FINNISH FOLKLORE AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE GREAT LAKES MINING REGION ORAL HISTORY PROJECT 1972-1978
(Funded in part by the National Endowment For The Humanities)

(Funded in part by the Keweenaw National Historic Park Advisory Commission / U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service)

CONDITIONS FOR USE OF .PDF TRANSCRIPT:
Finlandia University, formerly Suomi College, holds the exclusive copyright to the entirety of its Finnish Folklore and Social Change in the Great Lakes Mining Region Oral History Collection, including this .pdf transcript which is being presented online for research and academic purposes. Any utilization that does not fall under the United States standard of Fair Use (see U.S. Copyright Office or Library of Congress), including unauthorized re-publication, is a violation of Federal Law. For any other use, express written consent must be obtained from the Finnish American Historical Archive: archives@finlandia.edu.

PREFERRED FORMAT FOR CITATION / CREDIT:
“Maki, John”, Finnish Folklore and Social Change in the Great Lakes Mining Region Oral History Collection, Finlandia University, Finnish American Historical Archive and Museum.

Note: Should the Finnish American Archive be a resource for publication, please send a copy of the publication to the Archive:
Finnish American Historical Archive and Museum
Finlandia University
601 Quincy St.
Hancock, Michigan 49930 USA
906-487-7347 - fax: 906-487-7557
This is a transcript in English of a taped interview. The interview was conducted by Arthur Puotinen who is denoted as I for interviewer on this transcript.

The interview is of Walter Hugo Salmi (middle name spelled Huugo in the Finnish language), born in Tiutinen, Finland (adjacent to the city of Kotka, in the extreme south-east of the country), on June 10, 1895. He immigrated to the United States with his family in 1907. He resided in various Upper Michigan communities in or near the copper or iron mining districts; in some localities of northern Wisconsin; and, briefly, in extreme northwestern Ohio. His longest residence was in the farming community of Toivola, Michigan, in that state's "Copper Country." Throughout the interview his contributions are initialed R for respondent.

Another participant in the interview is Mrs. Walter (Mayme) Salmi. Since the transcriber had no means of positively identifying her initially and because her contributions were usually in the form of brief interjections or additions her contributions are most often denoted by the word INTERJECTION. The most notable exception to this comes in the last tape to be transcribed (apparently the second tape chronologically) where she is identified as Mrs. Salmi and her contributions are initialed as Mrs. S. in the transcription.
Since most of the interview was conducted in Finnish, particularly Mr. Salmi's responses, a translation was needed in conjunction with the transcription. This was done by: Heikki Petaisto
TAPE I

Containing: Mr. Salmi's earliest recollections of:

- his life in Finland
- family connection with socialists
- childhood impressions of Laestadians
- move to the United States
- Laestadian - socialist vs. Synod - socialist attitudes
- education in the United States
- chronological list of places of residence

I: Art Puotinen

R: Walter Salmi

Interjection: Mrs. Salmi
Walter Hugo and Mayme Salmi

I: Maybe you'd like to just say something or see how it picks it up there. Just sit back . . . I had put 9 o'clock on this paper and then on my other paper I had put 9:30 and I was sitting over there in the office doing a few things and I ran across this other paper and someone discovered that here it was. We'd like to begin by asking you your full name.

R: Walter Huugo Salmi.

I: And you were born in ?

R: Tiutinen, on Tiutinen Island, on the edge of the city of Kotka's harbor, 1895, June 10.

I: And how many brothers and sisters did you have?

R: Well, there was living two, but there was two daughters or sisters died and one of the . . . younger brothers . . .

I: And what type of work did your father do there in Finland?

R: Well, he was working in the sawmills and sometimes he went to build the houses and he did lot of carpenter work.

I: Oh yes. Perhaps I should ask you where did your mother and father originally come from in Finland. Were they both from that same area where you grew up?

R: Well, my mother was from (beyond the?) Russian border because her mother and father they were working with, under the czar. They was as a . . . they worked for a homeowner from where they went to work when the czar came to his (the czar's) recreation home during the summers . . . well they were there. She was a cook, part of the time and her husband was a stable hand.

I: Was this Nicholas II then?

R: Yes.

I: Do they ever say anything about the czar? What kind of man he was like?

R: Well, not much

I: Well, he, it was this czar, was it not, who in the 1890's began to put more pressure upon the Finns?
R: Well, that pressure was coming about 1902, 1903.

I: And what kind of pressure was it like? I mean, what were some of the things that happened?

R: Well, they wanted to get the boys of Finland into the army. That was one. Then to get the Russian language into use in Finland and, in general, resisted all types of activity so that there could be no working people's movement doings or anything of that sort happening.

I: And this pressure was felt not only in the cities but in all areas even in the countryside.

R: Yes. Only thing in 1903 I think, it was then that drafting was used, they drafted men. In general all of officialdom was sympathetic to all who wanted to leave the country. They gave them permission to leave the country. They went to Sweden and from there to the U.S.A. Many left in that manner. In the first (military) draft call there were less than 200 that responded to it. That was a very small number. The biggest part left the country.

I: Did the Social Democratic Party or Social Democrats, is this one of the reasons why they grew, because of this pressure from Russia?

R: Well, it was more for the reason that they were persecuted. All those who were the most liberal were sent to Siberia and out of the country. There were many who had to leave the country so that they would not have to go to Siberia.

I: Was this why Tanner and Kurikka and others came?

R: Yes. They left for the bigger part, to come to this country. As Laukki also, he came to this country but that was later. He was a soldier leader in Russia. He attended a university and having got through, participated in revolutionary activity (ies) in Russia. When it was seen that he would be caught, he escaped to Finland. He came to this country in 1917, if I remember correctly. And then he participated in IWW activities over here. But, in general, in Finland Kotka and Tampere were farthest advanced regarding working peoples' movement leadership. For example, in 1905 Lenin was in Finland. He was in Tampere and Helsinki. While there, in Tampere, he kept the first meeting around . . . I can't remember the year now, but anyway, they kept a meeting so that there were many Russians there also and he, Lenin, praised the Red Guard from Tampere for doing a good job of protecting them so that they did not fall under the power of spies, informers, or others. That is why Lenin was always well disposed toward Finland and he
also did once he assumed control. But regarding our own activities there in Tiutinen, we had a Union of Working Peoples' and there was a co-operative store there, the co-op store was established in 1904 and we have a hall in connection with it. Then in 1905, the Red Guard was in the city, but on the island at the hall there were always many men in the evenings and even during the days and they kept a guard to prevent the Russian soldiers from coming there. I've later been amused, once I understood this, that what could they have done with their bare hands even though they (the soldiers) would have come. Then another amusing side came about regarding the common practice of that time of spreading anti-czar pamphlets and leaflets. They realized that somebody was always caught when these notices were handed out. They came up with a plan, since the women had long skirts those days, that they could put slips of paper, 5" - 6" long and about ½" wide with slogans printed upon them and a hole punched out at one end - they could put these on a string, one end of which was in a pocket, women had pockets, and the woman could pull on the string as she walked. There was a piece of steel on the strings other end in such a way that every time she pulled the string, two, three slips of paper would drop. As she walked about, she could drop these slogan slips everywhere. This way no one was caught. This method was so secret (hard to discover). There were many other such things happening. Travelers to Russia, who were connected with revolutionary activities, came through just this Tiutinen Island and went to Hamina and from there beyond. They simply went in sailboats. They had places agreed upon beforehand where to meet. They worked together, especially after the czarist government was crushed, but also in the 1905 overthrow attempt which was unsuccessful. That's when Lenin too had to come back to Finland where he remained in hiding. Of myself, I can say that I was very poor in learning. I had a hard time (did not want to) learning to read. Mother made it a practice to send all kinds of candies and other things for me so that I would study harder. But I still did not seem to learn properly. I remember when once my mother's brother, Matti Turkia, came to our place just as I was learning some part from the reading primer. After I had read a little of it he recited a poem. It was not exactly like this that he recited it then, this is a little . . .

"A HARD HEAD"

When mother taught me to pronounce my first "A"
I happened to turn my head to gaze at the cat a-playing
All that was left in my head from then is her admonishment
"Poor child, you have a hard head"
After that the old man school master taught like a worthy man
Pounded it in my head until he felt that head's quality
Then with a bunch of hair in his hand pronounces solemnly
"Oh, Rascal, you have a hard head."
Then when I reached confirmation age to the cantor I was sent
Once again was my head examined carefully
"Nothing can get into your hear" so growls our cantor
"Oh, crook, you have a hard head"
Now at last it enters my mind to let the mother of demons
have all the books
I'll hurry off to become a soldier then
If a bullet should fly upon my forehead
It will surely be turned aside
For I have such a hard head.

The next time he came, he brought me that poem

I: Who? Your Uncle?

R: Yes, my uncle (mother's side), Matti Turkia. For seventeen years
he was in Finland's parliament. And for a little longer, in
Helsinki, the secretary of the Socialist Party. About the time
or a little before he moved to Kotka a newspaper was established
there. He moved there then and visited us often. We were put
under a certain kind of pressure because he was one of the head
socialists. My father was injured (slurred 1902?). He fell at
the sawmill in Sakala so that three of his ribs were broken. As
a consequence he suffered from a lung condition until he died in
1905.

I: How old was he then when he died? Was he an old man or not?

R: (softly) I must have it written down somewhere

I: No. It's not so important

R: If I remember right he was 46.

I: Rather young yet then.

R: Yes. Then mother brought a lawsuit against the company because of
the injury. The company promised, on their part, that both sons
can have employment there for as long as they want. Then after
father died their jobs were taken away. The youngest found a job
with Kotka's regular fire department. The other searched for all
over the country for a job, but as soon as the name Salmi came up
it was known that he had connections with Turkia. He didn't get
work anywhere or he worked for a few days and was fired again.
He decided to go to America and did so in 1906. We sold our home
already in 1905 because father sought healing in St. Petersburg,
Helsinki, Punkaharju and all over. But when he went to Helsinki
they told him very frankly to go home that he would soon die.
That was such a blow then that it took him in a very short time. We had to sell the house then right away to be able to finance the funeral and other expenses. Then mother bought another house on the mainland at a place called Suunitsniemi. It was a less expensive place, of course. But that oldest brother who was urging us all to come to this country. So, in 1907 we left to come to this country.

I: Could I yet ask a little more about life in Finland?

R: Yes.

I: Last time you told of that school where there was a certain pastor who spoke religion.

R: I can explain that. Well, in school I had no particular problems. I had already learned how to read a little, after all. I read geography then which explained that at one time the earth had been a hot ball that at some phase received moisture so that it cooled and received vegetation. It explained all of this. Then on a Wednesday, first thing in the morning we were in a Bible History (class). In Finland the teaching of religion is a regular part of education. There was this Bible History wherein it told of how God had created the earth in seven days. In my little head it caused a conflict that how had all of this happened. Our last hour on Wednesdays was a time when a vicar, who was the head director of our school, came to ask questions. He wanted to know what anyone might have to say or want to ask. Well, I asked then how it is that geography explains that it (the earth) was a hot ball, and I presented that theory as I understood it, while in Bible History it is said that God created it. He said immediately, "Salmi will be so good as to sit down." I tried to continue and he said, "Sit down." And that was it. When we went outside the other students came (to me) and asked, "Why ask that kind of question?" I answered, "It bothers me that it's explained in two ways. Something doesn't fit." Well, some of them, of course, were of one mind with me and they told their parents that I had asked questions of this sort and among them, of course, were some that were of the same mind as I. They must have asked our director some question. A couple of weeks -- it wasn't even that long . . . yes it was a couple of weeks later that he sent a letter home with me. This requested a parental visit to the school. Mother came there since father was working. He had recommended that I not read (or study) Bible History or the Cathechism and that they would have other subjects to give me. Mother had then asked why. He had then told her what I had asked. Well, I kept it in my mind then that when my uncle would come I would ask him. I was outside and they were eating as I came in. I immediately dashed to the table and began asking. He said to wait until he eats and he would then
explain. He explained then a liberal view of how it had come into religion and how it is and how many religions there are, and he explained all of these things to me then. This made me so that I don't care . . . although I did a few times attend meetings of the so called "hihhuli's". Those were held out there on that island. There were no other church occasions unless one went to Kotka to the Kotka church. I sometimes went with my father, who was a very ardent believer. It was with him that I went about a time or two a month. Once we were about to drown when a severe storm arose as we were coming with a sailboat. But we, nevertheless, did get there.

I: Could you explain a little what happened with the "hihhuli's"?

R: Well, I didn't accept all of it. You know, they go too far in that dancing and jumping of theirs.

INTERJECTION BY FEMALE VOICE: You haven't seen that Laestadian, they don't do it any more when you was. But I've seen it. They actually jump and shout that . . .

I: What do they shout?

FEMALE VOICE: Lord Jesus come and all kinds of them. Like the hippies do now. They take some phrase and they all repeat the same thing and jump like fools.

R: Then one time it happened that some liberals came to the "hihhuli" meeting. And one of them that was a ministerial man or foremost amongst them begins to call them (the liberals) down for coming there. An argument arose between them then. I left and never again went to any of their meetings.

I: Were there temperance societies in your home vicinity in Finland?

R: In 1898 the first temperance society was established in Halla. And a few months later (one) in Kotka. The leader of this temperance society was my uncle.

I: Martti?

R: Martti Turkia. He was at that time working at the sawmill. He led, there were over 100 of them, they marched to Kotka and they forcefully closed the taverns. They then got help from other temperance leagues. There was the one from Kotka and, what was it, the Suunila temperance league, they joined as one and it was a general opinion, you know, meeting in Kotka. They went as a group and
closed each tavern. That was the first in Finland's big temperance push. It began in Kotka and spread throughout the country. There was a hard battle then against intoxicating liquors. My uncle was a drunkard.

I: Before?

R: Yes. But he took the temperance matter as a personal cause and didn't drink after that. He always used to say, "One can get away from drinking, but from tobacco, never."

I: Did many of the lumberjacks drink?

R: Well, sure. Especially the ones that worked at floating (the logs), who brought along the Kymi river logs from as far away as Päijänne (lake). They were hard drunkards. Even at the sawmill they did at one . . . when the temperance cause was being driven . . . it was so that not less than 25 baskets of beer could be bought (at one time). So these workers collected money from among themselves so that they could purchase 25 baskets. And the seller had to agree to take (the beer) onto some island for a Saturday evening. The entire gang went there then to drink away a Saturday evening. And that drinking was being done in a very big way. Then one thing about the activities of co-operatives. Over here I've always been a very ardent supporter (indistinct on tape) of co-operative stores. In Finland all (dealings) at the co-operatives were with cash. You got nothing with credit as you do over here. They always wanted you to give a few markkas as an "advance" for which they gave sort of tickets which were markka or 50 pennies in value and so forth. They were made of paper or that kind cardboard. You were able to purchase with those then. But they wanted people to give money which they could use to purchase merchandise with. And they would give no one (goods) on credit. I thought many times when, for 23 years, I was at that Farmer's Co-op Trading Company, and while the debts (of customers) always grew bigger that, oh, if it all could be received in cash. How easy it would be. Just like in your Amasa the accounts receivable were huge.

I: Where did the idea for co-operatives come from? To Finland?

R: It came from Germany and England. From Germany - what was his name now - I don't remember his name now - he was a student in Germany and he came to Tampere - or was it Helsinki - must have been Tampere. They began it very small and it grew rapidly. They very quickly . . . the workers began to patronize them because they discovered that private (merchants?) for pay put sand into their sugar. And they counterfeited, intentionally, products so much that it (the Co-op) got their support. But it grew so rapidly
that they were not able to handle it with the small amount of space that they had. Of course, they were weak in leadership also. Many ended at the beginning but some survived and went forward. That's the way the Finnish co-operatives got their start. Among the biggest of them is (must be) this one in Helsinki. It has 400 and some restaurants, cafes. It has stores, slaughterhouses and also (facilities) for all types of produce. If I remember (right) there are over 400 outlets.

