

FINNISH—AMERICAN ANARCHO— SYNDICALISM AND THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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** This article was originally written by late professor Douglas J. Ollila, Jr., of Augsburg College, Minneapolis. Auvo Kostiainen, Ph.D., of the University of Turku, has prepared a shortened version of the paper as well as rewritten parts of it, particularly in the last pages, to include the latest stage of research of the Finnish-American history.*

Finnish immigrants in America are a remarkable exception to the conservative immigrant thesis presented by American scholars like Gerald Rosenblum.¹ Instead of growing accommodation and acceptance of the American way of life, the labor Finns moved steadily leftward, protesting the American capitalistic system. Experiences in the labor movement through a series of disastrous strikes led to the conviction that more radical solutions were necessary to solve the problems of industrial America. Many were convinced of the poverty of craft union solutions to the dilemma of industrialized labor, and they chose to move away from the Western Federation of Miners to affirm the Industrial Workers of the World, and a large bloc seceded from the Socialist Party of America to join the ranks of the industrial unionists and to recognize the leadership of Big Bill Haywood. Many of the Finnish political radicals who remained in the Socialist

Party after the industrial unionists bolted the Party subsequently affiliated with communism and became the largest national group in the Workers' Party of America in the early 1920's, comprising more than 40 percent of the membership.² The disastrous strikes on the Mesabi Iron Range in 1907 and 1916, the illfated Michigan Copper District strike in 1913-1914, and the troubled history of the Socialist involvement in the Butte, Montana, labor unions and municipal government effectively radicalized Finns who were soon convinced that the American capitalist system itself had to be destroyed. Thus it was argued that the American labor movement was not radical enough, and left wing Finns increasingly sought more and more revolutionary solutions.

The purpose of this article will be to examine the sources and development of radicalism in the Finnish-American Socialist labor movement, from its Social Democratic beginnings to its involvement in the Industrial Workers of the World. The beginnings of that story go back to Finland, where the growing political and trade union movement came increasingly under the sway of German Marxism. The Finnish Diet, which enjoyed relative freedom and autonomy even though the nation was a Grand Duchy of imperial Russia, excluded the working classes as well as the small

farmers and agricultural laborers. The issue of political representation intensified working class consciousness at the same time that Finland was sharpening its own sense of national selfconsciousness. At a meeting in 1899, it was decided to found the Finnish Labour Party which adopted Kautsky's Erfurt Program. While the trade union movement remained quite weak, the political labor organizational effort became very popular, and by the time a fully democratic franchise was introduced, the laborites, now called the Social Democratic Party, were able to capture 80 out of the 200 seats in the legislature in 1907.

Nineteenth century Finnish peasant culture had been dominated by the Lutheran Church and a number of revival movements which flourished under the umbrella of the national church. But the church steadily alienated the lower classes, particularly the new industrial workers, smaller leaseholders (*torppari*) and landless agricultural laborers. During the rising tide of labor self consciousness, the leading clergy decried the new liberalism which they believed had caused the lower classes to lose respect for society's class distinctions, demand political power, excessive wages and too much freedom. Some of the alarmed clergy in the growing urban centers advanced the British model of Christian socialism as a suitable alternative, but for the most part, the status quo of society was regarded by the church as the proper "order of creation"

By the time that the German Social Democratic model became normative for Finnish Socialists in 1899, the church steadily lost communication with industrial laborers. In the important industrial city of Tampere, for example, attendance at Holy Communion by factory workers dropped from twenty-six percent in 1895, to ten percent in 1905, sharply demonstrating the breakdown of the rigidly class structured old

Lutheranism which had not kept pace with the dramatic changes in Finnish society. The introduction of Quaker teachings, Methodism and the growth of indigenous Lutheran revivalism failed to stem the tide of this alienation.³ Efforts of the church to prevent the precipitous slide into Marxist Socialism had come far too late, partly because the clergy were too patriarchial, and "credulous almost to the point of blindness".⁴ That the church was reactionary was indicated by its support from 1899-1905 of Russification policies in Finland, and citizens became so disenchanting with the clergy that the clerical estate was abolished in 1906 with the establishment of a one-house parliament.

