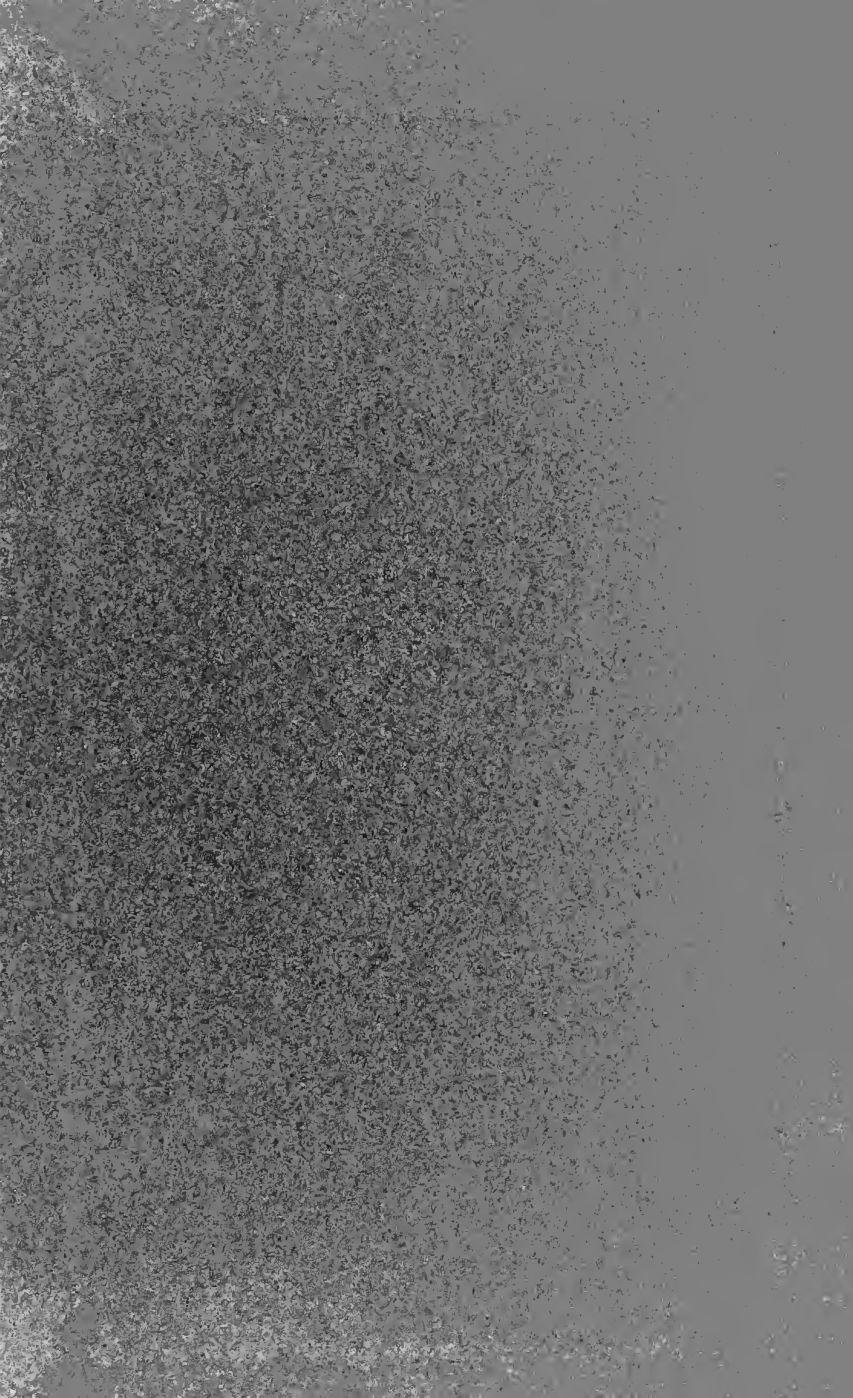


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FINLAND AND THE FINNS

BY

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of Helsingfors

ILLUSTRATED



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PREFACE

THE present book is written from the standpoint of one who has made his home in Finland, and the writer hopes that what he may have lost in the freshness of first impressions may prove to be more than counterbalanced by increased intimacy with the land and people described.

As Finland, in spite of the excellent books that have been written by thoughtful and observant travellers, is still but little known, it has seemed best to concentrate attention on the leading features of Finnish life, and not to go too much into details which, in the absence of a conception of the country as a whole, might easily prove wearisome or confusing. The general ignorance of Finland has also made a small amount of repetition unavoidable, as it has been necessary to summarize in the Introduction matters which are treated at greater length in subsequent chapters.

It may be as well to point out that the term "Finn" is sometimes used to denote any citizen of Finland, and sometimes, in a narrower sense, to distinguish the Finnish-speaking from the Swedish-speaking population of the country. Similarly "Swede" sometimes signifies an inhabitant of Sweden, and sometimes is used to distinguish the Swedish-speaking from the Finnish-speaking population of Finland. It will be clear from the con-

text whether these terms are used in the narrower or the wider sense.

The translations in the book are the author's, except when it is stated to the contrary.

The hearty thanks of the author are due to the many friends who have assisted him either by obtaining information or by criticism and discussion. Also to the editors of the *Dial*, for permission to reproduce (in the course of Chapter XV) the greater part of an article which appeared in their periodical last year.

HELSINGFORS

July 1914

FINNISH MONEY

100 penni = 1 Finnish mark.

The Finnish mark is equal in value to the French franc.

MEASURES

The metric system prevails throughout Finland.

1 mètre = 3 feet 3.37 inches.

1 kilomètre = 1,093 yards 2 feet.

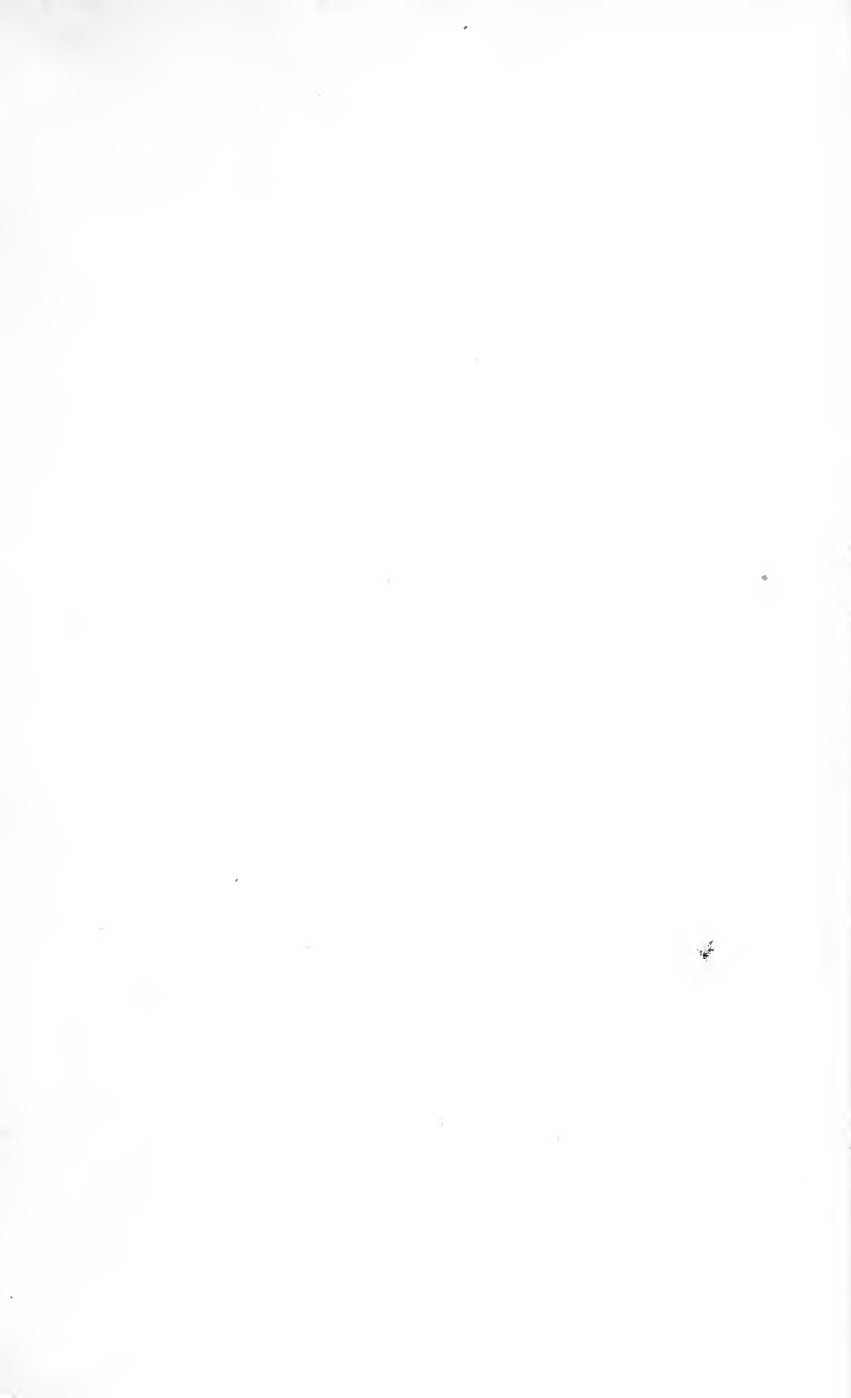
8 kilomètres = 5 English miles.

1 hectar = 10,000 square mètres.



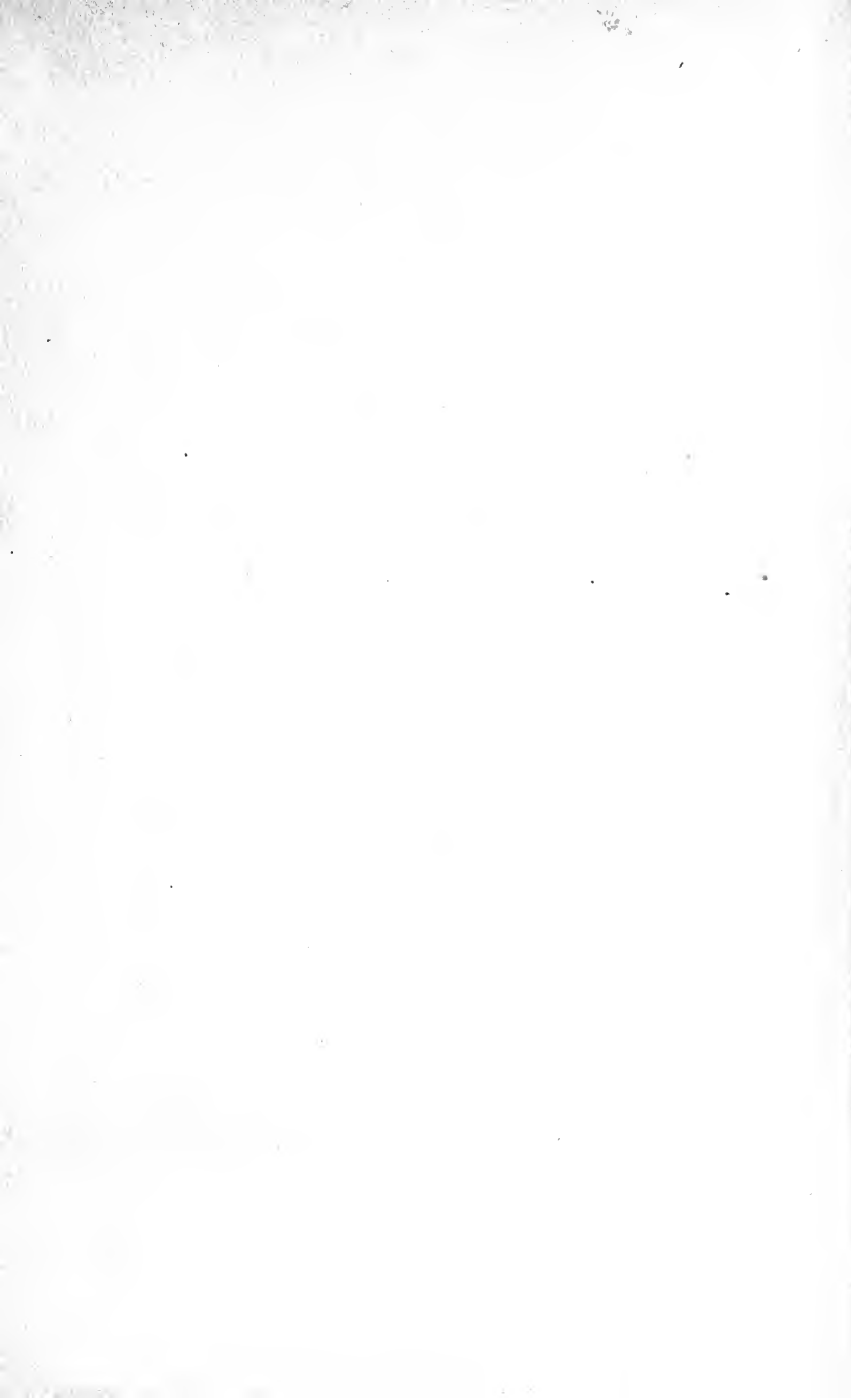
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FINLAND AND THE FINNS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE war of 1808-9, by which Finland passed from Sweden to the Empire of Russia, has hardly received from the outside world the attention it deserves. It was, perhaps, not unnatural that Europe should have given it but little heed. The eyes of most men were fixed upon events nearer home, for it was at this time that Napoleon's marshals were conducting the bloody wars against Wellington in the Peninsula and against the heroic Hofer and his fellow-peasants in Tyrol. Wordsworth's prophecy of two years earlier seemed near fulfilment:—

Another year!—another deadly blow!
Another mighty Empire overthrown!
And we are left, or shall be left, alone,
The last that dare to struggle with the foe.