END OF TAPE 1 - SIDE 1

SIDE TWO BEGINS WITH MR. SALMI SPEAKING

R: But I know very little of this because I was there in Tiutinen. I only know from what my mother and brothers told me. They were in Kotka and when they tried to leave that Working People's (Työväen) Hall yard 90 soldiers were brought in. A torpedo boat came into the harbor and 90 soldiers marched there (to the hall) to confront them and keep them from exiting. There were two big gates (to the yard). They tried one gate and there were police and the other was blocked by soldiers. But they kept (held) the demonstration there in the yard of the Working People's Hall. I know nothing else of it. They had intentions to hold it at Valakallio (literally: Oath Rock) as the usual occasions were. There was a market square beside which there was a large high outcrop of rock called Oath Rock for all of the oaths at those meetings. That's the way it was. Of course there were two groups of them. There was the radical group, the social democrats and the regulars. The radicals went to extremes in many instances but that was not true of my parents, brothers and Matti Turkia. They tried to refrain from all real big noise making doings.

I: Where did the church stand in this matter?

R: Well, in particular, they have always been against the working people. Were the churches wherever, in this country or in the old country, (this is true of the church). I remember that time even when my mother began collecting names of (people) that would refuse to pay their yearly minister's (pastor's) dues since whenever a minister (pastor) had to come (perform some function), a christening, or some such, he was paid a fee and still they were supposed to get annual dues besides. They collected - my uncle drafted the collecting listing (petition) and my mother went about that entire Tiutinen. There were some 90 names that were signed indicating they would not pay a pastor unless they needed him (his services). My mother and I don't remember who but there were about 5 people who left in that boat. I remember that very well because many were scornful towards their cause. They went then to take that to Ponsdorf, who was the vicar, they took it there. He had said, "We'll see. We'll see."
But nothing more was heard of it until we were leaving Finland - one had to have pastor's certificate - and then they collected all of the dues that we hadn't paid.

I: Is it true, I've read in books, that sometimes when a pastor came and one didn't have money to pay for services a cow had to be given or? Is that true?

R: You see, for example, my brother's mother-in-law. They lived over there in Iron River when I met them. They had a child and in the house had nothing that would have satisfied the pastor in (lieu of money) for fees he was collecting. But they had a cradle, and it was a very good cradle, an old cradle, a heirloom piece, they took that. Lifted the child onto the floor.

INTERJECTION: See, that was in Finland!

R: There are many happenings of that kind. My uncle wrote a poem about it or they sang it. I don't . . . I wonder if I'd remember words to that song. How does it begin?

INTERJECTION: Don't say it now.

R: I don't remember it just now but I do have it down there in that pile (?) case.

I: There were, in Finland, many vicars and also preachers, like of the Laestadians?

R: Yes.

I: What did the people think of the preachers? Were they different from the vicars?

R: Of course they had their own line of thought. But, you see, those preachers could not give communion or nothing. For those you had to go to a real pastor -- communion receiving. But that, that they were shameless, in general, in collecting what you owed them. They would not give in. You had to pay one way or another.

I: I'd like to express a thought. When I was doing research with Dr. Holmio, you know, on my own work, one of the ideas he mentioned which I haven't been able to follow up, but maybe you would have some thought on was that he thought that perhaps in the working class movement in Finland, among the social democrats perhaps more came from the Laestadian movement or background into the working class movement than from the evangelicals or others.
INTERJECTION: There was a little of this that they were richer they had gone to ministerial schools and into all sorts of businesses while these Laestadians were farmers and fishermen and people who did the "rough" work. That's why.

INTERJECTION: They were like in here even. They were fishermen and miners and like that. And in here, let's call them the Synodans. Perfectly frank, they were those businessmen over here. They could educate their children not only through high school but they put them on to Suomi College and even yet beyond. While, on the contrary, those who were in general, Laestadians, very rarely could even educate (the children) through even the eighth grade as in those farming (areas) (like) Toivola. There was immediately, let's say it frankly, a class distinction. (You) see some were (of the) lower class.

I: Why, in the Laestadian . . . faith, shall we put it that way, there is great emphasis on the forgiveness of sins and eternal life. How did these people get so interested in "bread and butter" issues?

R: Because that's the thing that you need.

INTERJECTION: Now! Today!

R: Yes, That's the way it is. It is the only thing. People, when they go to church, get their satisfaction from there. But when they come out (of the church) and come home they always have that "bread" question, the hunger. This always brings to mind that it's alright for the ministers to talk but how can we live without food and earnings?

I: Did the Laestadian preachers speak about this "bread" question? Ever?

R: Well, no. But they were such, anyway, that they were not so ardently after the money. This was true, or rather another matter, that they spoke of God and the future life. They neither cared about the days of this life. (They were) just like the ministers of today. They always want to side with the "company", for the reason that they hope to get something good from over-there; as for example, land to build churches upon and so forth. The only one who deceived "the companies" was Heideman (from) in Calumet. When the strike came, there were "Korpi-Jussi" and many others of the working peoples men speaking in the church. While, on the contrary, here at the Synod head quarters, they had old, rotten eggs and tomatoes to throw (at the strikers) as they marched on the streets. During the marches of the strike.

I: Did the students throw tomatoes and other .?
R: Yes. In general, those that were Kalevalans and those

INTERJECTION: See, they belonged to the Citizens Alliance

I: You mean from the college, these things were thrown?

INTERJECTION: I don't know if the (from the) college themselves these things were thrown but they had their gang throw them. But they could do nothing else because their teachers - and the group within which they had grown - they (urged) were on their own and capital's side - that it must be (done) so.'

R: As I on the last time explained here how I wanted to put in the history - the truth that the (Suomi) College associates, and leaders were against the strikers. Holmio explained that if they (SC) had been for the strikers the mining companies might have left and the College would have had to suffer. I tried, and did say in that correction that the College is still here and the mining companies have left. The economic situation is not understood. Neither then nor now.

I: You said that there in Calumet, in Heideman's church the working people's men . . .

R: . . . spoke. Yes, old Heideman had requested that Korpi-Jussi come and speak to his group. On a Sunday morning he went to preach.

I: I remember about the great disaster - the Italian Hall (disaster) - that many of these children were - the funeral services were held at the Pine Street church, Heideman's church.

R: Yes.

I: What about Rautanen?

R: Rautanen wasn't here at the time - as I remember.

I: Oh, he was here in 1913.

R: Was he?

I: Yes, I've done a little research on Rautanen and he wrote in the Suometar and other places . . .

R: I've got that book there, Rautanen's History.

I: That was written in 1911 so he was already there. Evidently, you don't have any memories of him . . .
R: I don't know. Ministers (the clergymen) have not changes. Oh, in that, that they are not as strictly behind their faith as before. (Then) after every few words they said "Jesus" or "God" or something. But now they can talk about other things. I like this Rankinen. He speaks (about) things that one can take in one's hand and think about.

INTERJECTION: You can feel it.

R: Yes, but

INTERJECTION: Not just think about pie in the sky when you die but actually that you understand it today.

R: That's something. I know people like him. Of course, there's old Finns who have heard - just like Halinen - well they like Halinen. They can't understand that they no longer have jackass mares. They have cars. All has changed. We have radios. We have televisions and all those in use. But they still think that religion is in that same (old time). I don't know if I should continue in this direction.

I: We've gone a little ahead of the story. We didn't get you across from Finland yet . . .

R: I was just thinking about that.

I: When you left Finland to come to America, if I understand correctly now, it was very difficult for you to get work? Because of your association with your Uncle Martti?

INTERJECTION: He was too young for that.

I: Oh, yes. You were already quite young. You came, was it in 19

R: Seven

I: 1907. You were about

INTERJECTION: Ah . . eleven. No . . twelve years old.

I: I see. Do you remember the journey on the ship? Oh, it's in the history (amusement).

R: When we left Finland, we left Kotka on August 3, 1907. We went to Helsinki by train. From Helsinki we left on the 6th of (August) at 4'o'clock in the afternoon. On August 7th we left from Hanko peninsula at 2 o'clock in the afternoon and we arrived in Copenhagen (Denmark) at 2 P.M. The Baltic Sea was very stormy. I was seasick. On the 12th day we were in Liverpool in the morning. On the 15th we left for the Atlantic at 7 o'clock in the morning. We arrived in New York at 4 p.m. on the 24th. To Negaunee, Michigan we arrived
on the 27th day at 12 o'clock at night. A dark, filthy station greeted us. No one was there to receive us for Einar, my brother, had fallen asleep.

INTERJECTION: That was a homecoming.

R: One keeper of a boarding house was always there to meet the 12 o'clock train so that he would get people into his boarding house. So he took us there and on the next morning (they) took us to where brother way. So it took us 18 days to come to this country from Helsinki.

I: Did you have good accommodations on the ship?

R: That "Polaris", with which we came from Helsinki to Liverpool was good for next to nothing. And another thing, (in this connection) everyone was sea-sick soon. The biggest part of . . .

INTERJECTION: They went "ia-ia-ia" all of the while.

R: . . . they were from northern Finland for the bigger part. They hadn't been on the big seas as much. My brother was not bothered by it (seasickness). I wondered why I became seasick for I had so much been on the waters (seas) in sailboats and a little boat with which I traveled, even alone, because I had to get wood (firewood) from the shores of islands. Also fish I had to take. I wonder how it would be if I read this my entire life history here: This was published in the (name indistinct) magazine (or newspaper). But let's go over that later then.

I: Does that history go into your life in this country also?

R: It begins with my being born on Tiutinen island

INTERJECTION: That's repeating. Get it there where you come to Negaunee and start there.

R: Yes, but this explains it. . . on the front (edge) of the city of Kotka's harbor in 1895. As a child I played on the old (stone) fortification walls. These fortifications were formed (had been) on Ruotsinsalmi (literally) Strait of Sweden. My mother participated eagerly in the strivings of the working people and was for years on a committee activated by the Women's Organization of Kymi Valley (which contains Kotka geographically). Father was sympathetic towards this activity but did not significantly participate in it. My brothers, of which two were with the Working People's movement. My father died in 1905. My oldest brother, Einar, left for this country 1906. In 1907 my mother, brother, Reino, and I arrived in Negaunee.
I had for one year attended public school in Finland and I continued my education in this country. I went through eight grades in a short time at the Working People's (Educational Institute) school. That is the extent of my schooling. The rest I have learned in the school of life.

I: Can I ask a little now of this matter? You went to school in Negaunee then?

R: Yes.

I: Did you learn how to speak English in Negaunee then?

R: By gosh, no. I still haven't learned.

I: The teacher taught you in English, didn't she or he?

R: Yes.

INTERJECTION: He (Mr. Salmi) had an interpreter. Since he had gone to school in Finland he spoke to the interpreter who spoke to the teacher. How quickly did you go those first two grades?

R: Well, when I came to the school they put me straight in the second grade. Half a day later they put me in the third grade. In that third grade I then spent that winter. But then when I came to Ironwood, I once again skipped some grades. When I had been in it (a school) some weeks they again put me forward. So that in two years I got into the 8th grade. I had thus gone eight grades in less than four years.

I: Well, that head wasn't so hard, then. Well, you were in Negaunee only two years? Or how long? You went to Ironwood?

R: No. From Negaunee we went to Clifford, Wisconsin. That's why my schooling went so poorly. You see, we were in Negaunee from 1907 to 1908. Aug. 27, 1907, to June, 1908. In Clifford from June, 1908, to December, 1908. Then we went to Bessemer (Michigan) in December, 1908 (where we stayed) to August, 1909. To Ironwood (Michigan) August, 1909 (where we stayed until) September, 1911. Superior, Wisconsin, 1911 to May, 1912. Iron River, Michigan, May, 1912, to April, 1916. Toledo, Ohio, April 1916 to September, 1916. Iron River, Michigan, September, 1916 to September, 1923. Toivola (Michigan) September, 1923 to September, 1927. Hancock (Michigan), September, 1927 to August, 1934. Toivola, August, 1934, to September 26, 1966. I have a record of everything that has happened. For the reason that as foreigners we are always asked: "Where were you at such and such a time?"
I: Can I ask you, when you were in school, were there other nationalities - Italian, Croatia, Germans? How did the Finn's get along with these people?

R: Those who spoke English got along better - if the other knew (English) also. But, for example, I, and the Finns who came - there were two girls who had also came (at that time) from Finland - and they were as pathetic as I in regard to the English language. They just called us "mongols" (referred to us as). We were always under that burden. I had to get milk every morning - I had that kind of holder with which I carried it - and during the winter when the snow was thawing, was soft, I often was in the midst of a blizzard. Those others (gave) threw snow (at me) - and persecuted. If you met one, even in town, someone came and "bammed" (pamoutti) you in some way. We were always under pressure. That's why I tried to say to those who went to Karjala (Karelia). I said that don't you remember the persecution we were under when we came to this country? You'll fall under the same over there. They said, "No. That's a free Russia." But they fell into the same kind of situation over there.

I: Could you tell (us) a little about the Working People's (Educational Institute) School?

R: That can be told - in particular I took (courses in) history, indistinct, English. But they put me aside in English. They said that they wanted to teach those who didn't know any (English). So I didn't get that. I had history, economics, and those principally. There were 126 of us at that Institute. We didn't all fit into the Institute. Private individuals provided us with rooms then that were rented. Our place was Rottala - (literally, the place of rats). There were so many rats there - but we ate at the Institute. But we slept at that Rottala.

I: What is the English equivalent of "rottta"?

INTERJECTION: Rats! There were so many rats in there. At that Institute.

I: Who were some of your early teachers there?

R: Sirola, Rissanen, Kankaanpää, Laukki was for a few times but he went to work on editing the Työmies (literally, working man, a newspaper). I can't remember all of the names even. But, Sirola I liked very well and, who was it who taught economics after Rissanen left, I can't remember who it was that taught economics. It was taught there in the Bockranoff (sic?) style.

I: I read that this Sirola was the son of a pastor.

R: Yes. he was the son of a pastor.
I: And he was here - and went back to Finland, wasn't this so?

R: Yes. (long pause) I'll look up after a little while. I have his entire biography

I: Who's? Sirola?

R: Sirola, yes.

I: But in your opinion he was a very good teacher.

R: Yes, a very good teacher
R. 1907 - when the socialists took it over from the Finnish National Congregation - the National Congregation had founded that school in Smithville, Minnesota. And - they were in money difficulties. They began selling shares to whomever would (purchase them). These socialists noticed this and each bought shares in the school. They got in control - became the majority - could control all facets. They changed over the entire board (of directors) and thus took over the institution. That happened in 1921.

I remember - when was it? - I had just come to Negaunee. My brother went to (attend) this school. Leo Sautki traveled around “recruiting” students. Everyone was in this area - sold shares and they voted - of course - and that’s how the National Congregation lost that school to the socialists. And later, the IWW took over the school.
I: May I ask - this is very interesting - Why were the socialists and church men together in the first place?

R: No. There were those who naturally belonged to the congregation. They were the ones who suggested buying (selling?) shares in the first place. They didn't envision a take-over but aid for the school. The Synod had a school they wanted one in Duluth or rather in Smithville - they took it over and changed the teachers. There were no ministers put there then.

I: Was there co-operation before the take-over between the National Congregation men and the socialists?