The changes in agriculture with the rapid growth of farm tenancy and population meant that the emigration from Finland was largely a rural exodus. Finnish industry grew too slowly to draw off the excess population into employment, thus emigration was the only choice left. Between 1893 and 1920, passports were issued to 273 366 emigrants, of whom 236 507 were from rural communes. Most of them were landless farm workers, domestic servants, landowners' and tenants' children, and persons with no fixed occupation.⁵ Reino Kero's research on Finnish emigration indicates that a disproportionate number of the radicals came from the southern and eastern areas of Finland, while conservative Finns were primarily from Southern Ostrobothnia (the western coastal regions), especially the province of Vaasa.⁶ The Vaasa province also contributed many adherents to the Finnish-American left, but these were the proletariat of the Finnish countryside-landless laborers, cottagers, hired hands, and maids.⁷ These persons were thus raw material for the radical labor movement in America, along with the impoverished classes in Southern and Eastern Finland.

While very few of the landless peasants from Finland had been exposed in great measure to socialism in the mother country,⁸ nevertheless much of the early leadership of the movement had been exposed to socialism and an urban setting already in the homeland. In a biographical list by Elis Sulkanen of 115 Finnish-American labor leaders, it comes out that seventy-three percent of them came to the United States between 1900 and 1910, during the years when the Social Democratic Party and Marxism had made enormous strides. Over thirty-five percent had had direct contact and involvement with the Socialist political or trade union movement, and forty percent were born in an urban center or had lived in one. Most of the leadership came from the southern and eastern portions of the country. Conservative Vaasa province, for example, contributed only twenty-five percent of the leadership, but nearly fifty percent of the emigrants. About seventy-nine percent of the radical leadership came from the skilled trades and professions, while a scant seventeen percent were industrial workers or farmers. The educational level of the leadership was also much higher. Some seventy-five percent had gone on beyond grammar school, and twenty-five percent qualified for the university, or had attended higher educational institutions. This is compared with roughly forty percent of the general immigrant population which had attended only confirmation school, and forty percent which had attended elementary school from a few weeks to two years.⁹

A precipitous series of events brought much of this elite guard of the Finnish socialists to America, giving to the movement unusually effective leadership. Taavi Tainio, a journalist and party leader was forced to leave Finland because of speeches against military conscription into the Russian army in 1904. Others came after

the revolt of the Russian garrison, Fort Sveaborg, such as Leo Laukki, the high priest of the industrial union Finns and principal of the *Työväen Opisto* (Work People's College) at Duluth, Minn. Many fled to North America after the Red Guard lost the Civil War in Finland in 1918 when the Red leadership was purged by the victorious White government. For example, Oskari Tokoi, who had been *Prime Minister* in 1917, came to edit *Raivaaja*. Many others such as Dr. Antero Tanner, Moses Hahl, Kaapo Murros and Vihtori Kosonen added to the list of socialist leaders who brought the new gospel to immigrant Finns who listened with wonderment at the new evangel.

The earlier immigrant Finns had already organized churches and temperance societies before the radicals began to arrive after 1900. At first, there was hope that all of the Finns might be united into a harmonious ethnic community. Fellow countrymen bound themselves together in churches, temperance lodges, and the Imatra Workers' League which represented an idealistic, mutual benefit type of workers' society. But the illusion of a united Finnish community was shattered very quickly. From 1904, the apostles of socialism promoted class conscious doctrines in the pages of the newly founded *Työmies* and the *Raivaaja* newspapers. Several popular journals spelled out the principles of international socialism and its history in Europe and America, and the basic Marxist classics were issued in a steady stream.

