of the encounter. She was very ill....when I saw her.

"....Then there is Alice Arcola, who bit the patrolman, and is out on bail. She was picketing and a big policeman grabbed her and left the black and blue marks of his five fingers on her breast. Alice bent her head and bit his hand and he let go."

"These Finnish people on the Range are a remarkably interesting racial group which will richly repay study and further acquaintance. For one thing, they stand for equality between men and women. They bring that idea with them from Finland where men and women enjoy equal political rights....

"The Finnish co-operative movement is one of the surprises of the Range. In most of the towns there is a Finnish hall owned co-operatively, and in many of them a Finnish co-operative store. The halls have been open to the strikers for their meetings, free of charge, and except for them it would have been exceedingly difficult for the strikers to find a place in which to meet.

"The mine operators may break this strike, they probably will, but they might as well make up their minds that organization is coming. Capital is organized and labor must organize in self-protection, and the public will support labor in its efforts to organize. No amount of welfare work or philanthropy will take the place of self-respecting, self-directing organization of the workers by themselves for themselves.

"....In defense of the right of free assemblage and free speech we must be prepared to take cracked heads and bloody noses, if necessary, women as well as men, for without it we are a nation of slaves."

The Labor World, P. 1, cols. 6 & 7; Dec. 9, 1916
Vol. 23, No. 69. No dateline
Consulted at Labor World Office, May 10, 1939:

There is a short story, boldly headlined, about the arrival of Judge Hilton, Colorado, on the Mesaba Range, where he went to fight for strikers. He gained nationwide fame as a labor attorney. The headline reads as follows.

"JUDGE HILTON OF DENVER HERE FOR MESABA STRIKERS DEFENSE"

There was a short editorial on the editorial page, in which the Labor World answered the many who had written to the paper asking it to give credit to the Steel Corporation for giving its employes a raise. The news of the raise had been printed in a local daily, but it had not been confirmed by the steel company officials, either locally or in New York. Some of the office help was given a raise, but the miners were not. The editorial concludes: "That is why we never mentioned that 'raise.' We are still waiting to SEE it."

The Labor World, Page 1, cols. 1 & 2; Dec. 23, 1916
Vol. 24, No. 19. No dateline
Consulted at Labor World office, May 10, 1916:

The following banner head, in huge type, reads:

"CASES DISMISSED; TRESKA SCARLETT AND SCHMIDT ARE OUT"

In slightly smaller type:


"FEDERAL COURT HOLDS PICKETING IS LEGAL"

And again in smaller type:

"FORWARD LOOKING JUDGES DECIDE IN LABOR'S FAVOR"

The story follows:

"Scarlett, Tresca and Schmidt are freed. Last Friday they were let out of the dingy, overcrowded St. Louis County jail and given their liberty." Then there follows a lengthy account of how The Labor World has stood behind the labor organizers. It is brought out in the trial that Mr. Dillon, who was with Deputy Myron at the time he was shot, possibly aimed badly and shot the innocent "pop"man while trying to kill a striker. Dillon is again roundly denounced, while the judges are commended for giving a fair trial to the accused.



Harold E. Rajala
May 3, 1939

TYOMIES, page 3, col. 4 and 5. Wed., June 7, 1916:
Volume XIII, No. 133; no story date.
Consulted at Tyomies Society, Superior, Wis., April 24th, 1939.

"AURORA NEWS"

"Strike spreading. A few days ago was published news of strike at St. James mine. The situation has developed to such an extent that the Miller, as also the Mohawk mine workers have joined in the strike. The Miller Mine is wholly in a strike situation. This morning marched 300 workers in body to negotiate with the said mine's superintendent. The demands are to do away with contract work; in its stead a straight daily wage of \$3.00. From this demand the strikers got a negative reply. The superintendent inferred that before accepting the demands of the strikers they would rather shut down completely the entire mine. Today at 1:30 left a group to the Mohawk and to the Hudson Mines' officials to present demands and to announce a strike at those mines if they would not agree to the demands.

"Strike making was not before considered, nor have any of the workers belonged to any sort of an organization, and so naturally they did not have the strength. It is true that one Finn spoke to them and said that 'join the I.W.W. for in it are members from the vicinity. It has membership of 7,000,000 workers. This sort of announcement does not gladden us Finns for in them there is no foundation.

"On the other hand we cannot determine how we would come out in the fight against the mine trust without organization. It has been said we would attempt to enlist all mines in the strike. Then it would be possible to succeed."

TYOMIES, page 6, col. 3; Wed., June 7, 1916:
Vol. XIII, No. 133;; Story date: June 6.
Consulted at Tyomies Society, Superior, Wis., April 25, 1939:

"MINE WORKERS' STRIKE WIDENS"

"Aurora, Minn. June 6th--(From our Correspondent)--The strike condition here is on a good foundation, in five mines are work-stopped, so that now are on strike near 2,000. Large parades were held all day yesterday in which 300 to 400 people took part. Everything amidst the strikers looks to a good organization. The first thing done was to close the doors of all saloons for the duration of the strike, for the reason that we would not find the time to better the condition, and so not to endanger the honor

of those who are engaged in strike.

"Another correspondent's version of the strike situation:

"All six mines are now struck in Aurora, in which the strikers number nearly a thousand men. On this month the 5th day marched the strikers to four mines, namely the Miller, Mohawk, Hudson and Medow where they asked the workers in those mines to quit their work; which they did. Two mines had already before went on strike, and now there is not even one ore mine in operation in this community. This evening at 6 gathered the strikers at the worker's hall where the strikers were addressed by an Italian miner in English and in Italian languages. Just before seven the strikers formed a group containing more than 500 men, and left to march to the Medow mine to ask the mine-slaves to join in the strike, they also did. When the marchers arrived at the said mine there were mine-bosses ready to receive the strikers. The mine-captain asked those strikers, 'what do you really want; haven't you been paid the best wages in this mine than in any one of the other mines?' The strikers' committee explained that they wanted that mine's workers to engage in sympathizing strike. When the strikers did get all the said mine's workers they marched back to town and arrived back at the workers' hall, where a meeting was held. The strikers' demands are \$3.00 the lowest day wage and abolish contract work. Also they are trying to make the mine companies recognize the union. To the strikers was announced that to the I.W.W. union's organizer was sent word to Minneapolis, who is coming here to organize the workers into the said union. Tomorrow morning the strikers will gather at the workers' hall and will go to the Atrik mine to demand the mine-slaves there to join the strike. From here it is about four miles to said mine. In the ranks of the strikers are several nationalities. Enthusiasm in the ranks of the strikers is strong. The mayor of the community this morning ordered all saloons to close, for which we have no fear that it will affect the strikers' honorable work."

TYOMIES, page 1, col. 1 & 2; Thurs., June 8th, 1916

Vol. XIII, no. 134, Date line June 8th, 1916

Consulted at Tyomies Society, Superior, Wis., April 25th, 1939:

"AURORA MINERS' STRIKE WIDENING"

"I.W.W. LEAGUE AGENT TRYING TO GET STRIKE IN EFFECT ON WHOLE IRON-RANGE
AND MAKING EFFORT TO ORGANIZE THE WORKERS INTO THE AFOREMENTIONED LEAGUE"

"Aurora, Minn., June 6th--(From our own correspondent)--On the 6th day of this month came here the I.W.W. league's organizer, Arthur Boose, from Duluth and spoke at our local workers' hall for probably an hour. The strikers were at the depot to receive Boose. The procession included about 600 strikers. It was announced before that on the 6th day they were going to the Atriatic mine, which is near Mesaba, from here, about 5 miles, but they are not going yet today to the said mine, but will go tomorrow on the 7th day of this month. Near the Atriatic are two other mines, in which tomorrow the strikers plan to stop work at these three mines. On the 6th day of this month the strikers, numbering about 300, went to the Bangor mine and stopped work at that mine. The Bangor mine is located 3 miles from Aurora. On the seventh day of this month is going I.W.W. union's organizer A. Boose to the Bangor mine to speak. Boose will not be here long, his itinerary is planned to include entire iron-range. On the seventh day of this month is coming here several language speakers, including a Finnish speaker. A. Boose said that he plans to get the whole iron-range mines in strike."

TYOMIES, page 1, col. 3-4-5; June 9, 1916.

Vol. XIII, no. 135. Date line June 7, 1916.

Consulted at Tyomies Society, Superior, Wis., April 26th, 1939:

"AURORA'S STRIKERS WILL ABANDON I.W.W.'S DEMAND TO BE RECOGNIZED UNLESS
IS GAINED LARGE SUPPORTING STRIKE ON IRON-RANGE"

"Aurora, Minn.--(From our own correspondent)--On the 7th day was held large strike meeting at the Finnish workers' building. The meeting began at 7 o'clock and ended at 10. About 500 strikers attended. I.W.W.'s organizer Arthur Boose was at the meeting and gave a short speech at the beginning of the meeting. The Finnish representative was the Socialist writer F. Jaakkala, who also spoke at the meeting, urging the strikers to remain mutually agreed. At the meeting was elected a strike committee, in which was appointed two men of each nationality, making the committee number 11 members. When the committee was appointed then began a consideration of demands, that the strikers will offer to the mine companies.

"The demands are as follows:

"\$3.50 the lowest day wage in wet mines and \$3.00 in dry mines.

"8-hour work time (the present work-time is 8 hours.), so that within this period of 8 hours in the morning are let down into the mine and brought up in evening.

"8-hour work time at mine-top workers and lowest wage \$2.75 a day. (The present wage is \$2.35-\$2.60.)

"Pay-day two times a month. (The present system is one payment monthly.)

"Saturday evening nightshift abolishment, but the demand for that period is for full pay.

"If a worker quits work his wages must be paid immediately.

"Here is now the demands which will be presented to the mine-owners. The aforementioned demands were approved by the meeters.

"We have before mentioned in this newspaper, that together we will make our demands and recognize the union, but at this evening's it was agreed that we would not include these demands yet until we know that we can get the entire iron-range in the strike; if we can not the group thought, we had too little strength to accomplish the demands, as are wanted of these mine-companies.

"Strike pickets were selected, two strikers for each mine and two of each nationality. Somehow this strike-observer army became quite large. The strike-observer was required to regularly keep watch every day and bring each evening reports to meetings and also to the strike committee.

"It was agreed that every evening at 6:45 all strikers gather at the Finnish workers' hall and then form parade, then march around town and return to the hall to hold a meeting. Tomorrow morning at 8 we will gather at the hall and go to Biwabik to try to get that town's miners into the strike. The town mentioned is 6 miles from Aurora.

"The meeting ended; cheerfulness prevailed among the strikers.

"At the end of that meeting asked Jaakkola that the Finns should hold small after-meeting, which was approved. Jaakkola explained that it was necessary to send some kind of announcement of appeal to Minnesota and Michigan miners so that they would begin to help the Aurora and vicinity strikers who are engaged in strike. Also was suggested to send to all Socialist groups on the Mesaba iron-range word, to choose a committee to begin agitation in their community to induce ore miners to strike. Both suggestions were approved. Jaakkola asked, do the Finnish strikers need here a Finnish man to lead the strike, for he could not stay more than a couple of days. He proposed some good men

like Wm. Risto, Tammeri, T. Heino for instance, but recommended highly F. Westerlund. It was resolved to ask Westerlund here for a leader.

"As we announced before that the strikers planned to go on the 7th day to the Atric mine, where they did go, with a group of about 300. When the strikers arrived at the mine there was the county sheriff to receive them, with 20 policemen. The sheriff shut off the road from the strikers so they could not get on the mine property. But the strikers went to an open place where very well they could see the mine opening and called to the mine's men. From there came several miners. The strikers were able to explain the situation and soon were all mine-slaves out of the mine. It is odd that they did not attempt to stop the slaves from leaving work.

"So then the strikers succeeded in getting the miners in this mine to strike also. Now there is on strike in Aurora and vicinity in all eight mines.

"In the strike area has not happened any disturbances. Peacefulness prevails. This community's saloons have before closed."

"RIFLE-HOUNDS APPEAR IN STRIKE REGION"

"When the strikers marched in parade to the Atric mine, which is from here about four miles, upon their approach they saw coming to meet them a large crowd of men, about 20 men. They first thought they were strikers, but it was a grave error. They were rifle-hounds, who stopped the strike-procession. But regardless of that, from there too, joined in the crowd a large part of the workers, demanding a betterment of conditions.

"What have they to do in this peaceful situation, as is evident, and exists. The strikers remain calm, but are at the same time determined behind their demands.

Duluth, Minnesota
Clayton A. Videen
June 7, 1939

1916 STRIKE

The Survey, p. 411, cols. 2 & 3; p. 412, col. 1; January 6, 1917
Vol. 37, No. 14; no dateline
Duluth Public Library; May 22, 1939
Item #1

"For the shooting and killing of Deputy Sheriff James Myron out on the Mesaba Range last summer, three strikers were sentenced to Dec. 15 last to terms in the state prison not to exceed twenty years. The three men are miners, and it was in the house that one, Philip Masonovitch, the shooting affray took place. His wife, who was among the eight indicted and imprisoned in connection with the affair, had been previously released on bail.

"The cases against the three Industrial Workers of the World, Sam Scaret, Joe Schmidt and Carlo Tresca, the latter known to have been far from the scene of shooting, all arrested as 'accessories after the fact,' were continued indefinitely. According to Margaret Culkin Banning, director of the social center department of the city of Duluth, 'it is so extremely improbable as to be almost uncertain that their cases will never come to trial.'

"Mrs. Banning writes further to the Survey: 'This action came as a complete surprise to almost everyone interested in these cases. The trials had been scheduled to begin about December 20 in Virginia, Minnesota, and from all appearances a spectacular series of trials was about to take place. A defense fund committee had been created and appeals for contributions had been widely circulated on the plea that the Industrial Workers of the World were preparing an elaborate legal defense....'

"'Almost immediately after the trial, the Industrial Workers of the World organizers and all of the leaders....left the range.... The contract labor system has not been abolished. The strike leaders believe, however, that because of the agitation, less corruption exists under it than formerly. There is no change in hours of labor as demanded... Lastly, and most important, there is no change of attitude on the part of the mining companies toward organized labor. They will neither recognize it nor deal with it....'"

Duluth, Minnesota
 July 25, 1939
 Harold E. Rajala

From Teollisuustyöläinen, p. 2, col. 7; Fri. Dec. 22, 1916
 Vol. 3, no. 300; no dateline
 Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 20, 1939
 Item #58

"Virginia & Rainy Lake Company log-car unloaders made strike, on the 18th day of this month, which lasted only an hour and a half when the company agreed to demands for a raise of 25%. Their wages are now \$3.10.

"Often have been heard suggestions that all the company workers join the I.W.W. so that they may enjoy higher wages. By joining the union the men will gain strength and understanding as one. Get your I.W.W. card, for another wage boost will be necessary."

From Teollisuustyöläinen, p. 1, col. 1; Sat. Dec. 23, 1916
 Vol. 3, no. 301; no dateline
 Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 20, 1939
 Item #59

"LIVING CONDITIONS ARE MISERABLE IN FINLAND"

"AT PORI COFFEE COSTS FROM 12 MARKS AND UP AND THE USE OF SUGAR IS RESTRICTED"

"In a letter from Finland, received by Vilho Ylise at Duluth is said that at his former home near Pori the same conditions exist as in other parts of Finland the Russian reign has tightened living conditions much more severe. From the owners are taken horses by force and brought to work on the war-front, and nothing is paid for their use. Horses are worth from 700 to 800 marks, but no promise is made if they will ever be returned. This creates a severe condition for the owners practically have to depend on the horse for a living, having their horses torn away from them. The price on horses has risen so high that if one wants to buy a horse in place of the one robbed he would have to pay 2,000 marks for it, and he would have difficulty in finding a horse even at that price. The coffee price is 12 marks and up per Kilo and the better coffees cost from 15 to 20 marks a kilo. The use of sugar is so restricted that no family can get more than 500 grams a month. The same applies to other foods which are terribly high and their use is restricted greatly. Flour cannot be bought at any price."