INTERJECTION: No. If they did it was just because they saw they could take it over. They kept to themselves and just kept buying just like Universal Oil Products Inc. bought
Calumet & Hecla (mining company) stock
that they bought the shares until they had
enough.

R: That's how it was taken the teachers were
changed and then many students were
recruited.

I: Who masterminded this?

R: I don't believe anyone (did) - but I suspect
the Työmiš 'newspaper [lit: Working Man] gang
was behind it. I don't know for sure

But anyway, those socialists were behind
it and when they found out that the school
was on a weak financial base and selling
shares they bought these up. Then they went
to shareholders meetings and took over

I: At first the program was socialist [sic] then
it became IWW or [?]

R: Yes. You see - it came in -1912 - I don't
remember the exact year - anyway these
ideology (direction) disagreements arose between IWW and socialists - or in other words there came up a group that wanted to join unionist activity and the socialists - political movement together. Again at the Hibbing convention in 1906 - already then the decision was reached that the IWW union was the most advantageous to take notice it was recommended. But some of the socialists didn't accept that method at all; strike that is. Their intention was to use political means to gain the desired ends of the movement. It continued for years - in 1912 (around) - they were given names: “yellows” and “reds”. Some were “yellows” others were “reds.” The “yellows” were the socialists’ political. Interject on Most of whom became communists later.
R: I remember - a convention - 1911 - in Superior - there was a strong socialist faction there. There were arguments! I remember shoes and rubber even chairs flew - (thrown) at persons with an opposing viewpoint. For example, the chairman (moderator) got many rubbers there. And the meetings lasted even until 3 A.M. They started at 2 P.M. and lasted until 3 A.M.

I: The Finns argued like that?

R: Yes. In Finland - and anywhere at all where there's Finns they have a tradition of arguing (fighting) in the wintertime about anything. Let's say - during an election - sometime I'll read for you - from a 1910 Työmies - a book - what was thought about election proceedings then - when this first American Finnish newspaper was begun - what was thought (about politics) at that time. Finns
are very prone to argue even about things that aren't worth arguing about. Of course - nowadays - if one is an ardent Republican and another a Democrat they have to argue out their conflict. It doesn't help that each (party) just looks out for its own interests.

I: Is this the reason why it has been difficult to get Finns into one church group or one labor (movement)?

R: Yes.

I: Because of this tendency to argue and be independent?

R: I'll say ... I feel that a lack of information and/or little knowledge is what causes it. Issues aren't understood well enough so they must be argued about.

INTERJECTION They know just enough.

R: They understand just enough to make them
to argue. I know as a youth I was quite a lad at a meeting - I tell you I told them!

They talked about it for years afterwards how I ran the meetings with my hand speaking.

I was there - in Negaunee when you arrived there a Risto. Could you tell us about that?

R. I came to Negaunee on the 27th then on the 30th there was - it was called Noki Hall (Noki lit. soot) - the socialist hall. All three of us mother brother and I gave a performance. I recited a poem "The Children of the Sun" - it was written by Mikko Huotinen (see?).

At that time Mikko Huotinen was a socialist yet when he wrote it I had to go recite it twice more after that poem something anything. They were really wild about me because I was so small. I was so young. They were all so - and at that time there was so much enthusiasm for the socialist
movement, I always got good applause when

gave a performance. Many times I received
first prize for poem recital; sometimes a
second prize. I have many poems that I
have collected into a scrap book. Then also
have books of poems that I've recited

many poems. Then I've been a leader (director

an acting club) - many times in Ironwood

indistinct Ironwood) we acted much every two

weeks we had a presentation. I worked in

a store but I had to in the evenings.

That's what always think of it how crazy

a human can be? Goes to work at 7 A.M.

and works until 8 P.M. then he goes to

the hall and remains there until 1 or 2 A.M.

When we had our first son we took him to the hall

in stroller.

INTERJECTION In the summer I her in the winter

or ailed?
And the old bachelors took care of the children
then because she was the play also
Do you remember the names. What we son of the names
I'm going to talk bout that Ruse
Oh yes. Please do.
Ruse has had 3 books published from
the Mine to the Grave and it was so the others. I can describe them now as a great disappointment himself. And for years he edited the periodical Trotter's Literally Truth which appeared every other week 10 years, and then he peddled that all over. He was extrem radical. He was a very far gone radical. I saw him in Ohio. I have seen him since then. He used to live in South Range and Negannee from Negannee he came here to South Range.
(against?)
about their use of the hall you see, the hall
went to the creditors and they tore it down
(while) In the IWW - this Risto and Aaltosen - was
among the socialists - the department was
split in half and they weren't able to operate
at the same pace I don't know, I can't
remember names

Id looking at photos) What was this play about?
INTERJECTION That was a love story In a monastery
You know where the nuns are (convent?) - the school
I were most of those plays love stories?

INTERJECTION Oh and class struggle

R: All types that Finns have I've played (worked
on) then There are few indeed that haven't been
played. There are Witches witchcraft Revenues
there are so many I could never remember
them even to say But they were national plays
"On the Log Floating River" Horse Herder "Hamlet"
All what they were we played. And Tolstoy s
Resurrection had was one of the meatiest we performed at here South Range then in Covington and then we went to Cloquet (Minn. I was lead to the play we to cast the roles with the intention that others would perform in the same play. But they didn't take such big plays as The Robber with it cast of it No one wants to perform such big plays. And they like Four Orphans that was a good play.

So you were talking about the plays different kinds of plays. Did you put on these plays for entertainment or did you want to convey a message and get new followers?

And that to get the money most of money from the plays then went for the locals that night.

Yes. And that one of the weaknesses of the socialist party. They didn't talk about socialism and the
labo microsoft \[\textit{He was} \] plays and money

they forget that they were really for. \[\textit{He} \] went that. And that what happened to

the same trouble. It was very good

idea but too loose too loose every way I

say lots of times about the church they

wan most more money too but they don't

forget who they a. They with that. But

socialists or any of those other movements

they forget what why they are. They start

go after the money

Do you think that these organizations both

the church and temperance society and the

labor movement that they were places for

people to gather and enjoy each other company

and that became more important

than the actual thing that they

were organize for.

work R that the trouble I don't remember
Now but there were over 100 of those temperance societies in Wisconsin and Michigan. (just). But one thing; now there isn't any in the Copper Country - temperance societies. They're gone. They sold the house.

**INTERJECTION:** In Dodgeville 1,600 (dollars?)

everything that was in it

(in English)R: This is a funny thing - but sometime I explain what I think happened with the church too - you know. I want to... (pause)

I: Yes. It was interesting. You were talking about your origin of the temperance societies in Finland. And I got the distinct impression that it was largely than your uncle Matti Turvia and others in the labor movement who started up the temperance society in this country the church people were involved with it from the beginning weren't they? (R Yes) Was that a principal
diff'rent жизнь; you say on
English? Well I don't know. Only then I know this
is my idea of it. Church people when they
in the temperance society they might have
a little bottle at home for evenings. They
not too But those labor movements (people
from the..) they more strict. They want
be strict. But late years they were just as
easy going. as
Interesting. Like Holocene even. He was a drunkard
already.
I was it. After the prohibition law was passed
in the 20s and the .. lot of under
the table stuff was that pretty hard time
for the temperance societies.

Well most of the temperance societies
died out for years and years.. now they were
renewed by g. F.D Roosevelt. That
when they sent temperance speakers
Actually, that activity had died in Dodgeville, Mich., and everywhere.

R: You see when they voted for Roosevelt (FDR) it was then about 1936 when they started over again the temperance societies. You can read from the history, *History of Michigan's Finns.* It explains (describes) it pretty well. But I know from my own experience. Formerly we had a Temperance League in Toivola, established in 1908. It died in 1920. Then began again in 1936. This—oh, say his name—came from Florida to speak.

INTERJECTION: He spoke to the Kaleva society, and temperance leagues either way.

R: What was his name? He was a very well-known man.

INTERJECTION: Who formerly had been a mine drunk.
1. May I turn our thoughts back in time again? About 1911 or so we were in Iron River. You talked a little about your experience with the Workers People's Educational Institute City. an Opal.

I'd like to draw. Mrs. Salma at this point too. Around 1911, if you were living here, was it enough for you? Mrs. Salma.

Mrs.: No. In Iron River.

I: Oh you were in Iron River.

Mrs.: Yes. Yes. Yes. After the strike I moved to Iron River.

I: And I let me go before that then. You have memories of the strike itself.

Mrs.: Yes I was.

I: What type of work were you doing?

Mrs.: I was at the Scott Hotel. I washed dishes. I was second cook helper making beds anything.
I: What remembrances do you have of the strike? Were the Finns quite active in the strike?

Mrs. S: Naturally, they were. Either side.

I: Were all of the miners who were on strike of socialist background?

Mrs. S: Some were neutral and

R: Lots of Laestadians. They were (in the strike) too. The Synodans to a (much) lesser extent. Because their ministers, on every Sunday, preached about going to work.

I: Do you recall any of the parades or demonstrations? I guess you could call them?

Mrs. S: Well, like parades, I couldn't take part because I worked. We were supposed to. Like I was given that Citizen's Alliance button and told to wear it. If I have to wear it.
I showed my backside ultimate expression of contempt in old Fennish. That was the only underfolder that I kept under. It was we went to work at 7 and we worked until after 8. Of course we had two hours in the afternoon we could go even in to town.

You weren't at all in Calumet around the time of the Italia Hall Disaster?

No, no. I wasn't Calumet then.

How did the news of the Hall Disaster strike you and the other people in the area? This was quite a disaster.

Mrs. Sm. Naturally it was.

R: You can see Doctor Holm has a photograph of the copy of the Tyomi.

I've seen the picture of the corpse.

R: No, but the special edition about
what happened at Calumet? Maria Hall
doesn't remember. If it was in 800 lane
the Tycom edition tells of winter never
when it happened. If it is in your book
residence, Well, the Board of Health. Someone
brought that newspaper. I don't remember
the probably wretched need of it. Many
me had water in the eyes. The army
many for the Roatan to the funeral.
Did you ever also
R
I believe that Mr. Alton spoke
here in the cemetery or some the
R Oh, I was. And he is a real man man
of that the minutes, every man a man
of direct in the B. 1 speak much
of striking time, the
Mrs. Wells had gone at the funeral.
"Yes. I just to know if he did speak, not
There would be in that (25th anniversary edition) of the Työmies - if I recall - an article about it. I believe Frank (Haltinen) wrote it. Would he have spoken there? I surely don't remember.

I: Did he also work with the Western Federation of Miners?

R: Yes. While Haltinen was a regular Työmies, he was from Minnesota and he started working for that Western Federation of Miners. They worked hard for it over there (in Minnesota). Then he came here to work for the "Työmies." And he was a big promoter of (WFM) in this area. They lost that Minnesota strike. Maybe that was a factor in his coming here. Since he had worked for that strike and - it was a premature strike. But the Copper Country strike wasn't slow. It had been worked
toward for a long time. But the Haltmen was one of the strongest proponents here also. And Haltmen was here for a long time even tho he lived in Negamne.

Late he went to the Susquehanna and cheated the Indians out of their land and he worked the forests from the. Then he went to Mass to work as a lumberjack. He was pretty good at that. He made successes of many stores in that area. But one weakness he wants to confuse everything with that. As for example when we founded the Co-Op Enterprise it was with government provided in reen with center $125,000 for it. He made fish work and other meals. From the ballasted boat out into the cold, street car garage here. He sent it around the other.
Board members instructions. Everything imaginable was included. There was at a summer cottage, a mine to the end of this peninsula also what was it's name? a real productive one of the old mines there - to set that up so that people can go in and see what a mine is like as we (unclear) - It was so (all encompassing) I have those instructions over there of wrote to him immediately that not to expect the world. With $138,000 you can't even initiate all of those programs. He came here then and invited me to come to the Douglass House in Houghton

END OF TAPE SIDE

R: It was too much of a hurry. It was so late Later when I saw him I said These comes that Democrat who used to be a Social Democrat I teased him.
knew him from Neguanee. He was a teamster for a time the,

I'd like to go back to the strike. It was little bit. From all - go to town from people and what you were as a reason.

Why did the strike fail?

The strike never did. Because the state senate and the state legislature intervened. They made it impossible to strike. All demonstrations at the mine or else there we made forbidden.

Mrs. You see they sent those announcements. They were very much shorter.

They did all sorts of mischief to the strike. But I won't say it all. Of course, it didn't end in a fair weather (from somebody doing). But they might a caused in some manner unfairly. Like
Painesdale shooting. I spoke with a man who supposedly knew that incident. He explained that they shot their own men and killed those two men. He had been hunting and was returning when he saw two men. Later when he heard about the killings he thought those two had been some of the killers because of their coming from that way. They had accused him of it because they had seen him coming from the woods with a firearm—since he had been hunting behind Painesdale. But he hadn’t been at all in the vicinity of that boarding house (where the shooting took place). That’s the way it was. I don’t know— all of those strikes. They’re bound—it seems— to lead to some kinds of accidents.

Mrs. J. Just like that Heikki Koski, he
R. Heikki Koski was the union secretary. At midnight the sheriff I don't remember his name - he died just recently - demanded him to open the door. He answered that his wife was in the last stages of childbearing and he didn't want any trouble. He told them not to come at night. They didn't listen. They began to kick the door down. He told them that he would shoot if they don't away. He told them many times. They said he wouldn't dare. That's when he shot - two times. That sheriff was hit twice and was in the hospital for a long time. He still had a bullet in him when he died.

Mrs. It was in such a place that they couldn't take it out. And he was the one Heikki Koski was the editor of the Co-op Activity.
Newspaper

R: Later then. They arrested (imprisoned) him the next day but they had to let him loose. The public prosecutor said they had no business forcing entry into that house.

I: Was it because the strike failed that the Työmies moved to Minnesota?

R: Yes.

I: Or Superior (Wis.) was it?

R: Yes. Superior. It had to move because merchants wouldn't advertise in it any longer. And the subscribers dwindled to next to nothing in the Copper Country.

The peculiar thing is that all of the (Finnish) newspapers have vanished from here. There were one two three, four five of them (published) here at one time. Opar, Valvoja, Raamen Sanomat, Suometas...
and Työmies (literally: Guide, One Who Remains Awake, feminine ending, Shepherd News, Finlandess, and Working Man). And the Wage Slave was a socialist newspaper too.

I: Which

R: The Wage Slave. That was in English. I would have liked to get one of those newspapers but I wasn’t able to from anywhere.

I: Did you ever sell subscriptions to any of these newspapers?

R: (emphatically) Yes. I sold Työkansa (literally: Working People) to Canada, Väkärska (unclear because of cough, literally means The Barbed Jaw), Tover (literally: Comrade) to Oregon, Työmies and Raivaaja (literally: Land Clearer, as it pioneer less of the Raivaaja) only a very few. I was a distributor, literature distributor.

R: At Ironwood

I: Was there a publishing house then?

R: That was later. But at that time we had
over 1,000 Työmiä copies appearing for
Ironwood Over 1,000 - that is well done
And I sold about 50 Väkälenka's every month

Mrs S: Have you seen that Väkälenka?

I: No

Mrs S: It's a satirical paper.

R: There were eleven - over 10 satirical
periodicals (Finnish) in this country

Mrs S: You see, Lapatosso (literally, Collarbone Region
the name of
Slipper, but also a rather famous Finnish
folk tradition figure) was one of these

I: Did you ever sell any books?

R: Yes. Lots! That's why I have so many
left (books).

I: Who were some of the early publishers of
books and what kind of books did
they publish?

