

## CHAPTER 6

# Socialist Visions of American Dreams

## The Finnish Settler Lives of Oskari Tokoi and Frank Aaltonen

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In the summer of 1921, two Finnish immigrants met on the streets of Sault Ste. Marie, Canada.<sup>1</sup> There was a short discussion in a very straightforward, even Finnish, way:

- Aren't you Oskari Tokoi?
- But who are you?
- I am Frank Aaltonen from Hollola Lahti, but I live close by on Sugar Island and I came to take you there.

Oskari Tokoi agreed to Frank Aaltonen's request and ended up in a rowing boat crossing the Canadian-US border to Sugar Island on the US side. The crossing of the border was questionable, since Oskari Tokoi did not have the necessary permits to enter the United States. Thus, he became an illegal immigrant.<sup>2</sup>

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This chapter examines the entangled histories of two Finnish immigrants to the United States, and how their encounter in Sault Ste. Marie led to significant political and social activism. This chapter will build on this meeting on Sugar Island and is tied to Chapter 2 in this volume. Sugar Island is not the focus here; rather, it is the locus where Tokoi's and Aaltonen's experiences and visions of what it meant to be a Finnish American immigrant, a socialist, a settler, and a colonist merged.<sup>3</sup> In short, it is about the lived experience of two Finns who were both socialists and settlers. It shows the tensions and intersections of socialist and settler ideas. Tokoi first came to the US in the early 1890s and returned to Finland, where he became the first prime minister in 1917, only to be given two death sentences, forcing him to seek asylum in the US in 1921. Aaltonen immigrated to the US in 1905 and became a major force in organizing Finnish labor unions in America. While their political careers merit investigations of their own, this chapter will focus on their perceptions of Finns as a "special" immigrant group in America, their ideas of race, and their views of Native Americans and Finns as settlers. Their views, presented in their memoirs and writings and sometimes evident in their actions (as miners, farmers, and land speculators), were often paternalistic and reflect what is today referred to as settler colonialism. This chapter also examines their perceptions of socialism, immigration, and Finnishness. Tokoi and Aaltonen were united not only by their new homeland but also by their experience in mining, cooperatives, and trade union movements. Furthermore, Tokoi and Aaltonen organized aid from the United States to Finland during and after the Second World War. While their experiences were different, they shared a vision of an agrarian, socialist society, built on the freedoms of America.

### **Immigrants, Socialists and the "Vanishing Race"**

Oskari Tokoi immigrated twice to North America. Between those journeys he became the first prime minister of Finland. Born in the Yläviirret village in Kannus, Finland, in 1873, Tokoi left for North America as a 17-year-old boy in 1891. He traveled first by ship across the Atlantic to New York, from where the journey continued on a weeklong train ride across the US to the coal mines of Carbon, Wyoming.<sup>4</sup>

In Carbon, Tokoi joined a sobriety club, "Aamurusko" ("Dawn"), founded by Finns. Tokoi was concerned about the consumption of

alcohol by the Finnish immigrants. The Finns built a small church in Carbon, where the sobriety club also met. Tokoi later wrote about how most Finns spent their time in saloons drinking, and in Carbon he had to make a choice: whether to become like them or to abstain from alcohol. He chose the latter and sobriety became one of his life's guiding principles. In Carbon, Tokoi also quickly understood that, in order to be able to participate in community activities, he had to know the language of the country. So, he acquired and read literature, mainly non-fiction. From Carbon, Tokoi moved through the nearby Almy Mine, where his father had also worked, then to the Ines mining area for the winter, and from there to the coal mine in Glenrock, Wyoming. There he founded and became the chairman of a sobriety club, "Star of the Wilderness." While there, Tokoi, perhaps for the first time, met Native Americans, whom he immediately described as "wild beasts in their natural state."<sup>5</sup>

Tokoi's arrival in the American West coincided with a time when the resistance of the Indigenous peoples of the region had just been crushed. In the mid-19th century, as western expansion intensified, the situation in the northern plains, the homelands of the Lakota, the western branch of the Sioux, and their allies, intensified. After the US Civil War, the situation developed into a war, when settler routes passed through the best hunting grounds of the Lakota in the Powder River area. Despite winning the Powder River War, which lasted more than two years, the Lakotas and their allies had to sign the Fort Laramie Treaty in 1868, which assigned them a reservation west of the Missouri River (Dakota Territory) in what is now South and North Dakota. This Great Sioux Reservation included the Black Hills area and a vast domain west and north in today's Wyoming and Montana as unceded Indian territory. Tense relations escalated in the early 1870s when new US army forts were built and when a large expedition led by Lieutenant Colonel George Custer entered the Black Hills in 1874. During the trip, Custer sent messages about the riches of the Black Hills, about gold, and so did the journalists. Western newspapers made these reports headlines, with the result that thousands of gold diggers flowed into the area in a matter of months. Furthermore, the settlers and the government reasoned that the area was good farmland that went completely unused by the Indians, who saw the Black Hills as the center of their world. The government, which, according to the peace treaty (1868), should have protected the Indians, did not have

the courage to prevent whites from invading the area. As a result of the gold rush, the town of Lead and the Homestake Gold Mine were established in the Black Hills in 1876. The claim for the mine was registered even before the town was founded, and in violation of the treaty of 1868.<sup>6</sup>

The establishment of the city of Lead in the heart of Lakota homelands is an appropriate example of settler colonialism, in which the military operation was preceded by the gradual infiltration of settlers and gold seekers into the Lakota homelands, against treaty stipulations. In the aftermath of the Battle of Little Bighorn, the hills were taken from the Lakotas, even then illegally. The Lakotas had to move on the reservation to give space to white settlement. The last fight between the US Army and the Lakota took place along the Wounded Knee River in 1890. The US Army killed more than 250 Lakotas.<sup>7</sup>

Only a year later, Oskari Tokoi arrived at Lead, where he became acquainted with the labor movement, and in 1893 he joined the Central City branch of the Western Miners' Union as its Finnish delegate. His task was to ensure that all Finns belonged to the union.<sup>8</sup> Around the time Tokoi arrived in the West, historian Frederick Jackson Turner declared that the American frontier was closed. According to Turner, the frontier, western expansion, and the "free" lands were true characteristics and building blocks of American identity and American society. In 1893, according to him, civilization had conquered savagery, Indians had been forced into reservations, and the white man was now entitled to seek his American dream freely.<sup>9</sup>