A most dramatic event in the immigrant community was the conversion of the floundering People's College into the Work People's College in 1907. Socialists purchased the majority of the stock and converted it into a Marxist training institution which offered basic education and socialist doctrine as its curriculum. The school enrolled as many as 159 pupils in a year,

but began to flounder after the Chicago 166 trial and persecution by the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety. But there were other institutional conversions as well. In some communities, socialists "insolently seized" temperance halls and transformed them into labor temples, while Marxist agitators were elected pastors of congregations because the membership had converted overnight. One zealous agitator was even proclaimed a bishop. Socialism began to spread like wildfire among the immigrants, and "sank into us like hot grease into dry leather", observed one temperance leader who had become a convert.¹⁰

The Finnish Socialist Federation, founded in 1906, was far more than a labor organization or political movement with more than 17,000 members in 1914. Socialism became a way of life as a secularized, substitute church, complete with itinerant agitators who were called "apostles", congregations of the faithful, Sunday Schools, sewing circles, labor temples, a puritanical ethic, and an eschatological hope for the coming great revolution. Some 260 local clubs boasted of musical organizations, athletic clubs, lecture and debate societies and agitation committees. Because other Finnish organizations often lacked cultural and recreational activities, socialist groups sponsored dances, and 107 dramatic groups performed innumerable plays and operas, all the way from homespun proletarian drama to the opera *Carmen* at the Virginia, Minn., "Socialist Opera" house. The broadened range of social and cultural activities was dubbed "hall socialism", and these activities often overshadowed political concerns and labor organizing efforts.¹¹ One writer complained that the radicals were no longer interested in planning the revolution, but only in promoting frivolity. The Duluth, Minn., local was considered to be degenerate because it produced only splendid plays where overflow audiences had to be turned away.¹²

But political and labor concerns were not missing. At the founding convention of the Federation, the issue of industrial unionism was a key issue. Kaapo Murros argued against old style craft unions as effective supports for working class power, and he supported the Industrial Workers of the World. His arguments were familiar, emphasizing organization of unskilled workers in all industries, using revolutionary "direct action" techniques and the general strike in order to seize the means of production.¹³ Why many Finns affirmed IWW principles at such an early date, even before the IWW itself had hardly begun to define its own purposes and solve its factional problems with the DeLeonists, is not surprising. Murros had translated anarcho-syndicalist writings in Finland, and he had belonged to the radical faction of the Social Democratic Party in Finland which advocated direct revolutionary techniques to establish a radical government. He and many of his comrades had participated in the highly successful General Strike in Finland in 1905, and it seemed only natural to translate that experience into American terms.¹⁴

The moderate faction at the Federation's founding convention argued against industrial unions, and favored working with the American Federation of Labor, converting its members to socialism, and engaging in legislative activity. The convention compromised the issue, however, condemning those unions which "groped after bourgeois support" and "opposed class warfare", and supported those unions which were "based on class struggle and the furthering of socialist education". This left the door open for the IWW, and the purification of the AFL as well. These issues of dual unionism and political activity were never solved by the socialists, and eventually resulted in a schism in the Federation.

The enthusiastic resolve of the nascent party was soon translated into practical action. During the summer of 1906, Teofila Petriella was sent to the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota to organize miners into the Western Federation of Miners (which at the time belonged to the IWW), and after 2,500 were organized, a strike was called on July 20, 1907. Finns played a major part in the strike in organizing and supportive roles. The strike failed because of massive resistance by the mining companies, local business men and the churches. The governor of the state determined to remain neutral, so the militia could not be enlisted. Accordingly, the Oliver Mining Co., a subsidiary of U.S. Steel, hired armed deputies, and imported 1,124 Montenegrin and Croatian strikebreakers who replaced the miners, bringing production back to normal. Local stores were pressured to cut off credit from the strikers, and by the middle of September, the strike was over.¹⁵

The strike had far reaching effects in the total Finnish community. Conservatives who called themselves "true Finns" often became victims of discriminatory hiring practices because the companies assumed all Finns were radicals. In order to preserve the good name of the Finns, church leaders issued official proclamations, dubbed "Judas resolutions" by the socialists, condemned the leftists as "anarchists, atheists, and betrayers of the Fatherland". A rash of anti-socialist societies sprang up throughout the immigrant community, and the net effect of all these events was to divide the Finnish-Americans irreconcilably, making rapprochement between "white" and "red" Finns impossible.¹⁶

But the strike intensified conflict in the ranks of the socialists as well. Many of the embittered, blacklisted socialists moved into the cutover lands and eked out a living on submarginal farms. Many of these

radicals never forgot the blacklisting, and after the Russian revolution embraced communism. Some of these more dedicated revolutionaries finally left the United States for Soviet Karelia to assist in the technological development of that republic.¹⁷ Others moved off to new industrial towns to find employment or were slowly rehired in the mines, but vowed that the next strike would be victorious, and that radical union organizational activity must continue. The Eastern socialists, on the other hand, viewed the walkout as a momentous disaster, questioning the validity of strikes and the ensuing violence.