R: Työmiä (Publishers). And you can look
those names over there
I: How about Leikas and some of these others?
   Were you acquainted with...?
R: Leikas. I sold many of his postcards
And some printings of Ingersoll's books.
He printed many - all of Ingersoll's books.
And I have collected works of Ingersoll.
I: Why were the socialists interested in
Ingersoll because he was not really
a socialist?
R: No. He wasn't.
Mrs.: See that religious part.
R: Among the socialists were many who
were not "church people," Nowadays they're
all in the church. See.
Mrs.: Whomever's living of the old IWW, socialist
and those - they're all in church.
R: Yes, all in church now (amusement).
I: Why?
R: There's no other movements. No other.
activities.

Mrs S: No! I'll add to that! You won't cause you're not religious. But you see they were brought up with religion. Then in old age the influence of youth re-emerge. That if, if, if.

R: The Catholic church says: "Give me 12 years of a child's life and I'll not leave a"

Mrs S: In the end. And like there was this funeral (recently). She had lived as "roughly" as a woman could ever live her life. Then she's dragged to a church yet! Couldn't that occasion have been held at a funeral home or somewhere? She was brought to the Gloria Dei Church.

R: Then the minister praised her life very much while the audience knew what it had been like. That was wrong.
should be kept in mind as for the decrease.

Mr. Van der Plasze, for the adieu given me.

me.

It is true that clergymen should retract a little bit as to how some people live. (Amusement).

Mr. That is the Horace answer to a wrong given like on those.

a done for the %,, Mr. L. of the Church in New York. I think I st, got married just today. The fact that death is only the beginning of the talk. She took his whole life because I love you too. And all at a line another place.

B. A. to be set aside or be thinked so... for if we used they used to see if he had or can come here.
What had he belonged to. They didn't start praising him until they saw that he had belonged someone.

I: Were you ever attending one of these 'sermons for the deceased'?

R: Yes. In many places - many times.

I: What was it like?

R: Well, they spoke usually - they blamed the capitalist class too much. And I remember - what book did I read it in? - who was it who in Finland had kept

Mrs.: Kiiskilä

R: Yes, him. But I was trying to think of someone else - someone real famous in Finland who blamed the capitalistic system for the death he pounded the coffin. Kiiskilä did the same in Toivola. He pounded the coffin and said it was the fault of the capitalistic system (coffin) that this was here.
Was he the deceased miner

M: N: Farmer

R: They go too far. Did they think it socialist? We showed they go too far with their ideology. It should be understood
that it not all me. To look what kind
of economic situation the person was in and
how he lived. They should be made into.

D: Did people sing then. At these services for the deceased.

R: Yes.

D: What did they say.

M: "A distant shore can now be seen."

R: "It will bring storm and settle.

Mrs: "How"

R: "They had a very good song."

Mrs: "It was two or three me o' men."
That was all there was except for what the speaker said. He, Oh, and poem were read.

R: Yes, it's too late for me to write poems.

M: He says little like a nice, amusing.

R: Yes, R remembers it, then we'll copy the words of the poems that I wrote them as one soldier of the you.

in the deadliner, policy.

So few months before his first and old he double the city policy that I

should not succeed in a act.

It was let not. He disagree and resist to the formula council to see his heart and he read the menu I have that

puts 73 73 70 the estimate of

the council more they T

tim and show that they are here they made to test one of their na
wanted to work at that spot (job). But the boss had just put them there saying there was another spot for such as they.

I. It seems to me that we'll have to take one tape and put several kinds of poems on it. If they can be found.

Mrs. Oh, he'll find them. Listen he's got one poem that's really good - and it's not even sung in church. It's a song.

R: Hymn number 381

"Truth must be bemoaned and sorrowed greatly
When falsehood gains control and evil swells
The whole world once was struck mute
When no one proclaimed the Lord's truth
Instead deceit, falsehood rule here now
Lies are in control and wrong is might
The poor and wretched can not be listened to
Only the rich can distort the law as they will.
Those Godless devour their neighbors"
With evil cunning take his only life grain,

But someday the Lord will avenge these Godless deeds

Punish the robbers

Mrs. horrible

R. I don't remember - there's one more but it's for ministers (amusement)

Mrs. That is one of the Psalms of David. And they never sing it. So in Toivola there was a family meeting at Laurila's. He was a Synodan.

The daughter-in-law was a little - but it was the Mrs. whom spoke - and that was the house of which they said - they like to welcome at home. I recited that - I held the hymnal like so and I read it. Mrs. Lahikainen - who was Kusti Westeri's wife came to look. She thought I had written it and was using the hymnal as a cover. I said: "What's wrong with you? This is a hymn." That is no longer

R. There are two hymns. There's another but I
don't recall names at this stage of same surname etc I also.

The Ra family of whom I told you you know him.

According to the account of the Copper Country strikes, they had to look people and read the Old Testament. Moses was the first.

The Hebrews left Egypt the world had the first strike.

Yes if the Old Testament Moses and the prophets Amos and others are very interested in the poor and their condition.

R: Have you read *The Dead Sea Scrolls*?

Mrs. Haver you read them. You should read them. Where they were stored here had to buy them. Deluxi.

Then the Ten Commandments And the Bible.
Written by Va. Let me read everything. All kinds of literature. And it hasn't changed a bit.

Mr. He wanted to explain if there is something he can catch a hold of later.

I have still got back in Brown River that he got you two try the ferry. So we went across the river.

Yes we got married in 19.

No, you did. Had you known each other before?

No, since we came back.

And you were selling insurance.

No, I was store keeper. Oh, I own a pool room I call planet. Uh...

Mr. I own the pool room too. And...

On, we mentioned the other day something about the median you know the Illin.

When do we travel Chicago like that some
Kind of pressure up here too as a result of that?

Ron: Well, it was everywhere. Palmer was attorney general (public prosecutor) for the United States government. They made—just like during prohibition raids all over. They did this same everywhere in the U.S. Arrested everyone and put them in jail. That is the way they tried to strike down the workers activity. That is when they even paid us a visit. They took away good books from me and I never got them back.

Mrs. Leo Lawkki's book and

I: Didn't Leo Lawkki

Ron: You see he was imprisoned—then freed on $20,000 bond. Just as Bill Haywood. They went via Mexico to Russia. That's where he met Lenin. He acted as an interpreter in Finland then—often. When those Russians were in Finland. He was their interpreter.
I don't think that there were about a half dozen
Finnis caucasian were one of the six or ten
Jahkiloa and of the other
I was working on the good friend of
my room rate
I don't think they were imprisoned
Because they're worse to the LH
I didn't do that say we don't support the war
R Yes They were all the other
L We the war but all them shakers
the Upper Michigan
R um don't know the worse some who didn't
go to pre induction for draft induction
Mrs. They didn't go register
R Right And they were put
Mrs. since the post at Crystal Falls
R Not the Crystal Falls post
Mrs. Walters brother was one
R Then were put Marquette and somone was
Mrs. Swenson explained that it was yes. I asked how did other people in Iron River feel about this.

R: Well a majority of the Finns were against the war. Yes. A majority.

I: Why?

Mrs. Because they had no business. We should as Americans defend our country. What have these wars been? We haven't had lands abroad. We had a son killed. He wasn't defending America. Just like the war now, Vietnam. We don't have any business.

I: We lost our son in WWII. Near Hawaii on an Island. He was in the Air Force. Army A Corps. Plane was shot down. They were going to that Hawaii Island where there was a Japanese airfield. They were on a
bombing mission. And two of the planes were shot down into the sea.

Mrs. S: Fourteen men died.

Was it so - World War I was all the pressure from the government? And the strike that failed. What kind of an impact did that have on the labor movement?

I don’t think it made much difference. Because of the government pressure some gave up their activity but others became more enthusiastic. Others were very much against it. In particular, at the beginning they saw nothing wrong with World War I only later just as now with the Vietnam War. They began to resist the war. Only during the second war did resistance become more widespread all nationalities resisted it
Americans as well as foreigners.

I: Was there much enthusiasm (interest?) here for that war that began in Finland?
(Civil War 1917-18)

R: Yes. Occasions were held. Money was collected diligently. Hoover was one of the head collectors for it and he took 25 cents out of every dollar for himself.

I: The 1917, 1918 war? Hoover did this?

Mrs. D: Yes he aided Finland. He was a leader of the Aid to Finland groups. That was when he took 25 cents from every dollar (collected).

I: He (did)?

R: Yes, he and those who were working with him for expenses. Hoover put many millions into Russia during Kerensky's time - into gold mines (investments). And when Lenin and his Bolsheviks took over he had his haste-
began to help Finland—to get Finland
least he knew Finland was against
Russia's aspirations. He wanted to get
Finland to fight against Russia. And he
succeeded in that pretty well

I: Did many Finns come here after that
war ended?

R: Some. But not so many

Mrs: See we used to send to that Uncle Matti-

had hardened arteries and there was

no fruit (in Finland). We sent dried
fruit of all kinds to him. And cigarettes.
He shouldn't have had them. And he
died before he got the last pack (package?)

I: When you were in Iron River were there
ever any strikes at the mines?

R: No

I: Why?

R: Well, in fact there was only a small
group that had organized. Too small. The Finns and Italians belonged to the
unions somewhat but very little. And, in general, they had better wages
there than in Ironwood.

Mrs. And better than in the Copper Country.

R: Yes, well, in the iron mines there always
was a dollar more a day in wages than
in a copper mine. Because there are
digger expenses for clothing and
otherwise. The copper mines are dry
whereas over there it was wet.

I: Do you have any memories of Amasa (Mich.)
and the miners there?

R: Well at that time as I remember, there
wasn't but one mine operating in Amasa.

I: That Porter mine.

R: I went there - after I was fired - first from
the store then from the mine. Twice I was.
I: See, they fired him because he was involved in that unionist activity.

R: because I was involved in union activities.

I began to peddle clothes, cloth/textiles.
I traveled carrying a small suitcase like you have. I had - and it went pretty well.

I: See, we didn't move away even if Krum Barney Kromd (sic?) didn't want to fire him but the mining company.

R: No. It was the city's Merchants Club (Chamber of Commerce?) that demanded I be fired.

And it was the creamery owner - a good friend - who told me I was going to be fired - that the pressure was on Krum. We knew beforehand. We knew beforehand about their coming to inspect our house (search). A local police officer was so stupid as to ask me where we lived. They had been twice.

I: And, 'What do you have in your pocket?'
when Walter had cream bottle in his pocket.

R asked me what I had in my pocket.

My kinda hunted you see.

R and asked me where I lived. Well, sure I was to understand that a man who had been there didn’t asked me what I had in my pocket. I knew search was coming then. For a couple of days late there came the FBI, the sheriff and one policeman. That who it was was that Handley; he was the policeman and there was the sheriff and two FBI (agents).

I can’t in dro 18 to that you get you family. Did you have any children then.

End of her.
Toivola farmers struggle to get roads, attempts to improve schools, improvement of roads, school consolidations, decline in farming reasons for politics in Toivola communist threat strike in Herman, Mich. and consequent beginnings of long association with Co-Op coming of Co-Op in Toivola spread of Co-Ops and much more
This is my first draft biography book already been published the Oceania newspaper again. We have been in T to Australia on the edge of the city of Kota. We drove and played by the edge on the old stone walls of a fortification. I found fortifications protect the R. otom salu site by the edge of the city of Kota. I was interested in seeing the people in the area. People belong to this to the committee of the line. Organization of Kyme Valley agency in relation to which I other belong Father was sympathetic to the activity but did not significantly participate.

brother of other two lives with theworker People Movement
My father died in 1905. My oldest brother, Einar, left for this country in 1906. In 1907 my mother, brother Reino, and I arrived in Negaunee. I had attended public school in Finland for one year and I continued my education in this country. I went through eight grades in a short time at the Working People's (Educational Institute) School (Työväen Opisto). That is all of the schooling I have attended. The rest of have learned in the school of life. Three days after having arrived in Negaunee I appeared for the first time in this country in a program (or play) at the Noki (sic?) Hall. I have presented many hundreds of numbers in programs, appeared hundreds of times in plays in Ironwood, Superior, Iron River, Hancock Torchula. I was a leader (manager, secretary, president etc.) of the Acting Club of
Iron River Michigan where during the time of the 1936 incident I was put on the blacklist and could not find work. I began selling insurance. I have been a seller of food and clothing store insurance salesman, worker in an automobile factory, in running on the railroads in woods work and at last here on the farm. I was red in 1934 in Iron River, Michigan with Mayme Johnson. She was born here. Towola from this marriage two daughters and one son have been born of which two sons have died. One was killed in the Second World War in the air force. I became familiar acquainted with the operation of cooperatives in Finland of my home vicinity. A cooperative store was established in 1930. In the country I met the my first wife.
store in Clifford, Wisconsin in 1908. When I came to Toivola I became acquainted with the Farmer’s Co-Operative Company in South Range (Mich). The store in 1927.

We moved to Hancock and then I began my activities on the front (battlefront) of the Co Op activity. I was at the founding of the Copper Country Co-operative Enterprise, in Hancock 1937. I was on the board (of directors), as chairman, of this store, following the principles of financial control and self help. This was joined primarily by fishermen. The membership was (numbered) about 41, the store included in this. In 1947 the Copper Country Co-operative Enterprise was sold to a new organization, Northern Co-operatives Incorporated, which is owned by the local Co-op stores. I was on the board (of directors) for several years.
In 1945 the Copper Country Co-operative Credit Union was established. I was, along with the late Paul Nurmi, one of it’s initiating forces in it’s establishment. My hope was directed toward that, that with the help of a Credit Union the Co Op stores could easily get on to a cash basis (foundation). I own the Savings Account Book number one for I invested my money toward that what was needed for the license fees and costs of the final accounting work I was the chairman of the board of directors in it’s early years. In 1944 the Farmer’s Co Op in Toivola was established. The Farmer’s Co Op Trading Company, a branch store. I was chairman of the organizing committee. The troubles in the beginning were many until we were able to purchase a local businessman’s store in the
orvolo region. The would have been
sufficient shares to establish the store
but even then 42.6 shares were sold
in connection with the opening of this
store. The manager of the store from
the beginning was Sa. Savola and we
gave him the job for his good managing
I began participating in the local affairs
of Torvola since 1933 when we requested
that the road be kept open for the advice
to the store we held meetings a committee
was selected of which I was chosen chairman.
We went to talk with the county officials
who notified us that this road was
too narrow to be kept open. Part of the
committee members tried and wrote to
the state capital. From there the information
was received that the mentioned road
had been fixed at 78% complete.
asked my neighbor to assist me we drafted an explanation of the condition
the road. It did not take long until the road began to be widened. After
that the roads in Toivola have been in good condition in the winters. A
second battle came when we began to request electrical power. First we
attempted from a private company, then in 1946 we tried through the
Ontonagon County R.E.A. When the R.E.A
(lines, possibly, indistinct on tape)
received the loans necessary for the
Toivola (expansion) the private company erected lines even though 86 farmers
had joined the R.E.A. From this a bitter battle arose that lasted 18 months.
The farmers paid an attorney $1,000 for his help. At last the private company,
that had erected 20 miles sold that to
the REA Touola received electricity
9, 1948. I was the chairman of the committee. The responsibility was great but all of the committee members gave enthusiastic support, giving power to withstand the difficulties. My wife has been a great help to me. She has helped inspiring and enthusiastically taken things forward. She has enthusiastically participated in the enlightening programs of the Co Operatives in the and clubs. We have both been members these clubs after the society was formed. The birth words of the Hancock club were spoken in our home. My wife was the regional secretary of the Copper Country society. She wrote the minutes of the first Kelta Kelta meeting in Superior. She has been on the board of the local hall company.
for years and was for many years the secretary of the local Red Cross aid league. She is on the board of the Finnish National Brotherhood Temperance Society, secretary of the Toivola local society (literally: torch) Temperance Society. Her parents Elias and Anna Johnson were among the first pioneers of Toivola. She has participated in church activities, was the secretary to St. Mark's board for years.

