

of the Union and the destruction of slavery. On balance, Taylor provides a well-written, direct, and thoroughly researched summary of this movement.

GREGORY PEEK, Assistant Teaching Professor of History and Religious Studies, Pennsylvania State University–University Park

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Flames of Discontent: The 1916 Minnesota Iron Ore Strike

By Gary Kaunonen

(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017. Pp. 253. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$100.00; paper, \$24.95.)

In *Flames of Discontent*, independent historian and descendant of Finnish immigrants Gary Kaunonen details the background and events of the 1916 Minnesota Iron Ore Strike. Telling the story of the strike from a working-class perspective, Kaunonen joins other works such as Thomas Andrews's *Killing for Coal* (2010) in setting an exciting trend in labor histories.

Introducing the 1916 strike as one of the United States' "most contentious and significant battles between organized labor and management in the early twentieth century" (p. 1), Kaunonen argues that this strike laid the groundwork for later labor organization by building a shared sense of class consciousness across varied ethnic groups. Chapter One introduces readers to the Minnesota Iron Range and its iron deposits. Kaunonen builds on William Cronon's "metropolis-hinterland" idea by linking the iron-mining towns to one another and to larger industrial centers like Duluth. Chapters Two and Three

chronicle how workers, many of them immigrants, demanded higher wages, fewer hours, and stronger safety precautions from companies like the Oliver Iron Mining Company (OIMC). As one of the main immigrant groups on the range, the Finns were among the first to organize, especially once they aligned with the Industrial Workers of the World. The Minnesota iron workers called their first major strike in 1907. The OIMC, however, brought in Slavic strikebreakers, thereby forcing a swift end to the strike. Chapter Four demonstrates how the Slavic strikebreakers realized the OIMC's exploitative practices and gained a sense of solidarity with the Finnish and Italian workers on the basis of a "working-class" identity. Chapters Five and Six trace the development of this class consciousness as the foundation for the 1916 strike. After detailing several key events of the strike, including the murder of an immigrant worker and the jailing of strike leaders, Kaunonen concludes the book with a discussion

of the strike's lasting legacies, both good and bad.

With its deep dive into company and government records as well as creative approaches to Finnish and I.W.W. sources, Kaunonen's book reveals that the 1916 strike led companies, politicians, and workers to develop strategies for addressing labor issues well into the twentieth century. Some of Kaunonen's most intriguing content and analysis come in the later chapters, which detail the violent action of the 1916 strike and damning evidence about the collusion between the OIMC and Governor Joseph Burnquist to approve the use of violence in quelling the strike. Earlier chapters demonstrate stimulating methods for reading against the grain of historical sources. By looking at the graphics and songs published in local Finnish newspapers, for example, Kaunonen shows readers how the I.W.W. communicated with workers who did not know English. Although the information about the company-government conspiracy is stunning, readers wanting the voice

of the working class can find it in the words of immigrant workers like Fred Torma, Veda Ponikvar, and Mike Stark. Considering Kaunonen's claim to tell a bottom-up history, foregrounding these voices would have reinforced the point that their stories add to our understanding of the past. Additionally, Kaunonen consulted several Finnish-language newspapers, though only the English-language portions of those sources seem to appear in the book's analysis.

Telling history from the bottom up is a challenging but necessary endeavor. As Kaunonen's book reveals, one can read beyond historical silences in documentary evidence as well as use material culture to help tell these histories. Any reader interested in labor history and working-class history more broadly would assuredly learn something new from Kaunonen's content and methods.

NICHELLE FRANK, Department of History,
University of Oregon

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