Conflict within the Finnish community continued. The Minnesota radicals were charged with anarchism by Social Democrat "yellows" and right wing Finns as well. Local newspapers developed such stereotypes as "Finlanders - fiery followers of the Red Flag", "Jackpine Savages" and "members of the Mongolian race". In a test case, John Svan and sixteen others were denied citizenship as "Mongolians" until a lower court judgment was reversed by the U.S. District Court in January, 1908.¹⁸

A convention of the Federation was called in 1909 to deal with the syndicalist position, resulting in a disavowal from anarchism and the impossibilists, thus attempting to quiet fears that Finns in America were undesirable citizens who favored radicalism, atheism, and the IWW.¹⁹

But the radical tendencies continued in the Federation, especially in the Central District. Primary inspiration for a syndicalist position was provided by the Work People's College whose principal teachers represented far left socialist positions. The most important of these leaders was Leo Laukki. As principal and ideological leader at the school, he trained young immigrants in socialist doctrines, revolutionary techniques and organizational skills. Serving as sometime

editor of *Työmies*, author of several volumes on socialist history and theory, and a spell-binding orator at labor festivals, he is judged to have been the most important leader of the syndicalist Finns.²⁰ Important also was Yrjö Sirola, a genuine Marxist from Finland, who taught at the College in 1910-1913. Students used Haywood and Bohn's *Industrial Socialism* as a standard textbook, and debated "tactics" in their student society, eventually concluding that the MacNamara dynamiting episode had been beneficial for the workers, and that the WFM was bankrupt. Eastern "yellows" labeled the students "*tussarit*" (gun hawks), and vowed to cleanse the Federation and school of IWW heresy.²¹

Nothing seemed to avert the inexorable radicalization of the Central District of the Federation. A convention of the Federation was called in 1912, where the national Party's anti-syndicalist amendment was adopted, and tight control over the Work People's College was planned through monitoring the curriculum. But convention actions proved to be only a temporary truce, and several events in 1913-1914 brought a final showdown and schism.

The Michigan Copper District strike in 1913-1914 convinced many of the Finns that the WFM had sold its soul to capitalism, and that the strike failed because of a lack of militancy, mismanagement and regressive policies. This strike was marked by violence, a panic at a Christmas party at the Italian Hall in Calumet where seventy-four died, a good deal of intemperate socialist rhetoric and vigilante action by the Citizen's Alliance which paraded 40,000 people who vowed that the WFM must go. Some 14,500 miners were idled by the walkout, and state negotiation proposed by Michigan's progressive Governor Ferris and federal investigation brought no results. With the aid of over 3,000 special deputies and state militia, the mining companies stood firm.

Charles Moyer, WFM union head, was shot and ridden out on a rail, and *Työmies*, serving as publisher for WFM propaganda and strike headquarters, was continually harassed. The strike was finally broken, and it was announced that die hard union men could find employment elsewhere. Radicals of the Finnish Socialist Federation drew only one conclusion from these disastrous results - the WFM was bankrupt, bound to the "reactionary shackles of trade unionism".²²

The troubled situation in Butte, Montana, brought radicals to a similar judgment. Socialists in that city controlled the municipal government, and the WFM union counted 8,000 members. But Anaconda Copper outmaneuvered both municipal government and the union through company agents and spies. Sympathizers with the radical IWW had agitated for a more militant stance for a number of years, but they were controlled through the use of a "*rustling card*" which was an employment application used as a blacklisting device. Frustration over the company-controlled union reached a peak on June 13, 1914, when workers destroyed the union hall and voted overwhelmingly not to show their rustling cards. Charles Moyer was driven out of town in a shoot out, but he was followed by a Finnish WFM organizer who had been a leader in the Copper District strike, Frank Aaltonen. A radical Finnish miner then stormed into the local mayor's office and demanded that Aaltonen be removed from the city. Both shot at each other, the miner eventually dying from his wounds. The paralysis of the WFM in Butte was further evidence that the more militant IWW was the only suitable alternative, at least as far as the radical Finns were concerned.²³