**Interjection by Female Voice in Background:** The one that they sold so that South Range could get a church.

R: Would you want to ask something about that?

I: Let's try to begin with the 1920's. The last tape... we're still in Iron River... we now want to know how you got from Iron River to Hancock, was it?

R: Toivola.
My father had died in the meantime and mother was left to look after the boys. She wanted to go to the land if we would move onto the next neighbor's forty. But we had to pay $275 for that forty. We paid $400 for it in cash.

Interest tax yes it was collected for the rest of it. So that you know actual money we used $275.

It is you was this.

Interest. It was $275 when we moved. It was to be ingrowen and I had a fairly good job the year then when we visited him in Towola he rothe very much wanted that my consented wife agreed that we go onto the forty. Then when we started pack I remember.
I had boarded the sofa and something else I had done. She began to feel regrets and didn't want to leave. I said that let go now that we're started. Many times I to myself regretted that I had left late, though I been satisfied after all that we went nevertheless. To see all of these activities that if we see on there wasn't money then, but still that I've been able to participate and have enjoyed it. We always been with and in whatever the cause.

In error you see. All of these activities will like those light roads such to it was for the good of the community. And of course since we had children for the good of the our children also.

R. When I left there we had a big going away party a ranged for us. We came here to Toyola.
begun then. We had been the
long time a question about keeping
roads open during winter. It was
the customary method to pull the
with a team of horses over, and sometimes
at first, pulled and then roll it with
a cylinder to roll. Then they held a meeting
and a was put a moderator (chairman)
Those farmers in general could tell you
about them for Cowungton Republic and
many times places the farmers themselves
run their own affairs. In the too they
fight with each other over personal matters
and they can see to get forward. We
started to work on that keeping the road
open. I was put as chairman of the
committee. There was one, Lindgren
I have them recorded then.

In 

Fravel
No, we had a group that began doing work there. Well, I wrote to Lansing. They replied, the road was complete. They had reported from Houghton that the road was complete. They had completed about 1/2 mile of it and then reported that it was complete. I asked some of my neighbors to come to our house so that we could talk about this matter and wrote a description of the road's condition and went to a notary public and each of us took an oath concerning our testimony of the road's condition. That was sent to Lansing. It wasn't long before I was invited to the Douglas House in Hins (sic) who was in charge of handling the government money of the project, told me that he could put it on the county road commission.
and another man whose name I don't
remember was jail if he wanted for they
had sworn to them. The way he
Onto again he had purposely driven
a little way along the road and it hadn't
But it wouldn't help to let them in prison
let try instead get them to do it now
So they began to work on the road and work
continued until it was completed

INTERVIEWER: CPA

R (CPA): There were many trips in it for even
me to get it done. Before we got it we
went to an attorney in Calumet where
there was a man from Lansing who
took all of our statements on record and
had a lot to be sure. But then peculiar
thing was before it was done each of them
quilt. When we went to the copper Rough (Co
officers). Shock was then the superintendent
wanted to talk of copper prices and all sorts of other things and they got mixed in that I try to talk about that later Lindgren said then that we sure were poor. Salma was the only one who spoke of the matter what we went for Schock in his speech statement made some kind of threats so that most of them stayed away from the activities. That is when the thing finally got going when we got that sworn testimony that when they started to make that road they sure were made many threats against me. One time an engineer from UPA had come to Towola it was in spring and the construction of the road was going on it was a very rough poor road to ride then no gravel had been driven on it. He had
stopped at Salmi's - John Salmi who later was sheriff - later he had said that I'll go fix him since he's reported such things that they had made false reports to Lansing. Salmi had told him not to go that that man knows what he's talking about - that it's useless for you to go there. He didn't come. I met him then at this office. He tried to talk. I told him I had all of the papers of about it - I have letters from Lansing and everything - it doesn't matter. All of these things - like the school - we wanted a school out there - this Galen, Anttonen and who all were selected at the school meeting to prosecute this matter we want one school in Stanton Township. When I came to Toivola Stanton Twp. had 13 schools
I INTERVIEW: TEOGHOR 1999

R: Yes. And the teachers were paid $35 and
$50 a month. There was a student
or so at each school. We got the idea
out there that we'd get her, should
say it like they have today, a agricultural
school or agricultural, school to
Stanton Township. We started to work
forward with the idea. I wrote to the school
board. The school board was entirely
against it. We went there to the school
board meeting. We were called all
kinds of communists and they
used to send me to Russia and
all of these kinds of the go.

R: Why did they call you communists
and especially at sending to Russia?

R: Because we were requesting that kind
within as one a agricultural
school in Stanton Township - I wanted

because it is government supported -

is not - the farmers wouldn't have

pay such high taxes. I had that

kind of a thought that the farmers
could get by with less - same as

everyone else who lived in that
township. But they didn't accept it

for it was too communistic.

INTERSECTION: While Tapiola had had one

for decades (something indistinct about Laestadian)

R: That is how short sighted people are. When

they did not respond - wrote to Landing -

this Salem was actually the chairman

but he told me to write. They told us to

turn to the local WPA offices. We went

there. They gave me the papers and

showed me how they would give $ 5-for

every 100 hours of work - to the construction
treasury. They advised that we do a lot of work in fixing the site to accumulate many hours that'll help. Well, as poor as we were with numbers, we calculated that such a school would cost about $10,000—everything was inexpensive then and it would cost the township $4,000. (twp. board) They became very alarmed and said they could do nothing of the kind.

Is it all Finns on that township board?

R: One was of another nationality. The others were Finns. They could in no way see that. Well, anyway, we then later wanted—we lost out at that time they machined (a letter) to Lansing from where we received a letter saying we couldn't get that school—then tradition was that they
build whatever the local bosses want

first they had been sympathetic

Then later - this school matter came up

when children went from here who had
gone 10 grades we had 10 grades there -

they went elsewhere - to Detroit, Ironwood

elsewhere - and were not accepted

as having completed a 10th grade education

They had to go back into the 10th grade

INTERSECTION See they weren't certified - those

our schools

R1 If once again took hold of the cause. We

started to work toward that that the children

would be taken to grades 9-12, from Toivola
to Painesdale and from Stanton Two

from Onnella, Liminga, Freda etc

to Houghton. And that really started a

fight. No way in Toivola, for example,

they went and built another room as
an addition to the school so that grades
9 10 11 12 would be taught there

INTERJECT: Not 11th and 12th

R: Oh no Just 9 and 10 Allright They spent very nearly $20,000 for that one
room I wanted some friend to go and
stop it since it hadn't been voted on
You see all of these kind school matters
of over $3,000 at that time it was
of $3,000 worth of repairs are performed
on a school it must be voted on
I wanted someone but no one wanted
to get mixed up in it I was alone
So I let it go Nevertheless I kept after
students that that grades 9 12 would be
transported to Painesdale and Houghton
They paid for example for our son
$ if I remember right per month
as food money since he went his 1st
and in the grades in Hancock

INTERVIEW: He refused to go to Painesdale since he had started in Hancock.

R: That's how they gave us $1.10 per month and he also worked as a janitor at the school and other

INTERVIEW: He helped the Hancock school.

R: That's how he got his food money and rent money. It went so far. I have a letter that I wrote to the newspaper that we voted whether to transport the children to Houghton and Painesdale. We lost at first, then it came up for vote. Again I wrote pretty good letter to the American Suometan and to the T.O.

R: In the newspaper. I had it describing that how it was a interview at the mining school in Michigan Tech then
Michigan School of Mines) - A man came from Lansing at our request, to question the school board members were there and we, of course, (went) who were interested in how things would be. The men from Oskar hired a lawyer even to help them supposedly. A lawyer wasn't needed there but they did not trust their own strength anymore.

They were asked what they had for chemistry classes. They had a microscope. INTERJECTION That was all they had and a magnifying glass.

In my article I explained then that they didn't have the equipment nor teachers who could teach grades 9, 10, 11 and 12. They would all have to be sent. The second time that it came up for a vote, Torivola was for the measure.
by a great majority and in Limingi and Okaku areas a corduroy was passed by a majority by three to four votes. But Touola was overwhelmingly for it to take the children to an adequate school. So we won and the children began to be transported. Oh there were many tricks when the school board would not give the children... oh those that were starting the 1st and 2nd grade got buses but for the 8th and 10th graders were it allowed to get on buses so they were transported by private sector. Oh son who teaches in a station from Liupe son who drove them the students for a week but received so much notice that it was talked about everywhere. The board
Weber era. But again, it is with a single - the one we were always in the air - such. But we had come a long way. We had pushed the sky with our hands up in the day.

I can no longer speak the truth.

I am in the dark, the light is on.

We are in the world of the true

that transports us.

Ready to we take and then we are any,

and then the floor or the one.

We are in the dark, in the world of human beings to the time we need so be and move to a day.

We begin to live the life we were.
R: What should I take now? I was speaking about this road matter - when at long, long last the road began undergoing repairs. The farmers at first in 1903 when they made the road from Toivola out into the "country" - there were wet, soft places - they cut down big trees and put these into (onto) the road (at these places) - and earth on top of this then

INTERJECTION: Corduroy

R: This is the kind of roads we had. There were two especially bad spots - longer stretches. All of those logs had to be dragged out of this (mire) (when the road was repaired) - this was a slow process. It (delayed) especially in the winter since these spots had to await the summer thaw before being repaired. Once the roads were repaired - as I said before - they have stayed in good condition. We've had very good (machinery) to remove snow from
from the roads - the roads have been well kept open. For example; we used to send milk and the plough came about 5 o’clock (A.M) already to our house we had about a mile. They really ploughed the roads well. Of course, later, when we no longer sent milk, they came a little later. At the time we sent milk there were 63 (farms?) who sent milk to the Dollar Bay creamery. There were 6 or 7 who sent (milk) to Stella (sic?) Dairy or creamery) in Baltic. Now there are three out there who send milk.

INTERSECTION There are no others.

R: That is the change that has come over the farming country. There is no more of this milk sending.

Why has this happened?

R: Because no one will work for free
INTERJECTION: See, that price of milk is so low.

R: You see milk is so low priced that it does pay. One would have to have terribly big barns, many cows, much machinery. A poor man cannot make a go of such farming. Not at all.

I: I spoke to a board member of the producer's co-operative... I don't know if that's the right name.

INTERJECTION: That is the Production Co-operative.

I: Did that help?

R: Dollar Bay is the largest around here. And (actually) there are no other buyers of milk around here - other than Dollar Bay.

INTERJECTION: And there is the one that buys (milk) sending to Marquette.

R: Marquette, Dollar Bay (is the one) that sends to Marquette and sells (milk) in Ishpeming, Negaunee, L'Anse.
Dollar Bay the mill is sent to Mr. Guest
The different subject of was going to talk about that one matter. I don't know if it was such a simple one.

matter the farmer though, they had the road themselves somehow found the raising of taxes which we had to do in the end of understanding that time that the government would pay for it. But they thought otherwise.

After the work is done, the expense would be passed onto the farmer. Now impress it upon the that now a heavy road as possible. The

Road Ride

They would tax away. All of the cost would be therefore put on the farmer.

They used the system.
the farmers would first be placed on the tax rolls. There what was left would be given to Copper Range. There was no ordering to it. For example (aparcel) I know of one forty for which the tax was $7 per annum. It had a full (good) forest upon it. But when the man sold it to a logger (ing enterprise) - when it came to a private individual it's tax was $27 after the forest was cut off. The taxes were so inequitable.

INTERJECTION: Was the tax assessor a company man?

R1: Yes.

INTERJECTION Who once is (for) the company he is for the company.

I: Were all of the township leaders Copper Range (company) men or were farmers (represented)?
INTERJECTION! The board was on Copper Range's side.

R: If you wanted the office of supervisor, some other office — you had to go ask the mining company if it was alright that you “run” for supervisor. You want proof (of this read) Boom Copper. It’s all shown there.

I: Didn’t the socialists ever put up candidates?

R: Not here.

INTERJECTION! There no longer was any of that (socialists). That (the socialists) were only (in action) during the strike (DEBATE?).

I: Were all of the Finns then members the Democratic Party?

R:

INTERJECTION! Most of Stanton Township was
Republican. In the old days in
Toivola only “old man” Sukis’ Sam
Sukis and my father that voted for
Democrat

R: And Niva,

I: Didn’t it get switched then when
Roosevelt?

INTERJECTION: Yes. Then!

R: Then it changed. There were only 11
there who voted Republican and 148
voted Democratic

I: Didn’t anyone vote for (the) Communist
(Party)? Wasn’t that party...

INTERJECTION: No. Two (communists) moved
Russia and one moved away. We
didn’t have any actual communists.

R: The farmers thought that taxes would be
raised after the road was built as I
said a while ago. But I had the idea
that the time to build roads was when
the company was still around to pay
taxes. But I couldn't get that into
their heads. And they asked, 'How can
we live if we can't go to work for
Copper Range?' The thought line was
so narrow. It was essential to support
Copper Range in any case. Dr. Abel.
At the time we tried to get the road we
got to talk with Shock, Price, and
those who were on the committee which
oversaw that road funds and administered
property. I remember Shock, office when
I went to request (demolition road work
for a road to our place) made. He
was so hard to convince that I had to
take one fear: that he would
physically assault me. It was his
habit to assault and abuse men whom
he did not like I thought that now this going to come to a fight &
told him frankly you see been
given false information I knew who
had brought complaints against it
you've been lied to Things are at
all like that Ask the supervisor
now he promised to arrange to do
form & one would to Omaha He
started to calm down then Late of
heard this this man who suspected
had gone into shocks office it had
nearly been killed by him shock
He had said that shock had really been
mad at him for saying such things
And shock though it was n't coming
to say anything to me since it was based
on nothing A book could be written
about the troubles for roads
And improving of country conditions. How you have to get involved.

I: You were very active in organizing the farmers then? To promote their interests.

R: Yes. Of course.

INTERJECTION: There was a Workers Alliance the time of WPA. Those men belonged to Workers Alliance. That was communist.

R: It wasn't communist.

INTERJECTION: Not exactly. But there was a lot of it (communist) in it (Workers Alliance) you remember...?

I: Sympathizers

INTERJECTIONS: Yes. Sympathizers, not members.

R: You see, I was especially chosen as a representative from (to) WPA or rather, the Worker's Alliance, was in Escanaba (Michigan) I was at the Bessemer (Mich.) meeting. I was sent (Mich) to Lansing. That same time, I also went
speak with him about
school issues we were at the meeting
be sure that she didn’t know this
come out ste to me. I think he
Alliance I was very familiar with the
tactics of the Brownmurge. Therefore he
as I grew a little cold toward the
central matter themselves. I knew how they
came to.
I don’t like the tactics like?
I They are like this, somehow suggests moves a
proposes they had already previously
held a meeting where someone was given
a role of an integrating role. I the strategy
was as a get beforehand.
I It is to. They do those sort nothing
It. yes They did it. On anything that
restruct it. You were at a service and
you said he. That also. Everyone
was together. The negroes resisted. They had, no doubt, become familiar with that kind of operating. They were the most enlightened in these organizations. (laughter) I have pictures.

INTERVIEWER: See, they were going to use them.

R.: I have pictures of that convention when we were in Lansing for those 2 days. What was his name - the head of that organization from Washington. He was at our meeting (convention) and kept a speech. The communists wanted to march when he was going to catch his train but he was against the march very sternly. No demonstrations did he want. I just a peaceful convention.