From Teollisuustyöläinen, p. 1, col. 1; Sat. Dec. 23, 1916
 Vol. 3, no. 301; Virginia, Minn., Dec. 22
 Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 20, 1939
 Item #60

Item #60

"WOODSWORKER DIES AS A RESULT OF A TREE FALLING ON HIM"

"Virginia, Minn., Dec. 22--A woodsman named John Berg died here today from injuries suffered by him by a tree falling on him while working at Berst Brothers woods-camp at Central Lake near the Duluth Winnipeg railway."

From Teollisuustyöläinen, p. 1, col. 5; Sat. Dec. 23, 1916
Vol. 3, no. 301; Virginia, Minn., Dec. 22
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 20, 1939
Item #61

"SAWMILL WORKERS AT VIRGINIA DEMAND WAGE INCREASE"

"Virginia, Minn. Dec. 22--From our own correspondent--Virginia sawmill workers will present to employers, next week, demands for increase in wages. A large mass meeting of sawmill workers will be held next Sunday at two o'clock in the afternoon, at the Socialist Opera. At this meeting will be discussed the demands which will be presented to the mill-barons next week.

"All sawmill workers are asked to take notice of the above announcement and begin at other places too to make plans to organize into one big union, so that when all of you are in a union then it will be easier to force mill-barons to agree to your demands.

"Organization here is rapidly forging ahead among the woods-workers and mill workers, but not all industrial workers have joined yet in the I.W.W., and not until a majority of the workers have joined into one big union can they force the employers to give them a decent wage so they will not have to suffer the starvation wages which the local woods and mill-barons pay now-a-days."

From Teollisuustyöläinen, p. 2, col. 5; Sat. Dec. 23, 1916
Vol. 3, no. 301; no dateline
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 21, 1939
Item #62

"VIRGINIA"

"Accidents are again becoming an every day occurrence. Again on the 20th day of this month when our Finnish friend Richard Niemi was working on an old drift in the Alpena Mine, in some way a heavy mine timber fell on Niemi's leg resulting in fracturing his leg below the knee. The injured worker was brought to the company hospital where he will have to lay for some time before the leg will be as good as before. We hope him speedy recovery so that he might again join his friends. Niemi has been for many years active

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in Finnish workers organizational activities."

From Teolisuustyöläinen, p. 1, col. 1; Wed. Dec. 27, 1916
Vol. 3, no. 303; Virginia, Minn. Dec. 25
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 21, 1939
Item #63

"MILLWORKERS HAVE HELD MASS MEETING"

"VIRGINIA SAW-MILL WORKERS HAVE PRESENTED WAGE INCREASE DEMANDS TO THE EMPLOYERS"

"THE MILL-BARONS IN FEAR OF STORM RAISE IN SOME WAY WORKERS PAY 25 CENTS"

"Virginia, Minn., Dec. 25--From our own correspondent--The Virginia Rainy Lake sawmill company has raised workers wages 25¢ for only those working on nightshift, and under the condition that the man will have to come to work every night, or send a man in place if even one night the worker cannot come and then he will lose the 25¢ for the day. Think workers the raise will only apply if you go to work regardless of whether you are sick or well. Do you still say you are in Free America? Even that wage increase comes because the mill-barons see a storm rising, which they plan to avoid by throwing 25¢ to a few workers. But in that the barons have stacked their cards wrong which is proved by the mill-workers meeting which was held last Sunday where was approved demands which were sent to the company officials yesterday demanding an answer within 24 hours. The demands are as follows:

- 1) A 25¢ wage increase to all workers in the mill and yards.
- 2) Abolishment of Sunday work.
- 3) On Saturday only 8 hours of work for those on day-shift and 5 hours for those on night-shift, at full-pay.
- 4) Work shifts be changed after every week (before it was changed every two weeks).
- 5) Union men shall not be layed-off.

"The demands are few and we can force the company to accept them, if we all stand as one for all and all for one.

"The foregoing demands were presented to the mill-barons, with demands for an answer in 24 hours.

"Cloquet sawmill workers are asked to keep close watch on happenings in Virginia. If a struggle begins here, are you ready to join in, and demand more wages and a shorter

Item #63

working day? The next millworkers meeting will be held today (Wednesday, Dec. 27). Night shift men at 2 o'clock in daytime and day-shift men at 8 this evening. At the meetings will be decided if we go on strike if the mill-barons do not concede to the demands."

From Teolisuustyöläinen, p. 1, col. 4; Dec. 27, 1916
Vol. 3, no. 303; Gilbert, Minn., Dec. 26
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 24, 1939
Item #64

"MINE-COMPANIES HAVE GIVEN GIFTS TO THEIR FAITHFUL SCABS"

"Gilbert, Minn., Dec. 26--The Pickands-Mather company officials have here given Christmas gifts, amounting to 6,000 dollars, to those faithful scabs who worked in the company mines last summer during the miner's strike. In the company language these scabs are known as 'loyal' workers. 450 men are known to have received this Judas-money for deceiving their fellow workers. It is indeed low to see these workers accepting such money which they should throw back in the face of the officials who gave it."

From Teolisuustyöläinen, p. 1, col. 4; Dec. 28, 1916
Vol. 3, no. 304; Virginia, Minn., Dec. 27
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 24, 1939
Item #65

"MILL-BARONS DO NOT CONSIDER THE WORKERS DEMANDS"

"Virginia, Minn., Dec. 27--by telephone--This afternoon was held a sawmill workers meeting at the Finnish Opera, to which was brought the employers answer to the demands brought to them by the workers committee. The bosses answer was this: 'We will not even begin to consider the question.' Because of this the night shift workers decided to stay away from work so as to be able to discuss with day shift men the bosses answer and to discuss a strike announcement."

From Teolisuustyöläinen, p. 1, col. 1-2; Fri. Dec. 29, 1916
Vol. 3, no. 305; Virginia, Minn., Dec. 28
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 24, 1939
Item #66

"VIRGINIA SAWMILLS IN STRIKE"

"VIRGINIA & RAINY LAKE MILLS ARE COMPLETELY AT A STANDSTILL--GUNMEN ARE GUARDING"

"STRIKERS IN LARGE GROUPS JOIN I.W.W. UNION"

"Virginia, Minn., Dec. 28--from our own correspondent--Last night the Virginia &

Item #66

Rainy Lake company sawmill workers held a large mass meeting at the Finnish Opera where they resolved that all company sawmills be struck. The meeting was attended by 700 mill-workers. The No. 1 mill was at a complete standstill last night because the night shift men stayed away from work so that they would be able to meet with the day-shift men, so that is why No. 1 mill was not operating at all. At no. 2 mill only a small part were working. No. 3 mill was operating last night, but this morning all mills were struck and this evening no millworkers will go to work but it is possible that the mill-barons will attempt to herd there some scabs so that one mill can be operated so as to show the strikers that they can run their mills with scabs."

"STRIKERS APPEAL TO WOODS-WORKERS"

"This morning the strikers held a mass meeting at the Finnish Opera where they unanimously resolved to send an appeal to woodsmen working on the Virginia & Rainy Lake line, that they join in strike and so help the mill-workers to win their strike. At the same meeting was planned to turn to other locations where sawmill workers will be asked to declare a strike and present to their employers the same kind of demands which the Virginia sawmill workers have drawn-up."

"GUN-MEN STATIONED TO WATCH MILLS"

"When the mill-barons received word of the beginning of the strike last night they began with fever to gather a large group of town police and whatever gunmen they could enlist to guard the company mills and property which is some 12 to 15 miles square.

"It is reported that 50 scabs are on their way from direction of Canada."

"This morning's Duluth News Tribune reported that the company officials said that nearly 50 men are on their way toward Virginia on the Canadian Northern Railroad, who will take the place of the striking mill-workers. It is possible this news report is framed to attempt to scare the strikers and force them to give up the strike and organizational activities in the I.W.W."

"COMPANY OFFICIALS THREATEN TO CLOSE MILLS"

"The Virginia and Rainy Lake mill-barons threaten to close their mills until spring if they cannot keep their mills in operation during the strike.

"VIRGINIA MAYOR'S STATEMENT AS TO THE STRIKES ORIGIN"

Item #66

"Virginia's Mayor M. Boylan said last night that 'the Virginia & Rainy Lake saw-mill workers have more reason to strike than the miners had last summer. It is shameful the way the sawmill officials are treating their employees. It is no wonder the workers have gone on strike. That joke saying the mill-closing will affect the business of the town is not true for the mill-company's business does not in a great way increase the city trade.'"

"INTO THE UNION JOIN MILL-WORKERS IN LARGE GROUPS"

"Mill workers are joining the I.W.W. in large groups which indicate that the strikers know that their chances, in being organized, are much better in gaining accent to their demands than if they were unorganized. The strikers were, this morning, picketing to see how many scabs were going to work in the mills under protection of gun-men. At last night's meeting it was planned to go to picketing in as large a group as possible."

Duluth, Minnesota
Harold E. Rajala
July 31, 1939

From Teolisuustyöläinen, p. 1, col. 2; Fri. Dec. 29, 1916
Vol. 3, no. 305; Virginia, Minn., Dec. 28
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 25, 1939
Item #67

"MORE NEWS OF THE SAW-MILL WORKERS' STRIKE"

"Virginia, Minn., Dec. 28--(by telephone)--The sawmill workers, who are on strike, held a meeting this afternoon at the Finnish Opera. Attending were nearly 700 workers. At the meeting was planned to in a body to see if the company officials are bringing scabs to work into the struck mills, and go to the mill entrance to picket at the time work begins on morning and evening shifts. Also was planned at the meeting to print hand-bills announcing the strike and appealing to the woodsmen on the Virginia and Rainy Lake line to join in the strike-struggle.

"The strikers report that mill no. 3 is operating today with a small crew, and that only two gangs are at work piling lumber, but it is hoped that they will join the strikers this evening, when they see the hand bill announcement of the strike.

"On Friday morning at 10 o'clock at the Finnish opera will be held a large strikers mass meeting when will be taken up discussion of subjects concerning the strike."

From Teolisuustyöläinen, p. 2, col. 1; Fri. Dec. 29, 1916
Vol. 3, no. 305; Editorial columns
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 25, 1939
Item #68

"ALL WOODS AND SAWMILL WORKERS IN ONE BIG UNION"

"The Virginia Sawmill workers are on strike. The Duluth News Tribune and other capitalists' newspapers say 'the I.W.W. has announced a strike.'

"The truth is this, that the I.W.W. has not declared a strike there nor any where else, but it has been only King Hunger which has there declared the strike just as he did last spring in the Mesaba Range Miners strike.

"The prices of necessities have continued to raise. They have risen more rapidly than wages. As a result the worker has felt a hunger pain in his stomach and when it had risen to his head he has determined that now, nothing else will help so the strike is born. So in this way just as in other strikes, King Hunger has declared the strike

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and the I.W.W. wants to join and fight with the strikers so that the workers have a better chance to win.

"The employers are in union. The lumber-capitalists have one large union. They have meetings on a definite date each year, and there discuss questions as to how much they will pay their workers; how long a work-day will be established; how much will be charged for their products.

"As if it is not enough that they are organized into one industrial union, in addition they are members of an American employers league, which gives help to all employers in time of struggle of employees.

"It is exactly for this reason why the workers should organize into one big union.

"Strikers--All those, who are not yet in the union--join immediately. And woods and sawmill workers everywhere--join quickly in union. In that is the decision as to how strongly we will be represented in our struggle.

"Remember--it all depends as to how strongly and understandingly we organize."

From Teolisuustyöläinen, p. 1, col. 3; Sat. Dec. 30, 1916

Vol. 3, no. 306; Virginia, Minn., Dec. 29

Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 26, 1939

Item #69

**"SIX FINNISH STRIKERS WERE ARRESTED YESTERDAY IN VIRGINIA
FOR DISTRIBUTING THE STRIKE HAND BILLS"**

**"NO. 3 MILL COULD NOT OPERATE LAST NIGHT BECAUSE OF THE
LACK OF MEN"**

"Virginia, Minn., Dec. 29--(from our own correspondent)--Last night was arrested here six striking Finns, sawmill workers, because they were distributing hand-bills among the workers. The hand bills contained the announcement of strike of the sawmill workers, in which is asked all saw mill workers and woodworkers on the Virginia & Rainy Lake line to join them in the strike. The arrested were: Peter Johnson, Matti Tuovinen, Toivo Maki, Victor Ruakki, John Lumme and Edward Rosmo."

"TRIAL IS HELD FOR THE JAILED"

"This morning at 10 o'clock was held a court trial for those Finnish strikers who were jailed last night. The judge fined each one 7 dollars for 'unlawfully distributing hand-bills.' But then the judge retracted the sentence with the condition that they would not again distribute hand-bills.

Item #69

"The strikers number about 700. Last night the mill-barons tried to get no. 3 mill into operation, but because of the lack of men they were unsuccessful, so they just moved the scabs to no. 2 mill, which is smaller, and which could be run with a smaller force. Only a small group of scabs went to work today on the day-shift."

"NO OUTSIDE SCABS ARE SEEN"

"The mill-barons yesterday announced openly that along the Canadian Northern line is coming 50 mill-workers which would take the working places of the strikers, but no outside scabs have arrived. This report was sent to the strike-committee by the pickets. The pickets were at the depot last night and this morning to see if scabs were being brought and then watched at the mill entrance, but no outsiders were going to work, after a check was made of those who did not dare step into the ranks with other mill-workers."

"STRIKERS MASS MEETING THIS AFTERNOON"

"The strikers again held a mass meeting today at 2 o'clock at the Finnish Opera to discuss issues of the strike. The saw-mill workers union membership is growing every day, as new millworkers are joining the union."

From Teolisuustyöläinen, p. 1, col. 1; Dec. 30, 1916
Vol. 3, no. 306; Virginia, Minn., Dec. 29
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 26, 1939
Item #70

"WOODSWORKERS ARE NOT PERMITTED TO LEAVE THEIR CAMPS"

"Virginia, Minn., Dec. 29--(by telephone)--As we were going to press we received word that on the Cusson line at the Virginia and Rainy Lake company camps, no men are permitted to leave even though they want to join in with the striking sawmill workers so that they may help them and at the same time benefit themselves in better working conditions.--In the same report is stated that gun-men have been stationed at the camps to guard against any workers leaving camp to join in the strike. It is reported that one Finnish woodsman was beaten up seriously by hounds. We have not been notified of his name.--One mill is running with a small scab crew."

Translator's report: July 26, 1939:

The Teolisuustyöläinen discontinued publication with the issue of Dec. 30th, 1916 and was not again revived. However the Industrialisti, successor to the Teolisuustyöläinen, began publication with the first issue printed March 19, 1917. I will continue translation

Item #70

of social-ethnic material from there.

From Industrialisti, page 1, col. 7; Mon. April 2, 1917
Vol. 1, no. 3; no dateline
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 27, 1939
Item #72

"3,108 STRIKERS IN UNITED STATES IN 1916"

"The United States Department of Labor has announced of strikes occurring in the United States in 1916. They say the number of strikes were up to 3,108. Two-thirds of the strikes resulted in wage increases and work-day shortening. In 700 strikes the workers have won approval of their demands. In 500 strikes the workers did not gain their demands and are considered as lost. Of the remainder, nearly 2,000 strikes, have ended with a compromise between employers and workers or have ended in a mutual settlement from both sides."