These crises within the WFM and the disastrous strikes coincided with the first major schism within the Finnish Socialist Federation. A division within the Negaunee,

Michigan, local brought the issue of industrial unionism to a head. The local manager of the Labor Temple, William Risto, an anarchist agitator, alienated the Social Democratic membership by preaching sabotage and revolution. When he was blamed for mismanaging a state Socialist Party election, the state secretary, James Hoogerhyde, revoked the charter of the local and gave a new one to the smaller Social Democratic minority.

Eastern District socialists and their powerful voice *Raivaaja*, decided to expose the "vile" intentions of the midwestern red industrialists, and locked the Federation in a conflict which culminated in the Central District convention where the yellow Social Democrats and their spokesman, Frank Aaltonen, were discharged after seven days of debate.

The red takeover of *Työmies* newspaper was averted with the help of *Raivaaja* company's finances. The reds, however, managed to confiscate enough money to begin their own daily, *Socialisti*, later called *Industrialisti*.²⁴ The Work People's College remained in the hands of the midwestern reds and in 1920 became the official training school of the IWW.

With the rupture of the Federation completed, over thirty percent of the membership had resigned or were discharged, thus leaving only 9,000 members in the national organization. The reds, in the meantime, affiliated with the IWW.

It was not long before the new commitment was tested. In 1916, Finns were engaged in the gigantic Mesabi strike, organized by Carlo Tresca, Sam Scarlett, Frank Little, Joseph Schmidt, Joseph Ettor and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and aided by ethnic leaders George Andreytchine, a Bulgarian, and William Wiertola and Charles Jacobson who were Finns. While the IWW organizers

faced great difficulties because the union was called in after the walkout had begun spontaneously, nevertheless some 5,000 of the 10,000 were successfully recruited into Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union 490. Again the strike was broken, this time by 1,000 armed deputies who kept picket lines open. Because foreign labor was no longer available to replace strikers as was the case in the 1907 strike, the companies resorted to intimidation and terrorist tactics, as well as starvation to force strikers back to their jobs. After a confrontation at the home of Philip Masonovich, where a deputy and a bystander were killed, Scarlett, Tresca and Schmidt were arrested and charged with murder, even though they were nowhere near the scene.

No amount of pressure, applied by federal investigators and two local mayors on the mining companies, brought the adversaries towards settlement. On September 17, after a vote by the workers, the strike was called off. The strike was an immediate failure, but eventually the companies made some concessions along the lines of some federal recommendations for change, marking the beginning of paternalistic, welfare capitalism. But the union was not recognized, and it was over two decades before miners again attempted to organize a union. Not only were the industrial giants too formidable to defeat in spite of some support for labor among small merchants and political leaders, but lack of solidarity among workers themselves hampered efforts. Not all workers joined the union, and labor Finns were divided among themselves, with Social Democrats generally not supporting the strike. Many Southern and Eastern Europeans remained anti-union and faithful to their church and lodges.

For the red Finns, the strike was not regarded as a failure. In fact, it was regarded as "a time of glory" which foreshadowed the final great conflict which would bring

forth a glorious victory in the form of a general strike, and a proof that the movement away from political, reformist methods had been well founded. It was generally agreed that the strike was not really over, and the word of the Strike Central Committee provided only hope: "we have planned to fight to a finish our next encounter."²⁵

In actual fact, however, the end of the Mesabi strike marked the beginning of the decline of the Finnish IWW movement. The time of glory had passed, and the group never recovered its revolutionary fervor. There was a brief but unsuccessful strike of lumber mill workers in the area at the end of 1916, and a strike of mine workers was called for the summer of 1917, but there was no response.