Nevertheless, the war between Sweden and Russia was an intrinsic part of the great European struggle. It was of Napoleon's making. In order

to distract Russia from Turkey, he incited her to attack Sweden, the ally of Great Britain. Russia was to recoup herself by the acquisition of the eastern part of the kingdom of Sweden, namely Finland, which had been for centuries the battle-field of Russians and Swedes. The Russian Emperors had long wanted the country, and Alexander I searched for a pretext to declare war. He demanded that Sweden should join the Continental System and exclude British goods. When Gustavus IV foolishly enough refused, a Russian army crossed the Finnish frontier and the long struggle commenced. This is not the place to describe the strategy of the campaign in any detail. The Finnish army was left to defend itself as best it could. It consisted of about 20,000 troops, of whom some 8,000 were shut up in the fortresses of Sveaborg, Svartholm and Hangöudd on the south coast. The field force of 12,000 had to confront a Russian army of 24,000 under Buxhoevden, whose strength was subsequently increased by reinforcements. The Finnish army, moreover, was hampered by wretched leadership. Klingspor, the Commander-in-Chief sent over by King Gustavus, caused his troops to retreat when they wished to fight, and the Russians advanced when and how they pleased. They had crossed the frontier on February 21, 1808, and had taken Svartholm by March 10th and Hangöudd by March 21st. Klingspor retreated continually in a northwesterly direction until he neared Uleåborg, on the north of the Gulf of Bothnia. Here the tide turned. The Finns, whose anger at the retreat had

been growing from day to day, at last took things into their own hands and disobeyed orders. Klingspor had gone on to Uleåborg, leaving Adlercreutz to superintend the general retreat thither. Adlercreutz did so, in bitterness of heart. But his own former regiment could not stand it and refused to budge. The Russians came to the attack, and the other Finnish regiments, who had not gone far, hurried back to the rescue. In the battle that followed the Finns won a complete victory against a force that outnumbered them by two to one. Having begun, they continued. The army won noble victories, and, though it failed to follow them up, this was at least better than retreating. The peasants took an active part in the war. Thus, in Åland, under the leadership of two of their Lutheran clergy, they attacked the Russians and took several hundreds of prisoners, and elsewhere they assisted the regular troops or carried on guerilla fighting. In a sense it was all in vain. Sveaborg, "the Gibraltar of the North," lying on some islands by Helsingfors and regarded as impregnable, was shamefully surrendered on May 3rd, and after winning battle after battle against heavy odds the Finns were finally broken at Orivais on September 29th. But the gallant resistance bore splendid fruit. It was largely due to this, as we shall see in a later chapter, that Alexander I guaranteed to Finland the preservation of the Swedish constitution—an inestimable gain, which rendered all her subsequent progress possible. Having realized the fighting capacity of the Finnish peasant, Alexander was not

anxious to impose such conditions as might lead to a Finnish rising in favour of Swedish rule, more especially as the incapable Gustavus IV had been replaced on the throne by one of Napoleon's greatest generals, Bernadotte.

But the resistance of the Finns did more for them than this. It caused them to become more deeply conscious of themselves as a nation, it quickened to life the national soul. The men of 1808-9 grew in imagination to the dimensions of national heroes, embodying the nation's greatest deeds and aspirations. They took on something of the light that clings about the heroes of the saga. They lived a new life in the people's mind, of which they have become more and more a definite part through their projection in Runeberg's poetry. Every one in Finland has seen in imagination the heroic campaign, waged in the darkness of a northern winter amid the frozen lakes and snow-covered forests and white, silent moors.

The country in which this great struggle was fought out is a land of strong contrasts, and the visitor to it will get a very different impression according to the season at which he arrives. In the summer he will at once be struck by the intense blueness and clarity of the sky, and will find these attributes mirrored in the smooth waters of the tideless Baltic, which embraces Finland with its two arms, the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia. As he approaches the coast he will notice with pleasure the innumerable small rocky islands, mostly pine-clad, which form a belt round the greater part of the Finnish coast and are dotted here and there

with summer villas. He will gather that navigation through this maze of rocks and islands is an art only to be acquired by long apprenticeship, and that a people living so much 'twixt land and sea must produce a hardy breed of sailors.

The most lasting impression of all, however, may be the lightness of the summer nights, when, for several weeks in succession, neither streets nor houses require artificial light, and one might be excused for supposing that here was a land where it is always summer, where one could remain unmenaced—

Beside a sea that could not cease to smile;
On tranquil land, beneath a sky of bliss.

If the visitor arrive in winter, this fairy picture will have dissolved as if it had never been there. Long before he sees land his steamer may have crunched its way through loose ice, and for miles around the coast he will find an iron sea. Instead of arriving at Helsingfors, as he would probably do in summer, he will have to land at Åbo or Hangö, the only ports kept open throughout the winter by ice-breakers. If he is fortunate, he may, indeed, see glorious sunshine converting the snow-covered land to a glittering plain and turning each separate tree into a spiritual presence. But in midwinter it will not be for long. The sun rises late and sets early, and all the light is crowded into a few short hours, upon which darkness falls; yet not black darkness, for light is thrown up by the snow. In bad weather

the sun may not be visible for weeks on end and a great gloom lies over everything. It seems like a land where it is always winter. But already in February and March, when the days have grown longer again, one may see sunlit snow for weeks.

It is, of course, in summer that most foreigners visit the country. Some come for the sake of the voyage, others are drawn by the prospect of good fishing, others again by a desire to become acquainted with the scenery and people of this still unknown land. The scenery may be briefly described as forest, rock and water. Dark pine forests stand out sharply against the sky; next to the pine, the silver birch is the most common tree. Apart from the water, this unending forest scenery becomes a little monotonous, even depressing, but the two combined form some of the loveliest landscape imaginable, and Finland, the land of a thousand lakes, is peculiarly rich in water. You may travel for days on the lake steamers into the very heart of the country, nor weary of the changes rung by ever new combinations of lake, forest and rocky island. In all Europe there is nothing to equal the Saima chain of lakes; one has to go to North America for a parallel.

To the geologist Finland is of unusual interest, differing in important respects from most other European countries. It is the glacial period that accounts for many peculiar traits in the geography of the country. During its continuance Finland was completely covered with ice, which, as can be seen from the striation of the rocks, moved in a

south or south-east direction. When these vast ice-fields melted, there followed a rise in the sea-level which resulted in Finland being completely submerged. The soil rests on a huge substructure of crystalline rocks, such as granite, gneiss and schist, which contain no trace of the animal or plant life of the period in which they were formed. On this foundation lies a thin covering of sand, clays or gravels, through which the rock frequently peeps. On the coasts are chiefly found the richer clay lands, while in the interior of the country gravels predominate.

Finland has no great mountain ranges. Nor is it completely a plain, however. It is rather a land of little hills. The majority of these are formed of solid rock, and are often impressive for their abruptness, if not for their height. Long low sandhills are also common in most parts of the country. North of the Polar Circle a certain number of hills reach a height of from 600 to 1,100 metres, but south of this no hill exceeds 600 metres, the general level being from 100 to 150 metres. The coast land is the lowest, and barely rises to 50 metres above sea-level.

Finland lies between the 60th and 70th degrees of latitude and between the 21st and 33rd degrees of longitude, reckoned from Greenwich. The south coast is thus about on a level with the Shetland Islands, and it may be worth pointing out that Helsingfors, the Finnish capital, is almost on the same level with three other Northern capitals—Petersburg, Stockholm and Christiana. A glance at the

map shows Russia on the long eastern frontier, Norway on the north just cutting Finland off from the Arctic Ocean, and Sweden on the west, running from Torneå, at the head of the Gulf of Bothnia, up to the critical point where Norway, Sweden and the Russian Empire meet. In this region Finland extends a finger, as it were, across Sweden and Norway, the frontier reaching to within some 20 miles of one of the Norwegian fjords, a fact which causes considerable uneasiness to those who believe that Russia intends to secure for herself an ice-free outlet on the Atlantic coast. The Swedish frontier was determined in 1809 at the Peace of Fredrikshamn, when Finland passed from Sweden into the Russian Empire. For the rest, Finland is bounded by water, which tends to soften the severity of the climate. The west coast fronts the Gulf of Bothnia, while on the south is the Gulf of Finland, which is separated by a comparatively narrow stretch of land from the great inland sea of Ladoga, about half of whose shores are Finnish.

Other factors which modify the harshness of the climate are the great lakes, the influence of the Gulf Stream, which makes itself felt even in Finland, and the fact that the prevailing winds come from the south and west, bringing warmth with them. The difference of climate between north and south is very great. The winter lasts for about eight months in the north and five in the south. At Helsingfors the longest day is of about 18½ hours, while in the far north of Finland the summer sun does not set for two or three months.

Passing from the land to the people, the first point to be apprehended is that Finland is a country with two distinct races. The Swedes entered from the west, the Finns from the east. The latter were the more numerous, the former the more highly civilized. Of the inhabitants to-day 86.7 speak Finnish, 12.9 speak Swedish, the remaining fraction being Russians, Germans and Lapps.

The origins of the Finnish race are still not clear, though much light has been thrown upon the subject since Matthias Castrén undertook his remarkable journeys of exploration in the eighteen-forties. Castrén was the son of a pastor in the northern town of Kemi, and was early fired by the desire to learn as much as possible about the peoples related to the Finns. Accordingly, he visited a great number of remote and forgotten tribes in North Europe and Siberia, which had originally formed component parts of the Finnish race. It was a life of the utmost hardship. To reach the different tribes he had to cross deserts and snowfields, sleep out in the open or in miserable hovels, and be content with the scantiest food. He lived among the Samoyedes and other savage peoples, learned their language, joined them in their hunting and fishing and daily occupations, and entirely won their confidence. He was thus able to lay the foundations of a scientific study of Finnish origins which has been proceeding steadily ever since. He became professor at the University of Helsingfors, where his memory is honoured as one of its most distinguished investigators, but died in 1852, at the early age of thirty-eight.

The Finnish tribes of North Asia are still much the same as when Castrén visited them—simple, kindly folk, struggling to maintain an existence in the face of ruthless Nature. But in the South of Europe is another race, connected with the Finns, which has left these primitive conditions far behind, namely the Magyars of Hungary, who succeeded in penetrating to a kindlier region than any of their fellows and making some considerable stir in European history. The Finns thus belong to the Finnish-Ugrian stock. They are related to the Esthonians and Livs, and more distantly to the Finnish tribes on the Volga and in the Urals. They are supposed to have come to Finland in different detachments about the end of the seventh century, from the region about the Volga. Two main subdivisions are usually distinguished among them, namely, the Karelians and the Tavasts, inhabiting the east and west of Finland respectively. The Tavasts are the tougher race, the Karelians the more sociable and artistic. It is among the latter that the old Finnish runes have been preserved.

The language of the Finns has neither a Latin nor a Germanic nor a Slavic origin, but belongs to a group which includes Hungarian, Esthonian, Lappish, and a great many dialects spoken by Finnish tribes in Russia. In Finland a distinction is drawn between West Finnish and East Finnish, the former of which has been a little influenced by Swedish, the latter by Russian. West Finnish has the place of honour. The Bible was translated into it some three hundred years ago, and this stamped it as the founda-

tion of the written language. Even to-day the language may be regarded as still in course of construction and as not having assumed its final form (if, for the sake of comparison, we may use the word "final" of so changing a thing as language).

It is an extremely difficult tongue for a foreigner to learn, but if well spoken it is a beautiful one. The structure is complex but regular. There are fifteen cases, with a corresponding paucity of prepositions. The accent always falls on the first syllable. Finnish resembles Italian in having a large number of open vowel sounds, which makes it a beautiful language to sing. It is capable of expressing accurately a great many different shades of meaning. To hear it spoken at its best one must go into the interior of the country.

The Swedish-speaking inhabitants, although found in small numbers in most parts of the country, are mainly situated in the south, along the Gulf of Finland, in the Åland Islands and in the southern part of Österbotten, on the Gulf of Bothnia. The language they speak differs somewhat in pronunciation from the Swedish of Sweden. The intonation is more like that of English people, and to a Swedish Finn the Swedes proper appear to sing their words. The vocabulary also differs to some extent, some Finnish expressions having found their way into the language and some old Swedish terms having been conserved in Finland though now obsolete in Sweden. This difference, though very slight, appears in literature also.

It should be borne in mind that there has been a considerable mixture of races in Finland and that many of the original distinctions between Karelian, Tavast and Swede have been blurred. The two sections of the Finnish race have not only intermarried largely with each other but also with the Swedes. There must, moreover, be a fair sprinkling of Russian blood in the country, owing both to the proximity of Russia and to the perpetual wars with her. It is very remarkable, however, how few persons there are in Finland who speak Russian as their mother tongue. They only number some eight thousand, exclusive, of course, of the Russian military and naval forces stationed in the country. Until recently many educated Russians sent their children to Swedish-speaking schools, and the children have often forgotten the Russian language. The same thing has happened in the case of several German merchant families.

Civilization came to Finland from Sweden. It is probable that even before the Christian era there had been Swedish settlements in Finland, but the real colonization came later. During the period of the Crusades, probably in 1157, King Eric of Sweden led the first missionary expedition against the heathen Finns, whom, seeing that they would not be influenced by argument, he converted at the sword's point. He left behind him in the neighbourhood of Åbo some Swedish colonists, including Bishop Henry, an Englishman by birth, who was shortly afterwards murdered and has since been

revered as Finland's patron saint. Henry was a man of great courage and did not fear to make expeditions on his horse or in his sleigh into the very heart of heathendom. In the absence of churches he preached in barns and kilns, and there is still preserved near Björneborg a ruined barn in which he is said to have held a service. After his murder by a Finn who attacked him on the ice with an axe, his body became a very precious relic. It was eventually taken to Åbo and placed in the cathedral. Many stories are told of the martyr. According to one of them, he used to wear a valuable ring on his thumb. His assassin cut off the thumb in order to get the ring, but both thumb and ring fell into the snow and could not be found. In the early spring a blind old man and his son rowed over the lake and the boy saw a raven poking about with its bill on a piece of floating ice. Rowing up to the place, the boy found the Bishop's thumb and ring, and when the old man applied the former to his eye he recovered his sight. The Chapter at Åbo has a thumb and ring on its seal to this day.