From Industrialisti, p. 1, col. 5; Wed. April 18, 1917
Vol. 1, no. 7; Remerin, Minn., Apr. 17
Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 27, 1939
Item #73

"WOODS-WORKERS BEGIN STRIKE"

"Remerin, Minn., Apr. 17--(from our correspondent)--The workers at the Fred Blais lumber camp went on strike here because the wages were so poor and the living expenses so high. All the workers unanimously agreed to demand a one-fourth cent raise per piece. At this camp are made fence posts and telephone poles.--So then all went to the office, but at the office was only the clerk, so no satisfaction was gained. The superintendent was at another landing. The clerk said he would be back on the three o'clock train. We waited until then and when the superintendent returned we presented our demands but even he did not know what could be done and suggested that they return to work until Fred Blais returns on the following day on the three o'clock train. The Swede then returned to work and the following morning the superintendent gave word to all the bosses to count the Finn's posts. And so the Finns were discharged leaving the Swedes to continue the work at miserable wages. They thought they were tricking the Finns, but were only deceiving themselves when they agreed to return to work on the starvation wages. The capitalists will continue to boycott other nationalities if they but get their chance."

From Industrialisti, p. 3, col. 1-2; Tue. April 24, 1917

Item # 74

Vol. 1, no. 12; no dateline

Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 28, 1939

Item #74

"VIRGINIA"

"Recently the newspapers have said that the steel trust will again raise wages of their employees ten percent effective May 1st. Many workers still think the steel-trust is making these wage increases out of their own kind will and when approached on organization will answer that no organization is necessary for the trust is raising wages every three months. They do not see that the wage increase is because the trust is afraid that their workers will become dissatisfied just when the ore carrying season is beginning. The trust of late has been trying to get within the good graces of the workers to prevent another strike this spring on the iron-range. To their question of whether they will strike several miners have answered the same; 'when the weather has warmed up then we will begin again,' and many thousands of workers have answered that they have their membership cards in their pockets. So the trust's position has lowered so much that they are forced to take the drop. So if the workers will continue to organize, it is sure that the trust will be forced to take a further drop in July.

"The Virginia & Rainy lake company has also promised their workers a raise in wages. This increase is not because there is a shortage of men nor because of their good-will but because the workers have organized into one big union which already last winter had made life miserable for the lumber-barons.

"Finnish workers, remember to attend the mass meeting next Sunday."

From Industrialisti, p. 2, col. 6; Fri. April 27, 1917

Vol. 1, no. 15; no dateline

Workers Socialist Publishing Co.; July 28, 1939


Item #75

"VIRGINIA"

"The Virginia and Rainy Lake employers are attempting to get their former employees back to the mills. It does not matter anymore whether the worker belongs to an organization, the company wants good workers back on the job. Since last winter there has been a continual change of personnel among the strike breakers will have to work with decent workers who have by fighting tried to better conditions for all workers.

Item #75

"A worker friend of ours, Albert Stenberg, a I.W.W. member, has been found dead in a muddy ditch at Cusson on the 24th day. The body is at the Ala and Andeson funeral parlors. The bruises on the body show he was killed by other hands, for black marks are on his head and neck. Every Minnesota woodsman knows what kind of place Cusson is in all its rawness. On one side are the V. & R.L. company gunmen who have many times attacked workers, and it is absolutely dangerous for life for they need no reason to attack only that the worker be an I.W.W. member.--Stenberg was born in Helsinki, Finland."



Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Social Ethnic
Walter A. Harju
Nov. 30, 1938.

FINNS - EARLY SETTLEMENT (Translation and Abstract)

Finnish Colony of "Sointula" (Harmony) on Malcolm Island
British Columbia Canada

Taken from the Pamphlet called, "Sointula" Kalevan Kansan ja Kanadan Suomalaisten historiaa," written by Matti Halminen. Printed in Finland 1936 by Vapauden Kirjapain Osakeyhtiö Mikkelin.

The "Sointula" or (Harmony) Colony that was established after the turn of the century on Malcolm Island British Columbia Canada made a deep impression culturally and otherwise among the Finns on the North American Continent. Some of the Finnish historians of the period describe it as the "awakening" of the Finnish people and the beginning of the idealism and cultural development of the present day.

The "Sointula" Colony was born from a number of causes extant in both Finland and America. The first among these causes was the severe oppression of the Finnish people by the mining interests. The working conditions and the low wages led to squalor and general indifference among the immigrants who worked in the mines of western Canada. Drunkenness amidst this squalor became the main entertainment in the mining camps. But among the Finns there were at the time men and women who possessed a higher culture and a determination to give leadership to the Finnish people and to save them from this destructive influence.

The development of workingclass culture had already begun in Finland. The oppression of the tyrant Governor General Bobrikov engendered widespread

Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Social Ethnic
Walter A. Harju
Nov. 30, 1938.

discontent and opposition to Russian rule. The struggle for Finnish independence from Russia was spurred on. Literature began to spread among them in their homeland as well as abroad. One of the principles of this struggle of the Finnish people was that they themselves had to become worthy of liberty and self rule. Drunkenness and indifference were to be abolished by education. As a result of this attitude the struggle for improvement of their conditions in many instances began with temperance societies. The beginning of the "Sointula" Colony got its start from such a temperance circle among the miners.

Just before the turn of the century after 1890 the socialist movement began to gain prominence among the Finnish people. This coupled with the struggle for independence gained momentum, culminating in the general strike of 1905. From these struggles emerged leaders who became widely known in Finland as well as abroad. One of these leaders who later became the president of the Sointula colony was one Matti Kurikka. His ideas which were utopian in nature were spread widely through a newspaper called the "Helsinki Tyomies" (Workingman of Helsinki).

The Finnish immigrant miners in the numerous small mining camps near Nanaimo, British Columbia soon became desperate with the ever worsening conditions. They struck the coal mines but lost the strike. Moreover the coal mines of the region were very dangerous places to work, disasters taking a tremendous toll. The working conditions were such that a desire was created among all of them to move out somewhere on the land. James Dunsmuir the multimillionaire owner of the mines was a ruthless tyrant and exploiter. Everyone of the Finns wanted to leave and thus avert dependence upon him. The problem of securing land was discussed in the small temperance circles for a considerable time but nothing ever came of it because their wages were so low that

Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Social Ethnic
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they did not have savings enough to move out with their families. Finally in the early part of 1900 three Finnish men arrived in Nanaimo from Queensland, Australia. They had been there with Matti Kurikka attempting to organize a colony of Finnish people which did not materialize. They brought with them some of the literature setting forth Kurikka's ideas. The pamphlets were passed from neighbor to neighbor on the mining locations. From the pamphlets the miners learned to their surprise that Kurikka was really trying to improve the conditions of the workingpeople even though his ideas were utopian, and that he was not an enemy of mankind as they had been led to believe by the Finnish newspapers. In the ideas of Kurikka the miners saw a way out of the plight that they were in. Since they were not able to move on the land that was available, individually, surely they could do so by co-operation which in simple terms was what Kurikka proposed. After a period of discussion in their circles Matt Halminen wrote a letter to Kurikka dated April 8th, 1900 asking him to come to British Columbia to help them colonize the Finns on the land. Mr. Kurikka who was in Australia wrote back that he would be glad to come to Canada if they would send his his passage. In the letter he indicated that he had also received requests from Finland to return there, but he could not do so under any conditions because he hated the oppression of Russia. Not long after this money was collected among the miners and other Finnish people in Nanaimo and sent to Kurikka. He evidently was not long in deciding to leave Australia as he already arrived in Nanaimo, British Columbia in August of the same year.

His first activity among the Finns of British Columbia was conducting lectures and educational work among the miners. A little later was begun the colorful period of the "Sointula" colony which was mainly under his leadership.

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When Matti Kurikka arrived in Nanaimo the Finnish miners had just lost their strike. Land at the time was to be had in several different places in Canada, but to get there was impossible as individuals. Resulting from this the idea of Kurikka to establish a co-operative or collective colony became a cry ringing in every household. Thus the "Kalevan Kansa" or the people of Kaleva as they called themselves began to look for a place of colonization in Canada. Deputations were sent to the Government of Canada which after a long period of red tape and delay made an agreement with the colonization company organized for the purpose to give them, Malcolm Island which is located near Van Couver British Columbia. Soon after this was done the first small group of men were sent there to explore and begin the construction of the most necessary buildings and equipment. At this time already the company that had been organized had a Finnish newspaper called the "Aika" (Time) of which Kurikka was the editor. Through it the membership of the company as well as the Finnish people in general were kept informed about the enterprise. Very soon after the company was organized Kurikka proposed to them that they should secure A. B. Makela from Finland to help him in the leadership. Makela had been a co-editor of the "Helsinkiin Tyomies" with Kurikka. Makela soon arrived after the request was made and later played an important role in the colony being the secretary of the colonization company for a long period of time.

From its very inception the "Sointula" colony was beset with many difficulties. The most important among them was first the lack of sufficient funds. Then there were the obstacles put before them by a lumber company who wanted to exploit the population and later there was a fire which resulted in demoralization of the colonists in which a number of people lost their lives.

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But the most important of the obstacles was the development of an ideological struggle between two groups, one of them led by Kurikka who was charged with buracracy and possessed with impracticable utopian schemes. On the other hand there was the other group with whom A. B. Makela was identified who were practical men, who soon became irreconcilable with the utopian schemes of Kurikka. This struggle finally led to the dissolution of the colony as it was constituted in the beginning.

The agreement to title of Malcolm Island between the Government of Canada and the colonization Company was in part as follows:

"This agreement has been made Nov. 27th, 1901 between his Majesty the King represented by the Commissioner of Lands and Labor on the one hand, and the 'Kalevan Kansan Colonization Company Limited' on the other, the latter to be known and referred to hereafter as the company of the former.

"Whereas the above mentioned company has been legally organized and incorporated for the purpose of, among other things to promote settlement of Finns and others in British Columbia by colonization and organization of settlements for these immigrants, into this province, and

"Whereas, the company offers to establish on Malcolm Island a broad colony for Finns with special privileges, and

"Whereas, the Governor General is authorized under section 39 of the Land Act, in order to promote such colonization to take special measures to convey title to State Lands that have not as yet been redeemed or claimed in the various provinces, which right he has, and

"Whereas, it is of great benefit to the State that Finnish people be brought and settled in this province, and

"Whereas, for the above mentioned purpose the following agreement

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has been made to guarantee to the company the following:

1. The company shall have full title to Malcolm Island in Rupert County, British Columbia for the purpose of building a settlement, provided as follows:
2. The company agrees to fulfill the settlement quota provided for in the land act of \$2.50 per acre for approximately 28,000 acres of the district.
3. The Company shall for the 7 years tax exemption, beginning this day, in lieu of all taxes payable to the province of British Columbia, with the exception of the poll tax carry out the settlement without Government aid and take care of the needs of the settlers such as building of necessary roads, bridges and other public buildings excepting schools and shipdocks.
4. The Company shall not secure title or deed to the Island or any part of its land for any purposes until seven years has elapsed from this day, and that the Minister of Lands and Labor has been satisfied, that as many settlers as this agreement calls for have been situated on the Island nor before all of the rest of the conditions of this agreement have been fulfilled.
5. All roads, streets, public buildings and shipdocks that the company builds are to be supervised by the Department of Lands and Labor and all surveys and platting of the land made by the company must receive the approval of the Minister of Lands and Labor for final authorization.
6. The settlement work of the company which will result in securing

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title to the land entails that the estimates of the Minister of Lands and Labor with regard to improvement satisfied, with amounts to \$2.50 (two dollars and fifty cents) for each acre on approximately 28,000 acres on Malcolm Island. If disagreements develop in the matter, the Minister of Lands and Labor will submit it to an arbitration committee, one member of which is appointed by the Minister of Land and Labor, one member by the company and in case they do not reach agreement they shall appoint a third as a referee.

7. The Company is to arrange in such a manner that each head of a family will have 80 acres of land on Malcolm Island."****

This is only in part the agreement made by the Kalevan Kansa with the Government of Canada. This is freely translated from Halminens pamphlet which he evidently has translated from excerpts of the original document or treaty.

Immigration Settlement
Land Companies,
Press

SOCIAL-ETHNIC STUDIES

Source: Tyomies (Daily) 5 Date of Publication April 14th 1917
(edition, page, column)
Vol. 15 No. 89 Date Line of story
Where consulted Minn. Historical Library Date consulted Oct. 11th 1938

The Sanborn Company of Eagle River Wisconsin real estate dealers carry a full page advertisement in the Tyomies extolling the advantages of 30,000 acres of Farm land which they own in Vilas County Wisconsin. To induce the Finnish people to buy the land they headline "a new method of settlement" According to the text of the advertisement they have agents on the spot to help the settlers get started in their farm operations. They claim "Good Markets" and offer instructions in farming as well as employment for slack time for the settlers on the company properties.

Your item No. 23 Page No. Your name W A Harju

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (Minnesota)
Federal Writers' Project, 415 Harvard St. S.E., Minneapolis.

Clayton A. Videen
April 5, 1939

Duluth News Tribune, Friday, Aug. 2, 1907:

"Petriella bargains for peace, but arms his followers with rifles; O'Brien fixes up deal defining rights of conflicting interests; thirteen thousand men work, and twelve thousand still out."

The above triple streamer head, in large type appeared in the Aug. 2 Tribune. The head did not terminate in one particular story, but summarized the strike news in general.

The following 3-col. head appeared on the front page in a boxed story. Great primer type was used in the story:

"LITTLE BABIES CARRIED BY THE WORKING MINERS TO PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM
THE MOBS"

The story follows:

"Eveleth, Aug. 1--Working men employed at the Fayal Mine today carried babies in their arms on their way to work. The infants were kept at the mines all day by the men as a source of protection against any possible violence. It was apparently their belief that the strikers or anyone else would not attempt to do any harm while the children were in the danger zone. The mothers of the children met the fathers and babies when the day was over.

"Although hundreds of men are going to work daily they cannot be persuaded that the police protection furnished is adequate to the case and some of them are very much frightened. They seem possessed of a feeling of impending disaster and this feeling has to a great extent been caught up by the general public. The city is apparently on the verge of the worst trouble of the strike if rumor is to be believed.

"The officers of the union are taking every precaution to keep their men sober but some will slip away to blind pigs where liquid refreshments are always on tap. Although it was reported to Governor Johnson, during his stay here, that there were several hundred rifles in the possession of the strikers they deny it. The Federation men laugh at the rumors current that these guns are to be put to active use.

"None of the striking miners will believe the published accounts of the settlement of the ore dock strike in Duluth. They profess to believe that they are printed to

influence the range situation and none of the ore dock men have really gone to work.

The members of the union claim that they do not know the man who was arrested this morning for attempting to incite a riot. He is not a member of their organization."

A 2-col. headline on page 1 stated that "Petriella and bosses agree on rules which will govern the battle." In smaller type, ran the following subhead: "Strikers will cease marching and trespassing, and steel corporation will not question or interfere with rights of men to hold meetings--- This is deal fixed up through medium of Thomas D. O'Brien, emissary of executive to the ranges--Governor will issue proclamation rights of belligerents along these lines. Hopes are entertained that the compact will make for peace."

The news story said, in part, that "Governor Johnson is unconvinced of the necessity of sending state troops to the range.... Mr. O'Brien, with Harvey Grimmer, the governor's executive clerk, and Carlyle Day, nephew of Frank A. Day, who accompanied him on his mission, left here early yesterday morning for Hibbing."