Tokoi was certainly familiar with the fate of the local Indian tribes since it had only been a few years since they had been removed from the Black Hills area. Lakota reservations were not far from Lead and Natives were present both in the Black Hills and in the cities in the area.<sup>10</sup> In 1892 Tokoi had his first encounter with a group of Lakota, along the Platte River:

One day in late autumn, the government announced that a passing Native American tribe would visit the locality. The announcement called for the saloons to close the windows so that the Indians would not even be able to look inside. In the evening, when the men were just coming out of the mine, a huge crowd of Indians were riding along the road. The riders were all young, healthy men and women. It was the famous Sioux [Lakota] tribe that, with their herds of horses, moved south for

the winter. There were about five hundred riders, all in the original Indian costumes with their feathered headdresses. They were followed by more than hundred wagonloads of older people, mostly women and children. There were a total of two thousand of them.<sup>11</sup>

Tokoi went on to describe the Sioux as the “last Indian tribe still living wild on the entire American continent,” raising the idea of them being still wild and as such a potential danger in their primitive state. None of them, except for an old woman, could speak English and as evening came they pitched up their tents and many Finns who had never seen so many Indians began to fear. “What if these wild beasts in their natural state, for some reason, became enraged, then they would sweep such a society away from the face of the earth with a single swipe!” pondered Tokoi, but, in a tone of relief, he concluded that “they did not go wild.” In the morning, they assembled their tents and stuff in the usual order and continued their journey to the south calmly. What could be their goal? At least the Finns did not know it.<sup>12</sup>

What Tokoi witnessed was a very common sight in the early reservation era. Many Lakotas visited friends and even former enemies in distant reservations and frequently visited towns that now stood on their former homelands. Tokoi described the Lakota in a very paternalistic tone, evoking sentiments of a bygone era and playing into the noble savage stereotype. Tokoi did not mention that the lands he was staying on belonged to the Natives, nor did he comment on their removal. To him, the Indians passing by were not the rightful owners of the land, rather relics of the past, the last wild Indians that civilization had left to become the vanishing race. Years later he elaborated on the vanishing race paradigm, writing:

White conquerors tried to force the Indians into slavery and obey their laws and manners, but it did not come to anything. And even now Indians, the original inhabitants of America, are under much wardship and more oppressed than any other race. But they have not given up and not a single Indian has been enslaved but they have rather died than succumbed. And as a result of this oppressive politics, it looked like the number of Indians constantly decreased whereas all other races, including the blacks that were brought as slaves, increased and it looked like the entire race was doomed to die.<sup>13</sup>

Defeating the Natives, taking their lands, and destroying their cultures was part of the (white) American dream, and there was no need to question it. Tokoi embraced the American idea of free land, the American dream, and the privilege of a white man to which the Natives did not belong, even if Tokoi here acknowledged that they were the original inhabitants of America.

Frank Aaltonen, born in Hämeenlinna in 1886, arrived in the United States in 1905 and initially lived in western Michigan, where he began organizing the Negaunee Labor Organization the very year of his arrival. Unlike Tokoi, he did not come into contact with the Native people in the area, before his move to the Sault Ste. Marie Area and Sugar Island. Instead, he threw himself wholeheartedly into the affairs of the working-class people, in the socialist cause. During his second year in the United States, he was arrested for causing unrest and charged with communism. The reason for this was a socialist parade in the town of Hancock. The marchers carried the red flag of the socialist revolution in front of the American flag. Aaltonen and 12 others were officially charged with violating flag regulations and disturbing the peace. The case went eventually to the state Supreme Court, and the defendants were ordered to pay small fines, which, according to Aaltonen, were never paid.<sup>14</sup>

Aaltonen continued actively in the Socialist Party of America (SPA) and the Finnish Socialist Federation (FSF). He later studied for four years at the University of Valparaiso in Indiana. From 1908 to 1914, Aaltonen was the organizer of the Western Federation of Miners in Negaunee and recruited miners to the union. Aaltonen also tried to influence public opinion by actively writing about Finns and socialism in local newspapers. In 1916 he wrote an extensive article in the *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News*, where he explained why socialism worked so well in Finland and how the organizations and cooperatives founded by the socialists did well in America as well. He highlighted how the socialist movement had been at the forefront of giving Finnish women the right to vote and improving the conditions of the working population. In his opinion, the employment and influence of women in politics had been so successful that “almost no one in Finland opposes it.” In addition, Aaltonen emphasized how state-owned companies, such as railways, performed well. He also showed how things that Finns considered normal, were signs of radicalism to many Americans. In his opinion, the Finnish socialists were not necessarily radical, but

socialism was an “intellectual movement,” which, however, was sometimes difficult to put into practice.<sup>15</sup>

Aaltonen obtained US citizenship in 1911. He was the leader of the famous Copper Island mining strike from 1913 to 1914. He also had serious disputes with other leaders of the Finnish socialist movement. These culminated in a meeting in the city of Butte in Montana. Erik Lantala opposed Aaltonen's presence. He pulled his knife and threatened to stab Aaltonen.<sup>16</sup> In connection with the Great Mining Strike in 1913 and immediately thereafter, charges were brought against Frank Aaltonen and other leaders for, among other things, conspiracy and disturbing the peace. Aaltonen was known as a very active defender of labor issues, but on the other hand he was also considered an agitator and he earned the nickname “The Fighting Finlander.”<sup>17</sup> Aaltonen was clearly strongly patriotic toward both Finland and the United States. Americans suspected that, like other people with a Finnish background, his loyalty was more on the side of the old home country than the new one. This was especially emphasized during the First World War, when the fate of Finland was also decided. Aaltonen himself wanted to show how the Finns were staunch supporters of both their own country and the United States. He wanted the United States to recognize Finland's aspirations and the right to full independence, and it was not fair to accuse or doubt the loyalty of Finns to the United States. “The Finns in America are not disloyal to the land of their adoption, but how can you expect them to be particularly enthusiastic about this war when their cause equally dear to their hearts is completely ignored.” If Americans wanted the full support of Finns, why could America not openly support Finnish efforts, wondered Aaltonen.<sup>18</sup>