We went then there was one man in a prison - because of a strike - the forest workers had had a strike here in Herman...
(Michigan) - and he was in prison. At that convention the communists achieved that a committee would be selected to go to the governor and ask for a pardon for this man. He had 2 months left on his term. They nominated me, of course, to also be on that committee. It was an election time. Murphy asked me - probably because he knew I was from here in Hancock I was from Toivola, but Hancock was what we used for a home - place name when we traveled. wanted to know about the election issues a great deal - he promised to see that the man from Herman would be freed, since there was no real proof that he had been there blowing up the bridge. INTERSECTION of it was just that kind of a bridge made from logs - you know, put in a pile
in a gully.

R: He was a leader in the strike. That's why it was blamed on him and he was put in prison. They testified that he was nowhere near the "scene of the incident," but he was still accused of it—guilty of.

I: This man was from Herman? And the strike was in Herman?

R: Yes

I: What year?

R: This was tell me now he just recently retired from store (possibly movement) management in Clifford, Wisconsin. He who was a neighbor (adjacent to) to Niva in that swamp on Iron (indistinct) Avenue. - What was his name? Wasn't it oh tell me now

INTERJECTION: Savola?

R: William Sukai's brother in law
INTERSECTION: Savola

Savola. It was he who was imprisoned. He wasn't in Herman - not living there.

He worked there but he was elsewhere when the explosion took happened.

What year was this strike?

I can't remember that.

INTERSECTION: That was when we were yet in Iron River.

No, no, no. We were in Toivola already.

INTERSECTION: You remember Anttu Perälä was even there.

R: I don't know.

INTERSECTION: Anttu Perälä was in Herman in the logging.

R: So what? That's not the question now.

R: Was it 1930's or 40's?

R: 30's 1936 or something like that.

It was around the time when times
were getting a little better. Then after
the committee left I spoke about this
school issue with (Governor) Murphy
of have a letter

That's where you'd find out
what year it was

I remember - during the copper (mine)
strike there was a man named Murphy
who was a judge in County - who
came here to see what happened - and reported
to Governor Ferris. Was this the same
Murphy, or ...

R: No. This Murphy was governor for two
terms if I remember (right)

He was a younger man.

He was a younger man, already?

Yes. He was of some other Murphys
I don't remember. Of course if
I looked it up
I: Could I ask you helped to organize farmers?
R: Yes.
I: And someone was evidently organizing the lumberjacks in Herman. Is that
R: Yes. They had this union that was called a "Wind Union." It was particularly on a communistic direction. It was not a very powerful union.

INTERJECTION: It was more of a newspaper front. It was organized so that they could get a lot of coverage in newspapers.

I: And the miner's union? Was this before Saari around here then?
R: He came later.

I: Can I ask a little about him before talk about the co-operative movement?
R: I'll say this regarding Saari. I know...
next to nothing. Because I considered him a communist—and that kind of a "hothead" and that his thoughts were far ahead of peoples' thoughts—he made so many mistakes in that activity—that's why they sent him to Denver.

Was he a communist?

R: I don't know if he was a communist but at least he was a sympathizer (a sympathizer, [unclear] pink.

R: Yes. When I worked for Wagern (sic?) in Detroit some came to tell me about Saari—what little he had come here then—the little I knew they wanted to ask how he was—and then they said that he would become a great man—I said I don't know him very well but as far as his conduct goes—-he goes too far in everything—he thinks it got to go just like the way he wants. That's why he ruined
the White Pine strike one time - that’s when
they sent him away from here. They didn’t
accept him.

R. When we moved in 26 to Hancock

INTERSECTION you came.

R. I came to Hancock in ’26 ’27 I attended,
of course meetings of the co-operative
movement and participated in them. At
last I was made a chairman often. Especially
when the disagreement became very noticeable.

They trusted me the most then - because
I knew everyone for I sold insurance
and went from house to house - I knew
everybody - so I knew, at the beginning
of the meeting, who was for our position
and who was communist.

Halonen - who came from the center (Q point)
in Superior - they came to ask me how
the representation was in general, I used
to say so and so many were communistic
if there were 500 - 600 people at the meeting
even then I could say approximately
how many were on each side. They
used that kind of a procedure that - if there
was 3 minutes for a speech topic (turn?) -
they had marked their speech so that Matti
would read so far (and so on) - and they
asked for the floor in a (prescribed) order
speakers) - that was the custom - turns
speech were given by - the chairman
there was a recorder of turns of speech
as requested - that is how they read an entire
speech from person to person. They had a
of good tricks that we used then later
learned from them - and as they seem
to be doing now in this church matter
the exact same procedures. They know
how to organize - how to proceed. I was,
then later in Toivola - I was primarily working toward that store but I had suggested recommended a store for there (initially) first to do that was Naasko - at the meeting held here at (Co-op) headquarters - recommended that a store be established in Toivola - (goods) because (people) drove from South Range to Toivola - but before that there was a so called "buyer's ring" a "buyer's ring" operates so that they order their merchandise - there was a designated group that went to actually buy this merchandise - this way they can - in 1919 a Co Op Consumer's Association in Toivola a consumer's ring - Feb 2, 1919 ring had 19 members Elvis Naasko was the originating (generating) force ring quit operations Jan 1931 when
South Range & Opp began transporting merchandise once a week to Owola. There were many original members were there occasion, but I don't know if it is necessary to use them.

Narme was the first to recommend establishing of (a Op the and

Emil Tarkola was one who really began to diligently work toward it

course I participated in it then and I became chairman in all of the meetings that were held there and supported.

Thus the time when I was put on the central board of directors. Even I was also connected with the Mutual Insurance Company in Minneapolis in the board committee that 65 and nominated new board member annual term. I did all I could to make the Towola C. O. store...
A success and made many good, in my opinion, decisions or recommendations. As long as Sam Savola managed that store, everything went real well. Then we had many managers that were good for nothing. In particular, the business declined because the cows disappeared. The people had sold their animals. This was the biggest reason for the store to sell livestock feed even tho there wasn't much in it (of itself) it helped a great deal. At last it had to suspend operations. Let's say that Toivola Store - but before that we had to close this Hancock store for just that reason that it had no business. We had poor store managers. That's a big factor even today in the Co-op program. Then the South Range store was closed. Then at last the Toivola store...
Connected with this Hancock store was Bruce Crossing (Mich.) and what was it - up from Snake (River) Hill - what was it now but there was a store there also.

INTERJECTION: In the Sturgeon (River) Valley?

R: Yes. It was put there in the 20's. 1929 or there abouts. Around the same time Bruce (Crossing) established it is own store. But these endeavors, in general, got mixed up with these political or communist (involving, regarding?) disagreements very badly. They thus had to fight against them (communists) and had no time to take care of the store. But people enthusiastically brought from the Co-Op just for that reason that it was against communism.

INTERJECTION: See, they were trying to get control.
Tape III

Containing Mr. Salmin's remembrances of old poems several of which he recites.

organization of co-operative enterprises in the Copper Country.

expansions consolidations and decline of Co-Op

women's activities to promote Co Op (Builds)

struggles within the socialists

emergence of factions; 'red and 'yellow

advantages offered by the IWW

sabotage in strikes

improvement of lumber camps

Co Op Credit Union

and much more

I: Art Puotinen
R: Walter Salmin
INTERSECTION: Mrs Salmin
R: I used to recite many poems. I won awards even. I was good at reciting as a teen (?) Do that (tape recorder) on?
I: Yes.
R: We become old old

Old, old we become

The day of life goes to evening

The temples become framed in silver

As we reach old age

Of the strivings of youth are left only memories

Manhood has diminished thus work

Whomever has fought the battle of life

In age demands freedom (from it)

We become old, old

Year by year we age

We'll reach the end of the path of life soon

We'll reach the destination of our journey soon

The burden of life weighs heavy

Oh, how we aged are weakened
ea tu knows the old toward it

We live old old

Removes from the bottle of life

e slowly move the can or security

The bottle of life we are

in life's seres of diligent acts ending

since the thread of life bottle we

cast only sigh to hear theired

we traveled to get you rest

In the Canada Message Canada

the were from Ullo Rastavan collected

potom be vsnspe as or poem

we alone a right

it hymn you'll hear

as you ease on wese

cor land and wate

If you meet the pope

4 Luther from Germany
Korite man from Sare
And from Lapland Laestadius
They all will testify
And as something proclaim
That the Lord gave the gates of heaven
But we have the keys
That hymn has been learned
By one and other
Free church joins the chorus
And: Babtists and Pentecosts
And all of them in their cornal
Now hone their horn
And sing it in a loud voice
As only we have the truth
The foolishness you know not
Who enters to even he
Truth before God
And honest a seeker of it
You may receive an and peace
And get into brightness

Directions are not asked for in heaven

But faith instead in Christ

Intersection: Isn't that a good poem?

I: Oh, that is a good one.

Intersection: That speaks really the truth!

There's still Laestadians. As the others

It's only there. Their branch is the

right

---

A poem written by Matli Turkio dated 1901
February 12th.

Will right ever triumph?

While a strong a weaker can

Prey upon as he will

Opress while all look on

When purity and morality

Honor and humaneness

Must for lies be put aside

When cruelty grows swells
And it turns the world to the

the good defeated by evil

the oppression be the meanest,

courteous, leanness and selfishness

May it alone with money

The cause the twenty

will goodness to mind

will the pace of decent sensible

will look selfish and

will be unless reach to

And utopia from beneath false

there would I have. The poet of

take for the Hudson Library, University

liberal had a grand and night to come the

where the book etc. (Modelo" magic)

then on a tradition was a good

(book) about that old economic until

as they told to how the country folk

one general considered artificial fertilizer
it was poison for the ground - here was then the change that happened to the farmers in farming paid, for almost anyone, before to raise sheep was the pillar of the whole household since it clothed the entire group

Then the men went to their lands
Which did not depend on (very unclear - esti?) what a comfort in frosty weather
wear a sheep's wool sweater (actually coat)

Then came the new ideas
Factory woven clothes common
Soon were they the fashion
demonstrated by foreign lands
Even though they were not free
Everyone raced to buy them
Handiwork diminished
The days were brought nearer
That brought the rule of incompetence
That was about to topple everything
Rye sheaves were ploughed into fields
Their grain no longer needed
Scarcely would a house need a plow
they
didn’t raise cattle feed oats
Strange that a sheep was so hated
bit his lip (tooth) to even think of it
had to be slaughtered
So that a farm household was worthwhile
The sheep was everything - at that time
(softly) There were some real long ones

I: Why were poems like this so popular
among the Finns 7 years ago

R: I don’t know. One had to be everywhere
reciting those poems I remember in 1907
on the same day as Hancock had it’s
red flag incident On that same day I
recited (well enough) for first prize in Negaunee

INTERJECTION! That was a short way of expressing... (yourself)
in a point form - whether it was socialist
or temperance or what in a short form
n
Here's a short, amusing in its way poem.

This was written by Sylvia Nopola

We have an automobile

Its name is Heikki

Whenever it is started

Quite a game begins

It has a clutch and tires

"clutchy" & "tire-it"

And foremost: a crooked crank

"crankky"

Lows and highs and reverse

"low-it," "high-it," "reverse-it"

And in the rear: a gas tank

"tankky"

And yet it has bearings

"bearing-it"

And even a roof to top it off

Cranks and gears and fenders

"rank-it," "gear-it," "fender-it"

And the seats are up indeed

When I drove it

With my own Maija (Mary)

As I step upon the gas
get a feeling mellow
Maija sits al-sea and plays her big mouth
‘Oh you Matti,’ shouts she, ‘don’t you see that tree?’
There is a calf that ditch is deep
‘Ay, yay, no good will come of this’
‘I’ll get properly sick, my stomach growls so
Why, for a man did I take, such a reckless fool?‘
You just tell you Maija
While increasing juice for Heikki
your good health pull in your tongue.”

Below such a pretty nose
There’s no room for a big mouth
Your words bubbling in my ears
Are filled with poor humor
So the miles fall prey to Heikki
Whose tail was like a dog’s
And Maija’s tongue keeps wagging
But in her eyes is a tender glow
I: We’ve talked a lot about battles and hard
in a different kind of things besides you think. I have the Foveaux had a good sense of humor.

P. Ye. Who then were poets in those days and writings of the then are descriptions of all this in the bad time. For. But particularly was a good lesson and I hope a little bit that something of the sort for the modern youth so that they would learn to see a little what these would be. They think that such the go could not be as it had been in the old time. The go could not be like that. They think that they never get f. 30 or 40 today. No more attraction. Of course costs of living and living habits have changed a bit compared to that time. When we were starting to get radios we knew nothing
television. I talked about that enterprise.

How much did I say? I don't remember at all. It was built in 1936. The government gave us money – as I remember $135,000. That year it brought $14,000 in profits. There were fishermen – that was the main thing – we had lockers – you could bring meat or whatever for storage freezing. Then we had a slaughterhouse – for slaughtering farmers animals – and that was good.

This is – if I read this – it is not very long – would explain so that it would give some kind of an idea. It was the "Copper Country Co-operative Enterprises" was established to help the unemployment situation in the Copper (producing) Region the autumn of 1935 – from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration came questions to the local co-op wanting to
know if it was possible to establish a production institution to ease unemployment in the local area. We sent out invitations to a meeting at Hancock Co-op hall. Two representatives from the Division of Self Help Co-ops had arrived. These were Frank Aaltonen and W.R. Fairbanks. Our area was well represented, store managers, directors from the board, and others who were interested were present. The representatives promised to arrange loans for the Co-op. For these purposes we received two buildings in Hancock that were rebuilt by the WPA worker. These buildings were the former street car and power generating buildings. See how poorly it written. The street car stable and the generator building. The people generated their own electricity. The government gave $150,000 of which $5,000 is to be paid back in
annual payments of $2,000. On December 1st a meeting was held at the Co-op hall where the conditions were approved. A temporary board was selected for this co-operative consisting of: George Hanni, Walter Salmi, Fred Kaarela, Artru Lasanen, Arthur Torriilä, John Long and V. E. Terro. The board consisted of two farmers, one forest worker, two fishermen, one from the business and one from the tourism segments. The same (plant) meeting selected as store manager Otto Raasman. The intention of the co-operative was to begin freezing the production of fishermen and farmers for sale at a time of more favorable prices. The first annual meeting was on March 27, 1937 when the plant manager read the account record for the period April 1, 1936 to December 1, 1936. This revealed that the co-op had primarily
handled fish of which $27,491 worth had been bought. Cash reserves of $62,161 were also reported. A permanent board was selected. It's 9 members were: George Hännä, Walter Salmin, Arthur Törnä, Arthur Lasanen, Theodore Wäisänen, John Okkonen L E Tervo, Ernest Erkkilä and Alfred Lahti with five people selected as alternates. These alternates acted as an information (dispensing) committee.