Sheriff Bates met with the "mediators" and steel corporation officials and Petriella. After the meeting O'Brien sent Governor Johnson a telegram to the effect that marching would cease and that there would be no trespassing on private property. "It is understood that O'Brien gave Petriella a straight-from-the-shoulder jolt in the form of advice to refrain in the future from expressing himself as he has done lately, with regard to physical violence and made plain to him the fact that strikers must refrain from trespassing on private property." The officials were very much opposed to numbers of men marching together, regarding as the "most menacing factor in demonstrations likely to disturb the peace."

Mr. O'Brien said: "It is quite generally known that the adjutant general is on duty and that the troops are ready to leave immediately upon receiving notice. Transportation arrangements have been completed and all is in readiness for their speedy departure to the scene of any disturbance that would necessitate their presence." Several officials urged the governor to send troops to the range, but he didn't comply, believing that the situation did not demand.

A Hibbing news story, dated Aug. 1, states in a two-col. head: "Strike rapidly failing; Federation leader hands out guns and says 'fight.'" (The foregoing is all

in caps. The subhead reads as follows: "Teofilo Petriella Shows the Cloven Hoof of Anarchy in Speech to Deluded Followers--More than Half of the Men on the Range are Now at Work--Shipment of Ore to the Docks is Resumed--Steel Corporation Will Operate Underground Mines in the Daytime Only, Fearing Violence to Night Crews."

"The actual strength of the strikers will now be made manifest. The United States Steel Company's properties are guarded by armed deputies. Men with rifles in their hands patrol the properties of the independent companies. No strikers will be allowed to carry guns on the streets of Hibbing or Chisholm or upon the highways between the two towns.

"Several hundred men returned to work in the Hibbing, Chisholm and Nashwauk districts. There are now 12,000 miners and laborers idle and 13,000 at work."

A single-col. head on page 1, says in large type: "Petriella Arms His Followers." The story follows:

"Hibbing, Aug. 1--The 40 rifles, mention of which was made exclusively in today's News Tribune were this afternoon distributed among the followers of Teofilo Petriella. At a late hour tonight Petriella assured Deputy Sheriff Magie that he would endeavor to restrain his men, and that they would not march again if he could prevent it. He said he had exhorted his followers to be peaceful and to avoid rupture with the authorities.

"While no positive order had been issued by Petriella for the strikers to arm themselves, his action in furnishing two score of men with rifles is taken as an indication that the rest of his men have supplied themselves with firearms.

"The situation is fast becoming critical and this is realized by the strikers as well as the United States Steel Corporation and the independent mining companies. If the strikers attempt to resist the deputies, there will be trouble which may result fatally.

"Petriella assured the governor that his men would not carry arms and that they would conduct themselves peaceably. In the immediate vicinity of Hibbing there has been no serious trouble, but the deputies at Mountain Iron were insufficient to oppose the strikers from Virginia and Eveleth and the situation at Nashwauk was controlled only when deputies were imported from Coleraine, Bovey and Grand Rapids. As long as

the men who are not affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners were intimidated and were afraid to go to work there was no need for extreme violence. However, as the miners are returning to work, the strikers are beginning to view the situation from a different standpoint.

"It was this change of base, this shifting of the game, that caused Petriella to distribute 40 rifles among his men and give them tacit, although not published, to defend themselves and present armed opposition to the deputies and other representatives of the law if they judged violent measured necessary for the 'cause.'....

"Petriella does not want to see the militia on the range. Pursuant to his mandate, no meetings were held at Chisholm this morning. A meeting was held at Hibbing at 7:30 o'clock, which was attended by about 200 strikers. They kept Petriella's words in their minds and dispersed as quietly as they congregated."

Another 1-col. head, col. 1, page 1, reads as follows:

"TELLS STRIKERS TO USE VIOLENCE"

This in smaller subhead:

"PETRIELLA HANDS OUT SOME ALARMING ADVICE TO
HIS FEDERATION FOLLOWERS"

"Chisholm, Aug. 1--Declaring the limits of endurance has been reached, and that the strikers will no longer tamely submit to having their peaceful meetings broken up by armed deputies or allow themselves to be dispersed while quietly walking along the highways, Teofilo Petriella, the leader of the striking miners, advised the strikers to arm and to resist to death farther interference on the part of the deputies.

"The strike leader said that if Governor Johnson permitted the armed deputies to break up peaceful meetings of the strikers they would know that 'he was not the governor of Minnesota, but the Governor of the Steel Corporation,' and that they must take the law into their own hands as 'the armed thugs of the Steel Corporation had done and defend their liberties.'"

Part of Petriella's speech was as follows: "I want you not to be afraid of the Winchesters which bristle through our hall door. We have enough power to resist. Keep quiet and cool, and try to avoid bloodshed. If trouble comes, meet it manfully."

Hibbing, Aug. 1--Thomas F. Cole, president of the Oliver Iron Mining Company and

P. Mitchell, general manager, came here to inspect the company's property.

"Hibbing, Aug. 1--The Duluth, Missabe & Northern shipped seven trains of ore of 48 cars each from the Hibbing and Chisholm districts of the Mesaba range today to the ore docks at Duluth. The Great Northern shipped one train from the entire Mesaba Range and the Iron Range did not remove any cars of ore to the docks. The seven trains sent to the ore docks at Duluth by the Missabe were in the Mitchell yards and were loaded before the strike, being held up by the present labor difficulties. The trains carried about 14,000 tons. The number of cars sent to the docks will be doubled tomorrow. The Missabe has started to deliver empties to the mines and will carry ore as rapidly as the train crews are obtained.

"About 60 train crews out of Proctor and Hibbing were idle on account of the strike and it will take a few days to recruit the former strength. Several trains of ore from the Hull-Rust pit were taken to the Mitchell yards today, but outside these consignment no cars of ore mined since the inception of the strike were delivered to the Mitchell yards.

"The Great Northern sent one train of 31 cars to Superior and will endeavor to ship out 20 trains of 48 cars a day by the end of the week. The average daily shipments of the Missabe from the Hibbing and Chisholm districts in season are 35 trains. The Great Northern ships 25 trains of 60 cars a day from the entire Mesaba range.

"The Iron Range did not carry ore today because there were no loaded cars at the mines. Empties are being delivered by the Iron Range today and that road will have about 15 trains of ore to the Two Harbors docks Friday. The daily tonnage of the Iron Range is 55,000."

A news dispatch from Hibbing, Aug. 1 dateline, says the miners are working "without interference." The chief of police issued an ultimatum that "any interference with the workmen would be summarily dealt with." Trouble is expected when additional crews of miners go to work tomorrow.

A news story with a Two Harbors dateline says that "nearly five hundred ore handlers report for duty under old conditions" and that "there was no agreement ~~was~~ made with the union." The story stated that there had been no trouble and that none was anticipated.

Mountain Iron, Aug. 1--None of the miners employed here went to work today. They had intended to but were intimidated by about 500 strikers who marched over from Virginia and Eveleth. The mines are preparing plans to furnish complete protection for their men and when that is done they will resume operations with nearly a full crew.

"They have been held up by the lack of ore cars but this difficulty will be removed by the end of the week."

"By noon today the ore train service and work at the Allouez will be something like normal for this season of the year. The first train load of ore since the inauguration of the strike on the ranges was scheduled to arrive here last night and several trains of empties were started out for the mines yesterday afternoon and evening. With the resumption of operations at the docks yesterday morning with an almost complete crew the large stock of ore in the docks and yards will soon be exhausted.

"About 160 men reported for duty yesterday morning...most of them being old employees.... Out of the 160 men on the night crew before the strike 110 reported yesterday evening....

"There was not the slightest sign of discontent or of prospective trouble about the docks yesterday...."

Duluth News Tribune, Sat., Aug. 3, 1907:

The following headlines streamed prominently across the front page in large caps:

"STRIKE IS HOPELESSLY BROKEN AND RESUMPTION OF WORK IS GENERAL; ORE SHIPMENTS TO DOCKS HEAVY; FEDERATION IS ON VERGE OF BREAK-UP"

and in smaller caps, 3-col. wide:

"ARMED DEPUTIES GUARANTEE RIGHT OF MEN TO WORK, AND THEY ARE RAPIDLY RETURNING TO THE MINES"

The story follows:

"Hibbing, July 2--All of the underground mines in the Hibbing, Chisholm and Nashwauk districts entered the shipping lists today except the Jordan, where the shaft is being repaired. Men were not at work at all of the underground mines, but it is expected to have all working by tomorrow, in anticipation of the requests for empties which have been made with the Great Northern and Messabe Roads by all except the Jordan.

"Under the protection of the deputies men are flocking back to the mines all over the range."

Three open pit mines in the Hibbing and Chisholm districts; these mines are owned by the United States Steel Corporation. The Missabe shipped 25 trains of ore to the Duluth docks today; 15 trains of 60 cars each arrived in Superior via the Great Northern. "The increase in the number of men who went to work today was not as large as yesterday. The United States Steel Company is working all of its underground mines in the Hibbing district with about the same forces that were out yesterday. Practically all of the work is being done in the daytime...."

Empties were being delivered to the Hawkins, La Rue and Crosley Mines in the Nashwauk district, scene of recent disorders. There mines are operating with about 500 men, 200 short of their normal payroll. The mines in the vicinity of Eveleth, Sparta and Virginia were getting ready to ship "many of the independent mines are working nearly full shifts by day and some have gangs in the ore at night. None of the United States Steel Corporation underground mines are being worked with full shifts and it will be some time before the underground propositions will approach their daily averages.... The shipments from the underground mines are dependent upon the labor situation to a greater extent than the open pits."

"AUSTRIANS CHEER FIRST ORE TRAIN"

The above single-col. head in large type is on page 1; story follows:

"Hibbing, Aug. 2--There was universal satisfaction among all classes except the Western Federation of Miners when the first train load of ore was sent to the head of the lakes following the ore dock strike.... When the first cars of ore left the Hull-Rust pit of the United States Steel Corporation yesterday the Austrian laborers cheered and threw their hats in the air as the train passed by. Their feelings are typical of the sentiment of the laboring class as well as of the business."

"Nashwauk, Aug. 2--Forty more deputies were landed in this city today making a force of about 200 with which to preserve the peace of the village.

"The deputies who arrived today were new men sworn in to take the places of those who came to Bovey and the other surrounding towns when the city needed help. These men will all be allowed to go to their homes now and the new men will guard the mines."

Forty deputies were sworn in and armed with rifles at Mountain Iron and all the mines have plans to go to work Monday. "With the deputies in the field there should

be no difficulty in obtaining full crews."

A single col. head on page 1, col. 6, says:

"IS FEDERATION TO SPLIT IN PIECES?"

"Eveleth, Aug. 2--It is persistently rumored on the streets here today that the Austrian members of the Western Federation of Miners will pull out of that organization in a few days. The rumor seems to have a great deal of foundation and is given credence by all of the people here who should be conversant with the situation.

"The Austrians are all members of the United Workers of the World and that organization has not as yet recognized the Western Federation of Miners. This organization is expected to sanction the Federation in the future, but its constitution will not permit of such action while the miners are on strike.

"The Austrians comprise about 60 per cent of the workers in this district and should they desert the union the cause of the strikers would be lost as this district is concerned. The men of this nationality have been discussing such action for some time and many of the older heads of the crowd are advancing the idea of pulling out tomorrow. Something is due to drop and it may happen in the morning. Strenuous efforts are being made by the strikers to keep these people lined up with the rest, but it is apparent that their task is daily becoming more difficult.

"The local union of the federation held a meeting here last night. They discussed the subject of attempting to stop the miners from resuming work. It is understood that this is the last time that the subject will be brought up in the meetings and the decision arrived at was the plan which will be followed in the future.

"Many of the more radical members advocated at once to stop all operations. This would precipitate a clash with the deputies. The more conservative members of the organization refused to permit anything which would make trouble while the range was so well protected by the officers. It is certain that there will be no more attempts to intimidate the workers until the present force of deputy sheriffs is cut down. There will be some isolated cases of threats but none that will receive the sanction of the union."

Another single col. head in large letters tells us that:

"GUNS MAINTAIN MAJESTY OF LAW"

In smaller caps:

"ARMED DEPUTIES OVERAWE WESTERN FEDERATION MEN AND PRESERVE PEACE AT EVELETH"

"Eveleth, Aug. 2--The trouble expected here and which was threatened by striking men last night, failed to materialize when the whistles blew this morning. Sheriff Bates arrived here from Hibbing this morning with 50 deputies armed with Winchesters. He was requested to send aid at a late hour last night by Mayor Jesmore, who in common with the majority of the people here, expected an outbreak.

"Sheriff Bates' deputies swelled the force here to considerably over 300. The special officers were posted in a complete network around the mines and all approaches were carefully guarded. Apparently the preparation for defense completely overawed the strikers. Only a few of them appeared on the streets during the morning.

"The meeting of Petriella with the strikers yesterday was watched with considerable apprehension by the citizens. There was also a secret midnight meeting of the local union at Mafia hall, the Italian headquarters, last night.

"Acting on the strength of a rumor that was persistently circulated to the effect that a body of men from Virginia would join the strikers here this morning in the expected demonstration, Mayor Jesmore posted a special guard on the Virginia road last night.

"The force of local police deputies was increased to 120 yesterday. They will be kept on duty every morning until the strike is over. It is said today that the strikers have more cards up their sleeves, and are too clever to show their hands. The union men state openly that should police protection be relaxed there would be interference with the men working in the mines.

"The mines are all working today with increased forces." The regular force of the Fayal is 700; 500 were at work. There were only seven men at the Troy, but the Adams Spruce increased its crew this morning. "All of the mines are loading ore. The first train load of ore to be shipped from Eveleth since the strike began was sent out during the night. Another went this morning. Three trains of empties, which arrived this morning, are being loaded at the mines today."

There are 100 men in the shaft of the Gilbert Mine in Sparta. Though no trouble is expected, the crew is guarded by an equal number of deputies.

A force of 150 men were engaged in stripping at the McKinley Mine; 175 is the

normal crew. There were 150 men at the Elba and Corsica mines, half the normal crew. There were 50 men working underground in the La Belle mine.

The striking miners were orderly and there have been no disturbances. "The police department has been seriously considering the novel plan of deputizing the officers of the local union here and the strike leaders, but up to this afternoon it had not been done." One Western Federation man was deputized. Needless to say, he was held in contempt by his brother workmen.

A single col. head in large type on page 1 proclaims that the governor will send no troops to the strike-bound sectors. Petriella assured the governor's representative that "no violence was contemplated."

A small item on page 1 states that there were "wild reports" of a clash between strikers and deputies at Mountain Iron, but the rumor was unconfirmed.

A single col. headline on page 3 says:

"MINERS SCARED; REFUSE TO WORK"

"Mountain Iron, Aug. 2--There are plenty of men ready to go to work here, but they are afraid to do so. The mine officials say that they could operate at once if sufficient armed protection were afforded the workmen. Most of the 450 men who were ordered out Wednesday from the Wacootah, Iroquois and Brunt are anxious to go back to work.

"A telephone message from Eveleth announced that Sheriff Bates would arrive here today with a body of deputies. If the force is sufficiently large, the mines here will probably be operating tomorrow morning."

Governor John A. Johnson issued a long proclamation which may be summarized: The strikers have a constitutional right to hold meetings without being disturbed by law officials, but the authorities have the right to protect property from being damaged and to keep the rights of others from being infringed on.

A news item states that a Virginia mine resumed operations. This was the Commodore, which started with 50 men. "This is thought to be the opening wedge in this district and all the mines will soon be in running order."

The NewsTribune published a scathing editorial denouncing Petriella and his assistants. The editorial said, "Petriella draws a salary for trying to make trouble...."

The police draw salaries to prevent him or anyone else from starting trouble.... He (Petriella) is a trouble maker and has the usual reward due him."