Like Oskari Tokoi, Frank Aaltonen traveled widely in the United States and Canada, but never in his correspondence, articles, or memoirs does he touch upon the Native people of the country. It is true that his travels occurred ten years later than Tokoi's and the Indigenous presence might not have been as prominent. But not before he sets his eyes on Sugar Island, Michigan, does Aaltonen take the time to address the Indigenous people, the Anishinaabeg of the area. As Justin Gage pointed out in Chapter 2 of this volume, even then Aaltonen saw the land on Sugar Island as free. It was there for the Finn, the superior woodsman and farmer, to colonize. The blood that ran in their veins was that of “true pioneers.” The Indigenous people may have owned parts of the land, but Aaltonen, fully believing in the Finn as a superior

race and the Native as the vanishing race, suggested that Finnish presence on the land would bring civilization to wilderness. The full-blood Anishinaabeg, whom he clearly believed to be racially superior race to the mixed-bloods, fully supported his civilizing efforts, whereas the mixed-bloods opposed him. Aaltonen ranked the Native people based on their blood quantum and physical appearance, but also by their willingness to help him “improve” the island. To get the Natives’ support, he promised them employment and, with that, a part in the (Finnish) American dream.<sup>19</sup>

### Poverty, Socialism and the Native

One might assume that witnessing the poverty most Indians were forced to live in would have in some way influenced both Tokoi and Aaltonen, both of whom came from relatively poor conditions and were interested in socialism. However, this is not evident in their writings. During his travels in Nevada, Oskari Tokoi met a Native man sitting by a lone fire with a bottle of alcohol between his legs. The man gestured to Tokoi to join him. Tokoi described the meeting.

I was hesitant to approach the man. The Indian himself did not seem hostile or scary; rather he had a friendly appearance. However, the almost empty bottle made me wary. I had heard that booze makes an Indian fierce and they can get so fierce that their original savage instincts take over and in that stage the savage mind stalking for white man’s scalp may take possession and cause destruction.<sup>20</sup>

Tokoi approached the man and, when he asked for more liquor, Tokoi went to a nearby saloon and bought another bottle to the man, who “was forever grateful” for this kind gesture by a white man. Tokoi continued to describe this encounter:

To demonstrate his approval the Indian then wanted to show me all of his tribe’s war songs. An old canister abandoned by the fire could act as a drum and I had to sit there with a stick in my hand to beat the drum with this monotonous rhythm that is characteristic to all Indian dances. And the redskin danced. At certain intervals, he stopped to take a sip from the bottle. After that the dance got fiercer and wilder. Instead of a tomahawk, he held big pieces of burnt wood in his hand throwing them



occasionally in the fire with tremendous anger, causing the embers rise high in the air. The dance would have been funny and interesting to anyone unless the looming danger of the Indian forgetting being civilized, and suddenly believing that he was doing a real war dance that required a reward in the form of a white man's scalp. Due to the whiskey and exhaustion, the Indian's knees started to wobble and after a couple of high-pitched screams he laid down and fell asleep.<sup>21</sup>

Tokoi placed more firewood in the fire and decided to sleep by the fire, and in the morning he continued to the nearby town.<sup>22</sup> In his writings, Tokoi assumed a very paternalistic view of Native Americans. On several occasions, he raised the issue of them being wild children of nature, much like Finns. However, alcohol and poverty had reduced them into a vanishing race, a common stereotype at the time. For Aaltonen the Native Americans were just another group of people he needed to win over to accomplish his colonization of Sugar Island. He did offer them jobs for supporting his efforts, but nowhere did he men-



**Figure 6.1:** Oskari Tokoi signing a copy of his memoirs, *Maanpakolaisen Muistelmia*, during his visit to Finland in 1957. Image courtesy of Finnish Labour Archives.

tion that Sugar Island really belonged to them or questioned whether the “improvements” he brought to the island benefitted the Natives or not. Like Tokoi, he referred to the Natives as wild and childlike, requiring the white man’s assistance, or becoming doomed to poverty and to, if not outright savagery, at least backwardness.<sup>23</sup>

Tokoi’s first tour in America, however, was a constant struggle to find employment and his own American dream. In September 1893, the Homestake Mine was closed as a result of the recession, and Tokoi’s journey took to the west coast as a “hobo,” first to Seattle and then crossing the border to British Columbia, Nanaimo, and Victoria on Vancouver Island. Tokoi spent the winter in Seattle, from where he moved to the Carbonado, Washington, coal mines, but work there had already stopped in June 1894. Then Tokoi took to the road again and returned to Wyoming (Rock Springs). But there was little work and Tokoi moved to a new coal mine in Hanna, Wyoming, where he was elected chairman of the sobriety society and joined an orchestra founded on the initiative of a Finnish foreman.<sup>24</sup>

From Hanna, Tokoi headed to the neighboring state of Colorado for the Leadville coal mining area. In 1895, the City Directory reported that Oscar Tokei—Tokoi—worked as a “trammer,” loading coal onto tram cars. The Finns had also founded both a sobriety club and a horn orchestra in Leadville, both of which Tokoi joined. Here he was first involved in the strike of 1896 for an eight-hour working day. The strike became long-lasting, bitter, and violent. When the strike turned violent, Tokoi left and headed west to California, to Rocklin, where many Finns lived. Here, too, Tokoi served as chairman of the sobriety club.<sup>25</sup>

On December 23, 1897, Oskari and the Finnish-born Hanna Tykkö married at the Finnish Seamen’s Church in San Francisco. Tokoi was a partner in a quarry, but it did poorly so the young couple moved to Leadville, where Tokoi initially worked as a test driller and later rented an old mine with his friends. The following year, “Oscar Tokyo” was awarded US citizenship. The mine began to run out the following spring, and, as earnings fell drastically, Tokoi and his partners gave it up.<sup>26</sup>

In May 1900, Oskari Tokoi with his wife and little son, Anders Oscar, left Leadville and returned to Kannus, Finland, where Tokoi bought the Raasakka farm. In addition to managing the small farm, Tokoi started running a store, Tokoi & Jyrinki, and handled minor disputes in the courts. On the banks of the Lestijoki River, Tokoi built an

**2559 REGISTRATION CARD 1996**

SERIAL NUMBER		ORDER NUMBER	
1	Frank Adolph Aaltonen <small>(First name) (Middle name) (Last name)</small>		
2 PERMANENT HOME ADDRESS: Willwalk P.O. Chippewa, Mich. <small>(No.) (Street or R. F. D. No.) (City or town) (County) (State)</small>			
Age in Years	Date of Birth		
3 34	4 September 23rd 1884 <small>(Month) (Day) (Year)</small>		
<b>RACE</b>			
White	Negro	Oriental	Indian
			Citizen      Noncitizen
5 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	6	7	8      9
<b>U. S. CITIZEN</b>		<b>ALIEN</b>	
Native Born	Naturalized	Citizen by Father's Naturalization or by Registration's Majority	Declarant      Non-declarant
10	11 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	12	13      14
15 If not a citizen of the U. S., of what nation are you a citizen or subject?			
<b>PRESENT OCCUPATION</b>		<b>EMPLOYER'S NAME</b>	
16 Farmer and Colonizer		17 In business for myself	
18 PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT OR BUSINESS: 118 W. Portage Ave. Sault Ste. Marie, Chippewa Mich. <small>(No.) (Street or R. F. D. No.) (City or town) (County) (State)</small>			
<b>NEAREST RELATIVE</b>	Name	19 Raula Aaltonen	
	Address	20 Willwalk P.O. Chippewa, Mich. <small>(No.) (Street or R. F. D. No.) (City or town) (County) (State)</small>	
I AFFIRM THAT I HAVE VERIFIED ABOVE ANSWERS AND THAT THEY ARE TRUE			
P. M. G. O. Form No. 1 (Red)		Frank Adolph Aaltonen <small>(Signature) (Typed name) (OVER)</small>	