The colonists grouped round the fortress and bishopric of Åbo maintained themselves with difficulty against the attacks of Finns and Russians until 1249, when the famous Birger Jarl led the so-called Second Crusade to Finland, penetrated into Tavastland and founded the fortress of Tavastehus to protect the conquered territory. This expedition consolidated the Swedish rule in the districts called Åbo, Nyland and Tavastland. In 1293 Torgils

Knutsson extended Sweden's power still farther eastwards and founded the fortress of Viborg, where he came into conflict with the Russians. In a second campaign he penetrated as far as Lake Ladoga and the Neva, but was not able to maintain his hold on this region, and only Western Karelia remained in his hands. The ancient fortresses of Tavastehus and Viborg still stand to mark the successful advance of Swedish arms. From the middle of the fourteenth century Finland became an integral part of the kingdom of Sweden, the Finnish provinces enjoying the same legislative rights as those of Sweden, and the Finns enjoying the same common law (the code of Magnus Eriksen, *c.* 1350, and of King Christopher, 1442). In 1623 a Court of Appeal for Finland was founded in Abo, and in 1640 a University. During centuries the Law and the Church educated the Finnish people to take a place among the nations of West Europe. As in Sweden, the law was, and is, administered by courts composed of a learned judge, as chairman, and a body of peasants—the *nämnd*. These peasants decide not only the question of fact, but also the question of law, and have, when unanimous, the casting vote if they differ from the judge. Thus every session has been, and is, a popular legal education. The influence of the Lutheran Church has, until quite recent times, been very great. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century the clergy were recruited from many of the best teachers of the University and the higher schools, and have really been the spiritual shepherds of their flock. The

Finnish language was, of course, used in preaching to Finnish-speaking congregations.

Thus the Finns received from Sweden Christianity and West European culture, together with the principles of personal and political freedom. Finnish continued to be spoken by the vast majority of the population, however, and the defence of the country was mainly entrusted to troops consisting chiefly of Finns. In the course of centuries the Finns and the Swedes have, as we saw, considerably intermixed. Swedes who settled in Finland married Finnish wives, and the resulting fusion of races was furthered by the educational conditions in the country. From the time when Latin was discarded as the language of instruction until after the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Finnish national movement had gathered irresistible force, Swedish was exclusively used at all educational institutions, and it was necessary for Finns who desired higher education to exchange their language for Swedish. Thus large numbers of Finns became members of the Swedish-speaking class and married into it. In spite of the considerable racial fusion, however, the extreme divergency of their languages made a close intimacy between the Finnish- and the Swedish-speaking inhabitants difficult, and the latter continued to be the ruling class in Finland. It should not be lost sight of, however, that this class was to a quite considerable extent recruited from the Finnish-speaking population, which entered it and was assimilated to it.

After being for centuries a province of Sweden,

Finland was, as we have pointed out, transferred in 1809 to the Empire of Russia. This was only the culmination to a long series of events. The struggle between Sweden and the growing power of Russia in the eighteenth century was fought out mainly in Finland. In 1721 Russian acquired the south-east corner of the country, and in 1743 Sweden was forced also to cede the province of Viborg. Finally, during the great struggle of 1808-9, the Finns, worn out with conflict and seeing no further possibility of help from Sweden, accepted Alexander I's generous offer that they should enter the Russian Empire, conserving as their own the Constitution of Sweden, and with it, of course, the whole legislation then in force. No Russian law was introduced into Finland. Alexander I thus became the Grand Duke or constitutional monarch of Finland, the capital of which was soon removed from Åbo to Helsingfors. Relations between the Swedish-speaking officials of Finland and the Russian Court were very cordial, and large numbers of Finnish Swedes took service in the Russian army. The change was in many ways a blessing to Finland, which had been devastated by the never ceasing wars. Now, for the first time for centuries, the necessary condition for real progress opened out for the country, namely, a long period of unbroken peace, and Finland, as will be seen, was not slow to take advantage of it. But the union with Russia carried in it the seeds of the conflict which is being fought out at the present day. The subject will be treated at length later; here it is sufficient to point out cer-

tain stages in the conflict to which frequent reference will have to be made.

With the Swedish constitution, Finland had, of course, a representation. There was, legally, a Finnish parliament (*riksdag*) elected in the same way as that of Sweden. The Swedish Riksdag consisted of Four Estates: nobles, clergy, burgesses and peasants. Its organization dated from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the time of Gustavus Adolphus. But its origins are very much older; in fact, as far as history goes back, the Swedish people has voted laws and taxes through general assemblies. During the later Middle Ages meetings of nobles were convoked to the king's *Samtalen*, literally, parliaments. Out of these the *Riksdag* grew and inherited the people's right to make its laws and vote its taxes. Now, in 1809 Alexander I convoked such a *riksdag*, or, as it is called in Finland, a *landtdag* or *diet*, at the Finnish town of Borgå. This Diet he attended in person, and in a speech made in French gave his confirmation of the constitution. The Diet then did him homage as Grand Duke of Finland. Thus was completed the Act of Union. Alexander, at that time a Liberal, created this Grand Duchy as a *jardin d'acclimatation* for Western ideas and institutions in the Russian Empire—the same policy which in 1815 he pursued in Poland. In Finland he won what he immediately wanted, namely, the gratitude of a loyal people, which was a guarantee against the reoccupation of the land by Sweden. As the Emperor grew more conservative, he still upheld Finland as being the loyal Grand

Duchy, a land of *ancien régime*, where no French revolutionary ideas had ever penetrated and where he enjoyed the same devotion as had formerly accrued to the Swedish king—Gustavus III. But Alexander did not again convoke the Diet, nor did his successor, Nicholas I. In fact, it was not convoked till 1863, in the reign of Alexander II. Nevertheless, the constitution was not violated. For the monarch was not bound to convoke the estates regularly, but only when he wanted a new law or a new grant, and there was till 1863 no new legislation or taxation in Finland. The constitution was, indeed, more scrupulously observed than by the two last Swedish kings.

For the central administration and jurisdiction a Senate was created, like that of Russia, its Department of Justice (*Justitiedepartment*) being a supreme court and its Department of Economy (*Ekonomiedepartment*) being the central administration. The Senators were Finnish citizens; only in 1912 was the first Russian introduced into the Department of Economy, while in the Department of Justice all the members are as yet Finns.

Finnish affairs have been, and are still, reported to the Emperor by a Finn, the Minister Secretary of State. Between 1809 and 1811, however, a Russian official, the Liberal statesman Speranski, had charge of Finland. Having organized the Grand Duchy, he said in a letter to the Emperor: "Finland is a state, not a province." His successor was Count G. M. Armfelt, the favourite of Alexander I and formerly of Gustavus III of Sweden. Only

since 1907 have Finnish affairs passed through the Russian Council of Ministers, which, however, merely advises approval or rejection of what the Finnish Senate has proposed; it does not itself prepare Finnish administrative matters. The Governor-General has mostly been a Russian. This high official is chairman of the Senate (where, however, he never sits) and chief of the executive. Up to the 'nineties he did not take much interest in the routine business of administration. Since then he has been the chief agent of russianization.

After 1863, the Diet was regularly summoned every third year. There was never any quarrel between the Grand Duke and the representatives of his Grand Duchy, and his being the Emperor of Russia did not cause any difficulty. The interests of Russia were fully safeguarded by Finnish legislation, the Diet having good reason to comply with the wishes of Russian Ministers, when expressed. But for the most part, as there were very few points of friction, Finland was utterly ignored by Russian officials.

In 1878, when a national Finnish army was created, with Finnish officers and Finnish court-martials, etc., it was officially declared by Alexander III himself to be an excellent part of the Russian army. But meanwhile Russian nationalism was growing stronger and demanding the unification of the Empire. In 1899 the present Tsar decided that Russian military law was to be introduced into Finland without the consent of the Diet. The latter was, indeed, consulted, but as it was

clear that it would not pass the Bill, the Manifesto of February 15, 1899, was issued, declaring that any law demanded by an "imperial interest" might be passed without the consent of the Diet. This was meant as a death-blow to the constitution of Finland, the imperial interest being an entirely vague notion, and the Emperor reserving to himself the right to interpret it *in casu*. This was quickly followed by the systematic russianization of the country by General Bobrikoff, who terrorized the nation until his dramatic assassination in 1904. These five years are conveniently referred to as the Bobrikoff period, or the first period of russianization. They were succeeded by a brief period of respite. In the autumn of 1905, at the same time as the Tsar was compelled to summon the first Duma, the Finns, by means of a general strike, which seems to have broken out spontaneously, from an instinctive recognition of the psychological moment for striking a blow for freedom, induced the Emperor to recall all illegal ordinances and to restore the constitution on a wider basis. Their jubilation was short-lived, however, for the Russian Government was only waiting until the Duma should be rendered powerless at home and the revolutionaries crushed before it resumed the destruction of Finnish autonomy. The second period of russianization, which is still proceeding at the time of publication, may be roughly dated from the autumn of 1909.

The conflict with Russia brought in its train cataclysmic changes in the internal economy of Fin-

land. Had there been no external trouble, the internal adjustments would no doubt have occurred, but they would have taken place in a far less sudden and volcanic manner than was actually the case. When the constitution was restored in 1905, many long-delayed reforms were carried out with great abruptness and thoroughness. The formerly very restricted parliamentary representation was transformed from the old Swedish system of Four Estates, sitting separately, to a single Chamber elected by universal adult suffrage on a system of proportional representation. In the new Parliament, or Diet, of 200 members there sat 19 women and no less than 80 Socialists. Nor did these wide-reaching changes take place without considerable Labour disturbances. The General Strike, while directed primarily against Russia, contained also a large element of class feeling, which has not yet subsided and is sometimes very bitter.

All these circumstances have combined to leave Finland in a very unsettled state, and it is often very difficult to separate the accidental and temporary from the essential and permanent elements of modern Finnish life. Finland is indeed an extraordinary mixture of the new and the old. In some places it is rushing onward at motor speed, in others the conditions existing for centuries have not been disturbed. Women are admitted to Parliament, but at social gatherings men and women still usually form separate groups. Stone houses of six stories, with every modern convenience, jostle one-storied wooden abodes, even in many of

the principal streets of Helsingfors. In telephones Finland is far ahead of us, in drainage woefully behind.

Certain things, however, strike one as being characteristic of the Finns as a whole. Their virtues are steady and stolid, not usually of a brilliant nature. In spite of a contrary tendency visible among the younger generation, I should place the virtue of perseverance prominent among the permanent attributes of Finnish character. Quiet endurance also takes a high rank. Notwithstanding the wave of materialism that has swept over the country, the Finns are at heart a very religious and law-abiding people. They have a profound love of liberty, a quality that endears them to Englishmen, and a sturdy hatred of tyranny. They have the defects of their qualities in being at times obstinate to the degree of mulishness and very slow. They sometimes seem too earnest about life and a little suspicious of gaiety and playfulness. Nevertheless there is in them a latent capacity for passion and warmth which breaks forth surprisingly at times, reminding one momentarily of Southerners. The fine flower of Finnish character is a childlike simplicity and transparency combined with quiet strength.

CHAPTER II

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

NOT long ago, any one speaking of the smaller nations of North Europe was understood to refer to Norway, Sweden and Denmark. To-day Finland must be included in the list, and the present chapter attempts to give some notion of the men and events which pushed Finland out of obscurity into the light of an independent nationality. To do justice to the National movement, however, an entire volume would be necessary. For the movement may be regarded from many different aspects. Philosophically, it may perhaps best be described as a desperate attempt to preserve Finland's individuality from being merged in the vastness of Russia, when once the nexus with Sweden had been cut. To achieve this end a vivid sense of nationality was essential, and the genius of the Finnish people was sufficiently virile to adapt itself to the new conditions and develop that sense. Historically, however, as we shall presently see, the movement may be said to have commenced far earlier than 1809. But it was after 1809 that it came to a head, and it had many characteristics in common with the other Nationalist movements of the nineteenth century.

Racially, it represents a struggle between the

Swedish-speaking and the Finnish-speaking inhabitants, resulting in the full enfranchisement of the latter, while, as the former constituted roughly an upper and the latter a lower class, the struggle also takes on the aspect of a class conflict.

To attempt to treat the subject in all its different aspects is out of the question in the present work. But as no one can possibly understand modern Finland without some knowledge of the movement, it is necessary, however imperfectly, to give a brief account of it, and especially to try and convey some idea of the spirit animating the men who best represent it.

The sources of the National movement may perhaps be traced back as far as 1548, when Michael Agricola published the first Finnish translation of the New Testament. A hundred years later, in 1640, Per Brahe, the famous Swedish Governor of Finland, founded the University of Åbo and recommended the professors, who were Swedes, to learn the Finnish language, which "does not lack a certain elegance in its construction and does honour to the country." A complete Finnish translation of the Bible appeared two years later, and when about this time a printing-press was established in Åbo a considerable number of Finnish books began to be published.

Bad times were in store for the country, however, and interfered with its normal development. The great wars which lifted Sweden to her zenith of power and her tragic fall reached upon Finland

Thousands of her best men fell fighting in the Thirty Years War, and those who stayed at home were impoverished by the heavy taxes necessitated by the wars. Moreover, as we saw, Finland later became the battle-field for Sweden and Russia and was ravaged time after time. Topelius describes how, when the Swedish refugees returned to their homes after the disastrous Peace of Nystad in 1721, they found the roads destroyed, the bridges broken, no horses, no food, the whole country a desert. The houses were either burned down or roofless and windowless, their contents sacked; the wells were filled up with earth, the plough-lands were overgrown with forest, birds had their nests in the abandoned churches. The University was closed between 1713 and 1722, and other important institutions suffered acutely during the same period.

After the Peace of Nystad the country began to revive, but the separation of the two races and languages seems to have been more keenly felt than ever before. The Swedish element formed an isolated and superior class. The Finnish language, which was the mother tongue of the vast majority of the inhabitants, was not taught in the schools, and all judicial and administrative proceedings were conducted exclusively in Swedish. It frequently happened that Swedish officials did not understand the language of the country they were called upon to administer. All the privileges of education and culture were confined to the Swedish-speaking class, so that if a Finn wished for education he was compelled to give up his native lan-

guage and become "a Swede"—a fact which has always rankled in the breasts of the Finns.

Nevertheless, indirectly the disastrous Peace of Nystad helped to bring the two races together. For it became apparent that Finland would be less and less able to rely on Sweden for help against the ever growing power of Russia. This tended to loosen imperceptibly the bond with Sweden and to develop a more independent and self-reliant habit of thought among the inhabitants of Finland, which in its turn led up to the conception of a national Finland, having an independent life and history of its own. The idea is especially associated at the end of the eighteenth century with the great scholar at Åbo, Henrik Porthan, who, though he wrote in Latin and Swedish, was an enthusiast for the history, geography, philology and antiquities of Finland and inspired a large number of young scholars to make researches in these fields. The sentiment of national consciousness was immensely stirred in 1809, when Finland passed into the Russian Empire, and Alexander I made the famous declaration that "the Finnish people is henceforth placed in the ranks of the European nations." But people began to ask, "What is the Finnish nation?" They saw an official class isolated from the people. Was this a possible basis for a strong nation? Was it not desirable to give the mass of the people a real interest in the maintenance of Finland's independence and of the social order by admitting them to the full rights and privileges of citizenship?