The Duluth News Tribune, Monday, Aug. 5, 1907:

The Aug. 5 issue was the first issue in more than two weeks, with the exception of one morning, that strike news headlines were not blazoned across the entire front page. In contrast to almost every issue for the past two weeks, when most of the front page was taken up with strike news--the stories being highly editorialized--the Aug. 5 issue has a 3-col. head, and only one strike story on page 1.

The headline, in good-sized, boldface type, is as follows:

"STRIKE ON RANGE EXPECTED TO END WITH PRESENT WEEK; TWO THOUSAND MORE MEN
WILL GO TO WORK TODAY"

The story, bearing a Hibbing, Aug. 4 dateline, is as follows:

"The third week of the strike engineered by the Western Federation of Miners probably will see the last week of the conflict. It is believed by those who have been constantly in touch with the situation that the present week will witness the culmination of the struggle. The crisis is past and no further struggle of a serious nature is expected unless something unforeseen occurs.

"The Western Federation of Miners has not given up the fight and the statements in the foregoing paragraph must not be construed as indicating that it will abandon the purposes which gave birth to the strike. On the contrary the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners are entering into the third week of the labor difficulty with renewed energy and no one realizes better than the officials of the United States Steel Corporation that the organization will not bow to the inevitable without a struggle."

The newspaper reports that C.E. Mahoney, national secretary of the organization, has printed several thousand circulars to be distributed among the miners. These circulars urged that the strike be continued. The Federation plans a big labor war in 2 years, after the next presidential election. The Tribune says that the "strike leaders have urged their followers...to restrain themselves from violence and their exhortations have been of a nature to influence public opinion in their favor, provided the public was not fully conversant with the situation." Then follows a paragraph denouncing the strikers in what are intended to be subtle words. "About 2,000 miners, it is expected,

will return to work Monday morning.... Within a few days all of the open pits of the United States Steel Corporation will be shipping 80 per cent of the ore mined on the Mesaba Range by that corporation...."

About 200 strikers attended a Chisholm meeting. People classed as "Finnish Socialists" held several picnics on the ranges, but there was no disorder.... "The red flag was not brought into evidence."

Work in the underground mines is to be resumed in the Eveleth-Sparta-Virginia districts.

"Practically all of the deputies brought to the range by the United States Steel Corporation came from St. Paul and Minneapolis. They are retained by a state employer's organization which has a similar organization in most states where labor difficulties are liable to occur. Minnesota employers have 1,000; Illinois, 6,000; Colorado, 8,000, and other states have similar forces. These men live in the state where they can have the power to arrest when on strike duty. In times of 'peace' they receive \$2 a day and are given employment. When on guard duty they are paid \$4 a day and their sustenance."

The above paragraph is interesting. Throughout the entire strike, little or no mention was made concerning the identity of these "special officers," thereby leading the reader to believe that the deputies were recruited from the ranks of the miners, which further served to create the belief in the minds of the readers that the strikers, themselves, were not in sympathy with the strike---CAV.

A news dispatch from Eveleth says that it rained all day Sunday and the rain "so dampened the ardor of the strikers that they remained in their houses.... There is no indication of disorder and everything is expected to be quiet...."

"Hibbing, Aug. 4--John W. Keyes of Duluth, attorney for the Western Federation of Miners, declared that 'plenty of money would be forthcoming from the Federation coffers to prolong the strike indefinitely....'"

"Nashwauk, Aug. 4--Everything is quiet here and the strike seems to be over, all but the formal declaration.... All the mines will operate tomorrow with greatly increased crews."

The Two Harbors docks put on a night crew of 150 men last night.

Duluth News Tribune, Tues., Aug. 6, 1907:

The News Tribune had a 3-col. head in this issue. It was set in large type and read as follows:

"FINNS THREATEN TO DYNAMITE HOUSE WHICH HARBORS TWENTY WORKING MINERS; DEPUTIES ARREST 23 OF THE RIOTERS"

The story reads as follows:

"Hibbing, Aug. 5--Twenty-three Finns, strikers, were arrested here by sheriff's deputies between 12:30 and 1 this afternoon and lodged in jail. The arrest was made at the Sellers location, a property belonging to the United States Steel Corporation and adjoining the Sellers pit. This is at the north end of town but within its corporate limits.

"Near the Sellers location, where the trouble leading up to the arrest took place, is a boarding house run by a woman named Amy Lavic, a Slav. At her place were boarding 20 Austrians, all employed in the Sellers pit. As they sat eating their dinner today 15 Finns, all strikers, came along and stopped right outside the house. Thirteen remained on the walk while the remaining two went up to the door and inquired for the landlady. The Lavic woman responded and came to the door to see what was wanted of her. One of the two, acting as spokesman for the party, told her that they were members of the Western Federation of Miners and that if she did not stop boarding men working in the mine they would blow up her house with dynamite.

"The woman, thoroughly frightened, turned back into the house and, slipping out the rear door, beat a hasty retreat up the street for a distance of three blocks, where she encountered six deputies, who were on their way to do guard duty at the Burt Mine.

"Shortly afterward, a woman, who proved to be the wife of a member of the crowd of Finns who had appeared at the house, came along the street. She picked up a brick, advanced toward the house and before the deputies were aware of her intentions she hurled the missile at the Lavic woman. The deputies seized her. Immediately the whole crowd of Finns came back toward the house on a run, talking excitedly. Some were for blowing up the house at once, while others opposed that plan, but wanted to 'wade in' at the Austrians inside. The latter had remained within during all this time and were scared almost to death, some of them having taken refuge under beds and others

hiding in closets.

"At this juncture five more Finns came up and almost on their heels a number of deputies arrived on the scene. They got busy at once and placed 18 under arrest, the two apparent ring leaders managing to escape. As the officers were marching their prisoners to the jail quite a crowd gathered. In the crowd were a number of strikers who jeered at and cursed the deputies, so five more were taken into custody on the way. Some of the prisoners were anything but docile, so there was plenty of excitement during the march up the street, no less than half a dozen scraps taking place. None of the prisoners escaped, however. The officers were alert and watchful and determined to bag their quarry with the result that they acquitted themselves well.

"In his efforts to place one of the biggest and burliest Finns behind the bars Chief of Police Ring bruised his leg, the injury not being serious, however. In a few minutes the entire bunch of 23 was safely stowed away in the cells.

"Warrants were immediately sworn out against the men, 18 being charged with threatening to destroy property and five for inciting to riot. This evening six of the first 18 arrested were brought before Judge T.F. Brady of the municipal court for preliminary hearing. C.F. Mahoney, acting president of the Western Federation of Miners, appeared in the courtroom and asked that the hearing be postponed until 10 o'clock Tuesday morning in order that John A. Keyes of Duluth, attorney for the Federation, might have time to reach here to appear in court to defend the prisoners. Judge Brady granted the request and the six were remanded back to jail.

"When questioned by police the Lavic woman, at whose house the trouble occurred, said she did not know the names of the two men who called her to the door, but the police are inclined to believe that she does. However, she gave a clear and apparently straightforward account of the entire affair so far as she was a witness to it, and she has already identified the 18 men who were arrested near her home....

"Two deputies were detailed to do guard duty at the Lavic home during the night. None of the 20 Austrians boarding at the house and who were the immediate cause of the trouble went to work this afternoon.

"Teofilo Petriella appealed to Judge Brady this afternoon to issue warrants for the arrest of the deputies who were on duty at 1 o'clock today at the intersection of

the two highways between Chisholm and Hibbing, about one mile north of Hibbing. He claims that four or five of the strikers came along the road there at about that time, and as they were unable to understand what the deputies said to them, trouble ensued, during which two of the strikers were pretty badly beaten up by the deputies. Tomorrow morning the two who claim to have received the beating at the hands of the deputies, will appear before Judge Brady to give information against them. The judge says that both sides shall have fair treatment at his hands and that if the story of the two complaining strikers can be sufficiently well substantiated he will issue warrants for the arrest of those officers taking part in the assault...."

A story bearing an Eveleth dateline states that Petriella, "the strike agitator," is in favor of Governor Johnson's proclamation to the effect that the strikers should be permitted to hold peaceful meetings. Petriella issued a poster in which he said, in part: "His Excellency, the governor of the State of Minnesota, has issued the.... proclamation, which henceforth shall govern your actions as we expect it will rule the actions of our opponents in the industrial field.'" The governor's proclamation, also, was printed in full on the poster.

A news story with an Eveleth dateline has the following single col. head in large caps:

"SPECIAL COPS TO WATCH STRIKERS"

"Eveleth, Aug. 5--Alarmed by reports that the strikers would take advantage of the fact that the special deputies had been released, Chief of Police Kent spent the small hours of this morning delivering a personal summons to each of the 125 citizens who had been previously deputized for guard duty. The result was that when the people of Eveleth awoke this morning they found the streets heavily patrolled, and on all of the roads leading to the mines were lines of deputies armed with guns, just as they had been during the troublous times last week.... The unexpected presence of the deputies put an end to whatever plans the strikers had been making and there was no parade and no demonstration of any kind...."

"Bovey, Aug. 5--All the deputies have departed from Coleraine and Bovey, the mines are all operating with practically a full quota of men and there are few signs left that there has been such a thing as a strike in this vicinity...."

Duluth News Tribune, Wed., Aug. 7, 1907:

A two-col. head on page 1 states:

"STRIKE LEADER VISITS DULUTH; MAKES THREATS"

"Wearing a flaming red necktie, and with defiance in his every attitude, Teofilo Petriella, organizer of disorder in the mining region and champion of strikers came to Duluth last evening....went to the office of a legal firm to consult about the defense of strikers who had been arrested in various towns along the range during the last two or three days for violations of law.

"With a show of bravado the swarthy little Italian last night as he stroked his moustache declared: 'This strike will be kept up for two years if necessary. We are not going to bow to the power of gold. There are 16,000 miners up in this country and if things go too far some one may get hurt. Never will we submit to arbitration. If we do not get our demands we will stay out. The strike is not over and it will not be over until we get our rights. Furthermore no real mine workers will come in here. We will se to that. There will be no let up and no compromise.'

"Petriella puffed a cigar as he issued his manifesto. His dark eyes twinkled and he showed all the spirit of the professional labor agitator...."

A single col. head in large type on page 1, says:

"TWO STRIKERS HEAVILY FINED"

"Eveleth, Aug. 6---Jean Inthart and Matt Patrick, the two strikers arrested yesterday, were found guilty of the charge of attempting to intimidate who wished to work and heavily fined by Judge Prince this afternoon. The first named was found guilty on two counts, being sentenced to pay a fine of \$100 or serve 90 days in jail on the first count and a straight fine of \$50 on the second. The other man was also tried on two counts, being found guilty of one for which the judge handed him a fine of \$25 or 30 days. He was acquitted on the second which charged him with being an accessory."

The men, according to the News Tribune's account of the witnesses' testimony, walked into a house in which were five non-striking miners. The miners did not answer the question whether they intended to continue working, so they were told that they "had better watch out for their!" The judge agreed with the prosecuting attorney that this was a serious threat in view of the high feeling on the range. The prisoners

were represented by City Attorney McGilbray; the prosecuting attorney was County Attorney Norton. The case was appealed and the men were freed on \$200 bail each, pending the new trial.

A dispatch from Hibbing informs us that the mines in that vicinity are shipping 90% of the normal amount of iron ore. "It is estimated that about 500 more men went to work on the ranges today leaving about 6,000 still out."

A front page, single col. head, says:

"STRIKERS WILL BE TRIED TODAY"

"Hibbing, Aug. 6--The Western Federation of Miners was caught red-handed when J. Maki, whose name is eleventh on the list of the general strike committee for the Mesaba Range, was arrested with 17 other Finnish members of the Federation for threatening to blow up the boarding house of Amy Lavic about 1 o'clock Monday afternoon.

"The woman is a Slav and speaks the Austrian language...when the deputies made the arrest they nipped a serious riot in the bud, a race war between the Finns on the outside of Amy Lavic's house and a score of Austrians on the inside, who were distributed under the beds and in the closets in a state of terror.

The Lavic woman reported to the News Tribune that the strikers had threatened to blow her house up with dynamite if she continued to board the non-striking Austrians.

Petriella again asked to have the unduly rough, imported special police arrested for beating up strikers. Judge Brady replied through Assistant County Attorney Otto A. Poirier that the matter would be investigated. The remainder of the news story, 3/4 of a column long, is devoted largely to saying that Petriella is "losing caste" with his own men and that he is no longer able to control their actions. The judge maintained that he had not heard of the "'daily infractions of the law'" by the strike-breakers.

Duluth News Tribune, Thurs., Aug. 8, 1907:

On Thursday morning, Aug. 8, the following 2-col. head in fairly large caps, appeared on page 1.

"MUCH LEGAL JOCKEYING AT PRISONERS HEARING"

"Hibbing, Aug. 7--The preliminary hearing of the 19 strikers arrested for riot Monday noon promises to be a hard-fought legal battle. The state is represented by

Otto A. Poirier, assistant County Attorney, and Martin Hughes of Hibbing. John A. Keyes of Duluth is the attorney for the defendants. After considerable jockeying on the part of the Attorneys this morning in the municipal court, Judge T.F. Brady continued the hearing until 9 a.m. Thursday morning....

"As the prisoners were about to be returned to the city jail, Attorney Keyes asked the court to see that the men were fed and housed comfortably. The court promised that the matter would be looked into. Deputy Sheriff Magie said he would notify the jailer of the complaint of the attorney for the defense.

"When the 19 prisoners were brought into the court...the men were chained together in couples."

Keyes made several objections, one of them being that the first warrant had been dismissed and another substituted; other objections were the warrants were neither properly issued nor properly attested. All of Keyes' objections were immediately overruled by Judge Brady. The warrant was couched in damning terms concerning the alleged attempt to riot.

Union officials distributed bible quotation circulars to the strikers. These biblical quotations were followed by contrasting instances to show that the "plutocrats" had a contemptuous disregard for the unselfishness of the Ten Commandments.

"Hibbing, Aug. 7--The mines tapped by the Great Northern on the Mesaba Range are now mining more ore than they were before the strike. They have all the men they want...."

In the Superior section of the News Tribune, a news story says: "Except from some of the Socialist members of the labor unions of Superior it is said that Teofilo Petriella, the strike leader, was given little encouragement locally yesterday...." The remainder of ten inches of type in this news story is chiefly an attack on Petriella and the Western Federation of Miners. Part of his speech is quoted, especially when he is reported to have said: "I am a Socialist and have been a member of the Socialist party since I was of age. The only ticket I have ever voted in my life is the Socialist ticket...."

The following is taken from the Duluth News Tribune, issue of Friday, July 26, 1907:

The entire front page is given entirely to the strike situation, as is most of the rest of the paper. There is a picture 3 columns wide and 11 inches long of Teofilo Petriella, with a bitter story about him.

The double streamer, 3/4 inch headlines, slashed across the front page, is a statement of Governor John A. Johnson:

"THERE MUST BE NO RIOTING OR BLOODSHED; MINERS WHO WANT TO
WORK WILL BE PROTECTED; I BELIEVE THE STRIKE CAN BE SETTLED
AMICABLY"

"Governor Johnson's special train pulled into Duluth about 7:30 last evening. The executive, immediately after dining, went into conference with officials of the Duluth, Missabe & Northern railway company.

"In an interview with a representative of the News Tribune, the governor reviewed briefly his tour of the range towns and declined to divulge the matter of the conference held with the officials in Duluth.

"In the short time employed for the visit to the range,' he said, 'I met with mayors and police officials of the towns visited, and with miners' and citizens' committees. I don't believe at present there is any necessity for official action on the part of the state government. I realize that the situation is a grave one and that there is a possibility of interference--even forcible interference--should efforts be made to operate the mines. It is the right of every man to work if he desires to do so without molestation on the part of others, and if it becomes necessary at any time to preserve order, to protect property or to protect citizens in their constitutional privileges and rights, I will not hesitate to use every means at my command to realize this end....'"