**Figure 6.2:** Frank Aaltonen World War I Draft Card, where he proclaims himself to be a “farmer and colonizer,” United States, Selective Service System. World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration. M1509, 4,582 rolls. Imaged from Family History Library microfilm. Image is in the public domain.

American-inspired “tower house,” soon to become a major landmark in town.<sup>27</sup> Oskari Tokoi did not find his American dream, not quite yet, but his years in America made a profound impact on him and his views about socialism and an agrarian society started to take shape. Much like Aaltonen a few years later, Tokoi espoused an idea of a spe-

cial Finnish character that tied him to the land and to the agrarian society.

One reason for Aaltonen's move to Sugar Island may have been the constant political pressure he wanted to escape by moving away from the mining areas. Although Sugar Island had long had non-Indigenous residents, Aaltonen explained that he wanted to establish a colony that would take advantage of the plentiful "free land" on the island. This sounds like a truly American ideology in which immigrants dream of conquering and taking over a free country, whether or not there was an Indigenous settlement. In American self-understanding, this idea of the frontier and bringing civilization into the wilderness is known as the manifest destiny. On the other hand, it can be seen as European imperialism and colonialism. Frank Aaltonen also called himself a "Entrepreneur" and "farmer." But he also noted that he was a "Colonizer," and he was proud of it.<sup>28</sup>

The Finns had used legal means to oppose unfair working conditions, but still, according to Aaltonen, they had been discriminated against and mistreated. Switching to agriculture was a natural option for Finns, although they also faced land speculators. "They didn't have any friends," which is why Aaltonen founded the Finnish Land Agency. The company's goal was to bring "honest people to honest lands," added Aaltonen. In his opinion, the island was a great place for Finns, the people were friendly, and the soil was very favorable for cultivation. The goal was to make "the wild wilderness a garden in a very short time." On Sugar Island, Finns could escape their archenemies, i.e., mining companies and develop an agrarian society, Aaltonen concluded in an interview with the *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News* in the summer of 1916. This was similar to those Finnish settlement ideas described by Aleksi Huhta in Chapter 3 and Johanna Leinonen in Chapter 4.<sup>29</sup> Aaltonen had a clear idea of colonization, based on a very idealistic notion of a "free land" and how the American dream is accessible to everyone, and Finns were also entitled to it. While Tokoi never explicitly mentioned colonialism, he too celebrated the pioneer experience, saying in his 1950s radio program *Amerikan Ääni* (American Voice) that the immigrants "conquered the wilderness for farming and civilization" and it was "the immigrant who planted the noble seeds of the freedom that brought these [immigrant] people into one powerful nation."<sup>30</sup>

## Prime Minister, Refugee, and a Finnish American Supporter

By the time Frank Aaltonen stepped onto US soil, Tokoi had risen to be a major political figure in Finland. In 1901 Tokoi began to take part in meetings opposing the new conscription law, which required Finns to serve in the Russian Army.<sup>31</sup>

In December 1906, Tokoi was elected as a member of the new Finnish parliament from the Social Democratic Party (SDP). His status rose rapidly as he served as speaker and vice speaker of the parliament. Besides reforming municipal laws, Tokoi focused on implementing the General Prohibition Act, improving the status of the farmers and working population, and reforming the conditions of landless population and crofters, issues for which he drew inspiration from his American experiences and used what he witnessed to reform Finnish working-class lives. As in settler colonial US, land was the key here, but in a socialist way. By July 1906 Tokoi was already writing about "Our agrarian question of the future," in which he suggested to buy large spaces for families who wanted land, and who could then form a cooperative.<sup>32</sup>

At the same time, Frank Aaltonen, who had just acquired US citizenship, acted as the recruiter of the Miners' Association in Kuparisaari, Copper Island, Michigan. Apparently, it was at this time that he also became increasingly interested not only in the position of miners, but also in the idea that Finnish immigrants should have more freedom to decide their own affairs and that independent farming offered an opportunity for that. On the other hand, Aaltonen also saw that in the mining industry the only way to achieve more benefits was to work through trade unions. Aaltonen did not shy away from harsh words, demonstrations, or strikes. His sharp opinions were not to the liking of all Finns either, and he was considered dangerous. Although he was a controversial person, Aaltonen became a significant player in the Finnish trade union movement in the United States and later also in the cooperative movement.<sup>33</sup>

Tokoi also played a key role in the trade union movement. In 1912, the Finnish Trade Union Assembly elected him chairman. He focused on organizing the working population, concluding collective agreements, and reducing working hours. Interestingly, Tokoi also played a key role in resolving large-scale strikes at the same time as Aaltonen was involved in the Copper Country strikes in Michigan. Unlike Aal-

tonen, who was considered an agitator in Michigan, Tokoi was more effective by being cooperative, pragmatic, and conciliatory.<sup>34</sup>

After the Revolution in March 1917, Russia's new interim government restored Finland's autonomy. Tokoi was appointed vice-chairman of the Finnish Senate's finance department, becoming not only Finland's but also the world's first socialist "prime minister." He proposed Finland's independence to be the main goal but was refuted by the Russian government, which disbanded parliament and ordered new elections. Tokoi left his position in August 1917.<sup>35</sup>

Frank Aaltonen also commented on Finnish affairs. In America, doubts had been expressed as to whether Finnish immigrants were really patriotic, that is, loyal to the United States or to socialism. Finland's aspirations for independence and socialism worried many. In October 1917, Aaltonen wrote in the *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News* that all Finns saw independence as the only option. According to Aaltonen, Finnish politicians, including Oskari Tokoi, maintained that it was only a question of *how* Finland would gain its independence, not whether Finland *should* be independent. Aaltonen furiously condemned doubts about the loyalty of Finns, including socialists, to the United States, stating that everyone was happy to raise the American flag, and many had also fought in the American wars, but the situation in Finland was not talked about enough or understood. Finland had the right to become an independent nation.<sup>36</sup>