The current of thought thus started soon expressed itself not merely in the scientific and literary pursuits of Porthan's followers, but also in politics. Thus in 1819 an article appeared in the journal *Mnemosyne* to the effect that there were two real obstacles to progress in Finland: firstly, the fact that Finnish was not in general use either in society or as a written language; secondly, that Swedish was the official language. A series of similar articles appeared in the *Åbo Morgonblad* from the pen of E. G. Ehrström, who advocated Finnish as the language of instruction at schools and the University, and desired the fixing of a date after which all State officials should be required to use the language of the mass of the people. A. J. Arvidsson wrote to the same effect, and advanced the famous proposition, "We are not Swedes, we don't want to become Russians, so we have to be Finns." Such proposals were not to the liking of the authorities, who described them, in a term afterwards to become famous, as *fennomania*. They came at a time when all over Europe the governing classes were in dread of revolution and a "national" spirit was regarded as peculiarly dangerous. The infant movement was crushed, the issue of the *Åbo Morgonblad* being prohibited, *Mnemosyne* coming to an end for lack of subscribers and Arvidsson being arbitrarily deprived of his lectureship at the University, upon which he retired to Sweden. The seed of the movement was, however, soon to spring up again, and far more successfully, in the famous "Saturday

Club." This consisted for the most part of a group of young men who had been students at Åbo in the 'twenties and who after the removal of the University to Helsingfors, consequent on the great fire at Åbo, had settled in the new capital. The club was quite informal. It had no chairman or secretary, no rules and no defined object. It usually met on Saturday evenings at the rooms of one of the group and discussed literary and scientific matters and the questions of the day. Certainly no such remarkable society has ever existed in Finland before or since. As one reads through the list of members one realizes that practically all the best intellectual and spiritual forces of the time belonged to the circle, and in studying modern Finland one is constantly reminded of the fact that the best ideas of to-day germinated in and branched forth from the minds of its members.

Women as well as men belonged to the circle, as several of the married men brought their wives. Fredrika Runeberg, the wife of the poet, describes how "most of the subjects, after being eagerly and animatedly discussed by the men, were brought over by one of them to us women and examined by us in our own way, and our views were then conveyed to the men." This curious division of the sexes did not exist, however, in a smaller group within the club circle. Of this group Mrs. Runeberg writes: "The conversation was always extremely lively even when it turned on matters which we women could not discuss because we had never had the right to get the necessary knowledge

about them and therefore must sit as silent listeners. But the men never considered that they owed us the insulting politeness of talking down to our level. And thus the conversation always proceeded with the greatest life and interest, embracing all subjects, from the highest and most profound to the most gay and piquant jests. Such conversation as there was in this circle I have never found elsewhere. There was always fire, sometimes indeed of a crackling sort, but always fire. Now fireworks of genius and wit, now seriousness and the highest and deepest questions of life, now disputes so eager that strangers who happened to be present thought the speakers ready to tear each other's hair, but usually ending in new sallies and laughter, never in bad temper and enmity."

The central idea of this circle, the one which gave it its force and inspiration, was the development in Finland of a national consciousness and the raising of the material, the intellectual and the spiritual level of the people. This implied a generous recognition of the natural rights of the Finnish-speaking people, but there was no thought of hostility to the Swedish-speaking population. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of the Saturday Club spoke Swedish as their mother tongue, which was, indeed, inevitable, seeing that it was only among the Swedish-speaking society that education was spread. "To abandon Swedish and clothe all civilization in a Finnish dress would be to return to mediaeval barbarism," said a prominent member of the circle of 1842. It was only at

a later time that the struggle between the two languages made itself acutely felt.

The activities of the club were indeed directed not to politics, but to literature and instruction. It was felt that the first condition for the elevation of the people was an improved education. Many of the club members were professionally interested in the subject and undertook to found a school based on advanced ideas of pedagogy. The modern side was developed at the expense of the classical and newer methods of teaching were introduced. The school was opened in 1831 as the Helsingfors Lyceum, and played an important part in the renovation of the Finnish school system. Among the early teachers there appear the names of Runeberg and Snellman. Uno Cygnaeus, the founder of the Finnish folk-school, was also a member of the Saturday Club.

Far more important than the Helsingfors Lyceum, however, was the foundation in 1831 of the Finnish Literature Society, "to propagate more exact notions of the country and its history, to work for the cultivation of the Finnish language and to bring to birth in this language a literature for both the educated classes and the people." "Language being the foundation of nationality, a national literature is not possible without a national language." Its programme included the collection and publication of the ancient Finnish songs, the issuing of works for the furtherance of popular education and enlightenment, and the pub-

lication of a learned review. But what really gave rise to the Society at this juncture was the desire of the Saturday Club to enable one of its most distinguished members, Elias Lönnrot, to continue his publication of Finnish folk-songs. A short notice of this remarkable man cannot be omitted from any account of modern Finland. For it was the "Kalevala," more than anything else, that gave its spiritual inspiration to the National movement and first made Finland known to the outside world.

Elias Lönnrot was born of poor parents in 1802. He was interested in poetry from his early childhood, and when he became a student at Åbo University he found himself in the congenial society of a number of young men, Porthan's disciples, who were enthusiastically collecting Finnish folk-poetry. Gottlund had recently uttered his famous prophecy, "If the ancient popular songs [of Finland] were collected and arranged as a whole, there might emerge an epic, a drama or something, out of which a new Homer, Ossian or Niebelungenlied might arise." These words it was to be Lönnrot's lifework to fulfil.

After leaving the University, Lönnrot became a country physician, and as soon as possible undertook his first journey in search of Finnish runes. It was the publication of the songs thus acquired that induced his friends of the Saturday Club to form the Finnish Literature Society. Not long afterwards he became doctor at Kajana, a village in the heart of Finland, of which it was said at that time that it had two streets: "along one go

the pigs, when it's wet; along the other the inhabitants, when it's fine." This was Lönnrot's headquarters for some twenty years, and from it he made his great series of journeys, which, in 1835, resulted in the publication of the first version of the "Kalevala," and in 1849 of a fuller version. These journeys extended to the White Sea and Archangel, but it was among the Karelian Finns on either side of the frontier between Russian and Finland that Lönnrot found his finest material.

Lönnrot was a man of great physical prowess—none but a strong man could have undertaken his arduous and tremendous journeys. He excelled in walking, ski-ing, swimming, rowing and sleighing. He was more indifferent to his personal appearance than R. L. Stevenson and had much of the latter's Bohemian temperament and scorn for ceremonies. His adventures were innumerable and are delightful reading. It is recorded that on his first journey he was dressed as a peasant with knapsack and gun slung over his back, a staff in his hand, a flute attached to his buttonhole, and in his mouth a short pipe. He was taken for a tramp, and when one day he was footsore and ordered a trap, the innkeeper refused to provide one. On a later journey he disappeared from the dinner-table of a Lutheran pastor and was discovered transcribing the songs which the old bath-woman of the place was singing to him. At one place the peasants took him for a wizard and refused him food, upon which he was able to threaten them with an eclipse of the sun, which was due about that time.

His method of working was to induce any one he met to sing him the songs they knew, which he then proceeded to write down. But he made a special point of visiting the best runo-singers, and has left an account of his intercourse with the greatest of them, Arhippa Perttunen, which deserves quotation at some length for the light it throws on the nature of his activity. "The old man," he writes, "was at that time nearly eighty years old. Nevertheless he had to an extraordinary degree preserved his memory. Two whole days and even part of a third day he kept me busy annotating. He sang his runos in good order, without leaving any great gaps between them, and most of the songs were such as I had not got from others; I doubt, indeed, whether they could now be got at all from any other source. I was therefore extremely glad of my resolve to visit him. Who knows if I should have found him alive another time? But if he had died a large part of our ancient runos would have perished with him. The old man was greatly moved when he began talking about his childhood and his father, long since dead, from whom he had inherited his runos. 'You ought to have been there,' he said, 'when after sweeping the bottom with our nets by the banks of the Lapukka we rested by a log fire! We had with us a man from Lapukka to lend us a hand. He was a fine singer too, but not my father's like. All through the nights they sang by the fire, hand in hand, and never the same song twice. I was a little boy and sat listening, and thus I learned my best songs.

But I have already forgotten much. None of my sons will be a singer after me, as I was after my father. The old songs are no longer loved as in my childhood, when they were heard at work and in idle hours in the village. Instead, the young people sing their own flippant songs, with which I wouldn't soil my lips. If at that time any one like you had looked for runos, he couldn't have written down in two weeks even those my father knew."

A brief description of the contents of the "Kalevala" will be given in a later chapter.¹ But it may be well here to indicate Lönnrot's share in the great epic. He collected the songs from the people, but, having done this, he altered them so as to form out of a somewhat chaotic mass a complete whole. In some places he cut down the original song, in others he added to it; in others, again, two different songs would be combined. Then the separate songs had to be fused into a single great epic story, with a unity underlying its infinite variety. The "Kalevala" is the vision of unity that arose in Lönnrot's mind from the vast mass of suggestive data furnished by the runic songs. He believed that he was only doing on a larger scale what the old minstrels had already done on a small one. "I thought," he wrote, "that, as no individual singer could surpass me in a knowledge of runos, I had the same right that, in my opinion, most of the runo-singers had claimed—namely, the right to ar-

¹ Messrs. Dent have published an English translation by W. Kirby in *Everyman's Library*, 2 vols.

range the runes as they sorted best, or, in the words of the folk-song—

I myself began to conjure,
I myself commenced to sing;

i.e. I considered myself to be as good a runo-singer as they were." Thus the "Kalevala," while originally true folk-poetry, owes much of its artistic form to the genius of its compiler.

Lönnrot also made a collection of some seven hundred ancient songs and ballads, which were published under the title of "Kanteleaar" (The Daughter of the Kantele). Many of them are of great beauty and intimacy of feeling, and throw much light on the inner nature of the nation from which they sprang. There are songs for almost every event in life, whether gay or sorrowful, whether associated with childhood, adolescence, the prime of life, old age or death.

In 1854 Lönnrot was induced, much against his will, to accept the Chair in Finnish which had recently been established at the University. As Professor, his chief energy was devoted to the fashioning of Finnish into a written language. When President of the Finnish Literature Society he introduced Finnish as its official language. Party politics he eschewed. His views on the language question were that Finnish ought to enjoy equal rights with Swedish, but he had no desire to oppress Swedish, holding that there was room for the two languages side by side. His object was a united Fin-

land, and he said characteristically, at the unveiling of Porthan's statue in 1864: "It appears, to me at least, vain to speak of a common Finnish national spirit so long as by far the greater part of our country's inhabitants lack, with regard to their language, the advantage and rights possessed by the minority, and as long as this minority is still ashamed of the name Finn, which it consequently often uses as a term of insult, thereby showing that it does not wish to be counted among the number of the Finns."

Lönnrot lived to a ripe old age, full of energy and love of work. Old minstrel that he was, he retired to the country after eight years at the University, rejoicing in his freedom. People constantly wanted to do him honour; he as constantly tried to escape it. He had to come to Helsingfors to celebrate his eightieth birthday in 1882. On being wished many happy returns, he replied that he really would like to live a few more years in order that he might see among the students the same spirit of unity that had existed among them sixty years earlier. Two years later he died.

Altogether he must have been an extraordinarily lovable character. He was full of tenderness to all creatures, and it is said that he would not even kill flies, but would carry them out of his room alive, for they too needed the joy of living. He had the astounding simplicity of a really great man and a deeply rooted modesty. One of his latest utterances was characteristic of him: "I think I have not a single enemy in the world."

The other great literary force which sprang from the Saturday Club was Johan Ludvig Runeberg. He was born in 1804 at Jakobstad in Osterbotten, the district from which so many of Finland's great men have come, including the poets Franzén, Stenbäck, and Topelius. "The Athenians of Finland" is the proud title claimed for the Osterbottnians by one of them—and the poems of Runeberg in certain aspects undoubtedly suggest the Greek view of life. Runeberg's father was a sea-captain, and both father and mother were of Swedish descent. Johan was the eldest of a family of six, three of whom were girls. He went to the University of Åbo in 1822, but owing to poverty was compelled to break off his studies and take the post of tutor to a family living in the heart of Finland. Here he learned Finnish and came to understand and love the peasantry. He returned to the University in 1826, and after the great fire at Åbo the following year retired to Pargas, in the beautiful archipelago outside the town, where he became engaged to Fredrika Tengström, one of a family honourable in Finnish history. His poetry ripened under a happy love and he issued his first volume of lyrical poems.

The following song in praise of the North is a characteristic example, and happily reflects the peculiar beauty of Finnish landscape:—

From the cloudland's purple-tinted edge
The swan sank, calm and boon,
And settled by the river's bank
And sang one eve of June.

Of northern beauty was his song,
 How happy is its air,
 How day forgets the whole night through
 To turn to slumber there.