The governor gave a 10-minute speech at the City Hall. The States chief executive said that he was here to look over the situation and to hear all sides. He said that Sheriff Bates' fear that there would be rioting specifically brought him into this region. He said that men had a right to form unions, but that they had no right to

interfere with another man's work. At this juncture he was greeted with "deafening applause."

He answered the applause thus:

"Please do not applaud. I did not come here to make a political speech, and I would much rather that you refrain from making any kind of a demonstration. It is not for the best." He characterized the strike as "unfortunate."

"After the governor had finished speaking the audience gave three rousing cheers for him and showed their appreciation by loud expressions of favorable comment on the speech."

"IS RUN THROUGH WITH UMBRELLA" ($\frac{1}{2}$ " type)

"STRIKER DRIVES STEEL ROD INTO DEPUTY SHERIFF'S MOUTH AND OUT
UNDER EAR"--sub-head

"Hibbing, July 25--William Elliott, special deputy sheriff at the Hull-Rust mine was seriously injured in a clash with a striker at this place tonight.

"A Finn miner whose identity could not be learned approached Mr. Elliott and attempted to gain admission to the mine. He was prevented by the officer and resenting the interference he jabbed him with his umbrella. The umbrella handle was of steel and sharp pointed. The point entered Elliott's mouth and passed through the neck coming out under the right ear. The man was taken to Rood hospital where the wound was dressed. He was then taken home...."

"The assailant escaped in the darkness and has not been captured although there are several deputies searching for him."

"Eveleth, July 25--Although the Federation men in conference with Governor Johnson today at Eveleth were emphatic in their denial of reports that rifles were stored here by the strikers ready for use, Mayor Jessmore asserted that 131 rifles were stored to his personal knowledge. It had been rumored that there were over 200. The Federation men present at the conference denied both the truth of the rumor and the statement of Mayor Jessmore.

"Sol Sax, an alderman of Eveleth, then volunteered the information that the hardware dealers of Eveleth had reported to him unusually heavy sales of rifle ammunition to the striking men during the past few days. According to these dealers, the strikers would announce promiscuously that they were going on long hunting trips.

"Other purposes outside of hunting are attributed to this sudden laying in of rifle ammunition by the citizens of Eveleth, outside of the union."

"Two Harbors, July 25--Roadmaster John P. Shay of the Duluth & Iron Range railroad has issued orders to all section foremen to have the tracks in their districts inspected twice each day. Every effort is being taken to protect the trains from accidents at the hands of strikers on the range.

"It is understood that several attempts have been made to derail trains by loosening spikes. Spikes were placed on the rail a couple of days ago at mile post 28 near this city but were found by the track inspector before any train passed."

On the front page is a picture of Teofilo Petriella 3 cols. wide and 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The caption, in bold face type, reads as follows: "Leader of the Western Federation of Miners in This District--The Man Who, More Than Any One Else, Has Stirred Up Strife Among the Men Who Were Satisfied With Conditions Until He Came Upon the Scene."

Petriella wired Sheriff Hoolihan of Itasca County that "'two hundred men, women and children have been put on the streets of Bovey by your deputies. Are you willing to accord me protection of the law if I go over to bring some relief to my brethren who are on open ground without roof and without bread?'"

Sheriff Hoolihan came back with the following telegram to Petriella: "'Information given you referred to in your telegram is willfully and deliberately false. Conditions at Bovey are quiet and peaceful....'"

The citizens of Bovey and Coleraine telegraphed Governor Johnson that Petriella sent the wire "for the purpose of causing trouble." Further, the wire stated, "'We trust that the governor of Minnesota will not permit the slander of an Italian Anarchist to prejudice him against the lawabiding citizens....'"

In Ashland, 35 employes of the Lake Superior Iron and Chemical company walked out on strike when their management refused to grant them a raise of ten cents a day. The men were getting \$1.95 per day; the raise would have given them a daily wage of \$2.05.

Many men, mostly Austrians, left the Misabe Range when the mines closed, and went to look for work on the Gogebic range.

There were several news items from the iron ranges stating the "fear of violence" had caused many men to go on strike who would have otherwise remained on the job.

"St. Paul, July 25--Secret orders today were sent out to various company commanders of the First regiment to have their men prepared for a response to orders for immediate call to duty at any hour." (This dispatch came under a single column head, with $\frac{1}{2}$ " headline "MILITIA READY TO RESPOND")

At least one Hibbing man, a wealthy Italian, complained to Governor Johnson that an officer of the Western Federation of Miners had threatened to kill him (the Italian). Gov. Johnson said, "'Is there no law in Hibbing? Has the city government become paralyzed by the strike? The state laws are severe and the man who made that remark should suffer for it in the courts.'"

Sheriff Hoolihan of Itasca County posted notices in "conspicuous places" to the effect that all deputies were to report on duty if necessary. They were to be notified by blowing the steam whistle on the boiler house.

"SHIPS LOADED BY PASSENGERS" (single col. $\frac{1}{2}$ " headline)

"The Steamships S.S. Curry....and William S. Mack were loaded at the Great Northern ore dock at Allouez bay yesterday. They were loaded by their crews with the assistance of half a dozen 'passengers.' Who the passengers were is a secret, but they were all ready to help the crews in putting the spouts into the vessels and they all seemed tolerably familiar with the ways of spouts and the punching poles.

"The M.A. Hanna that left port with ore on Wednesday afternoon, was loaded in the same manner, an obliging bunch of 'passengers' assisting her crew in getting the ore into the boat. None of the regular men and no strikebreakers were at work on the dock yesterday and last night.

"There was no disorder at any of the docks yesterday, although there were many of the strikers hanging around."

D.M. & N. officials talked with a committee of 8 railway engineers and trainmen, who sought out the officials in an effort to have them reach an agreement with the striking dock workers. The officials stated they were ready to meet with the dock workers.

When asked if the dock workers' union would be recognized, a prominent D.M. & N. official was quoted as saying: "The boys went out as individuals. We expect them to return, if they return, as individuals."

The News Tribune editor wrote a lengthy editorial in which he thought the dock workers' union should be recognized. Concerning the miners', he wrote: "Business will then resume its usual channels and the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners will have learned, in a less violent way, taught by Minnesota to the Youngers and James Brothers, that there is no place in this state for defiance of the law and the preachments of Violence." (No doubt, this paragraph refers to Jesse James' unsuccessful attempt to rob the bank at Northfield, Minn.--CAV)

Another editorial delivered a scathing denunciation against the Western Federation of Miners, or "organized anarchy," as the federation was called. "There has not been a meeting of the miners at which some one has not advocated the hellish lawlessness of the red flag" said the editorial.

The superintendent of the Great Northern ore dock at Allouez refused to meet with a delegation of the striking dock workers. The following is from the Duluth News Tribune, Saturday, July 27, 1907:

Most of the front page was taken up with strike news. A double banner head, approximately 60-point type, reads as follows:

"MINERS OWNERS WILL TRY TO START WORK AT THEIR IDLE PROPERTIES MONDAY; PROVISION HAS BEEN MADE TO PROTECT ALL MEN WHO DESIRE EMPLOYMENT."

The above is all in caps; below is the sub-head, about 28 point type, 3 cols. wide and all in caps.

"SERIOUS RIOTING MAY FOLLOW ATTEMPT TO BREAK BIG STRIKE ON THE MESABA; SITUATION NOW COMPARATIVELY QUIET."

Then follows still another sub-head, bold face, about 16-point type.

"WESTERN FEDERATION MEN WILL HOLD GREAT DEMONSTRATION AT HIBBING--RUMOR SAYS PETRIELLA WILL BE ARRESTED--EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO SETTLE ORE DOCK STRIKE TODAY--MISSABE ROAD IMPORTS MEN TO ACT AS GUARDS FOR PROPERTY IN CASE OF VIOLENT OUT-BREAK OR RIOTING."

The news story follows:

"Developments yesterday pointed strongly to the conclusion that next Monday will witness a crisis in the strike at the mines on the Mesaba range. The United States Steel Corporation has made plans to begin operating the mines... This means the first active efforts at strike breaking, and if there is to be violence it will come then, it is believed.

"William J. Bates, sheriff of St. Louis County, the executives of the different towns on the range and the steel corporation have made elaborate preparations to protect the men who will be put to work. It is positively stated that no interference with their right to work will be tolerated for a moment. The Western Federation leaders say there will be no attempt at physical force, but if the men should get beyond control the result might easily be appalling. The situation on the range yesterday was tranquil.

"An attempt to settle the ore dock strike will be made today, when a committee of the strikers' union will hold a conference with Mayor Cullum this morning. There is a chance that this trouble may be brought to an early settlement. If this hope should be realized it would have a considerable effect on the range situation....

"The Duluth, Missabe and Northern has imported a number of men who will be used to guard its property should violence arise. It is not thought that it will be necessary to call upon them. There has been no suggestion of rioting in Duluth and none is expected."

A boxed story bearing a Hibbing dateline reports that the story of Petriella's arrest is false. This was denied by both the Western Federation of Miners and Judge Brady, of the Hibbing Municipal court.

A story with a Coleraine dateline reports that the mines in that vicinity are in full operation and that the men "all appear satisfied." The story continues, saying, "There are 200 deputy sheriffs in the city fully organized for service," and, "The workers state they will report any effort strikers may make to intimidate them."

"IMPORTS MEN TO ACT AS GUARDS"

The above headline, single col. 40 point, appeared on the front page:

The news story reported that many strange workmen were being seen on the streets of Duluth. It was rumored that the men were strike breakers and detectives, that they had been imported by the D.M. & N. and by the steel corporation. "The News/Tribune has made it its business to investigate this matter," says the story. According to the Tribune, these strangers were neither strike breakers nor detectives. "They are here to safeguard the valuable property interests of the D.M. & N."

A story bearing a Virginia dateline says that about 20 men went to work at the Gilbert mine, near Sparta. About 200 strikers gathered at the mine and convinced the men that "it was a poor policy to work." The men dropped their tools and left the mine. The item states further: "The impression prevails that the backbone of the strike is broken and that many of the miners who are at present parading with the strikers will go to work if they are given the chance. Several mining superintendents revealed that they intended to start working the mines the first of the week (This was taken from a Saturday paper) and in case of trouble they would ask Governor Johnson to send the militia.

"The strikers have been very orderly so far. There has been little or no violence reported here which is out of the ordinary. The streets are quiet at all times and the miners do not congregate on the streets to any extent. When they do gather there is very little loud talking. There seems to be a committee of the miners to prevent drinking among the Federation members, as it is seldom that a drunken striker is seen..."

In preparation for Monday's "crisis," Sheriff Bates left Duluth for the range to look over conditions there.

Hibbing authorities believed that Governor Johnson was "not fully familiar" with the gravity of the strike situation. He maintained that the militia should be called out to quell "outrages upon property, scenes of violence."

Louis Cinzini, arrested in Hibbing, charged with carrying concealed weapons and was held on \$1,000. He was alleged to have threatened to blow up the Sellers Mine. This news item, Hibbing dateline, says "it was decided to place a charge of carrying concealed weapons against him. "The story does not tell what weapons, if any, were found on his person.

The Finn who attacked the deputy sheriff with an umbrella did not get away with it, according to the News Tribune. It says: "It was learned today that the Finn who stabbed William Elliott, a special deputy sheriff at the Hull-Rust property of the United States Steel Corporation, did not escape. He was followed by deputies who were guarding the mine and was set upon, beaten and then escorted from the property."

Two Harbors ore dock workers were addressed by an official of the Western Federation of Miners who "came direct from Denver."

The strikers were to hold a big demonstration in Hibbing. "Teofilo Petriella, generalissimo of the strikers, will be in charge of the procession."

There seemed to be no definite endorsement of the Western Federation of Miners in a speech made by Frank Fisher, Duluth Trades Assembly, local electrical union, but the speaker said: "'There is just as much room in Minnesota for the Western Federation of Miners as there is for the steel trust'.... His remarks were vigorously applauded." Morris Kaplan, member of the Miners' Union, bitterly denounced Northern Minnesota business men in newspapers for their arbitrary methods in dealing with the strikers. He maintained that the business men were trying to break the strike by refusing to extend credit for groceries and other necessities to the striking miners.

Charles Jesmore, mayor of Eveleth, replied to newspaper reports that he had not done his part to maintain order. He said that intimidations had occurred on mining properties outside the city limits, and therefore he had no authority to do anything about it. He maintained, also, that there was need for troops on the range.

W. J. Olcott, president of the D.M. & N., again stated that he would meet with the striking dock workers only as individuals and that he would not recognize the union.

There were sixteen boats in Duluth harbor "waiting for orders."

It was said that about 100 men arrived in town, most of whom were quartered at the Northern Hotel in Superior. They were reported to be strike breakers and detectives.

Duluth News Tribune, Monday, July 29, 1907.

The following 2 col. $\frac{1}{2}$ " head appears on page 1:

DOCK STRIKERS TO TAKE FINAL ACTION

"The ore handlers' strike may be settled today. The dock men and the officials of the Duluth, Missabe & Northern road are still unreconciled, but Mayor Cullum, mediator, is far from being discouraged. Both officials and strikers express the kindest feeling. The officials say the road wants the old men back. The ore handlers insist that, even if it doesn't, they will not make any fuss about strange men going to work. They are assured, in turn, that there isn't a strike breaker within remote hailing distance of their jobs....

"The astute observer argues that the men will offer today to submit their differences to arbitration.... Both parties to controversy have managed to keep pretty well in the

good graces of the public."

The railroad officials "assured" the workers that there would be no discrimination against the leaders of the strike.

The following single col. head appears on page 1.

"WILD RIOTING IN HANCOCK STREETS"

"Hancock, Mich., July 28--This city was the scene of wild disorders and rioting disturbances this morning as the result of a big Socialistic demonstration, participated in by several hundred men and women, mostly of Finnish birth. The red flag of anarchy was waved, but in a few minutes angered American citizens, swept down the paraders, tore the flag to shreds, pummeled and beat the participants and manifested in no mild manner their approval (no doubt, it should be disapproval) of the methods adopted by the Socialists in their endeavor to stir up public feeling.

"In anticipation of trouble, and with a view of carrying out the mandates of the city government, which recently adopted an ordinance prohibiting the display of the red flag in this city, Chief of Police Andrews had every policeman and a large number of special deputies on hand. When the paraders appeared they were at once attacked by the police. The enraged crowd assisted and soon the paraders were hopelessly routed.

"Thirteen of them, including one woman, were arrested. Public feeling is running high here and further disturbances are looked for...."

Also on page 1, appears the following 2 col. head, set in 28-point type.

"STEEL COMPANY MINES ON MESABA RANGE WILL NOT TRY TO OPEN TODAY"

"Hibbing, July 28--The Strike in this locality has taken the appearance of a determined lockout against the United States Steel Corporation mines. All independents are resuming operations as fast as they can make preparations to store their ore, while the corporation mines gave it out today that they were not going to make any efforts to resume tomorrow, as had been reported.

"It looks as if the corporation did not care to be the aggressor in the affair and were waiting for the strikers to make the next move.

"The independent operators..intend to begin operations tomorrow with large crews in most of the mines.

"The steel corporation is employing all men who apply for underground work and holding them for future use. They are apparently satisfied that they will have no trouble when they get around to resume. Sheriff Bates has been here for several days and has built up an excellent organization of special officers. These men are patrolling the different locations and keeping everything in good order.