Tokoi believed that the Russians would not give Finland independence until the Social Democrats made a revolution. Increased insecurity, worsening food shortages, acts of violence, and lack of law enforcement had led to the establishment of armed organizations, the Red and White Guards. The explosive situation in Finland came to a head on January 27, 1918, when the Civil War broke out and the Reds established a 13-member revolutionary government in Helsinki, the Finnish People's Delegation, which Tokoi took over as food commissioner. Tokoi believed that the Finnish workers, including himself, were taking part in the Civil War for the independence of Finland and the realization of real democracy in Finland, not for communism.<sup>37</sup>

However, events unfolded quickly and Tokoi found himself falling into disgrace in the eyes of both the communists and later the newly elected "white" government of Finland. During the Civil War he was working in the Murmansk Legion, aiding the British Army as an interpreter and liaison between the Finns and the British in a war effort





**Figure 6.3:** Oskari Tokoi worked as a lumberjack in Timiskamin at the border of Ontario and Quebec provinces in 1920–1921. Image courtesy of Lauri O. Tokoi.

against the whites and Germans operating in the area. The Finnish communists did not appreciate this. In September 1918 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland, exiled in Moscow, sentenced Tokoi and three others to death as traitors of the international revolution.<sup>38</sup> Yet, he was also sentenced to death by the new “white” Finnish government. He had no choice but to escape, first to England and then to America. In the fall of 1920, Tokoi received a visa and permission to travel to Canada, where he was initially stationed at a forestry camp in Timiskaming close to the border between the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. In mid-summer 1921, Tokoi moved to nearby Winnipeg for haymaking, but he was hoping for a return to the United States.<sup>39</sup>



**Figure 6.4:** Frank Aaltonen, adapted from Syrjälä, *20 Years of Cooperation*, 1948.

### Anarchists and Agitators?

While waiting for an immigration permit, which Tokoi had forgotten to apply for, he moved to Port Arthur (Thunder Bay), from where he traveled to Sault Ste. Marie, where he met Frank Aaltonen. Tokoi and Aaltonen must have had a lot to discuss, both politics and trade union activities, because Tokoi spent the entire summer on Sugar Island. Tokoi said that life on Sugar Island was pleasant: it was like a “recreational sanatorium for the sick soul” and prepared him for future battles. In an article in the Finnish newspaper *Suomen Sosiaalidemokraatti* he enthusiastically wrote about the island, which was mostly inhabited by “Native Indians and Finns.” He saw that this newly conquered wilderness offered tremendous opportunities to the Finnish settlers due to Aaltonen’s pioneering work. Tokoi considered Aaltonen a true settler “pioneer” and a strong socialist, proudly calling him an “agitator.”<sup>40</sup>

In late September 1921, after acquiring his entry permit to the US, Tokoi headed for Fitchburg (MA). “The former Prime Minister of Finland, the current political refugee, is in the care of relatives and friends in our city,” as the arrival of Tokoi was noted by the local news-



paper, the *Fitchburg Daily Sentinel*. As an exile, he was soon arrested. "The former Prime Minister of Finland has been imprisoned as an anarchist," the *New York Times* wrote. In fact, Tokoi was suspected of illegal entry. Tokoi spent a few days in jail and was released on bail. He was interrogated by both the FBI and the Immigration Service in Boston and Fitchburg. At that time, a defense committee and a fund were established to support his defense. The Migration Agency issued an acquittal stating that Tokoi had entered the country legally. At the time, the arrest reflected the fear the authorities felt toward socialists.<sup>41</sup>

When Tokoi was accused of being an anarchist, his friend Aaltonen, often accused of being an anarchist or agitator himself, rushed to support him. Aaltonen wanted to clear Tokoi's reputation in America and wrote an extensive defense speech on his behalf. It was released in the *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News* in February 1922 under the title "Finn Leader Not a Radical." Aaltonen likened Tokoi to George Washington. If Washington had been on the losing side in the American War of Independence, he would have been in a similar situation as Tokoi was now, according to Aaltonen. The line between a patriot and a traitor was thin. Aaltonen emphasized that Tokoi had been in the United States for a long time before and had acquired citizenship but had lost it after returning to Finland for several years. That is why the United States had to admit him in the country, while deporting him to Finland would have meant certain death.<sup>42</sup>

In the spring of 1922, Tokoi joined the editorial board of the *Raivaaja*, a socialist settler newspaper. Tokoi edited the paper for 27 years, retiring in 1949. In addition, Tokoi wrote for several magazines and newspapers in Finland and hosted the *American Voice* radio program in the early 1950s. He was also a very active public speaker. In his presentations, Tokoi dealt with the same topics as in his journal articles, e.g., various living standards, party politics and the functioning of the political system, trade union movement and labor legislation, extensive assistance by Finns to Finland, the Soviet Union, communism, and totalitarianism. About 350,000 people listened to his radio program.<sup>43</sup>

For Aaltonen, Sugar Island had proven to be a success in many ways. In 1928, however, he fell into disfavor when he was accused of electoral fraud in local elections. He left for Fitchburg, where there was already a strong Finnish settlement. When Aaltonen left Sugar Island,

he left behind a thriving community, and even today the islanders refer to the early years of the community as the “Aaltonen Era.”

It may be a coincidence that Aaltonen chose Fitchburg as his new home, but by that time Tokoi was also there. Tokoi had spent most of the summer of 1921 as a guest of Aaltonen, and a relationship of trust and friendship developed between the men.<sup>44</sup>