These alternates were: Fred Aalio, John Rimpelä, Otto Raasman, Ernest Erkkilä and Willert Salmin. The plant operated in the former street car garage. The government financed a WPA rebuilding of the former city generating (light producing) plant. Funds, however, ran short and it took a year before we received a new loan $39,900 with which the WPA has nearly
completed a new practical plant for the handling of fish. The building was (built) of rock and brick, four storied. The WPA built a wooden addition on the front but the funds ran short again. For this reason the Co-op will have to finish the project we used $33,000 to finish it. In 1944 we tried to get the Bruce (Crossing) Petroleum Co-op to join this Petroleum Co-op that had a distribution center in Chassell for distributing petroleum products for this area. For two years meetings were held at the end of which the Bruce Crossing Co-operative sold it's interests to the one (co-op) in this area which was renamed the Northern Co-op. After this operation expansion was not limited to the petroleum and fishery divisions but in 1946 and '48 locker plants were
set up for private individuals on the third floor had as room for 750 lockers. At the same time, slaughterhouse was built in connection with this to handle farm products. One of these or had a fishery, a petroleum, agricultural locker plant being that froze strawberries per department. The petroleum department only was the most profitable of these many departments. The board began considering the banking of operations in M & M and the following departments were suspended: agricultural machinery, pea elevator, freezing, and locker. On Nov 3, 1926, these facilities and machinery were set up for sale leaves the Company with only the petroleum distribute function. Efforts were directed toward this endeavor success.
satisfactory but the building and machinery found no buyers. The upkeep of the building, especially was a heavy burden to the petroleum co-op. In 1961 the board approached the fishermen who owned the majority of the certificates of debt (literally - indebtedness) that had been given for what was received as left over. The Northern Co-op offered the fishermen the building's against the debt. The fishermen held a meeting and established the indistinct proper noun Fisheries, in December, 1961. The fishermen set up a co-operative and took possession of the assets, so the fishermen received the buildings that they had begun building before all of the others. - I can't seem to read anymore managers - as managers there were Otto Raasman, Aine Johnson, John Kangas, John Beck, Charlie Nurmi, Matti Saari and Carl Kemppainen.
and be this Unit Grow with Chasell those were set to newspaper who they were with. They could copy what I have he believed.

Is this then the Central Co-operative Wholesale?

Yes I had nothing to do with the except that I bought whatever it needed from out there and the petroleum was purchased from the

In only from bought from and the others also.

Of everybody. But there the things when we deal with fruits orange apples coming by the three carloads. But then what happened when we used a carload of oranges the present local fruit distributors tried to find or what exactly do our carbonating start when
he found out that it was oranges he lowered his orange price and raised
the other prices this way he sold oranges
to the co-op store for a lower price than
we were able to This didn't even pay
any attention to that that they paid
the difference on the other products.
Sam thing with apples Banas as
Always when we received a unload
of something he lowered the price of
that commodity much lower. Our
co-op store didn't order inistance the
we had a lot of the apples at one time
they bought a lot of cooler stuff etc
because they are better than what
the local district to had those were
the kind of thing that we couldn't
get this even the we had 3 stores
all had to go Also like district.
as it was called had 12 co op stores
We took it as mutual policy to buy
goods by the carload to load here
to the Northern Co Op warehouses Then
we distributed from here to the Co op
stores So that the goods came directly
here Not to Superior and then from
there to here We could sell a little
cheaper this way We gave a lot of
trouble to these local businesses
because we had lower prices But
Superior didn't like this that we
ordered our goods directly This led
to these difficulties and we had to
stop doing this I have all of the
 correspondence all of the statistics
showing what they cost on a certain
day if purchased from Superior and
the cost of purchased from elsewhere
I've a few documents left of the information contained therein.

1. You said there were 5 stores.

2. Where are those stores?

3. They were in London, Now in South Range Towanda Tapiola Pelican House.

Wrath?

INTERVIEW A M Am

R: There's event I A so altogether stores

INTERVIEW A Howard Bruce Rossi

1. They were a different district.

INTERVIEW A Howard Bruce Rossi

A: There are only two 21.

Appa County Chancellors Column

Appa Pelican A d Bruce assess

1. Held the local committee investigation.

You changed the small atom.
On this ally, the Coppa Country Commercial Club. That favors the company.

R: Yes.

I'd both of you say something of the women's part in this Co-op and also in the Workers People's movement.

R: Yes.

These are the North of the Kelton Guild Organization. Women's first they had a lot of work in this Kelton organization later it was formed into a club. For instance, just that the communists would not.

I'd read the Coppa Country Guild and Clubs. It's from around here, the communist groups also coming in trying to take over the Central Co-operative and individual Co-op stores.
operate guld b'sta began
heinto the bend Theu wirtntance to
the lo op the ove wigt gare long
They acted for the lo op as information
sips is gis of man of a valle
 diligence the the the of the lo op newspaper
a do sa of co operative style thought
in the me of the youth Even the
kinds of things as faithfulness put in you
or a story and promoting hardships
keep kept the program to the year
of the long beat up for unusual offenses
begain again at the lo op These would
have caused a great deal more damage
it need little fo be temely and
anti cause each tie of the guld
or clubs The found of club is the
loappe bar for two established in
South Range April 6 of the
initial meeting 17 people joined. The membership later remained at about 30. The name was changed to Club in 1951. Operations were discontinued the next year. The Hancock Guild was established on April 2, 1930 at Mr & Mrs Salmi’s home with 8 members. Their activities ended in 1951. The English language Co-Op Club was organized on August 5, 1947 at Mr & Mrs Charles Nurmii’s cottage. Sometimes they were called the “4 CC Club”. The first chairman was Henry Backman with Henry Lääski as vice president chairman; secretary — Dorothy Ollanketo membership secretary; Ruth Backman correspondent; Joseph Nurmii. Operations were terminated in 1956 or around 1957. The Toivola Co-operative Action Guild was established July 10, 1930.
Levi Kallio's home, 10 members joined. Anna Päärä was chosen as chairperson) secretary: Ellen Taskila, treasurer: Amanda Kallio. After a few years the name was changed to Co-op activity club. The Toipola club was long lived (until) Dec. 8, 1964.

After the Co-op guild was organized April 8 1930. Organizer was Minnie Sax, secretary: Mrs. Jalos. Despite its small membership this guild was very active for many years. Pelkie got a Co-op guild in the fall of 1930 as Herma and Calumet (did) the next year. They were short lived possibly because their Co-op (information) programs had enlightening committees already. Another activity of the guilds and clubs that must be mentioned was the summer camp 'the first' (of these) was in 1932 at Point Mills.
That should be it. The union meetings were held on Sunday for about a year. The publication of the was made possible by a gift from the Hancock

I don't know what the union said... I've seen that

Then when they allied with the yellow unions, it was usual year at the same time that you moved those people. If you could only... People didn't attend the school at that time.

I mean, yes. It began with the socialist

The case by case, disagree and one
deological direction, but to support the

The two main union, socialism that with the

There were so many on each
side that they split up. I don't know why
on what point - when (INTERRUPTION
SOMEONE ENTERING)

They went to some store's cellar to keep
a meeting - those that were among the
so called IWW's or Industrial Worker's
supporters. And then they decided to begin
publishing a newspaper to be called The
Sosialist. I don't remember the day it
first appeared but already initially
had 4,000 subscribers and it was
a daily paper - that is 6 days a week.

Continued for two years before becoming
involved in court battles they went
bankrupt and began publishing the
Industrial Worker which continued for
a few years also had difficulties and
was terminated and that was when they
began publishing The Industrialist - which
still appears - biweekly only. Of course
the number of subscribers is smaller. That (ideological) direction disagreements were characteristic of the Finns - I don't know - I haven't had so many doings with Americans - but we (Finns) have a tradition - when it gets cold we begin to argue - about anything. In every locality there was one thing or another over some little thing there's been a (minuscule) amount of difference of opinion - which has been developed then to the result breaking up of the good ideals and operations. Nowadays the newspaper question is as difficult to the Industrialist as it is for other newspapers. We only have some 1 2 3 4 - five newspapers being published, (now) some 30 years ago we had 5 dailyies alone we've had around 200 newspapers in the U.S.A (counting those) that were begun and have died out - they've changed hands. A
Newspaper among Firms is usually along some religious or political lines. There are many of course, that have been started private individuals with the intention making money. I departed a little from (main subject here now) These disagreements among the socialists polarized to the unionist and political ideologies directions.

I: Why weren't the socialists willing to support both the union and political strategies?

Why the split?

R: It is so that these IWW people - that is the Industrial Workers - they put their faith only in strikes and direct confrontation at their working places for the rights of life. They considered political activity to be some kind of high-class (gentlemanly in a deplorable sense) - someone would get a good job (which they feared would be compromising) when elected.
to the Congress or Senate - they would earn
by it - and it was not direct action toward
the industrialists. Political activity was (by
nature, inherently) slow to bring results
(immediate).
IWW people wanted quick results. For
example, in 1905 when it was organized,
it's purpose was to correct the "strenuousness"
of political processes. This resulted in the
IWW policy of making strikes universal in
a certain industry if the workers struck
against a particular railroad - the strike
would have to be broadened to cover all (railroads)
places at the same time - not only at the one.
If the strike was at a copper mine it should
close all of the copper mines - not only in the
Copper Country - for the reason that they
would make up for the close - mines here
(increased production) at mines in other
localities. This way the strike would have to
be of unnecessarily long duration. The IWW intent was to make strikes short by crippling an entire industry. Then if that would not do it the railroad (workers) would yet lend their assistance also - then the ships. This was the plan and attempts were made to implement it in practice - but, of course, people were not sufficiently organized - nor did they (universally) accept the principle. For the reason that there was the American Federation of Labor which was a "draft union" for example, I was in a carpenter's union in Toledo, Ohio) and for a little while in Superior (Wis). In the Carpenter's Union there are 28 unions - in the carpenter trades. That scatters the battle (to too many fronts) - Let's say the carpenters go on strike - the bricklayers or someone else will simply do their own carpenters work. It'll last a long time that way when they "scab" on their own project. So
that the IWW people were ahead (of their time) on
this principle. CCI had taken this from IWW
principles but they divided into several divisions
- California - the East Coast - New Orleans - and
act one region at a time. Well the ships just
use a different port from the one that has been
struck. This makes it difficult. It's the same
thing on the railroads. They just change from
track to track (railroad company to railroad company)
so that it has some weaknesses too but it would
take too long to explain it here.

I'd like to ask you a question about the IWW
started among the Finns? Now Leo Walkfi was
one of the early leaders, wasn't he?

No. That - Valimäki was the first to represent
the IWW position. That was in Hibbing or
 somewhere in the iron (producing) region of
Minnesota. You see, when the Federation of
Miners called - began organizing a strike here
the Copper country Valimakha came out and he used to drive the Steel He had set the bar in splitting the workers into different unions. That when Aalto was that worthy also began to bring the way for he didn't frankly speaking care for the methods.

Copper Country strike Valimak was in the forefront of the US spire & He got that in 16 at the Socialist Party convention in Nebraska he got that 16th convention program and in almost into adoption. Then at the 18th convention in Hanover it was then the fight was.

By fight do you mean debate & were there actual fightfights.

No just was mouth fighting about which segment was right the unionists the political. I forget that in the Socialist Party. And the word let you see these few people industrial.
Workers who supported it - had the intention of getting the control of the working man. You know so that they could retain control.

While these socialists that were in the Työmiest, I literally Working Man - I won't say that they took away the strength but in any case, manipulated so that the Raivaaja (literally cleaner as in landcleaner or pioneer one who clears bought - I don't remember was it $2000 or $3,000 worth of stock in the Työmiest. This way they could voice the position that Työmiest supported.

There was a time - when Laukki was editor of the Työmiest and supported the IWW side or position. But that stock (manipulation?) swindle that they did together with Raivaaja was the main reason for the split. When they saw how crooked that was - had they not done that the IWW would have retained control of the Työmiest.

I: Can I ask - when you were at the Working
People's School you had many teachers, were they in favor of IWW theories or were they too socialistic?

R: Many tried to be neutral but they had to be IWW people. It was an IWW controlled institution (the school)

I: Behind IWW - there's a notion of syndicalism. Is that right?

R: Yes

I: Did the teachers bring that (syndicalism) over from Finland? Or was that from the IWW in this country?

R: There was none of that in Finland. And, in fact, among Finns there was no syndicalist thought idea. It meant - let's say - black cat in the belt (?) sabotage is what it was. But among Finns there was none of that - very very little. That was among Americans. They could if they were working where there was a big winch.
With which logs were pulled out of the forest on a cable. First big tree was found to which a block and tackle was attached to convey the cable. For the reason that the logs could not otherwise be transported around the stumps through the stumpy ground. They thus lifted the logs up above the stumps. They used to put a little bluing what the women used to use in their laundering, into the water when they filled the boilers. The winch engine in a few hours of use later the boilers would be full of holes. Then they used it. I became familiar with it in Toledo there was a deep ditch to be dug, the city sewer system some 2 or 3 feet deep, hot summer. The wages were very small. I don't remember how. They struck for higher wage. One of the I.W.W. men stayed on the job as scalar. He took black pepper and lye and...
Since everyone had to have high boots - rubber boots - he placed this mixture into the boots while patching them. When scales came to work there it only took a day before they had "soft feet." It was very hot for the feet so they would always quit. They (the bosses) finally had to surrender to the demands of the original workers. Then the bosses noticed what had happened when they watched the boots being hosed with water. Oh there were many. In forest work they did - when they had an eight foot measuring stick - someone went and sawed two inches off an end of these sticks. The logs were undersized and the company suffered enormously. That was sabotage. Why? It’s hard they - in Minnesota and out west spent so that that the bosses would - early in the morning go and measure each log to see that it was the correct length. All of these
kinds of things - This was the syndicalist method of operations.

1: This sabotage - it was always toward machinery and things. Was there ever any violence toward persons?

R: No, I never knew that.

INTERJECTION: Property just

R: Then as to the method of informing (proclaiming, advertising) - they were glued pieces of paper some four inches square - there was a picture and slogans on it. Those were attached to walls and everywhere where workers might be or pass through. There was advise on things that needed bettering and how (this could be done). This (method) was common among the Finns. But actual sabotage - I never saw even at the mines - I worked in the mine at that time - I never saw any of it (among Finns) (sabotage) as it was among Americans. (Lord times) Where was it now? St. Louis or somewhere. It was a big hotel. The contractor began fighting the union...
They said the war workers and hired others in the places where they had to. When the contracts were up on water came by a process and the tailors would select their water and the system was all blocked. It was a story building. Everything had to be broken up a bit in novels and such. Then there were the contractors. That can sabotage. As usual, often used on the railroad. And also, they say that the auto industry is (sabotage) or used. Do they not the true extent of what extent.

They say it is that which they claim as we think. So many are going back.

They said that it is sabotage in the industry also. As I have read in them. The Times. They say, but it seems that they are not bored with the war. In the war for. For example, the United Toledo
once
I got into a conversation the subject of
which was - a man who had been in
Detroit for 12 years at Ford's. He went
to work in New York in an auto factory
He had engineer's credentials. Well they
gave him engineer's duties (work) He understood
nothing. They asked him; What did you do
there (in Detroit)?” He had turned bolt (number)
734. That bolt - he’d been turning for twelve
years - received engineer's credentials.
They say that when for decades they perform
the exact same job they become bored - then
careless This might be a bigger factor
than that what they say about the use
of sabotage. Because if sabotage is used
it is found very quickly The inspectors
should find it

I. Can I ask another kind of question before
we talk about the credit union? What
you see as the value in the IWW philosophy

What things do you consider as most important?

That about industry wide strikes. That a strike should halt the entire industry. You see why the IWW first started it began the textile industry. Lawrence and Paterson and over the that when it started primarily. As you can see in that public that book. A strike succeeded well when the workers of the entire industry went on strike. But people if such that they want to tend to complain to others about their fellows. Then those companies sent spies among the strikers and the IWW wasn't pushy all over the place. They didn't watch out for spies or informers. The IWW movement was full of spies. This made it weak. Also that that the as so rich
sabotage - in that syndicalist-faction

That hurt the Americans-and the Finns

[even tho] the Finns didn't participate in it

But I thought that the IWW would be boundlessly
good if it would watch out to not let in
spies and such - and would organize
on an industry-wide basis. But as I told you
read to you the 'draft unions' are no longer
practical because they scab-on each other

This IWW would be good - but it should
be inspected throughout very closely.