"Meetings are being held by the strikers at all hours and every effort possible is being made to secure the cooperation of all the miners on the range. The strikers are talking at every chance against the Oliver Iron Mining Company. The men seem to have a special grievance against that company, and will do everything in their power to hinder its operations.

"A forecast of conditions around here looks very much as if the miners would be ultimately defeated. The mines can stand a prolonged lockout, and many of the miners are beginning to suffer from the lack of food and clothing. The merchants are all refusing credit to the strikers and this will have a big effect. Its serious aspects did not appeal to the men at first, as they were promised cooperative stores, but these do not materialize as fast as was expected.

"The mines that are working are mostly very short-handed. The Glen and Clark shafts, which ordinarily employ about 350 men, are getting along with but 27....

"The mines at Chisholm report that not a man was at work all day Saturday, although this district employs about 200. The companies are making efforts to get men to start tomorrow, but are having little success.

"The independent mines had more men working Saturday than at any other time since the beginning of the strike. The Shenango mine had about 350 men at work and are about filled up. The Webb mine, owned by the same company, is still short, but not in a bad way....

"The authorities here are looking for trouble in the forepart of the week if the ore docks at Duluth resume operations, as if they do, the mines will make a determined effort to raise the ore.

"All the open pit mines are still carrying on stripping operations, but this work is done mostly by contract and so is not molested.

"A picnic was held on one of the roads between this place and Chisholm today. It

was attended by about 3,500 Finns. They listened to several of their orators talk socialism...."

"Virginia, July 28--Contrary to the expectations of most people here the mines controlled by the United States Steel Corporation will not open tomorrow...."

"Bovey, July 28--Mass meetings were called here this morning by the deputy sheriffs to take action on a telegram received from Sheriff Hoolihan from Nashwauk. The telegram stated that the sheriff expected trouble in that town tonight or early tomorrow morning. The people of this city responded promptly and there are about 250 deputies sworn in and ready to take the train at 15 minutes' notice...."

"Eveleth is quiet--saloons are closed--no Federation officials."

The Allouez ore handlers decided to continue their strike, following the lead of Duluth and Two Harbors.

Duluth News Tribune--Tuesday, July 30, 1907. On page 1 appear the following banner headlines, 3/4" type:

"STRIKE GETS HARD JOLT AT HIBBING WHERE 3,000 MEN GO TO WORK AT MINES;
VIRGINIA PITS ARE STILL IDLE; PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE ON LOCAL ORE DOCKS"

Then in a smaller, 3 col. head:

"BATTLE IS RAPIDLY APPROACHING CRISIS; STRIKERS' THREATS BRING TERROR TO
THOSE WHO WISH TO WORK"

The story follows:

"Hibbing, July 29--Even the superintendents of the mining properties of the United States Steel Corporation were surprised at the miners who returned to work today. The total number of men on the two ranges who deserted the ranks of the Western Federation of Miners today is approximately 3,000. This does not mean that the federation lost 3,000 members. About one-third of the number belonged to the federation and are Montenegrins and Italians. Only a few Finns deserted the ranks of the labor body.

"The United States Steel Corporation's underground mines in the Hibbing and Chisholm districts worked today with greatly increased forces. The only active underground mine in the two districts today that did not work was the Winnifred of the United States Steel corporation.

"The four shafts of the Clark and Glen properties employed about 150 surface and underground men today. Saturday only 27 men worked. The Chisholm which has been idle

for several days started up again with about 25 men. The three Monroe-tenor shafts were operated with about 100 men. Saturday not more than 50 appeared. When the Monroe-tenor is shipping about 500 men are employed...." There are several paragraphs on the mines that were opened. The headlines say that there is terrorism, but none appears in the story. The story ends with: "Armed men guard the properties of the United States Steel Corporation as well as those of the independents and no interruption or molestation by the strikers will be tolerated."

"St. Paul, Minn. July 29--Governor John A. Johnson today turned down an advance made by Teofilo Petriella for the governor to offer to open negotiations with the mine owners and operators for the settlement of the strike.

"The proposition to the governor came through a newspaper in Minneapolis whose representative, now on the iron range, was told by the striking miners that Petriella would like to open negotiations with the governor as mediator.

"The governor said he would be glad to act as mediator if both sides desired it, but the mine owners were unwilling to arbitrate the strike."

"Eveleth, July 29--Two thousand strikers assembled at the Urania hall about 5 o'clock this morning at a mass meeting to consider what they would do in the event the mines started to work. After a short session the strikers established picket lines around the town on all roads leading to the mines.... Very few of those who wanted to work mustered up enough courage to make the attempt....

"The merchants are beginning to feel the effects of the strike in reduced sales.... One of the leading business men in the city stated today that if the strike lasts another week he will be forced to close his store and leave this part of the country.

"Jack Beatly who has recently been employed as a guard at the Fayal Mine was in the city today and stated that several shots had been fired at the guards Sunday night. He supposed the shots had been fired by the strikers but none had been seen. No men are employed at the Fayal except the guards and it is supposed the strikers were merely showing their hatred of the officials by the demonstration."

"BARS AGITATORS AT POINT OF GUN"

The above is a single col., $\frac{1}{2}$ " head on page 1. The story follows:

"Hibbing, July 29--D.E. Mahoney, national secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, and Teofilo Petriella, secretary of the Mesaba and Vermilion ranges, were refused admittance to the property adjacent to the Morris pit of the United States Steel Corporation this morning when a young employe named Thompson leveled a gun at Mahoney, Petriella and two companions, who were riding in a four-seated rig, and barred their way.

"Petriella and Mahoney did not parley with the man behind the gun. They turned and drove back to Hibbing by another route....

"A mass meeting of strikers and members of the Western Federation of Miners was held this morning at Chisholm. It was addressed by agitators and the speeches, as usual, were anarchistic.... Several hundred armed deputy sheriffs, commanded by Deputy Sheriff McGee, watched the roads between Chisholm and Hibbing today, expecting that the strikers would make a demonstration from the Chisholm end of the district.

"All morning strikers poured into Hibbing until there were about 600 men at the Meeting. There were few strikers at the general headquarters in Hibbing, the usual hangers on and loafers having gone to Chisholm....

"The Chief of Police at Chisholm escorted 100 men to work at the Myers and Hartley Mines of the United States Steel Corporation Saturday. The men were afraid to go to work and appealed to the Chief...."

"STRIKE BREAKERS MAY BE USED AT ASHLAND"

The above is a single col. head in small caps on page 2. Story follows:

"Ashland, July 29--The yard men at the Lake Superior Iron and Chemical Company who struck for higher wages about a week ago are still out and if they do not return to work by tomorrow night new men will be hired in their places...."

At mass meeting held on July 29 the ore handlers on the Duluth docks signified their willingness to arbitrate with D.M. & N. officials through Mayor Cullum.... "The officials of the road were not talkative.

"SHERIFF HOOLIHAN ON THE WAR PATH"

The above is a single col. head in large print on page 3. The story follows:

"Nashwauk, July 29--Events crowded the hours here today, starting with the noiseless arrival of nearly a hundred deputies from Coleraine and Bovey at 3:45 a.m., followed

by a meeting of the strikers at Federation hall, at 4:30 a.m., and ending with the arrival here tonight of the county attorney, who will give a hearing this morning to 10 men arrested today under orders of Sheriff Hoolihan. All is quiet here, after the sheriff's busy day. The mines were working, practically with full forces, today, and a full complement of men will operate them tomorrow.

"Saturday night Sheriff Hoolihan arrived at Nashwauk, accompanied by twelve deputies. In view of the restless state of the men and the presence in town of agitators, Mayor Riley issued an order forbidding the strikers to march or congregate on streets or at the hall at this time. Sunday Petriella and Mahoney came over from Hibbing and the word went out that an attempt would be made to break through the pickets maintained around the steel company's properties and to close down the mines.

"Word also reached Mayor Riley that a red flag parade was planned as the feature of the day.... When the watchful officials were aware of the crowd assembling at the hall, the mayor and the sheriff visited the meeting and the men dispersed demonstrating his resolve to stand back of the mayor's order.

"The men who were not at work and the 'visitors' conferred informally, however, and the result was another meeting at the hall at 11:30 a.m. While the early morning meeting packed the hall, the second meeting was attended by a fair crowd. The sheriff, now made indignant, attended, accompanied by the mayor and six deputies. He took the stand and made a speech to the effect that he was an officer of the law, sworn to enforce it and to uphold the dignity of the stars and stripes, the flag of the country to which they all owed allegiance. He said he would enforce it and made a patriotic and effective address. He asked Petriella to rise, if present, and there was no answer. He arrested four of the leaders for disorderly conduct and took them to jail. The meeting was dispersed under his influence. The effect of the sheriff's magnificent display of nerve was apparent at once....ten men were arrested in all and they are now confined in jail...."

The News Tribune reported that the cooperative stores in Virginia were failures.

Sheriff Bates returned from the range on July 29; concerning the trouble, he said, "There is no trouble. There have been many times when there was more fighting and drinking on the range than there is at present, and the people in general did not think

anything of it. The present setting furnished by the strike has given many people the idea that the welfare of the country is in danger. In my trips over the affected territory I did not see any place where the officers were not in full control."

"Seventy-five strike breakers, coming principally from St. Paul, Minneapolis, Stillwater and other towns within a radius of 200 miles, reached town late Sunday and yesterday were distributed in small numbers among the cheap hotels and lodging houses. Some of them went up on the range yesterday. These men are said to be controlled by Special Agent James Moran of the Duluth, Missabe and Northern Railway company, who is assisted by a corps of aides. Their presence in the city was kept as secret as possible.

"Under instructions, none of them talked. Special agent Moran also kept under cover and had nothing to say.

"To just what point on the range the men are going was not divulged.

"The men, while rough in appearance, were quiet and orderly while in the city, and fully understood what would be required of them when they reached the field of action. None of the party would discuss the strike situation. The desire of all concerned seemed to be to get out of Duluth with as little publicity as possible.

"Virginia, July 29--It is understood here that many of the mines are working in the other districts, but that condition of affairs has not as yet reached this place. None of the mines are working here and none of them seem able to secure men....

"It was stated here today that John Kolu, state organizer for the Western Federation of Miners, would leave tomorrow for a trip around the Gogebic, Marquette and Menomonee ranges in upper Michigan. He will try and organize the miners in these districts and if he is successful a strike will be called there. This would have the effect of completely paralyzing the iron industry.

"Officials of the Federation stated today that the financial condition of the union is good and that they could hold out indefinitely if necessary. They claim to have over \$90,000 in the treasury and have ways of raising more should it be needed.

"Chisholm, July 29--A mass meeting of strikers was held here this morning. About 700 members of the Western Federation attended. Speeches were made by Petriella and Acting President of the Federation Mahoney. The meeting did not last long and nothing was given out as to what was done."

"There is no ore being hauled at Allouez Bay, at least that is what the dock managers say, and they ought to know. The local agents of the vessels lying at the docks say that there is nothing doing in the way of loading ore, as far as they know.

"The fact that President O'Keefe has got into the game and has persuaded the Chief of the seamen's union to forbid their members to load any more boats at the head of the lakes, so long as the strike is on. He may also discipline union men if he can prove that they have helped to load any ore carriers. The men on the Missabe dock are willing to go to work and take their chances with a board of arbitration. The fleet in the harbor remains about the same."

"Cleveland, July 29--The crews of 49 vessels of the Pittsburgh Steamship Company's fleet have been paid off and unless the labor trouble at the head of Lake Superior is settled by tomorrow more boats will be laid up. A large number of vessels of other fleets are being held up at this end of the route. There is no change in the freight situation."

The following appeared in the Duluth News Tribune, Wed., July 31, 1907:

"ITASCA COUNTY ATTORNEY ADVISES GOVERNOR TO SEND TROOPS TO NASHWAUK; WORK AT ORE DOCKS TO RESUME TOMORROW; COMPANY'S REPLY TO THE STRIKERS WILL BE READ AT A MEETING THIS MORNING"

The above headlines, triple streamers in big, bold-face type, and running all the way across the front page of the July 31 issue of the Duluth News Tribune. Directly under it, in the center, is a 3-col. box telling in large type the strike news from Nashwauk:

"Nashwauk, July 30--That the situation in Nashwauk is becoming critical will be apparent from the following telegrams which were sent out of here late tonight and which are self explanatory:

Nashwauk, July 30--to His Excellency Governor John A. Johnson:

'The existence of 200 irresponsible strikers is a constant menace here and may continue indefinitely. The sheriff's force cannot be kept here and their removal seems certain to be followed by trouble. I would suggest that they be relieved immediately by troops sent by you.

(signed) A.L. Thwing, County Attorney of Itasca County'

Nashwauk, July 30---to His Excellency Governor John A. Johnson:

(Striking Finns, Austrians, Italians and Montenegrins are holding daily meetings under the red flag, at which anarchists' speeches are made in foreign languages and plots made for marches in bodies on mines to stop work. Persons not in sympathy with strikers are threatened with death if they disclose the proceedings. Men who want to work are kept home and driven out of town by threats. Have positive evidence that this is so and situation is critical. Ask that action in suppressing meetings be endorsed by you.

(signed) A.L. Thwing, County Attorney, Itasca County)

Nashwauk, July 30---to His Excellency Governor John A. Johnson:

'We learn that the Western Federation agitators are requesting the removal of Sheriff Hoolihan of Itasca County, now here in the loyal and just execution of his office to protect the lives and property of the people which are now jeopardized of his (think it should be by this instead of of his--CAV) anarchistic organization called the Western Federation of Miners, whose chief grievance is that their red flag, an emblem of anarchy, was taken from them today by a patriotic citizen. We request an answer from you in full sustaining Sheriff Hoolihan in defending your position on all organizations flaunting the red flag through the streets and cities of Minnesota.

(signed) Citizens of Nashwauk, Bovey, Coleraine and Grand Rapids, now at Nashwauk'

Editor's note: An effort was made early this morning to communicate with Governor Johnson by long distance, by telegraph and through the mediumship of the Associated Press, but he was not to be found. At three o'clock this morning it could not be learned whether he had replied to the joint message above."

"Officials of the Duluth, Missabe & Northern railroad will deliver their last word to the striking ore handlers in a letter which will be in Mayor Cullum's hands early this morning and which will be read by the executive at the meeting to be held at Columbia hall at 9 o'clock.

"Whatever action is taken, work will not be resumed at the docks today, but will be tomorrow, with full crews of men. Whether these crews will be composed of old men or new recruits is up to the strikers."

There are several more paragraphs in this item, the gist being that the letter from the rail officials is expected to be "conciliatory in tone"; that the old hands will have preference in going back; that no trouble is expected, but that the trains will nevertheless be guarded; that the strikers have been well-behaved, and that "there has not been a single instance of disorderly conduct." Though the story is one column in length, not one word is said about granting the men any portion of the wage increase of 25¢ a day.

"Nashwauk, July 30--The situation here is becoming critical, although the mines are being operated. The 100 deputies from Coleraine and Bovey who came over here to stand by the sheriff in his strong stand against red flag parades and general disorder are getting tired of exercising."

The news story goes on to say that "Mahoney, the Colorado agitator," is in town and that the miners who are idle are in "an impatient, ugly mood." A deputy is reported to have invaded the Federation hall and ripped down the red flag, which "was the feature of the decorations..... The meeting was broken up by the sheriff and armed deputies 10 minutes after it assembled." Seven more men were arrested, two of whom were released almost immediately; the others were charged with disorderly conduct.