### Assisting Finland and the SDP

When Frank Aaltonen met with Oskari Tokoi on the streets of the city of Sault Ste. Marie in the summer of 1921, it was, in fact, not a coincidence, although at first sight it may have appeared as one. Aaltonen had been informed of Tokoi's arrival by the editor of *Raivaaja* and he had been asked to take care of Tokoi.<sup>45</sup> Aaltonen and Tokoi both were concerned about working conditions in both Finland and the United States, as well as the situation in Finland more broadly. Their ideological worlds were certainly very close to each other, although Tokoi was not as radical as Aaltonen in his thoughts. On the other hand, Aaltonen did not consider himself, or other Finnish socialists, radical. After all, he emphasized that socialism was an “intellectual” movement whose goals, however, were difficult to achieve. Tokoi's development as a socialist began during the recession that afflicted the United States in the early 1890s. During the 1898 election, Tokoi participated in the Socialist Labor Party election in Leadville. The speaker at the event emphasized the equality of all people and their equal rights to freedom and happiness. These words gave Tokoi the keys to socialist thinking and an understanding of socialism. The election process, as well as Marx and Engels's “Communist Manifesto,” which Tokoi read carefully, formed the basis for his later thinking. Freedom, equality, and democracy became his ideological cornerstones. It did not include violence. The pragmatic and moderate Tokoi was not interested in the theories of socialism. For Tokoi, Marxist thinking was mainly about his views on alcohol (prohibition) and the social standing of small farmers. Tokoi understood the development of society through production. His socialism was not understood so much through class struggle; rather, it was production that determined the direction of a society. Thus, it was labor, and especially farming, that was the basis for his socialist society. For Tokoi, communism was a religion that was enforced through a dictatorship in which freedom is replaced by totalitarianism

that enslaves humanity. He was frightened on behalf of Western European countries, which “trembled in the face of rapidly advancing and ubiquitous totalitarianism.” Tokoi never belonged to the Communist Party, but all his life belonged to the Finnish Social Democratic Party.<sup>46</sup>

Both Aaltonen and Tokoi had sought to promote the position of the Finnish labor movement. At the same time as Aaltonen was an advocate for miners’ affairs in the US, Tokoi was making significant reforms in Finland. Both aimed at the best possible livelihood and improvement of the living conditions of Finns on both sides of the Atlantic. This was also the aim of the agricultural society that Aaltonen wanted for Sugar Island—a kind of Finnish socialist American dream.

After the outbreak of the Winter War in 1939, a movement emerged among American Finns, which aimed at sending aid to Finland. Between 1940 and 1941, grants totaled more than \$400,000. The Fitchburg Aid Committee raised about \$66,000. Tokoi chaired the central committees of the Finnish aid committees. The United States’ accession to the war cut off aid to Finland.<sup>47</sup>

After Germany surrendered, aid by the Finnish Americans resumed. In December 1944, an initiative was taken in New York to establish Help of Finland Inc., Suomen Apu Inc. In total, about 400 Finnish aid organizations were formed across the United States. The relief operation was led by US president Herbert Hoover and Tokoi served as its vice president. After the war there was major political turmoil in Finland between the socialists and the communists. The fight against communism required extensive funds and Finland’s Social Democratic Party sought help from the United States. Thus, when it became necessary to think about how this form of aid would be channeled to Finland, Tokoi raised the issue with Aaltonen, who expressed his interest in organizing aid to the party.<sup>48</sup> Aaltonen was able to procure the goods and deliver them to Finland through his Frank Aaltonen Company, Exports Packing and Shipping, which operated in New York. Aaltonen took care of the practical arrangements, and no doubt made a profit for his company. Aid operations slowed down and ended during the 1950s.<sup>49</sup>

## Conclusion: Race, Finns, and Native Americans

In their memoirs, Tokoi and Aaltonen return to Native Americans, even though they are not at the center, rather a curiosity of a distant past. For both, Native Americans were the people whom the Finns met—and got along with—at the Delaware colony in the 17th century and continued to maintain a friendly relationship with because of their similarities in character. Tokoi went so far in his romanticized idealism that he wrote: “I have no intention to claim, or prove, that the Indians and Finns are of the same race, although I absolutely have nothing against it if a scientist would prove such a thing.” Perhaps they were not of the same race, but both were an honest people, who liked to stick to themselves and lead a simple life in the woods, he believed. For Tokoi, this special bond between the Native and the Finn was still alive in the mid-20th century: “The similarity, should I say kinship, of Indians and Finns, was convincing also in this Second World War. Finns demonstrated their excellence in northern wilderness fights, where they, as children of nature, could take advantage of all the benefits of nature and thus win the strongest of opponents.” Similarly, Native Americans “proved their excellence in wilderness and jungle battles. As children of nature, they have developed their sight and hearing to incredible levels and they have the ability to adapt to nature and use all the benefits of the environment,” wrote Tokoi to a friend, continuing with what today could be viewed as not only stereotypical but highly racist description: “The Indians were even more skillful than the Japanese and were able to hide themselves and unexpectedly like leopards attacked the enemy. And the Indians had so much better instincts than the whites that the number of fallen and injured among the Indians was remarkably lower than among the whites.”<sup>50</sup>

Frank Aaltonen too, as explained by Justin Gage in Chapter 2, expressed deeply racist views of Native Americans, categorizing them through their blood quantum and depending on how willing they were to support his colonizing plans. Later in life both Tokoi and Aaltonen, however, reflected upon the Native people in a very romanticized fashion. However, even when they evoked positive images of the Natives, it was often in connection with Finns. Fully buying into and promoting the idea of Finns as a special immigrant, Tokoi pointed out that Finns always treated Native Americans with respect and honesty and when

the US government finally in the 20th century adopted a more similar approach, the:

civilization of the Indians, if it can be called such, has happened much faster. They go to school nowadays and take up all the common jobs, like doctors, lawyers, teachers etc. but *still rarely become operators of machines or hard industrial labor*. They love the nature the freedom of nature. They remain proud of their race and their racial qualities, which they want to retain and leave as inheritance to their children. And the love toward the nature, simple natural life. Finns have also tried to hold on to their freedom and the nature, and so have the Indians.<sup>51</sup>

In a very nostalgic, paternalistic, and racial tone, he ended his letter to a friend saying: "At least they [Native Americans] give this country the best any race can give: freedom, love, and honesty."<sup>52</sup>

The life stories of these two Finnish immigrants are intertwined on many levels: Both sought new life in the United States. Tokoi first wandered from one job and state to another and later settled as an exile on the east coast. Aaltonen found his place in Michigan in the mining and labor movement and as a "multi-actor" on Sugar Island before moving to the east coast in the late 1920s. However, it was the socialist idea that truly united Aaltonen and Tokoi. Socialism was the force that they believed would improve both the living conditions of the working population and Finland's position as an independent state. Both also experienced hatred. Aaltonen was almost stabbed and Tokoi was sentenced to death in his home country. They were considered radicals and anarchists in the United States, and it is probably true that in American society their ideas manifested themselves as very radical, even dubious. After all, Aaltonen defended Tokoi, stating that he was not radical but represented a special Finnish socialist thinking. It is also true that Tokoi was more pragmatic in his thoughts than Aaltonen, who clearly had very strong opinions and the ability to drive through his goals with any means. Tokoi was a practical politician, while Aaltonen was a kind of a visionary, even an idealist. In a way, they complemented each other.