INTERJECTION Daddy, can I say? IWW-ism was
good at the lumber camps They were
rotten places! But the IWW saw to it
that they 'became' were clean - and that
the bed clothes (were washed? - and lice
would be got rid of you know That's
one thing.

I: Were there any here in Upper Michigan?
INTERSECTION: Yes And in Wisconsin. And (throughout) entire West That's where they (the IWW) were the best. In the lumber industry.

In Minnesota and in the West - California, Oregon and all those were organized by the IWW For example, I've been at (lumber) camps with "triple-decker" bunks (beds). (underneath and only a little hay or straw in them and boughs spruce boughs (underneath and then just some horse blanket (to put on top of oneself when sleeping). That's what the men were in I've seen here, in Wisconsin, Michigan Lumber Company (camps) - where was it now Where I went look at that land Blaney (Park, Michigan).

There they had camps - four men to a room made of hardwood flooring - they were tidy. There were drying rooms for the clothes.

There were bathing facilities - tub or shower.
You had to put on different clothes to eat.
You could go eat in your work clothes.
And white sheets and that kind of thing.
That was all achieved through strikes.

What years?

Let's see we were married in

Intermission was still then when you were new
in the store.

Let's see if was still in my brother's ball room
pole shop wasn't that

The 22nd Nov 1946

I think I was married then.
It must have been 1946. One land agent
wanted me to start selling land to the
Ions. But I was for that job. I did
go look at them the lands.

In Enniscorthy they were so handy.
I wouldn't could sell them things like that
to Finnis hat would have been crooked.
Well, would you like to speak (talk) about Credit Unions then?

The basis for a Credit Union is that it inexpensively lends money. It tries to be very particular as to who it lends (the money). It operates on (in) a very limited (sphere). The members must know how (much) money is in the others' members' pockets before they can operate mutually.

For the reason that - when the Credit Union spread out over a large area - as ours contained the Hancock South Range, Calumet and later - the Toivola and Chassell stores was also joined by Northern Co-op No.

I mean - the fisheries and the potato warehouse. They were the first to be in it (the credit union). But then in 1950 it was joined by Herman, Aura, Pelkie - and then there were the potato warehouses from out that way and all.
That's when I got out of it (the credit union). Because how can you see who has money (among the people) over such a large area. This is boundlessly good - to be able to borrow money from there for one percent. And they (the credit union) pays a customary interest rate (on savings) - at that time about 4%. It was all good. But it became spread out too far. And the (outlet) managers were too weak. That's why it went bankrupt. But still no one lost their money - except the interest for that year. No one collected any interest, but otherwise got their money out.

END OF TAPE
Tape V

Containing Mr. Salmi's memories of struggles against Communist takeover of Co-op, struggles against Communist at Työmiest, decline of Co-op's workers associations and churches.

reasons for such decline,
differences between Halonen and Alanen competition with chain supermarkets
-Co-op's eventual defeat by these
-Co-op Central's troubleshooters
inflexibility of Co-op policy being it's undoing

and much more!

I: Art Puotinen
R: Walter Salmi
INTERSECTION: Mrs. Salmi
I: ...the struggle against Communist ideology

I wanted to ask you why did the Co-op movement go from a working class principles and ideology toward, shall we say, a neutral stance? As we Alanen in Alanen (?) and others

R: Actually it (the Co-op) never did shun the working class but instead the communist direction: ideology. For the reason that they lived in the third phase (period of time) with revolution very near (in the future): just behind (knocking on) the door - and that now door (supposedly should be opened to them. That required money. The money problem became the biggest factor in it - they may say what they will - still - how much money did they need? They tried and did get them for youth organizations and summer camps they wanted money and they were given money. But just like some
least - the more you give the more and more
wants, so did the Communist Party
become. They wanted more and more
They wanted 1% of all sales for the Communist
Party (themselves). When this wasn't given
they started attacking it (the Co-Op). For
example in the Työmiesthey published the
Co-Op Builder what was it called - they're
didn't bound in that what was it now?

I. Pyramid Builders

R. Yes. Where they made their attacks - the board
drafted a response and put it in the Pyramid
Builders well, these (responses) were burnt
over there then - at the editorial offices of the
Newspaper (Työmiest)

I. So it true that they burnt these?

R. Yes. Friivi (sic?) was in the forefront and
youth groups - they burnt them and
that what was his name? I knew him
will and now I remember the name
Takkenen he the economic coordinator
at the Tyome the economic coordinator
treasurer and nothing going on in
the editorial offices and went the to
investigate He saw the putting books
and lette into the store He was afraid
that the stove might explode because they
were putting so much inflammatory
literature in to it That Ruur who was
leading that became very abusive toward
him and he it was Takkenen hit
with an axe handle That is how
became said that Takkenen struck
down the Communists when he hit
with an axe handle while they were
burning those and the furnaces thing
that they in burning the Tyome
Calendars at the same time They took the
Builders and at the same time the calendars which weren't bound yet. They had to announce this later they said that a mishap had occurred but they didn't reveal that they had burnt (the calendars) - just that an accident had occurred and new ones would have to be printed. This is true that they burned. those... I have the original article which appeared in *The Builder* went there at 3 PM to obtain - he brought a load of Builders to the Center (Central) but a portion of them were without covers of those Builders and I have one of these Builders without covers - which explains the matter from all sides but it's in here also - This Co-Op Movement Front - by Halonen. Here is Comintern the famous "Political Bankruptcy of the COMINTERN" This is written by Sulkanan and Halonen -
There were many other incidents. When we had conventions of the Central annual conventions - they (communists) came there with their flags, creating disturbances. Some of them) had to be put outside - it was all that kind - I've lost one worker employee who had an entirely wrong conception of that meeting (convention). Some received - and I received from Aaltonen from Watton, - a paper where an article falsely had wrongly reported it (the convention) the Convention of Marengo? They published later a Työmie that reported it correctly but they left the false ones out (with no corrections). In Superior, Wis. they received the correct ones. I've lost it. It's not long ago that I searched for it. I was having a conversation about it with someone and I intended to find it.
But I couldn't find it - even tho I have many Tyomic copies from that "disagreement period" disagreeing articles - just like this - who was he? Hayju? Yes. Well, this book speaks about Hayju. He was an alternate member (director) of the Central Board. (of Co-op). He traveled on business - worked for the communists - on the payroll of the Co-op Central be should have worked for behalf of Co-op stores - but he worked for the communists. It says here - "In addition to the regular collection of financial support Wemos (sic?) requested that Walter Hayju, who is a sales agent of the Co-op Central, should be released from the duties of sales agent and be placed as political organizer but be retained on the Central payroll. This as a reward (secret informer) on the Hayju having acted as a spy for party leaders Central Board for (on behalf of) the
party leadership for the longest time"

This is why in "The History of Finnish Americans in Michigan" (Dr. Holmio wrote about this)

almost the same way as it's put here that Harju) was an informer (spy) for

Communist Party Harju wrote to me first he wrote to Kooki - and he brought to the board meeting Harju would have wanted us to write to the Finnish (language) newspapers and withdraw our accusations - particularly this accusation Kooki brought it to the board meeting and requested us to put it in the papers. But I said: "We don't have to that. Those accusations were made over 30 years ago. And he (Harju) said nothing about it (then 30 years ago)." It was in both the "Rintamaa" (literally under Battlefront) and the Co-op newspaper - those same accusations and he never said anything
about this. Why he talking board
of they turned up to answer Harry
letter. He was still two foot with
and Harry letter a safe keeping in a
Harry, on their had two the employee
on says away that called it down
and I find a new base for Mass
with Mass M I know in the employee had
the tent of topping rem 9 prevent
en of the room for history. But it
me could not do that for reason
pointed that it was as in the present
who it to period of disagree unto
this faster living (possibly) for even
the next sentence was to mean
the out of the secret, out of
must faster and faster fasted at
Ronnie to see. Removable staff.

up the. He was too much like
American business. It forgot—just like our churches forget their object and our youth organizations and temperance leagues—all forget their objectives.

There is no enlightening work done on the Co-op front anymore.

I: Why did this happen?

R: Can you answer my question? Why has it happened in the church? (amusement)

INTERJECTION: Of the money there's not enough left—to do the enlightening work that's needed.

I: Well, in other words, what we're talking about, in both the co-operative movement as well as, perhaps, the church and union work or whatever is that people became conscious of the dollar. Is that right?

R: Yes. It started all ready around the first world war—that reaching for the money so much. It was money, money, money, just like the minister from Mass who was
preaching to us one Sunday when Malines (possibly had guilt) was away - shouted to us. He was keeping us a sermon - he shouted money, money, money. He wanted the congregation of Towela members to pay more. We paid the most - no second most - one collecting region paid $40. we paid $30 annually. He said that were he here a week he would collect much more money. We encouraged him to come work because the people in church there were only 3 or 4 who were working. All of the others were on relief or social security. From where could they get so horridly much for payments? That kind of a situation - he shouldn't have - not many of those people liked that way to bring it up. He went then and I don't even remember his name. He went to Finland.

Intersection He went to school. Don't you remember?
He was given schooling.

R: It's poor of me to always bring up that
    church issue. (This was said apologetically)

I: I'm wondering - was the pattern that
developed? Is there something about the
    American way of life? Here we had these Finnish
    churches, the temperance unions, the labor
    movement, the co-op movements which organized
    around certain principles. Was this the
    fate of them all that they - in the American
    situation?

INTERSECTION: Old people died off, the ones that
    were interested in this and the young folks
    didn't take over (up)

I: Were the young folks more interested in
    money than principles? The ideals?

R: Well, I'll say what happens. Let's say that
    we were at a departmental or unit meeting
    that is at a co-op store meeting. We came
home. We talked then regarding what each of us thought about the meeting. We were pretty much of one mind about matters but in many families differences of opinion arose regarding these meetings. The children listened to that and thought:

"Those parents are crazy to be thinking about such things." This is why not only in co-op movement but in worker's movements, churches - all when these differences are brought up and when in the homes, the children hear of these they wonder why. Why should one join an organization when not even the members agree on these questions. You understand this? This is the factor especially in the worker's movement because it was shall I say rough that kind direct action the children couldn't.
understand (for) they had no burdens (worries) of life. That's why they took the matter more roughly because the money question was there also. These are factors - they won't can't be expressed in a few words - but (I'll say) what (as much) as I can here. But, nevertheless, a big factor is that the parents bring the matters home disagree and children, seeing them argue, wonder what (good) can there be in that

I: I would also like to ask in English - did the Finns in the co-operative movement - when the - as you were saying about the communists being like a hungry animal that would want a little bit and take more. Was Halonen and Alonen (?) and others really were they opposed to the communists takeover because they wanted the co-operative movement to remain as an independent
organization? They were against being under communist domination.

R: Not in any form of a political party (They wanted no connection with politics.) or union or anything—just co-ops. There is some difference between the opinions of Halonen and Alanen. Halonen accepted the working people's movement in connection with (the Co-op). Whereas Sevér Alanen felt that (the Co-op) should remain separate from (any other) movements— not to join with working people's or communist or any of those movements. This clearly comes forth in his book. He doesn't accept anything like that. Originally Alanen was in the working people's movement or in the socialist movement at the time when he was editor of the Työmieks.

I: What happened to Alanen’s thoughts?
R: Well, he thought that they would spend much more time on the working people's movement than on the co-op's operation. He thought that the co-op was the first step in making life easier for a worker. That they were helping the workers — it was a (sort of) first aid for workers-co-op operation. But not even Alanen could envision the problems (obstacles) that would arise—while he wrote these books. He could not see the difficulties ahead. There were none of these big-stores like A&P, Red Owl (competition). There weren't any of these. They were small (in small amounts). You see, I've always contended well not at the very beginning but in the co-op years that one can't make (money) with a store. Work is what makes (something) left over. So that production co-ops should be linked.
to the stores A&P and Red Owl they have
big farms that produce food, they have
small factories and they let our contracts
for son factory that they want so much
of the and that adds to now they try
to give lower prices by obtaining goods
cheaper. On the contrary, the central didn't
have it. Had bakery and some of
these but when they unde
Midland they got out of the coffee processing
plan and baking form production
is the profit and not in the store keeping.
I was at the time when I went to the
central the we A&P, etc. then
wages, the store expenses, cost of operation were
around 8 to 10% to 12% around the 10 to 12% They have
the method extra for 9 the store supervisi
weak of ok but in the fire
When they reach the back it's time to go back to the front again (and start over)

This is a terrible expense. All of these chain stores have the same problem. They're forever rearranging (fixing) them— to please the customer— then this that every-
thing is packaged — fried, boiled or whatever, so that you don't have to cook it — just heat it for 3 minutes (or thereabouts).

This all raises prices of commodities.

But people don't realize that prices have risen because it's ready prepared to be directly put in the mouth.

Intersection But I've never yet made mashed potatoes that way. I've always the old-
fashioned way

As far as potatoes go — they grow them different nowadays — to get 800 or 1,000 bushels per acre — they use those fertilizers
much that one can taste them on potato - all this. In such a short conversation - it seems to me that - it can be explained like it should be.

I: Can I ask something about the co-operative movements educational work?

R: We had - in the Central - three people on enlightening work. We called it. Enlightening work. There was one who traveled - Halonen did this at one time, Neissi for a short while, then Halonen several various. There were two women and one man. They always were traveling. Off in the accounting report of a particular store it was seen that things weren't going well, help was sent there. Into the meetings a man would go to explain if losses had been suffered - Why. But,
generally they noted that this could not be made worthwhile and another method would have to be found. And we didn’t have enough (people) who were capable of being store managers. They were “number” men. They knew how to count (account) but they did not know how to direct store operations.

INTERSECTION: To make the numbers profitable

R: I have over there account books, where I’ve compared the books of A&P and all of those other chain stores that operate in the Duluth Superior area. Now they are and how Central is. In it’s time Central was excellent but lately it began going downhill. A big factor on the board I was the
only one who fought for (the practice that when an ordered item wasn't in stock it should be bought from elsewhere and sent to the store from where it was ordered. But I could not how get that thru (adopted). For example, in Marquette when the TV station was being built the interior the paneling was around $1800. They didn't have quite enough paneling it took 4 weeks to get the paneling and it still didn't arrive. The paneling had to be purchased locally and they lost a sale. That man was working at the station - a Sireno - he was very hard (on Central) he telephoned many times - but they would not go even tho there was a lumberyard next door from where they could match it. But no. To Pelkie for example - they were
two new tires for a tractor they ordered from Central. There they didn't have the right size so they ordered for Minneapolis three weeks later, they still hadn't come. He was only 10 miles from Super to Minneapolis. That didn't make any sense. I asked, 'Couldn't you get them from that gas station? Or else there was there was that delay so they drove the tires to the customer. They used a pump for Delkas big pump over 3,000 worth pump. They didn't want it in stock so they ordered and begin waiting from that Meyer's head factory where but that was there, we could get pump they could have got one set of but no, it was very

was very convenient and easy with no option instead of always
ordering from Central - could have obtained (desired goods) from local lumberyards or whatever - and got 10% (discount?) for a retailer. They could have done that too - but no. They just decided to wait for things from Central. I got tired of that and (fed up with it). I went to the Midland warehouse where there were 1000s of tires and other goods. Big big warehouse. I have pictures of it. After a storm had destroyed it, a part of it big gas tanks and all such. A strong wind came that it took them. I went there and wondered why we couldn't get tires when the place had tires everywhere. They just won't come. Why? The management was too weak. Yet rubber numbers were made. I have many examples of this.
when they counted for six plus another
be put up new stores, super markets in
Duluth, Minn. (Minneapolis, Minn., Michigan)

Minn.