A story bearing a Hibbing dateline, says that Teofilo Petriella, the strike leader, was arrested for carrying concealed weapons on the morning of July 30. He was released when he paid a \$1000 cash bail, put up by himself. Petriella had been ordered to halt while driving over a bridge. He testified that he would as soon as he could rein in his team. The officers testified they didn't hear him, so they fired two shots in the air. "The revolver taken from him by the officers was a 38-caliber Colt's automatic, loaded, and in good working condition." Petriella said he carried it for self-defense. When he was arrested Petriella had \$992.18 on his person. He put this up on his bail and borrowed \$10 from a friend. "The charge is a gross misdemeanor and carries with it a sentence of one year in the state penitentiary, if convicted."

"Eveleth, July 30--It was reported on the streets here that the United States Steel Corporation would refuse to back any Finn who might apply for work within the next few days. It is supposed that this rumor was started by the Western Federation of Miners and was for the purpose of holding the Finns to their allegiance to the Federa-

tion.

"About 30 men applied for work today at the Fayal mine but were not employed.... None of the mines have started at Eveleth yet.... The mines at Sparta are in the same condition, though some of them are making preparations to start."

A single col. head in large letters on page 1 heads a story to the effect the Federation men are sending threatening letters to non-striking Italians.... The Chisholm police arrested 30 members of the Western Federation of Miners within the last 48 hours, "relieving them of their revolvers and firearms of all kinds."

A single col. story on page 1 reports in large caps: "Federation is Losing Ground." The story follows:

"Hibbing, July 30--The drift of the strike situation was clearly indicated today, when about 1,000 men returned to work on the Mesaba and the Vermilion ranges, making a total of 4,000 miners and laborers who have resumed work on the ranges within the last two days.

"The Western Federation of Miners is apparently fighting a losing battle, and the quickness of the end will depend upon the settlement of the ore dock strike at Duluth, Superior and Two Harbors. If the labor difficulty on the docks is brought to an end within the next 24 hours, this week will see the last of the present strike engineered by the Western Federation of Miners.

"Only a small percentage of the men returning to work are members of the Federation. That organization is successful in holding its Finnish members, and it succeeds in intimidating its Italian members and their friends by letters bearing the seals of the union."

"All of the underground mines of the independent companies were working today, with the exception of the Nassau, which is owned by the Pittsburgh Ore Company. It is a comparatively new mine and will not be ready to hoise ore for some time. It will then be the only mine in the Hibbing district equipped with electrical appliances and lighted with electricity.

"The underground mines of the United States Steel Corporation in the Hibbing district which were not being operated today are the Sellers shaft and the Winnifred. The

latter mine probably will resume tomorrow morning. Ore is being hoisted at all of the underground mines of the United States Steel Corporation in the Chisholm district, including the Chisholm, the three shafts of the Monroe-tenor and the Myers. At the Chisholm about 25 men are working, 125 at the Monroe-tenor and 60 at the Myers. The four shafts at the Clark and Glen properties in the Hibbing district are working with 48 gangs of miners, or 96 men. The surface men bring this total to about 175. The Hull and Rust shafts are working and the United States Steel Corporation expects to have all of the underground mines in this district in operation tomorrow.

"The open pits in the Hibbing districts are idle....

"A gang of 50 strikers started to the Stevenson district late yesterday afternoon, but owing to the long walk they did not reach their destination. They gave up their object and returned to Hibbing. Before reaching the city they disbanded, in order not to attract the attention of the citizens."

It is interesting to note that the News Tribune attacked the railroads editorially, while at the same time it remained faithful to the steel company. It stated that Minnesota railroads were "attempting to override state laws and rights" by forcing "locomotive engineers and others" to work long hours.

Superintendent Philbin, of the Allouez docks, said he intended to work the docks Thursday, Aug. 1, "and that at that time as many of the old employes as wish to return to work under the conditions prevailing prior to the strike will be taken on. That this would be done was current on the streets yesterday and Supt. Philbin of the Great Northern gave the rumor confirmation last night.... The forces of special guards, which have been at the docks since the strike began are still on hand, day and night...."

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FINNS IN MINNESOTA

Translated and abstracted from bound periodical sponsored by the Peoples' Education Society (Kansanvalistus Seura) published in Helsinki Finland 1884, titled "Living Quarter and Life of the People" (Asunnot ja Kansan Elama). Written by A. Gt. translated and abstracted by W. A. Harju, pp. 8 to 16.

"*** What was the original living quarters of the Finnish people.

The Kota, says Mr. Ahlqvist and the Swedish student of this question Retzius (1). We are borrowing here the picture of such a structure drawn by Mr. Retzius. This kind of a lodge if we may call it such is not uncommon in even our more advanced communities. The Kota can be found in the province of Hame even by the main highways, they are common in the Northeastern (Koillinen) part of the country.

In the summer time the Kota is usually a very rickety structure. The crevices are often many inches wide between the wall staves so that it is often possible to see from the outside through the walls and observe the women doing their work around the fire in the middle over which hangs the large kettle. In the winter, however, the walls of the Kota are covered with leaves and branches so that even in bad weather the cooking in them can be done in comfort. This type of Kota would be easy to construct even by a primitive and pastoral people in nearly every locality in our country where there are abundant resources of the materials needed. The tents of the Laplanders and Syrjäni people are only an advanced type of the original stove and leaf covered Kota. Among the peasants, especially in the wooded areas, they are very convenient for the people on their fishing trips, which some times they use for weeks and months at a time

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even though they have for their regular home a more stable log cabin. Lippo who was the forefather of the Lapps according to legend constructed a Kota every evening when he made his way home with the daughter of Tapio; to a home where there was a field, a fence and a cabin as they did not want to live in a lodge made from branches of trees all their life.

That all the Finnish people lived at one time in these lodges we can not say definitely, we can say that even the log cabins called (Pirtti) are not the newest inventions; the Finnish (pirtti) differs in many ways from the lodges of other neighboring nationalities and are distinguished in so many ways, that we could not say that they have been borrowed from others.

The (Pirtti) of course is a much more advanced structure than the Kota. Its walls are made of notched logs. The rafters and cross beams, and the ridge beam support the roof and bind the walls together. In the corner of the dwelling there is a stove (Käuas) (2) constructed of grey stone. This stove is constructed in such a way that it remains warm for a long time after the fire wood has burned out. This is the Finnish (Pirtti). It can also be found among the Esthonians and as Heikel has recently told me the same kind of dwellings are also found even among our distantly related Mordvians. If we have read correctly the account of Mr. Ahlqwists travels he found dwellings like the (Pirtti) even among our most distant relatives, the Theremis. And what is of equal importance that he notes is that the Theremis even called their dwelling a (pört which is closely related to Pirtti). According to this, therefore, the related Finnish tribes had this kind of dwelling already at the time when they yet spoke the same language, before the people of this stock had separated into the different branches

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that we have today in Europe. It is into this direction that a number of facts point today.

Here we want to give a few distinguishing features of the Finnish (Pirtti) which makes them different from dwellings of other people. The entrance to a (Pirtti) is always in the end wall and when one enters it, the stove (Kiuas or Haiku-uuni) (2) is always in one of the corners of the wall near the entrance, with the mouth of the (Kiuas) or stove facing the door. These features about the (pirtti) are age old and are common in this kind of dwelling among Finns, Esthonians and Mordvians. The food is cooked in a kettle hanging over the fire which is unlike the Russian method where food is placed in crockery and placed into the stove to cook.

Another feature which distinguishes the Finnish dwelling from the Russian is that the mouth of the stove faces the door whereas in the latter the mouth faces the insides of the house. This makes it possible to know when one is in a Russian or Finnish dwelling. The Scandinavian people from whom the Finns have borrowed a lot have their own forms of dwellings. According to Eilert Sundt, they differ from the Finnish (Pirtti) decisively. The original dwelling of the Finns (Pirtti) with a stove in the corner can now be found in some localities of Norway. These localities are in the western part but at no time have they had these dwellings in the eastern part, and moreover we know of a time that such were not found anywhere in Norway. The Finnish (Pirtti) with its stove is a borrowed form of dwelling in Norway and came after the Viking period during which stove heat was unknown.

In Norway the dwellings have been different especially with regard to heating. There they have had a low stone base in the middle

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of the floor a little closer to the door than to the back wall on which a fire was kept. The smoke filled the upper part of the room and went out through an aperture in the roof and if that did not take care of the volume the excess smoke would float outside at the top of the door. When this form of heating of the dwellings ~~was produced~~ ^{prevailed} in Norway, it was considered such a luxury that about it even the Jaarls knew nothing. At this time, already the Finnish (Pirtti) was already heated by the stove much in the same manner that we do it today. Another difference between the Scandinavian dwelling and the Finnish (Pirtti) is that the aperture in the roof of the Norwegian dwelling when there was no fire was also used as a window to light the house. This was done by a cover for the aperture called ("rappana") onto which was drawn a transparent skin which permitted light to pass through. The Norwegian dwelling did not have any windows. The cabin or (Pirtti) of the Finns is different. In eastern Finland a cover or ("rappana") for the chimney is frequently found but it is never constructed in such manner, nor is it used for a window. Only a very few dwellings that are called (Hamalainen Savu Pirtti) are found and they may be more primitive in construction. The ("rappana") even on them is not on the ridge as in Norwegian dwellings, but "close to the top" as Joukahainen in the legend tells Vainamainen. The ("rappana") and the aperture is often in the end wall over the door. This is also true of the dwellings of the Esthonians and Mordvians. Heikel says that they were on the wall where the stove was situated close to the roof. Contrary to the Norwegian dwelling, the old Finnish (Pirtti) before glass was used for lighting was illuminated by openings low down on the walls placed in the same manner as the windows on our (Saunas) steam bathhouses.

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This is a short description of the main distinguishing features of the dwellings of three different peoples as we see them. There would be a lot more to say and add but it would not at this time help very much nor does the author feel competent to at this time explain any further. Perhaps there will be some one to follow who will be more competent on this subject, who will make a more thorough explanation and in detail for the Finnish people to read. Let us confine ourselves therefore now to the Finnish phase of the matter. When we think about the original Finnish dwelling, we can not picture it as the best houses that we have in the modern day nor can we say that they are comparable to our worse ones.

Even though the Finnish people since pagan days have practiced agriculture, that agriculture can not be compared to the modern. It is common among all peasants of the modern day to have no less than three separate building, whereas in the old days they only had one.

The Sauna (steam bath), the treshing house (riiki) and the living house (Pirtti) are all important and nearly every peasant has them. There was a day when the (Pirtti) or dwelling served all the three purposes. These kind of dwellings have now disappeared in Finland. In Esthonia, however, they are to be found. There they have houses in which under one roof the people live, take their steam bath and dry their crops in preparation for threshing.

The remnants of the original one house for all of these three purposes is yet today a characteristic of the Finnish dwelling, of which we will speak of later. Let us here observe the development of the (Pirtti). The Pirtti has developed with the people themselves and when we find one now, we can say, that originally here stood a (Savu Pirtti with the flueless

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stove) and that was the model according to which the modern building was made. We have already described the distinguishing characteristics of the Finnish (Pirtti). The entrance and door to the (Pirtti) with the Finns like with other nationalities is always in the end wall, a little to one side. In the farther corner near the door stood the stove or (Käuas) (3). The stove is a combination of a heater and cook stove. When the wood is burned and the fire has already gone out, the heavy stone structure remains warm and radiates heat all around. On top of the stove there are small rocks which retain the heat for a long time. So by throwing water on the hot rocks hot vapor can be created which is done when the (Pirtti) is used for a steam bath. For baking the same stove is used. Among the Estonians who yet to this day use their dwellings for living, bathing and drying of their crops have another place on the top of their stove where the bread is baked. Their stove is constructed in such a manner that the other cooking is done on a separate part. Its construction is such that when cooking is done in the iron kettle the fire is not made in the stove itself, but outside of the mouth over which hangs on a bar the kettle, where the woman of the house is often seen stirring the porridge.

In later years the stove or (Käuas) has been improved greatly, so that it better serves the purposes for which it is used. The first picture here is a flueless stove from Savo (Sävolainen haiku uuni) (2). It is the kind of which we have spoken before with a few improvements. This stove in Savo and Karelia is in most instances built on a log foundation. The foundation is constructed in such a manner that the top logs extend farther than the mouth of the stove on which is a hearth plate called

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(Liesipankko). The picture that appears on the next page is from a condemned house owned by the "Konning" estate, in Woisti, in the county of "Karkota." In it appears an old type of a brick stove with its mouth toward the door, but to it is added a new convenience built of stone (3). On this stove the food is cooked on the outside and the kettle no more hangs stationary, but is hung on a swivel with which it can be pushed on top of the fire or off of the fire at will. Over this stove is constructed a smoke dome through which the smoke goes out through the (rappana) in the wall.

This stove is significant for the manner in which it is constructed so that steam bathing can be done in the house. It is typical of the (Pirtti) of Hame when they were also used for the bath. On the side of the stove is an old time notched log stair over which the bather can climb to the platform on top of the stove. The vapor stones are right under the platform and the bather. This makes it possible to take the steam bath while the people on the floor lower down can carry on their work as the steam rises only to the upper part of the cabin and the lower portion remains cool.

The greatest improvement in the life of the people took place when the old and smoking flueless stove was discarded and a stove with a flue to the outside came into use. During the flueless stoves the smoke always filled the upper part of the cabin and as a result ^{the} ceiling was always black with soot. In heavy weather the smoke often came so low that it effected the eyes of the inhabitants. When the flue was made for the stoves which took the smoke directly outside all the ~~discomfort~~ ^{was} eliminated, making for cleanliness in the house. With the flue stoves also came many

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inovations in their construction. These forms of construction became varied. We are giving here pictures of two types (4 and 5). The first one is a stove where the oven and the cooking part are separated (4). This stove is far advanced from the formerly described one from (Kärkölä). The other picture is a stove which is a combination or between a (Kiuas and Kakluuni) from (Marttila) (5). Both of these indicate the development of the Finnish stove in which the forms begin to take different shapes and characteristics, just as the styles of many other things in buildings, and in the lives of the people. At a later date to the stove or (Kiuas) has been added the (Hella). This helped a great deal in the preparation of food and also made it possible to save in fuel. But it also has its drawbacks, for when the dampers are closed it retains the heat, but with it remains the smell of cooking as well as a lot of moisture which before escaped out of the cabin through the (räppänä) or open flue. By the use of the (Hella) owing to the moisture and smell arising from it some discomfort was added to the people who live in the house and the moisture also tends to decompose the walls. For this reason at the present time, many people are building their kitchens separately from the living house."***

Immigration & Settlement
Homesteads, Belden, ND.

SOCIAL-ETHNIC STUDIES

Source: Siirtolainen wkly 3 3 Date of Publication Mar. 9, 1917
(edition, page, column)
Vol. 27 No. 20 Date Line of story _____
Where consulted Minn. Hist. Lib. Date consulted Oct. 25, 1938

"Belden, N. D. - Nearly 100 Finnish families, who came here ten years ago, and since, have all gotten their farms by homesteading. People here live very peacefully and it appears that a large majority of them are well pleased with conditions as they are."

"Correspondent".

Your item No. 57 Page No. _____ Your name Alfred Backman

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*Immig. & Settlement
Citizenship*

(Finnish Daily Pub Co Duluth) SOCIAL-ETHNIC STUDIES

Source: Siirtolainen wkly 6 5 Date of Publication Feb. 6, 1917
(edition, page, column)

Vol. 27 No. 11 Date Line of story _____

Where consulted Minn. Hist. Lib. Date consulted Oct. 12, 1938

"New York Mills. - The following local Finnish people
recieved their citizenship papers at Fergus Falls to day;
Messrs. Heikki Kangas, Juho Koski, Emanuel Raivio, and ~~XXXXXX~~
~~XXXX~~ Henry Fick. The witnesses were O. A. Mattson and Chas. Hyry."

Your item No. 27 Page No. _____ Your name Alfred Backman

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