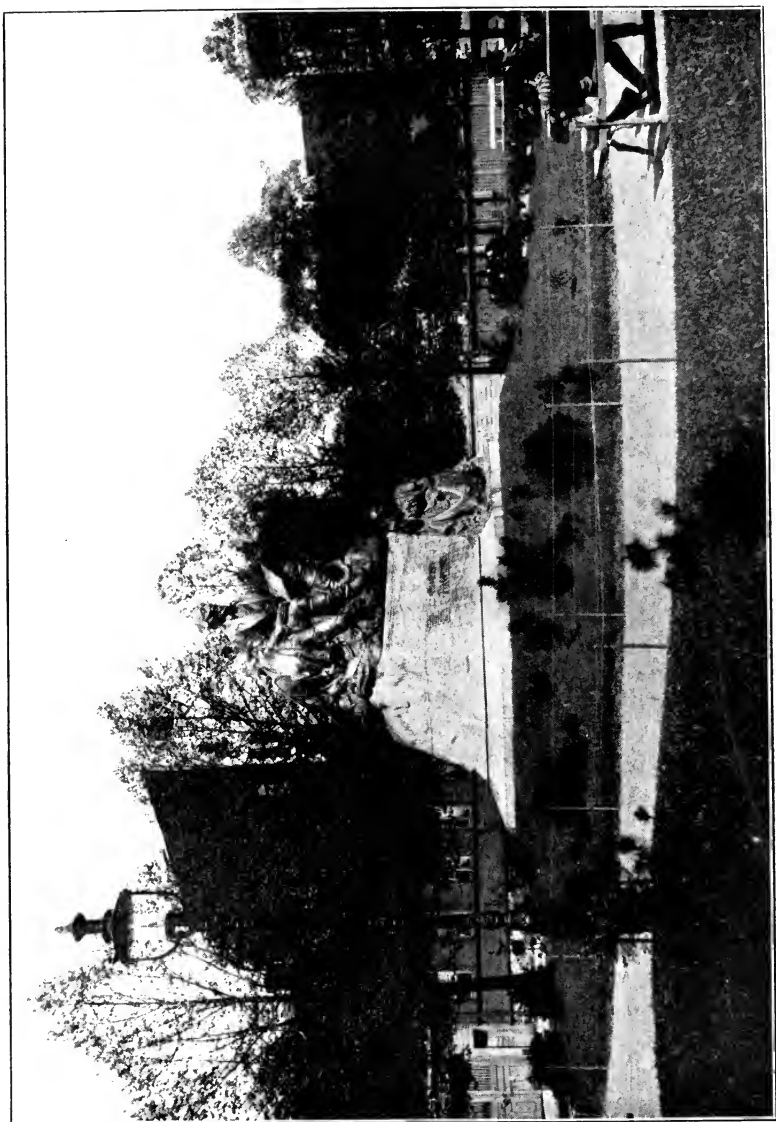
How shadows there are deep and rich
 Neath birch and alder tree,
 How gold-illumined shines each creek,
 Each cool wave of the sea.

How infinitely sweet it is
 A loved one there to own,
 How faithfulness is native there,
 Yearns to it as to home.

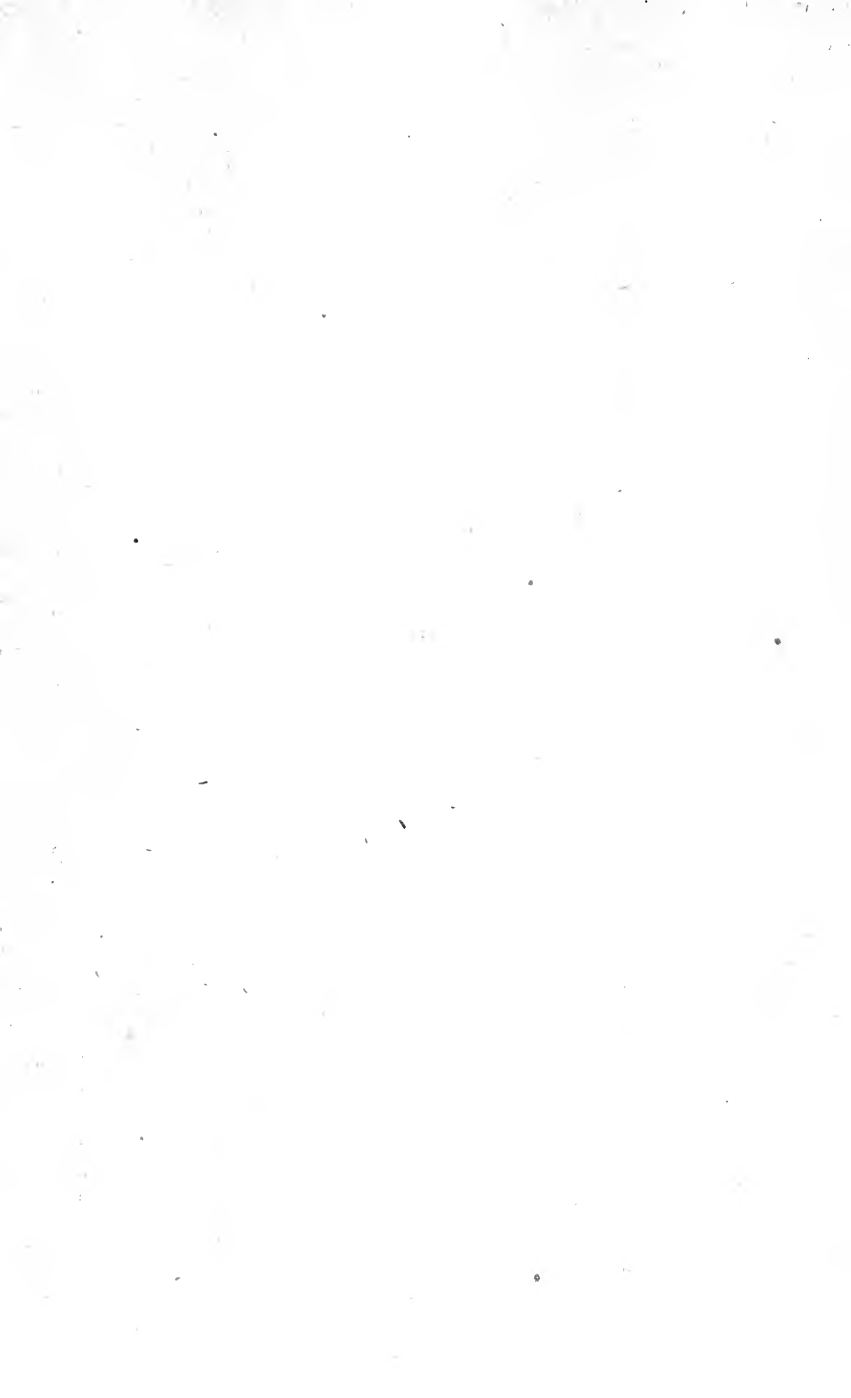
So rang from wave to wave his voice,
 His simple song of bliss,
 And soon he sought his loved one's breast
 And seemed to warble this:—

“Ah, what, love, if thy dream of life
 Be but a short-lived thing!
 Loved hast thou by our northern stream,
 Sung in our northern spring.”

Runeberg followed the University to Helsingfors in 1828 and married three years later on the strength of a minor academic post. During the years in Helsingfors both he and his gifted wife were regular attendants at the Saturday Club meetings. In 1832 “The Elk Hunters” appeared, a long poem in hexameters describing Finnish peasant life in the remote parts of the country. A second volume of lyrical poems appeared in 1833, but his first popular success came three years later with the publication of “Hanna,” which, like “The Elk Hunters,” is written in hexameters. It is an idyll of Finnish country life in midsummer, the scene being a remote country parsonage.



THE STATUE OF ELIAS LONNROT, HELSINGFORS



“The Elk Hunters” is the most important of the early poems. Runeberg’s patriotism was fired by the subject, as the following passage concerning the poem’s origin shows: “Myself a descendant of the colonizing Swedes, I had imagined the Finn as being inwardly as he had seemed to me outwardly when he had come from time to time with his wares to my native town. How different I found him in his own home and on a nearer view! A patriarchal simplicity, a profound manly endurance, an inborn clear comprehension of life’s most intimate aspects were characteristics which I discovered in him, and which, alas! I have been able to render but poorly in the descriptions I have attempted.”

Runeberg’s view of the Finnish peasant is admittedly idealistic, and contrasts greatly with the picture we get in such books as Kivi’s “Seven Brothers.” Yet it is true to one side of Finnish character, as Kivi’s description is true to another side.

Although the public was slow to recognize its worth, the Saturday Club circle acclaimed “The Elk Hunters” as the first great national poem produced in modern Finland, and a few years later Fredrik Cygnaeus declared that, if the Finnish people were to be destroyed, this poem and the “Kalevala” would be its Herculaneum and Pompeii, from which the perished nation might be known.

Runeberg was always in financial difficulties in Helsingfors. He edited the *Morgonblad* for some time, but its circulation fell, owing to his criticisms of the Swedish poet Tegnér. He was unable to get a good post at the University, as he was considered

rather an advanced young man. His poems did not sell. Finally, in 1837, he applied for the post of teacher of Latin at Borgå, a beautiful little town on the coast a few hours east of Helsingfors. The University then made a late effort to retain him, but in vain. Henceforth the events in his life were almost entirely internal. Borgå was his home until his death, in 1877, and for thirty-one years he spent his summers on the same island in the archipelago outside. He gave up his school work in 1857, and for the last thirteen years of his life was bedridden owing to the effects of a stroke.

In character there were several points of resemblance between Runeberg and Lönnrot. Both men were profoundly simple. When Runeberg visited Sweden and was being fêted, he wrote characteristically to his wife: "How I should like to be back with you! I am utterly weary of all the splendour of the world, and long for porridge, fish, and the peace of Kroksnäs." Professor Grot, a Russian, describes Runeberg's "open countenance, expressing intelligence, uprightness, gentleness, and an unshakeable peace of soul." The last characteristic had also specially struck him in Lönnrot. The love of sport and outdoor life was also common to the two. Runeberg was almost as enthusiastic a fisherman as a poet, while his hunting expeditions sometimes lasted for days at a time. He was on intimate terms with the island population, and shared his glass of toddy with the hardy pilots. It was during a hunting expedition with his youngest son that his stroke disabled him. Runeberg also re-

sembled Lönnrot in his dislike for party politics, into which he steadily refused to be drawn. While sympathizing with the raising of the Finnish language, he disapproved of Snellman's theory that Swedish must eventually disappear from Finland. He held that nationality was ultimately based, not on language but on the land and its historic tradition and the common interests of those living together.

It is a matter for surprise and regret that Runeberg's great poetical achievement is not more widely known and appreciated. He wrote many other works, including "Nadescha," the love-story of a Russian serf-girl, and a drama entitled "The Kings at Salamis," but his two finest poems are "Fänrik Ståls Sägner" (the Tales of Ensign Stål), and "King Fialar." The former work consists of a series of narrative poems describing incidents of the great war of 1808-9, when the Finns offered their stubborn resistance to the armies of Russia. They are impregnated with the atmosphere of a desperate war waged by patriots in the snow and darkness of a Finnish winter. The poems have left an indelible imprint on the people of Finland, who feel that one side of their nature has received in them a definite and final expression. Even a foreigner can hardly read them without being moved to tears by their naïve simplicity, by the sheer beauty they shed on noble human striving and suffering, by the faith and reverence with which the poet handles the great issues of life and death as if he were at home with them, by the fiery, self-sacrificing patriotism

through which human clay is transfigured into something greater than itself, by the sublime heroism of simple and stupid men, by the laughter amid the tears, by the long suspense of inaction and wasted marches, by the fierce joy of battle and slaying, by the calm of nobly encountered death and by the proud sorrow of mothers who have given their sons for a great cause.

Runeberg was attracted to the subject for various reasons. One of his earliest recollections was being given a ride on the knee of Kulneff, the famous Russian cavalry officer, whose good-heartedness he celebrates in one of the poems. Another was the famous occasion when he saw the fiery General von Döbeln curse God and shake his fist at heaven for sending weather unsuitable for his operations. In later life, especially at Borgå, he was in touch with many men who had taken part in the war, while in his student years he had met and been inspired by the old ensign whose tales he used as a framework for his narratives. Perhaps "narratives" is not altogether the right word. For in form these poems in which the great memories of the war find expression are a series of portraits. Representatives of all classes of the Finnish nation are introduced—not engaged in their ordinary avocations, as in "The Elk Hunters" and other poems, but seen in the light of a national crisis. Military figures play the chief rôle, as is natural, and there are fine portraits of men of all ranks, from general to private. But the peasant men and women are drawn with as skilled a hand as any. It is difficult to select from such a

rich harvest, but among the most characteristic is that of the girl whose lover played the coward. When after the battle the troops go by and she cannot see him, she first thinks he is dead, but when she seeks his body on the battle-field and cannot find it her heart is broken:—

When past our door the troop marched by, and I their ranks
had numbered,

I wept to think that like a man among the dead he slumbered;
I sorrowed, but my grief was mild, it had no bitter weight,
I would have lived a thousand years to mourn his noble fate.
O mother, I have looked for him where'er the dead are lying;
But none of all the stricken bear his features calm in dying;
Now will I live no more on earth in shame to sit and sigh,
He lies not there among the dead and therefore I will die.

(Edmund Gosse's translation.)

Sven Dufva is another characteristic peasant hero. He is a good-natured but thick-headed young giant, who is willing to do anything but does it all wrong. He becomes a soldier and cannot learn his drill, and when the war breaks out the regiment discuss whether he can go with them. He settles it by saying that if he cannot go with the others he will go alone. One day a bridge has to be held at all costs by a small troop of which Sven Dufva is one. All but five are killed and the order to retreat is given, but Sven is too stupid to understand it—"he had a bad head but a good heart." Alone, calm and huge, with fixed bayonet he holds the bridge until help comes, falling in the hour of triumph with a bullet through his breast. A wise bullet, says the general sadly; it left his head in peace, for that was

weak and poor, and went to a better place, his brave and noble heart.

Noble patriotism has never been more finely expressed than in these poems, which did for Finland what certain of Wordsworth's sonnets did for England. Though more fiery in his temperament, Runeberg recalls Wordsworth in other respects also, notably in the simplicity of his thought and language, which, like Wordsworth's, sometimes seems a little exaggerated, and in his love for and faithful description of Nature. He also recalls the Greeks, which is perhaps the last thing one would expect of a Finnish poet. He does so most, perhaps, when his poems treat of Finland in summer, when the long days and the clear, cloudless skies make the waters of the Baltic seem the sisters of the blue Mediterranean waters. He adds light and brightness to Nature in a spirit akin to Greek poetry. His mind, too, seems often to grasp human issues in a Greek way. There is something nobly Hellenic in the simple way his Finnish soldiers meet death, and his people are as responsive to the call of patriotism as were the inhabitants of the Greek City-State. His great poem "King Fialar," apart from the differences of scene and civilization, might almost have issued from a Greek mind, and for all the romantic beauty of its Ossianic parts it bears the Greek impress of light and brightness. The story describes the Nemesis which falls on the lonely and unloving king, who, despising the gods, sacrifices all things to the idea of his own greatness. He is warned that his son and daughter will make an incestuous mar-

riage, and seeks to prevent this by having his daughter drowned. She is rescued, however, and lives at Morven with King Morannal, whose three sons woo her in vain. Then her brother comes on a Viking expedition, falls in love with her and marries her. Only after they have lived together for some time does he discover that Oihonna is his sister. The poem ends with the deaths of Oihonna, King Fialar and his son. Nevertheless, before the end, the king has realized the wisdom of the gods and made his submission to the laws of human life. Runeberg described the poem as "a little epos, the subject of which is the greatness and grace of the gods," and Professor Walfred Wasenius well observes that its fundamental thought is really, "If a man does not love his brother whom he sees, how can he love God whom he does not see?"