The notion of settler colonialism adds a new dimension to the actions and ways of thinking of Frank Aaltonen and Oskari Tokoi. Both men, as immigrants to the United States, bought into the idea of the American dream and neither saw taking Native lands as inappropriate, let alone wrong. It was all about civilization and racial hier-

archies. Aaltonen proudly declared himself a colonist, who wanted to civilize the wilderness and the Natives were there either to help his efforts or to die off as a vanishing race. Tokoi never mentioned colonization or taking Native lands, even though his early travels in the US took place around the time when Native resistance to colonialism was crushed and most tribes were forced onto reservations. It is interesting that both men were eager to fight for the poor and the working class, and believed in an agrarian society, but Native Americans had no place in that society. It may well be that, at least for Tokoi, who understood socialism and society through production, Native Americans living on reservations incapable of participating in production as labor force were left out of society. It was clear to both that the Finnish immigrant had the right to seek the American dream and that the free land—and its use for agriculture or mining, for example—was justified, regardless of what the Indigenous peoples of the region thought. Perhaps Tokoi's attitude is essentially what the Swedish historian Gunlög Fur meant when she said that Scandinavian (including Finnish) colonialism has “disappeared” under the systematic colonization of other nationalities, which allows for a certain kind of indifference and, on the other hand, gives the impression of innocence.<sup>53</sup> In the case of Tokoi, it could have been a matter of indifference, even innocence, but Aaltonen's action aimed at the establishment of a colony on Native lands, demonstrating his ignorance. Their attitudes and behavior, whether deemed ignorance or indifference, relates to the larger notions of what is today often referred to as “white innocence” or “colonial complicity,” making both men actors in Finnish settler colonial history in North America.<sup>54</sup>

In any case, the common ground for the men's friendship was found in their experiences in the new homeland and socialism, which made Tokoi and Aaltonen eventually work together on behalf of the old homeland. Their new homeland, however, signified opportunity, freedom, and an ideology that both men wholeheartedly espoused. Both Tokoi and Aaltonen spoke and wrote sympathetically about Native Americans in their later years but those were late born sympathies colored by the nostalgia of a bygone era and misguided notion of a vanishing race, and, even then, it was always in connection with their vision of Finns as special immigrants and about a particular Finnish American dream.

## Notes

- 1 This chapter was supported by the Kone Foundation Grant for the HUMANA-project.
- 2 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 318–19.
- 3 For more on Sugar Island see Chapter 2 in this volume.
- 4 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 28–34. Aaltonen, “Oskari Tokoi,” 66–67.
- 5 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 41–48.
- 6 There is a plethora of works about the Lakota but for some of the most recent, see Hämäläinen, *Lakota America*; Andersson and Posthumus, *Lakhóta. See Homestake Mining Company History (1877–2000)*, <https://republicofmining.com/2015/05/06/homestake-mining-company-history-1877-2000>, *Golden History*, <https://www.leadmethere.org/history>.
- 7 Andersson, *Lakota Ghost Dance*; Andersson, *Whirlwind Passed*.
- 8 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 50–51.
- 9 Turner, *Frontier in American History*. For a discussion on Turner’s thesis see, for example, Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 21–30, 71.
- 10 For Lakotas and other nations visiting white settlements in the 1880s and 1890s see Gage, *We Do Not Want the Gates*.
- 11 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 48.
- 12 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 48.
- 13 Oskari Tokoi, Letter to Friend (“Indiaanit ja suomalaiset”, undated), Tokoi Collection, CP 124, Folder IV.
- 14 “Frank Aaltonen Memoir,” Louis Adamic Papers, Box 55, Folder 2, 11–12. See Holmio, *History of Finns in Michigan*, 280, 294–96; Andersson, Flavin and Kekki, “Sugar Island Finns.”
- 15 Frank Aaltonen, “Finns in Chippewa,” *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News*, November 22, 1916, 2; “Frank Aaltonen Memoir,” Louis Adamic Papers, Box 55, Folder 2, 8–12.
- 16 “Frank Aaltonen Memoir,” Louis Adamic Papers, Box 55, Folder 2, 21–23. The event was described in *Daily Telegram*, July 4, 1914, 1; *Calumet News*, July 3, 2019, 14, 2. See also Majander, *Demokratiaa dollareilla*; Kaunonen, *Challenge Accepted*.
- 17 *Calumet News*, August 11, 1913, 9; *Calumet News* January 15, 1914, 2; *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News*, November 17, 1915, 2; “Frank Aaltonen Memoir,” Louis Adamic Papers, Box 55, Folder 2, 22–23.
- 18 “Frank Aaltonen Memoir,” Louis Adamic Papers, Box 55, Folder 2, 17–21; Frank Aaltonen, “Why Finns Here Are Not Strong for the Allies,” *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News*, October 27, 1917, 5.
- 19 “Frank Aaltonen Memoir,” Louis Adamic Papers, Box 55, Folder 2, 26–29. See Chapter 2 in this volume.
- 20 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 82–83.
- 21 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 82–83.
- 22 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 82–83.
- 23 See Chapter 2 in this volume. See also Andersson, Flavin, and Kekki, “Sugar Island Finns.”
- 24 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 51–52, 62–65, 67–70.