Nothing seemed to go right after the strike. Imprisonments, systematic harassment, protracted legal trials, defections to communism and the Soviet Union, and the persecution of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety all combined to exhaust and dissipate the energies of the radicals. Leo Laukki and four other Finns received sentences at the Chicago 166 trial, and while at Leavenworth, Laukki and several of his friends defected to communism. While on bail, Laukki and Haywood escaped to the Soviet Union.

The case of the Finnish-American IWW did not, however, indicate the death of Finnish-American radicalism. In the 1920's many Finnish-American Wobblies joined the Rowanist, decentralist Emergency Program of the "true" IWW, and still in the 1920's the movement had strong support in the Midwest and contacts with the One Big Union supporters on Canadian side of the state border were frequent. In the 1920's the cultural life of the Finnish-American Wobblies was still vivid with *Industrialisti* having good circulation. The traditional activities in the halls were maintained for years to come with the aging Finnish-American population after the immigrants quotas were enforced in the early 1920's. The IWW Finns officially affirmed the orthodox doctrines of the IWW to the very end in the pages of *Industrialisti* until the paper ceased publication in 1976.

An important occurrence was the shift of many Wobbly leaders and rank and file into the communist group, which was the case in the American IWW movement in general and in the Finnish-American movement, too. The subsequent main body of the Finnish-American radical movement was now to be found in the vigorous Finnish-American communist movement with more than 6,000 members and with a notable part in the communist circles in the United States.²⁵



TIIVISTELMÄ

Amerikansuomalainen anarko-syndikalismi ja the Industrial Workers of the World

Artikkelissa on käsitelty amerikkalaisen anarko-syndikalistisen työväenjärjestön, the Industrial Workers of the World' in (per. 1905) suomalaisia kannattajia. Lähtokohtana on ollut selvittää amerikansuomalaisen työväenliikkeen Suomesta

lähtevä tausta ja hakea siitä selittäjiä liikkeen käyttäytymiselle ja tuelle, joka annettiin IWW:lle. Erityisesti tällöin on kiinnitetty huomiota työväenliikkeen nousun sosiaaliseen taustaan: maattomien suuriin joukkoihin, Suomen vahittaiseen teollistumiseen ja toisaalta kirkon kyvyttömyyteen vastata muuttuneiden olosuhteiden asettamiin haasteisiin. On myös havaittu, että amerikansuo-

malaisessa työväenliikkeessä on ollut poikkeuksellisen paljon kyvykkäitä johtajia, jotka jo Suomessa ovat toimineet aktiivisesti työväenjärjestöissä ja toisaalta, vaikka monet johtohenkilöistä olivat kotoisin maaseudulta, he olivat usein työskennelleet Suomessakin teollisissa ammateissa. Näin ollen ko. radikaaleilla johtajilla on selvä teollinen tausta, mikä on poikkeuksellista tarkasteltaessa suomalaista amerikansiirtolaisuutta kokonaisuutena. Myös johtajien koulutustaso on ollut huomattavasti keskimääräistä korkeampi.

Yhdysvalloissa suomalainen työväenliike järjestäytyi valtakunnallisesti vuonna 1906, jolloin perustettiin Yhdysvaltain Suomalainen Sosialistijärjestö. Alkuaan sosialidemokraattisen suunnan edustajana se joutui jyrkkää linjaa ajavien IWW:n kannattajien taistelulentäksi: vaadittiin IWW:n periaatteiden mukaisesti yleislakkoa, suoraa toimintaa ja jopa sabotaasia, koska vanhat ja vakiintuneet työväenliikkeen menetelmät eivät näyttäneet tuovan toivottua tulosta ja nopeaa yhteiskunnallista muutosta. Näiden näkemysten kärjistyminen tapahtui amerikansuomalaisten osalta suurten työtaistelujen kuten Minnesotan Mesabi-alueen rautakaivostyöläisten lakon (v. 1907) ja Michiganin Kuparialueen lakon (vv. 1913-1914) seurauksena. Näissä ilmeni selvästi, kuinka voimattomia vanhat ammattijärjestöt, kuten Western Federation of Miners, olivat ja toisaalta, miten helppoa työnantajien oli saada viranomaisten suora tai epäsuora tuki lakon murtamisessa.