The form of the poem is very fine, and the skill with which the complicated story is worked out by the aid of purely natural agencies compels admiration. What should make it of peculiar interest to British readers is the fact that for his description of Oihonna at Morven Runeberg has borrowed from Celtic sources. It was necessary for the story that Oihonna should grow up among some distant folk, and it so happened that a Swedish translation of Ossian appeared in 1842 just in time to suggest to Runeberg a Celtic setting for that part of his poem. The milder manners and humaner feelings of the Celts afforded an excellent contrast to the harder and harsher early Scandinavian world; and Celtic legend and poem have contributed considerably to

increase the loveliness and tragic grandeur of Runeberg's work, and to cast their romantic beauty on the exquisite figure of Oihonna.

Runeberg is certainly the greatest dynamic force produced by modern Finland and has inevitably become a national institution. Nor could Finland have a better source of inspiration. Splendid patriotism, absolutely free from chauvinism, breathes through his work, which is informed, moreover, with a sane and bracing view of life and of human destiny, and of the relation between human and Divine. The production of poems such as his, with all they imply of national strength and nobility of aim, justifies the claim of Finland to an independent national existence at least as much as the documents signed by successive Tsars.

CHAPTER III

THE RACIAL STRUGGLE

THE Finnish Nationalist movement had to pass from the ideal stage in literature and thought to the practical stage in politics. In this field its great exponent was Johan Vilhelm Snellman, perhaps the most discussed personality in Finnish history, and the one who provoked the bitterest hatred and inspired the most reckless devotion. Snellman, like Runeberg and other members of the Saturday Club, belonged to the district of Österbotten and was endowed with the impulsiveness and the rather choleric temperament which is characteristic of its inhabitants. He was born, however, in Stockholm in 1806, his father, a sea-captain, having settled there three years earlier. He was the second son of a numerous family. The events of 1809 forced his parents to choose definitely between Finland and Sweden, and they chose the former country, settling at the seaport of Gamla Karleby in 1813. Although poor, Snellman was able to study at the University of Åbo, where he met Runeberg, Lönnrot, and others, and with them passed later to Helsingfors, where he became an important member of the Saturday Club. He was one of the twenty-eight Österbottnian students who in 1834 promised not to leave

the University without having passed an examination in the Finnish language—a promise, however, which he failed to keep. In 1835 he became a philosophy lecturer at the University and showed himself an enthusiastic Hegelian. He early laid stress on the doctrine that the highest duty of the individual is to work for the good of the whole, and that if a clash of interests arises between the citizens and society, the former must voluntarily give way to the latter. The doctrine was to have profound practical consequences. At the same time Snellman was perpetually himself in conflict with that part of society which was represented by the University authorities, who regarded with the deepest disfavour the new movement that was making itself felt among the students as a result of the efforts of the Saturday Club. Storm followed storm in the University. Snellman was forbidden to lecture, and in 1838 he was suspended from his lectureship for six months. He retired to the country and presently shocked Finnish opinion by publishing three numbers of a paper entitled *The Spanish Fly* (*Spanska Flugan*), the first of his great series of journalistic undertakings. The Press was attacked, the exclusiveness of the University was exposed, and scathing criticisms of the general condition of the country abounded. After publishing the first number Snellman retired to Stockholm, where he got in with the “Young Sweden” movement, wrote copiously in the newspapers and composed novels, besides finding time to visit Germany. Meanwhile he was working at his most famous book, *Läran om Staten* (The Theory

of the State), which appeared in 1842 and contained a development of the Hegelian ideas already referred to. His thoughts were much with Finland, not always hopefully. "The mass of the people," he writes to friends in 1846, "is from long-established oppression turned only inwards. It may possibly find fault with a bailiff or a priest, but even a provincial governor is a little god, and a senator a *non plus ultra*. The thought of anything better, an interest in the commune, parish, province or country, it has hardly ever had except as a savage has it—i.e. in open war." To raise the people is impossible "as long as the language of administration and instruction is Swedish." This the educated classes cannot understand, "and, if they did, it is against *their* interest to work for it." He concludes pessimistically that "the Finnish nation is in its grave."

Probably his pessimism was partly due to the contrast he found between the poverty of Finland and the old culture and gathered wealth of Sweden and Germany. At any rate, when two years later he was practically promised a professorship of philosophy in Sweden, where he had already made a considerable reputation, he refused, in order to be free to return to his native country. He meant to put his theories to the test. "One must leave abstractions and go deep into facts," he writes. He crossed to Finland in November, 1842, but in spite of his friends' efforts failed to get an appointment at the University and had to be content with the post of Head Master of the High School at Kuopio,

a town of some 2,000 to 3,000 inhabitants in the heart of Finland. In the days before railways Kuopio was considerably isolated, and in the 'forties only enjoyed one post a week. But Snellman was a man who made circumstances rather than submitted to them. In 1846 he founded there the first Finnish-speaking school in the country, an elementary school for girls. As it proved successful, he established a similar school for boys soon afterwards. He was, moreover, the centre of a considerable intellectual circle in this remote town. Here, too, he found a wife, Jeannette Vennberg, whom he married in 1845 and who bore him six children.

What is especially associated with the Kuopio days was Snellman's work as a publicist. Working like the engineers in a ship, remote and in isolation, he was here producing the motive force that was to carry on the National movement to a successful issue. Snellman's study at Kuopio was the practical workshop of the movement in these days. In it, conceptions which had earlier been vague hardened and took definite form. His first venture was *Maamiehen Ystävä*, a weekly paper in Finnish, which aimed at spreading education among the people. Before its appearance only seven papers were being issued in the whole of Finland, all being written in Swedish. Far more important, however, was Snellman's new Swedish paper, *Saima*, which first came out in 1845. It was addressed to the upper classes, and expounded week by week Snellman's views of the future of Finland. The gospel he preached was the need for a national culture and a

national spirit. At present there was neither. Between the educated Swedish-speaking class and the uneducated Finnish-speaking class there was a great gulf fixed, which, if it were not soon bridged, would destroy the country. A house divided against itself cannot offer a strong resistance in a crisis, and when might not a crisis arrive for Finland? What was to be done? The Finnish race must be elevated, and this in turn involved the elevation of the Finnish language. Finnish must be used equally with Swedish in the law-courts, in all branches of the administration, and in the schools. In a word, Finnish must become a civilized language, and the Finns must feel that they had no less an interest and stake in their country's fortunes than had the Swedish-speaking upper class. And this great change must be brought about by that class itself as a patriotic duty. It was to urge this duty upon them that *Saima* existed.

So far Snellman had not exceeded the programme of many of his contemporaries, and he received a great deal of support from the more progressive Swedish Finns. But he pushed his demands a point farther, and proceeded to argue that national unity could not be achieved completely when a nation had two languages, and therefore one must look forward to the day when Swedish would entirely disappear and make way for Finnish. And here came in the Hegelian theory of the duty of the individual to sacrifice himself for the whole. The numerically inferior Swedes were required in the interest of the whole country to abandon their language for that of

the Finnish majority. It is only fair to Snellman to remember that he was more moderate in his practical proposals than in his philosophic theory. He did not stand for an immediate but for a gradual introduction of Finnish into public life, and he seems to have expected that the Swedish-speaking class would consent to the ultimate abandonment of Swedish as a result, not of compulsion, but of conviction. Rooted firmly in the belief of the essential rightness of his opinions, he failed to realize that these would strike others in a totally different light. In pleading for the necessity of raising the Finns to a higher level and putting their language on an equality with Swedish, it can hardly be disputed today that Snellman was absolutely and entirely right. With the gradual rise of democracies after the French Revolution, it became inevitable that the Finns also should emerge from the state of tutelage in which they had lived for so many centuries and come into line with the democracies of West Europe. Moreover, there were reasons peculiar to Finland which made this desirable. The contention that after Finland had passed from Sweden to Russia in 1809 she had no national basis, and that this constituted a serious danger to her future, was a perfectly just one. We may repeat Arvidsson's dictum that Finland was no longer Swedish, she did not want to become Russian, and therefore the only alternative was to become Finnish. And in order to do so, the great mass of the population must be given an interest in their country by sharing more fully in its duties and privileges, in the advantages

of its education and the responsibilities of its public life. A hundred years ago, however, it was inevitable that even such a claim as this should provoke the bitterest resistance among the majority of the privileged class. To the aristocratic Swede, living the life of a country gentleman, with rather exclusive traditions and conservative both by interest and temperament, the talk of Finnish Nationalists seemed at first utterly absurd and later on almost impious. The idea that the stolid-looking and rather unkempt Finn who worked on his estate and spoke a barbarous-sounding language should aspire to a practical equality with a race boasting a polished and ancient culture and an honourable name in history seemed preposterous. Even to-day Swedes of the old school sometimes speak of the Finns contemptuously as an inferior race, and a century ago the majority of the Swedes were of that school. The Finns were regarded as ugly and stupid. When they desired Finnish to be the language of instruction in the schools, the Swedes replied that one simply could not imagine instruction being conveyed in so gross a tongue. The idea of a literature in Finnish seemed equally grotesque. No educated person would ever employ such a language. As to Finnish being used as the official language, this was pure madness.

Nor were the Swedes altogether wrong. Finnish really did require to be developed before it could well serve for these ends. When the demand for Finnish as the language of instruction first arose, no Finnish schoolbooks were yet in existence, nor

was the language subtle enough for official use. It had to be remoulded and extended by the efforts of the Finnish Literature Society before the dreams of the early Nationalists could be realized.

The feelings of the Swedes in face of the Fenno-man movement may perhaps best be realized if we say they felt themselves threatened by a barbarian invasion. The Swedes, they considered, whatever their faults, had brought to Finland the great gift of civilization. They may not have extended it high and low throughout the land, they may have laid themselves open to the charge of exclusiveness, but, after all, what more could they have done? Their numbers were small, and historical and natural circumstances had rendered the pioneer work of civilization peculiarly difficult. They had succeeded in erecting an edifice of Swedish culture in a barren land, and if they had not been able to build wide enough to include the mass of the Finns within its sheltering and refining influence, that was not their fault. And now their edifice was to be pulled down by the Finns, their cultivated flower-garden was to be trampled into mud under the heels of an invading horde who neither possessed nor cared for culture. At all costs the invaders must be repulsed or civilization would "go under." When the servants become masters, there is an end of the house. In the vigorous newspaper campaign which raged about the claims made for Finnish occur numerous letters illustrating the temper of the time. Thus some one, writing to an Åbo paper in 1844, denied that Finnish nationality was doomed to destruction on ac-

count of the neglect of its language, customs and institutions. One had a proof of this in, e.g., the Iroquois and Chippeways, Gaels and Irish (one is reminded of Lord Salisbury's "Hottentot" speech). The advocates of Finnish were called "pro-Iroquois." Other writers insisted upon the sheer impossibility of Finnish as a civilized language.

It was regrettable, but perfectly natural and inevitable, that the majority of the Swedes should be unable to discern the light and promise that shone in the National movement, and should fail to realize that the Finns were not enemies of culture but merely desired to broaden its basis by themselves sharing in it. No privileged class can ever contemplate with satisfaction the loss of its privileged position. But even the more far-sighted and generous-minded minority which supported Snellman's original contention was inclined to dispute his further proposition that Swedish must eventually be replaced by Finnish. They maintained that it was ridiculous to speak of Swedish, the language spoken for centuries by a considerable part of the population, as a foreign tongue, and held that Snellman was wrong in identifying "nation" with "language," arguing that it was perfectly possible to have one nation speaking two different languages. Thus a young man, Robert Tengström, wrote to Snellman deprecating the emphasis laid by him on the necessity of making Finnish supreme in order to attain his ideal, and asking with some justice whether he, Castrén, Lönnrot, Runeberg, and Nordström, all of whom spoke Swedish, were not, by

spreading culture and developing a spirit of self-reliance and self-respect among the people, doing more for Finnish nationality than all the teachers of the Finnish language put together.

Snellman did not confine himself in *Saima* to a discussion of the language question. He pleaded powerfully for an improvement of the Press, and set an example by himself dealing with all the more important questions of the day, which had hitherto been left almost entirely untouched by Finnish newspapers. He advanced his views on education in all its branches, advocated the separation of education from the control of the Church and pleaded for a higher education for women. Industrial and commercial matters were also dealt with. A later generation was to adopt many of Snellman's ideas and carry them out in practice. But in the 'forties they were regarded with the greatest disfavour. Time after time he got into trouble with the censorship, and finally *Saima*, after having marked an epoch in Finnish history, was forced to come to an end in December, 1846.

After the suppression of *Saima*, Snellman published the far less polemical *Litteraturblad*. In 1849 he left Kuopio and came to Helsingfors. In spite of the difficulty of getting work there, owing to the persecution to which he was still subjected, he resisted the temptation to abandon Finland. The Chair of Philosophy at the University had been cancelled since 1852 and it was this to which Snellman was finally elected. But it was considered dangerous to retain the name of Philosophy. Accordingly

Snellman became "Professor of Ethics and the Systematization of the Sciences." He did not, however, abandon his journalistic work and remained in the very thick of the fray, fighting for his ideals.

The moment of realization came in 1863, a great year in the history of Finland. In it the Diet was summoned for the first time since 1809 and the famous Imperial Rescript was issued, which the Finns regard as their Charter of Equality. This Rescript enacted that within a period of twenty years Finnish should occupy a position equal to that already occupied by Swedish in public life. Alexander I had already received several deputations of Finnish peasants who brought petitions in favour of their language, and a committee appointed in Helsingfors in 1862 had reported that something ought to be done, without, however, fixing any date for making a change, a fact which caused great dissatisfaction among the Finns. Snellman, who was appointed a Senator in 1863, went to see the Emperor, then in Finland on a tour of military inspection, put the matter before him, and the Rescript was the result. Snellman's action has been severely criticized on the grounds that the settlement of such a question by Imperial Rescript instead of by legislation created a most undesirable precedent. The criticism appears to be a just one. The temporizing of the Swedish party must have been excessively irritating to the Finns, but the claims of the latter were bound to be conceded before long, and therefore the wisdom of employing such a dangerous weapon seems highly questionable.