- 25 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 74–77, 88–90. Mine number 1 was reopened after two years. In May 1903, it suffered an explosion that killed 169 men, 99 of whom were Finns. Hanna became a town of widows. Bob Leathers, *THE HANNA MINER: At the Bottom of the Mine*, 2019, <http://www.hannabasinmuseum.com/a-history-of-the-hanna-coal-miner-from-1868-to-2017-bob-leathers-notebook.html>.
- 26 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 91–93, 94–98, 102–03.
- 27 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 104, 127; Koivikko, “Oskari Tokoin kehittyminen,” 50–51; Hanni, *Kotoisin Kannuksesta*, 152, 181.
- 28 US Draft Records, Sugar Island, Frank Aaltonen File, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com), April 24, 2018. See Chapter 2 in this volume.
- 29 Frank Aaltonen, “The Finnish Land Agency,” *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News*, July 15, 2015, 5. “Frank Aaltonen Memoir,” Louis Adamic Papers, Box 55, Folder 2, 24–31. See Chapters 1, 2 and 3 in this volume.
- 30 Oskari Tokoi, *Amerikan Ääni*, November 18, 1951, and November 30, 1952.
- 31 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 109–117; Aaltonen, “Oskari Tokoi,” 70–71; Municipal meeting minutes 1900–1910, Kannus City Archive; Koivikko, “Oskari Tokoin kehittyminen,” 54–57; Tuovinen, “Oskari Tokoi kansanedustajana,” 18–20; *Raivaaja*, August 19, 1926; *Työväenliike Kannuksessa*.
- 32 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 127–34, 141–42, 147–51; Tokoi, “Tulevaisuuden agraarikysymyksemme,” *Kokkola*, July 14, July 25, 1906. See also *Kokkola*, April 6, 1907, *Kokkola*, July 18, 1908, *Vapaa Sana*, May 22, 1909, *Vapaa Sana*, February 18, 1910, *Vapaa Sana*, January 18, 1911, *Vapaa Sana*, August 20, 1913, *Kokkola*, July 22, 1916. See Soikkanen, *Kohti kansanvaltaa* 1, 162–64; Tuovinen, *Oskari Tokoi kansanedustajana*, 20–100.
- 33 Frank Aaltonen to Veikko Puskala, December 14, 1949, Paananen Papers, 392, 5. See “Frank Aaltonen Memoir,” Louis Adamic Papers, Box 55, Folder 2; Aaltonen, “Cooperating Farmer,” 5–9; *Calumet News*, March, 11, 2013, 9; Frank Aaltonen, “Finns in Chippewa,” *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News*, November 22, 1915, 2–3.
- 34 Suomen Ammattijärjestö, “Annual Reports 1912–1918”; Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 152–60; Oskari Tokoi, *Muisto-Kertomus: Suomen Ammattijärjestön toiminnasta 1912–1918*, August 16, 1955; Aaltonen, “Oskari Tokoi,” 77–81, Soikkanen, *Kohti kansanvaltaa*, 151; Tuovinen, *Oskari Tokoi kansanedustajana*, 80–84.
- 35 K. H. Wiik diary, March 17, 1917–February 8, 1918, Kansan Arkisto; Tokoi Speeches, April 20, 1917, June 12, 1917, July 18, 1917, Parliamentary Records; Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 172–75, Soikkanen, *Kohti kansanvaltaa*, 199–219; Ketola, *Kansalliseen kansanvaltaan*, 29–36, 39–42, 48–53, 55–62, 116–19, 144–45, 195–204, 320–32; Vahtola, *Suomen historia*, 251–55. For more on Tokoi’s Senate, see *Tokoin senaatti* (26.3. – 8.9.1917) <http://www.tyovaenliike.fi/tyovaenliikkeen-vaiheita/alasivu-2/tokoin-senaatti>.
- 36 Frank Aaltonen, “Why Finns Are Not Strong for the Allies?” *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News*, October 27, 2017, 5.
- 37 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 195–211; Soikkanen, *Kohti kansanvaltaa*, 251–60, 262–70, 289–90; Vahtola, *Suomen historia*, 251–61; Rinta-Tassi, *Kansanvaltuuskunta*, 89–90, 114, 128–29, 158–60, 208–14, 289. *Raivaaja* June 9, 1922. See also Ketola, *Kansalliseen kansanvaltaan*, 373.



- 38 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 289–303.
- 39 Report of Lient. T. C. Wetton, 1959, Finnish National Archives; Declaration of Alien About to Depart for United States; *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, September 12, 1919; *Muurmannin suomalaisen legioonan paluu*; Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 306–13, 319–24, 329–36; Nevakivi, *Muurmannin legioona*, 301–05; Harjula, 177–178.
- 40 Oskari Tokoi, *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, October 27, 1921.
- 41 Alien Visitor's Head-Tax Certification, September 21, 1921, Oskari Tokoi, Folder II; *Fitchburg Daily Sentinel*, November 26, 1921; *New York Times*, January 1, 1922; Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 321–27.
- 42 Frank Aaltonen, "Finn Leader Is Not a Radical," *Sault Ste. Marie Evening News*, February 3, 1922, 6.
- 43 *Raivaaja*, December 9, 22, 29, 1922; Elis Sulkanen to Oskari Tokoi, December 21, 1949, Oskari Tokoi, Folder II; Voice of America 1951–1953, Keski-Pohjanmaan Liiton arkisto. See Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 331–34; Kolehmainen, *The Voice of America*, 13–19, 70–71, 82–86, 94–97.
- 44 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 319.
- 45 Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 318.
- 46 Tokoi's speeches published in *Raivaaja*, June 9, 1922, September 3, 1925, July, 9, 1926, February 9, 1927, March 29, 1928, January 27, 1933, March 13, 1933, and a debate between Oskari Tokoi and Axel Örn, October 10, 1932; Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 7–13; Paasivirta, *Ensimmäisen maailmansodan voittajat*, 78; Soikkanen, *Kohti kansanvaltaa*, 147, 151–52.
- 47 See Tokoi 1948, 360; *Raivaaja*, November 23, 1939; *Työssä Suomen hyväksi*, 5–9, 14–20, *New Yorkin Uutiset*, Kangas, *Sodanaikainen avustus Suomeen*; Tokoi, *Maanpakolaisen muistelmia*, 390–91, *Help of Finland Inc, Initial Report*, 4–7. See also, *Savon Sanomat*, September 20, 1949 (Tokoi interview). See Määttä, *Oskari Tokoin toiminta*.
- 48 Aaltonen to Puskala, December 4, 1949, and Tokoi to Leskinen, December 22, 1949; Frank Aaltonen Correspondence, 1949–1951, GEA, Työväen arkisto. Ks. myös Majander, *Diplomatiaa dollareilla*, 110–11, 122–23.
- 49 Aaltonen to Tokoi, December 2, 1949; Aaltonen to Ernst. T. Barringer, March 3, 1950; Aaltonen to Aarne Paananen, May 22, July 18, July 14, 1950, May 31, 1951; Tokoi to Paananen, January 6, March 20, April 4, August 24, January 1, 1950; Tokoi to Leskinen, December 22, December 28, 1949, September 1, August 24, 1950, Frank Aaltonen Correspondence, 1949–1951, GEA 9, Työväen arkisto. See, Majander, *Demokratiaa dollareilla*.
- 50 Oskari Tokoi, Letter to Friend (undated), Tokoi Collection, CP 124, Folder IV.
- 51 Oskari Tokoi, Letter to Friend (undated), Tokoi Collection, CP 124, Folder IV. Emphasis by the authors.
- 52 Oskari Tokoi, Letter to Friend (undated), Tokoi Collection, CP 124, Folder IV.
- 53 Fur, "Colonialism and Swedish History", 18. See also Fur "Indians and Immigrants."
- 54 For colonial complicity see Vuorela, "Colonial Complicity," and for white innocence see Wekker, *White Innocence*. See Introduction and Chapter 8 in this volume.

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