Erityisesti vuoden 1916 Mesabin lakko kuitenkin osoitti, ettei IWW:kään voinut kunnolla ajaa työväestön etuja, vaikka se oli niin väittänyt. Tuosta lakosta alkoi varsinaisesti amerikansuomalaisen syndikalismien lasku. Samaan suuntaan vaikutti myös ensimmäisen maailmansodan aikana Yhdysvalloissa vähitellen voimistunut radikalismien vastainen suuntaus. Työväenliikkeen aktivisteja pidätettiin pitkään vankeusrangaistuksiin ja jopa karkotettiin maasta.

Tärkeä merkitys amerikansuomalaisen syndikalismien kehitykselle oli Työväen Opiston (Duluth, Minn.) muuttamisella kirkollisesta koulusta maalliseksi työväestön oppilaitokseksi vuonna 1907. Pian siitä kehittyi jyrkän suunnan kannattajien tukikohta ja lopulta IWW:n virallinen oppilaitos. Opettajina siellä toimivat mm. amerikansuomalaisen syndikalismien suuntauksen varsinainen johtaja

Leo Laukki ja Yrjö Sirola, joka ilmeisesti sai paljon vaikutteita IWW:n menettelytavoista.

Amerikansuomalainenkin anarko-syndikalismi oli näin ollen melko vaatimaton tuloksiltaan. Se sai kannattajikseen osan Suomalaisen Sosialistijärjestön jäsenistä, mutta kuten amerikkalainen emäjärjestö noin satatuhantisine jäsenjoukkoineen, eivät sen suomalaiset kannattajatkaan menestyneet paljolti oman kansallisuusryhmän ulkopuolella. Ehkä tärkeimpänä syynä tähän oli van-

hojen ammattijärjestöjen saama vakiintunut asema, joka vaikeutti uuden järjestön nousua. Toisaalta IWW oli selvästi ulkomaalaisperäisten ammattitaidottomien työläisten dominoima, mikä osaltaan vaikeutti varsinaisen amerikkalaisen työväestön kannatuksen saamista.

Amerikansuomalaisen anarko-syndikalistisen liikkeen voimakkainta tukialuetta olivat Yhdysvaltain keskiosat sekä idän teollisuuskeskukset. Suurimmillaan sillä lienee ollut noin 10 000 suomalaista tukijaa. Heidän toimintansa keskittyi pääosin Industrialisti-lehden tukemiseen ja sosiaalisten tilaisuuksien järjestämiseen jäsenilleen sen lisäksi, että varsinainen tarkoitus oli koota työväestö "yhteen suureen unioon". Järjestön oppi "työväestön järjestämisestä teollisuuksittain" pysyi periaatteena Industrialistin palstoilla aina sen lakkauttamiseen asti vuonna 1976. Vielä on syytä todeta, että huomattava osa amerikansuomalaisista IWW:läisistä siirtyi sen toimintaan pettyneinä 1920-luvulla amerikansuomalaisen kasvavan kommunistisen liikkeen riveihin.



FOOTNOTES:

- 1) Gerald Rosenblum, *Immigrant Workers* (New York, 1973), pp. 135-138. This view has been challenged by, for example, Herbert Gutman, in "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1915-1919", *American Historical Review*, June 1973, pp. 531-588, and Michael Karni, ed., *Spectrum*, May 1975, p. 1, f.
- 2) See Auvo Kostianen, *The Forging of Finnish-American Communism, 1917-1924. A Study in Ethnic Radicalism*. Migration Studies C 4, Turku 1978, esp. pp. 138-152.