This is not the place to describe the successes and checks the Nationalist movement had to chronicle during the next decades. It must suffice to say that the Swedish-speaking authorities were anything but eager to carry out the Rescript and by their constant obstruction went some way towards justifying Snellman's forcing tactics. They succeeded in seriously hampering the spread of Finnish schools, which was effected only by the self-sacrificing efforts of private individuals, who founded the schools, made them a success, and eventually compelled the State to recognize their value and take them over or support them. As the twenty years named in the Rescript approached completion little had been done to fulfil its aim, and it was not until March, 1886, that the Tsar, by another Imperial Rescript, definitely secured for the Finnish language the coveted position of absolute equality with Swedish.

At the present day the old relationship between the Finn and the Swede has been reversed and the Swedes are now on the defensive. All along the line the Finnish attack has proved victorious. A Finnish-speaking educated class has been brought into existence, which, in virtue of the huge preponderance of the Finnish-speaking population, successfully claims to take an ever-increasing share in the government and administration of the country out of the hands of the Swedish-speaking element. Similarly in trade and finance the old Swedish supremacy has had to yield to the onrush of Finnish nationalism. Thus both political and economic

power are changing hands. Even racially fortune seems to favour the Finns, for investigations into the birth-rate show that the rate of increase among them is slightly higher than that among the Swedes, so that the proportion of the former to the latter is likely to become still greater.

The change may be vividly realized by bearing in mind three things. Firstly, Helsingfors was some thirty years ago almost exclusively a Swedish-speaking town, while to-day the Finns outnumber the Swedes there. Secondly, when the Single Chamber Diet and Proportional Representation were introduced in 1906, the Swedes, who had previously controlled two out of the four Estates, could only claim one-eighth of the seats in the new house. Thirdly, Finnish schools now enormously outnumber Swedish schools, so that coming generations are likely to be more Finnish than past ones. This change is illustrated at the University. In 1860 practically all the students were Swedish-speaking, whilst to-day nearly three-fourths of them have Finnish for their mother tongue.

It might have been hoped that with the full enfranchisement of the Finns the racial conflict would die out. But this was not to be. Feelings had risen too high to subside easily, and although a portion of both Swedes and Finns desired reconciliation, another portion desired war to the knife. Many of the Finns argue that the Swedes cannot possibly recover control of the country and therefore should be left in peace. Finnish must of course be the first language of the country, but they have no objec-

tion to the retention of Swedish as the second language, and desire co-operation between Swede and Finn. But others cling to the view maintained by Snellman in his most uncompromising moments, that the country must have but one language, and that Finnish. With extremists of this party Swedish is synonymous with anti-nationalism and anti-patriotism, and some of them even refuse to speak Swedish, though they may know the language perfectly well. This party will have no truckling with Swedish culture and tradition, seeing in it the greatest hindrance to the development of a truly Finnish culture and tradition, and regarding the Swedes as the historical oppressors of everything Finnish in the past.

The Swedes replied to this attitude by drawing closer together and forming organizations for self-defence. There has been a tendency in one party among them to withdraw from public life, where this involves close co-operation with the Finns, and to emphasize their kinship with Sweden and their differences from the Finns.

It is not our business here to describe the struggle in its smaller details. To do so would be the reverse of pleasant, because the conflict, like all of its kind, is full of pettiness and there is much to take exception to in the attitude of the extremists of either party. Let it suffice to say that whatever may be the future of the Swedish Finns—whether, like the Normans in England, they abandon their mother tongue for that of their adopted country, or whether they cling to it at all costs—they will always be

nobly associated with the past history of Finland. This may seem a hard saying to persons whose vision under the stress of conflict has been focused too exclusively upon the evils of Swedish rule in the past. Many evils may freely be admitted—there has been plenty of pride, exclusiveness, selfishness. But the good that has come to Finland from the Swedes far outweighs the bad. At a time when there is a tendency unchivalrously to throw overboard the past, it may be well before leaving the subject briefly to summarize it.

It was from Sweden that the Finns received the structure on which their national life is based—on the religious side Christianity, on the political side the free institutions of the Scandinavians. Without the latter it is highly problematical whether Finland would have been able to offer her stout resistance to Russia to-day. In other parts of Russia the Finns have failed to show any capacity for political cohesion, and probably the crossing of Finnish with Scandinavian characteristics is the essential difference between Finnish character in Finland and out of it. It was the work of the National movement to set the seal on Finnish liberties by extending the full advantages of Swedish institutions from the privileged class to the mass of the nation.

Nor should the advantages of the Swedish language be overlooked. For centuries it was the only channel through which culture came to Finland, and even to-day it seems fully to justify itself as the country's second language. It does indeed form part of the heavy burden of tongues that the unfor-

tunate Finnish school-child is called upon to bear, but it brings with it commensurate benefits. Not only does it open the rich treasures of Norwegian, Swedish and Danish literature to him who masters it, but it infinitely simplifies the Finn's task when he comes to study the chief languages of West Europe. It makes easier in every way the business of communication between Finland and the outside world.

Again, the nation will never forget the glory shed upon it by many illustrious Swedish Finns. For so small a population they have produced a great number of remarkable men. The more chauvinistic of the Finns are fond of saying that all the great men of Finland, whether they spoke Swedish or not, were really of Finnish origin, just as the more chauvinistic of the Swedes are fond of decrying all things Finnish. But even admitting the Finnish contention to be partly true, the number of remarkable men produced by the Swedish Finns remains a large one.

In conclusion, it may be well to emphasize two great effects of the racial struggle, over and above the general transformation of national life which has been the theme of this chapter. The first is that it has brought into Finnish life a healthy element of competition which, when not carried to excess, has greatly benefited and helped to develop the country. The different parties have not merely been at war with one another, but have also shown a noble emulation of each other's achievements. As Mr. J. R. Fisher writes: "Each side was so keen to prove the advantage of its own language that the

building of schools, the writing of books and the starting of newspapers received a tremendous impetus which has not yet spent itself." Whatever may be said of Finland, it cannot be denied that the country is alive and not asleep. Nearly every citizen to-day has a wider interest than that of the mere home circle and is identified with some cause outside himself, and this seems due, more than anything else, to the rivalry of Finns and Swedes. The writer was once complaining of the extravagance of faction in Finland to an Englishman resident in Petersburg. The latter replied that he would a thousand times rather have these signs of vigorous life than the unhealthy quiet of Russia.

The second effect is that the racial struggle has at times been so bitter as to involve national peril. Party has been placed before country and attention diverted from the great issues of national life to factional quarrels. This has even sometimes been the case since the Russian peril became imminent. On the whole, however, the common danger from Russia has drawn the different parties together, and there is probably a greater degree of understanding between them to-day than has ever existed before. The Swedish and the Young Finnish parties formed an alliance during the Bobrikoff period under the title of the Constitutional Party, and many Finns who were previously very anti-Swedish have come to realize that oppression of the Swedes would be most illogical on the part of a race which is itself protesting against Russian oppression. There are a growing number of clear-sighted persons of every

party who realize that the time for hatred and disunion is over and that an era of reintegration and co-operative endeavour is overdue; that to persist in carrying on internal quarrels at a time when the very existence of the country is threatened by Russia would be dangerous in the extreme. Such persons believe that for the good of the country the two races must work side by side, each developing its own special qualities and respecting those of the other. They believe that the common interests of the parties infinitely outnumber the points of disagreement. They are, in fact, the inheritors of the best traditions of the National movement.

CHAPTER IV

LIFE IN HELSINGFORS

A HUNDRED years ago Helsingfors was a mere village. Greatness was thrust upon it when Alexander I transferred the capital thither from Åbo, moved by the latter's dangerous proximity to Sweden. The supremacy of Helsingfors was finally confirmed by the disastrous fire at Åbo in 1827, which, among other things, led to the University being re-established at a new capital. The town has since increased by leaps and bounds and will soon have a population of 200,000, four times as great as that of Åbo.

It lies on a rocky peninsula and has three splendid harbours or fjords. Rarely can one view the open sea from the lower parts of the town, on account of the multitude of rocky islands that give the water the effect of a lagoon. As one looks out to sea there appears to be an unbroken wall of land enclosing the water, and only as one approaches the wall does it break up into separate isles, rocky and forest-clad, each with a sharp individuality of its own. While navigation is still open, on every side one sees boats and steamers brilliantly white in the sunshine, steam-launches and motor-boats plying between the islands lying near the town, the bellying sails of fishing boats gliding, exquisitely graceful, through

narrow channels, and innumerable rowing-boats, as often as not pulled by sturdy old women. One gets the impression of a semi-aquatic race, as much at home on water as on land. To appreciate its spirit Helsingfors should be approached by water.

The city makes all the impression of a capital. It has spacious streets and is laid out in a dignified manner. There are fine parks and piazzas, restaurants and theatres, churches and public buildings. It has also the feeling and atmosphere of a capital, the cosmopolitanism, the gaiety, the entertainments, the rush of life, the rapid growth, the complexity of interest.

Architecturally the town is an extraordinary mixture of styles. It was fortunate in its early days in being planned by the talented German architect, C. L. Engel, who also designed some fine classical buildings, such as the University and Senate House, of which the city is justly proud. Some of the principal streets show strong German influence; in others Finnish peasant architecture lingers in low wooden buildings; in others, again, are striking examples of modern Finnish architecture. In the latter it is hard to decipher any definite style. Often they are fantastic and seem to have a touch of Asiatic feeling in them, as if the granite would like to break into Japanese or Chinese shapes were it only more pliable. This bizarre effect is heightened by the grotesque heads with which some of the buildings are ornamented, and in which the granite seems to have achieved independent life and to leer at the passer-by. Many of the houses are extravagant and

ill-proportioned, but a few attain to a surprising dignity and beauty. Of most it may be said that they are alive and that the architect was really aiming at something. The interiors of certain buildings, notably several banks, are admirable. The Finnish architects also excel in designing summer villas, of which many enchanting examples are within easy reach of Helsingfors.

One misses in Helsingfors old buildings and old traditions. Electric trams, electric light, an excellent telephone service, beautiful parks, do not make up for the lack of historical associations such as cling round the ancient towns of Åbo, Viborg, Borgå and others, bringing with them a sense of rest and old-world peace. The most delightful and old-world thing that exists in Helsingfors is likely soon to be abolished, namely, the open-air market. This is held every morning on a great open space close to the quays of the principal harbour. On one side of you are stalls with all kinds of produce, on the other side are boats from which neighbouring peasants sell fish and vegetables. Here one usually sees real animation and colour, features too often lacking in Finnish life. Why Finnish artists do not use the beautiful opportunity the Helsingfors market offers them I cannot understand. The market is also associated with the good old custom of the housewife, perhaps accompanied by her servant, coming down to do her own marketing. It is delightful to see ladies of one's acquaintance doing this, and one looks forward with apprehension to the day when snobbery will render it no longer possible. The mar-

ket is especially exciting when the autumn sail-fleet comes in to sell provisions for the winter. Then one buys potatoes, cabbages and carrots in great quantities and kegs of salted fish, apples both for cooking and eating, and usually also a few luxuries, such as a pot of honey. Another great day in the market is when the ice breaks up, and one fine morning, on the way into town, one sees the long expected sight of masts and rigging along the harbour quay.

People coming from Petersburg justly commend the cleanness of Helsingfors. They also speak of it as a good and cheap place for shopping. This is, however, an impression hardly shared by any one coming from England. Fresh vegetables can only be obtained in winter at prohibitive prices, excepting of course the most common vegetables, such as cabbages and carrots. Meat is not more expensive than in England, but the quality is very inferior, and nearly everything else costs more, and often double or treble as much. The high tariff is largely to blame. Tea which in England costs 1s. 6d. or 1s. 8d. a pound is sold here for 6s. 8d. a pound. For the same reason one has to pay at a very high rate for groceries of all kinds. Clothes, again, are extremely expensive. Not only the tariff but also high rents make things dear. The average rent per room is about £20. This is due partly to the fact that Helsingfors is growing fast and lies on a not very large peninsula, but also to the violent speculation that has been going on in land and building, forcing prices up. There can be no doubt, also, that busi-

ness firms expect too high profits, and the public has not yet awaked to the idea of protecting itself.

What with high rents and high prices, Helsingfors is not an ideal place to keep house in on a small income. Nor is it freer than other places from the servant problem. The writer's own experience in this regard has been unusually fortunate, he having been blessed with a peasant girl who has inspired him with a profound respect for the qualities and capacities of her race and class. Many people, however, complain bitterly of the independence of their servants and their inconvenient habit of staying out till the early hours of the morning. It is true that the new wine of Social Democracy has rather gone to the heads of the servant class, but one may doubt if the fault is exclusively on one side. In the older houses the accommodation for servants is often rather deficient, according to English ideas, and servants' wages range lower than with us, though they are rising.

In spite of its summer beauty, Helsingfors is designed as a winter town. All the houses are provided with double windows, and in winter these are fastened up with cotton-wool and gummed paper to keep out the draught. Only one window in each room is left so that it can be opened—sometimes, alas! even this exception is not made. Wood is burned, there being no coal supply, and the stoves are of the continental type, usually reaching to the roof. In spite of the abundance of timber, wood is dear. A high tribute is due to the effectiveness and economy of the Finnish system of heating. In spite

of the very low temperature in the winter, I have never suffered so little from the cold as in Finland.

In November and December the days shorten with extraordinary rapidity, and one seems to descend into a black bottomless ditch. One longs for the snow to stay, but it usually falls and melts several times before Christmas. Nevertheless the sea is usually frozen by the New Year, and soon one begins to ascend the ditch on the other side. After the dreariness of the autumn the season of Christmas and the New Year comes as a great relief. There is much good cheer, though not of a kind one is accustomed to in England. The Christmas ham is a great institution; it is served on a great dish encircled by half a dozen dainties, like a big ship surrounded by tenders. Another and, to the foreigner, less pleasing feature of Christmas fare is the so-called *lut-fisk*. It is stockfish prepared in some peculiar way and accompanied by a mass of pepper and salt to counteract its insipidity and sliminess. But it ranks as a great delicacy and the taste can be acquired. Christmas is indelibly associated in Finland with sealing-wax, as all Christmas parcels are fastened up by means of it. The Christmas-tree is a *sine qua non* for every household, whether there are children or not. Often such trees are quite small and stand on a table. For a day or two before Christmas the great square outside the railway station is a mass of fir-trees of all sizes and shapes. As they are constantly being moved, one is reminded of Macbeth and how Birnam wood moved on Dunsinane. Trees cost from fourpence upwards, and

people either carry them home themselves or hire some one else to do so, or take them home in a sleigh. For days afterwards one's rooms have a delicious scent of the forest. Father Christmas is also a familiar figure in Finland. In appearance he is not very unlike our own friend, but he bears the name Jul-Bocken—i.e., Yule Goat. He rings the house bell, and on entering is welcomed with acclamation. He usually carries with him a basket full of presents for the company. With each present is a little poem or a few lines of prose conveying compliments to the person for whom it is intended or making fun of his foibles. These the Yule Goat reads aloud amid shrieks of laughter and the person addressed comes forward for his Christmas-box. One can imagine a Yule Goat, filled with a desire to reform people or to pay off old scores, telling some deadly home-truths to the company. Such an one, however, is not likely to be chosen for the office.