- 3) Paavo Kortekangas, *Kirkko ja Uskonnollinen Elämä Teollistuvassa Yhteiskunnassa. Tutkimus Tampereesta, 1855-1905* (Porvoo, 1965), pp. 314-318.
- 4) Jussi Kuoppala, *Suomen Papisto ja Työväen-kysymys, 1863-1899* (Helsinki, 1963), pp. 344-365; 379.
- 5) William Hوجلund, *Finnish Immigrants in America* (Madison, 1960), pp. 3-16.
- 6) Reino Kero, "The Social Origins of the Left-Wing Radicals and 'Church Finns' among Finnish Immigrants in North America" in *Publications of the Institute of General History, University of Turku Finland, Nr 7, Studies*, Vilho Niitemaa, ed., (Turku, 1975), pp. 55-62.
- 7) Reino Kero, "The Roots of Finnish-American Left-Wing Radicalism", in *Publications of the Institute of General History University of Turku Finland. Nr. 5, Studies*, Vilho Niitemaa, ed., (Turku, 1973), p. 53.
- 8) Kero, *ibid.*, p. 54.
- 9) *Amerikan Suomalaisen Työväenliikkeen Historia* (Fitchburg, Mass., 1951), pp. 485-503.
- 10) Douglas J. Ollila, "The Emergence of Radical Industrial Unionism in the Finnish Socialist Movement", in *Publication nr 7, Studies*, pp. 27-29. The best study on the Work People's College is Hannu Heinilä, *Work People's College – Amerikansuomalaisen työväestön oppilaitos* (MA thesis in general history, University of Turku, 1976).
- 11) See Kostiainen, *The Forging*, pp. 35-37.
- 12) *Industrialisti*, January 17, 1922.
- 13) *Pöytäkirja, Amerikan Suomalaisen Sosialistiosastojen Edustajakokouksesta Hibbingissä, Minn., Elokuun 1-7 päivinä 1906* (Hancock, Mich., 1907), pp. 10-23.
- 14) Hannu Soikkanen, *Socialismin tulo Suomeen*. Ensimmäisen yksikamarisen eduskunnan vaiheihin asti. (Helsinki, 1961), p. 324.
- 15) Hyman Berman, "Education for Work and Labor Solidarity: The Immigrant Miners and Radicalism in the Mesabi Range", unpublished ms., (Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota), p. 38.
- f. See also Michael Karni, "The Founding of the Finnish Socialist Federation and the Minnesota Strike of 1907", in *For the Common Good - Finnish Immigrants and the Radical Response to Industrial America*, Michael G. Karni and Douglas J. Ollila Jr., eds., (Superior, Wisc., 1976), pp. 65-86.
- 16) *Eveleth News*, July 28, 1907; *Raivaaja*, October 12 and 26, 1907; *Amerikan Suometar*, April 8 and 15, 1908.
- 17) Auvo Kostiainen, "Finnish-American Workmen's Associations", in Vilho Niitemaa et al. eds., *Old Frieds-Strong Ties* (Vaasa, 1976), pp. 205-234.
- 18) *Mesaba Ore* (Hibbing), July 27, 1907, and Hans R. Wasastjerna, *History of the Finns in Minnesota*. Translation by Toivo Rosvall, (New York Mills, Minn. 1957), p. 476.
- 19) *Komannen Amerikan Suomalaisen Sosialistijärjestön Edustajakokouksen Pöytäkirja. Kokous pidetty Hancockissa, Mich. 23-30 p, Elok., 1909*. Ed. by F. J. Syrjäjä (Fitchburg, Mass., n.d.), p. 10.
- 20) Tero Ahola, "Leo Laukki Amerikan suomalaisessa työväenliikkeessä (MA thesis in political history, University of Helsinki, 1973), p. 1-14.
- 21) Douglas Ollila, "The Work People's College: Immigrant Education for Adjustment and Solidarity", in *For the Common Good*, pp. 102-111.
- 22) Arthur E. Puotinen, "Early labor Organizations in the Copper Country", in *ibid.*, pp. 119-166, presents a comprehensive history of the strike.
- 23) *Rajvaaja*, August 11, 1914 and *Socialisti*, August 26, 1914.
- 24) For a detailed history of these events see Ollila, "The Emergence of Radical Industrial Unionism", pp. 44-54.
- 25) Kostiainen, *The Forging*, pp. 128-137. The analysis of the Development of the Finnish-American Wobbly movement from 1920's onwards as well as the Finnish One Big Union supporters still wait for scholarly treatment. Thus far only general statement have been presented.