When the sea is frozen the real joys of winter begin. The ice becomes the scene of a vigorous life. Roads marked by fir-trees are staked out on it between the town and the neighbouring islands, and carts, cabs and automobiles make a lively traffic upon them. Whole battalions of Russian soldiers may be seen drilling on the vast white expanse of snow and ice, whilst Russian battleships are ice-bound in the harbour. One has a delicious shock of surprise the first time one sees this life on the frozen sea. With it, too, comes all the joy of winter sport, for which Helsingfors is most happily situated. At least five great skating rinks are cleared in the har-

bours. They are frequently flooded at night in order that the ice may be smooth and glassy, and men go round filling up the cracks with water, as if they were oiling a machine. Bands play there of an evening, and the rinks are brilliantly lit by electric light. At this time the spectacle is delightful, but the rinks are often too crowded with small children for comfort. One prefers to watch the adept figure-skaters in the enclosed part of the rink. Had the Greeks skated, the world would surely have been enriched by some wonderful pieces of statuary. It occasionally happens that the sea is frozen before the snows come. This is the ideal time for skating, for then one is not confined to a rink but can range at will among the bays and islands and enjoy a delicious sense of freedom. Then, too, one may see people practising the perilous art of sailing on skates.

Even more delightful than skating, on account of this very freedom, is ski-ing. As Finland is not a mountainous country the skis are made in a different way from those used in Norway and Switzerland, being considerably longer. They are not attached to the foot, which is merely slipped through a strap, so that in falling one's foot is usually released. The people of Helsingfors are very fond of ski-ing over the frozen sea. There is something most exhilarating in going forward across the vast shining plain of snow and ice, with a cloudless sky above one. Good ski-runners can go at a considerable pace across the level, and if they find it monotonous can make for some of the numerous islands

for variety. But few things call up the sense of infinity so strongly as leaving the islands behind one and ski-ing across the open sea. Often, however, people prefer to ski in the country, where there is a constant succession of little hills and valleys. Here the full beauty of winter woods becomes apparent. This is especially so if one happens to go on a morning when every tiniest twig has been rimed. Then the scene is like fairyland or recalls the delicate spray of fruit-blossom in the spring. But on any clear day the trees laden with snow are a noble and inspiring sight.

Tobogganing is but little indulged in, owing to the absence of high hills, and is practically confined to children, who seize every available slope for it. A sledge, usually containing a seat in the middle, and called a *sparkstötting*, is used both by children and grown-ups—by the latter for the conveyance of goods. It is propelled by pushing with one foot, while the other rests on one of the runners.

Most thrilling of all winter sports, however, is ice-yachting. It is not without its dangers. The man in charge seems to behave very much as he would on board a small sailing-yacht, but the passenger's experience is very different. You lie flat on your stomach and are hurled through the air at the speed of an express train. The scenery shoots past you at a dizzy pace. The runners on either side are like the paws of some huge animal and are lifted high when the wind is strong, descending on the ice again with a shattering crash. You rush with fearful impetus at a rocky cliff and, when de-

struction seems certain, swerve round with the ease of a lizard. At times it feels as if you were about to fly, the yacht taking little leaps, like an aeroplane before it leaves the ground, and seeming a creature of the air tugging at some restraining chain.

A heavy price has to be paid before one passes from winter to spring, April being especially trying. All around the ice and snow are melting, and both sea and land look dirty and depressing. The roads are unspeakable, except a very few; for although the snow is carted from the main streets after each snow-fall and piled up into a mountain in some convenient place, yet a thick pavement of ice and snow always remains on the road until it melts, or is broken up by men with pickaxes and removed in carts. Moreover, the combination of sunshine, warmth and thaw, coming after the tension of a Northern winter, causes an intolerable feeling of drowsiness to afflict one and makes good work extremely difficult. Finally, however, spring emerges, like a beautiful butterfly, shedding its dirty chrysalis. It is expected of the winter that it shall have disappeared by the first of May. The expectation is not always fulfilled, and snowstorms have been known to mar the day, but, whatever the weather, May Day is celebrated as the coming of spring. The different student choirs sing in the public parks, speeches are delivered, many signs of carnival are seen, and the day is given over to jollity. And although from a spectacular point of view the festival is not very striking, there can be no two opinions about the gaiety of the atmosphere.

During the winter months Helsingfors enjoys a rich intellectual life and one cannot fail to be struck by the intellectual abilities of the Finns one meets in society. Many distinguished foreign scholars are invited by the University to give public lectures every winter, and many famous musicians give concerts here on the way to or from Petersburg. Indeed, there is almost a superfluity of good concerts. It is pleasant to add that by going to the People's House you can often hear for sixpence or even threepence the same concert which in the University Hall would cost half a crown or four shillings. Thus the best music can be heard by the poorer people as by the rich. The theatres are well managed and keep the public in touch with dramatic movements all over Europe. British plays are popular. A large number of Shaw's have been produced, and three of Galsworthy's, to say nothing of Shakespeare. The theatres are of course repertory theatres, as is usual on the Continent. All the seats are reserved and there is no need to stand outside the pit or gallery door in the rain and cold, as in London. The Finnish Theatre is a fine building, with better cloakroom accommodation than most London theatres.

In Helsingfors one is kept perpetually aware of the fact that Finland is a country with two languages, and, in the official world, to some extent, of three. The street signs are up in Finnish, Swedish and Russian, and each of these languages is represented by its own theatre. At an opera performance one sometimes hears three different languages from

the stage, which is disconcerting until one gets used to it. Students at the University have to pass an entrance examination which includes a knowledge of both Finnish and Swedish. Shop assistants have constantly to pass from one language to the other. There are Finnish newspapers and Swedish ones. Programmes for entertainments of all kinds are usually printed in both languages, and so on.

Of Russia one is not very much aware outwardly, except for the presence of Russian warships and Russian troops. The fortress of Sveaborg, on its seven islands, on one of which Dostoyevsky was imprisoned, lies right opposite the town, guarding the approach to it; the north harbour is usually full of Russian ships of various kinds, and the town contains many large barracks. The Russian soldiers look good-natured men, rather down-trodden and not too clean or well-fed; the best regiments are not sent here, however. The officers make a rather pleasant impression in that there is a complete lack of "side" about them. Of the Russian officials in Finland, however, only an optimist could speak hopefully. Most of them are simply "on the make," and their chief function, apart from feathering their nests, seems to be the bringing of discredit upon the nation they misrepresent. Between the Russians and the Finns there is, in these dark days, no intercourse.

If Russia is not conspicuous to the eye in Helsingfors, she is never absent from the mind. She is a gloomy background, casting a shadow upon every gay thought, a pestilential vapour poisoning

the country's life, a dark cloud that never lifts. One can never get right away from the Russian question. There is hardly a well-to-do family in Helsingfors which has not the threat overhanging it that one of its members may not come into conflict with the Russian-made law and be summarily incarcerated in a Russian prison. It has already happened to many, and will happen to many more before better days dawn.

Society in Helsingfors falls into two main grooves—the Swedish-speaking people and the Finnish-speaking people. They mix little and do not speak very nicely of each other. Both are delightful and interesting, so long as they keep off party politics, when they tend to become bitter and self-righteous. This is the inevitable aftermath of the racial struggle, yet one cannot help regretting that such nice people should not know each other better. Between Swedish and Finnish circles there is not very much essential difference; that is to say, one does not find radically different conceptions of life or of values. As regards externals, the Finns have copied in most respects the customs of the Swedes. In the houses of the latter there is apt to be more wealth, refinement and formality, in the former more demonstrativeness and less constraint.

People in Finland are extremely hospitable and entertain lavishly. The usual hour for dinner is five or six, if one is inviting guests, otherwise about four. As a rule the second part of the evening is the most pleasurable, as the Finns take a long time to get warmed up. Conversation is rarely broken

by music or recitation, but a great variety of foods and drinks are handed round in the course of the evening. The scale of these entertainments and the toasting that goes on recall the great banquets described in Scandinavian or Finnish sagas, but one sometimes would be glad of the minstrelsy which broke the flow of talk on those occasions. In spite of Woman's Suffrage the two sexes tend to form groups separately. The groups once formed are too apt to become rigid, and there is an opening for a hostess who would develop the art of making her guests change places more. The system has the advantage, however, that if you have once got into an interesting conversation with any one you are not so likely to be interrupted as in England. No one who has been privileged to enjoy Finnish hospitality can ever forget the warmth and generosity of it. The same characteristic is beautifully instanced in the Finnish habit of sending flowers. Flowers here are an expensive luxury and often fade only too rapidly. One sometimes regrets one's friends spending their money in such a way, but the feeling behind it is a fine one and, as an English-woman once remarked to me, recalls the story of the alabaster box of precious ointment.

It cannot be denied that, as she develops, Finland is acquiring the vices as well as the virtues of high civilization. Nearly everybody is anxious to be modern and like present-day England, France or Germany, which is a little discouraging to persons who love Finland as being one of the few European countries which are not like present-day England,

France or Germany, which is a little discouraging to persons who love Finland as being one of the few European countries which are not like present-day England, France and Germany. To the writer it is painful to see the beginning of financial scandals, bankruptcies, irresponsible borrowing and lending, vulgar extravagance, snobbery, living above one's income, coxsureness, put-you-rightness, and so on, but others welcome these symptoms as showing that Finland is getting into line with the Great Powers.

The divorce between the intellectuals and Christianity is very complete in Helsingfors, there being an absolute indifferentism to religious questions. Among the younger people, the attitude of condescension and coxsureness towards Christians is, perhaps, a little exaggerated; they give the impression that they have heard of Christians, but hardly except to meet them out of England and museums. A charming young lady whose opinion I asked concerning the "Pilgrim's Progress," which she had read for an examination, replied, "Myself, I do not like it, but I think it is very nice for uneducated people, who like to read the Bible and such books." A professor, however, walking home with the writer after a jolly supper-party, made the striking admission: "We Finns are not irreligious because we are so broad-minded, but because we are so narrow-minded." However this may be—and there are special reasons why religion is temporarily at a discount in Finland—there is plenty of idealism in other directions, such as education, art, music and patriotism. If the Finns, justly proud of the won-

derful progress they have made in so short a time, are a little inclined to exaggerate the actual value of their achievements in some of these fields, one may well pardon them. For their patriotism is usually of an admirable nature. They are prepared to suffer for their country in a time of crisis, and in normal times to go on quietly and unostentatiously working for its sake. At the Paris Exhibition two famous geographers, a Frenchman and a Russian, were admiring a map of Finland. "Why is it that it is better than the others?" asked one. "Because every line of it is drawn with love," replied his friend.

No one who studies life in Finland can fail to acquire a great respect for the Finnish woman. Her capacity and energy compel it. Energy, indeed, is a quality which, in this generation, is far more apparent among the women than the men, and it accounts a great deal for the Finnish girl's success. This energy has been generated partly by the new opportunities which have opened out to women in recent decades and partly by the hard conditions of Finnish life, thanks to which the girls have been brought up to do for themselves many things which in other countries are usually done for them. They have reaped the advantages of character and will that such activity brings with it. I know a girl of twenty-three who travelled alone into the heart of the country in midwinter and settled a builders' strike on her father's property.

Finnish girls are as a rule anything but shy and retiring, but their independence and self-sufficiency

rarely pass into blatancy or bad manners. They are quite accustomed to comradeship with men and a frank interchange of thought, and take such things as a simple matter of course, in this respect enjoying a liberty which seems somewhat shocking to old-fashioned persons both in Finland and abroad. Both the grave type and the high-spirited type are common among them, but the former predominates, and is especially noticeable among those who have not travelled. Going abroad often seems to loosen the springs of joy in the Finns. The outer appearance of gravity is frequently deceptive, however, and causes visitors who are not accustomed to the phlegm of the Finnish temperament to go away with a wrong impression. "Do they never laugh and flirt?" I once heard an American lady say, in pained indignation. They do. The fact is that the Finns of both sexes are usually very slow to express their feelings. They are capable of being as uproariously jolly as other people, but it takes them a long time to get under way, and you must not hurry them. The girls you see at their jolliest on festal occasions, like Christmas, when they display a positive genius for arranging amusing entertainments and an ingenuity of invention and a fund of high spirits that could not easily be surpassed.

While exceptions are numerous, and will doubtless become more so as the standard of living rises, Finnish girls are, on the whole, inclined to be rather plain in their features. There is, however, a simplicity and energy and healthfulness about them which make a far pleasanter impression than does a

too passive and ornamental beauty. They often fail to do themselves justice through not having learnt the art of dressing. Simplicity suits them, and complex Paris fashions do not look well in Helsingfors. The climate makes it difficult for people to look elegant in winter, and it is in their simple summer dresses that the girls look best. Many of them are excellent sportswomen, being adepts in ski-ing, skating, sailing, rowing and swimming, and it is when engaged in these pursuits that they are seen to the greatest advantage. Usually, like the men, they drop these activities at what seems to an Englishman too early an age. It is pleasant to add that their enthusiasm for sport does not turn them into mere sportswomen, but that they combine sport with intellectual pursuits. Altogether, the Finnish girl who can manage a sailing-boat, talk half a dozen languages and discuss sensibly most subjects of general interest is a type of which any country might be proud.

CHAPTER V

THE COUNTRY-SIDE

THE writer's experience of the country-side is that of the town-dweller who retires to spend the summer there. For three months, beginning from June, all who can do so leave the towns. Water is what they make for, whether they go to the sea-side or to the innumerable islands around the coast or to the shores of the great inland lakes. Even those whose professional duties forbid a complete holiday usually live on islands and only go to town for their office hours. Fleets of small white-painted steamers keep up a lively communication between the archipelago and the mainland.

The exodus to the country is a considerable undertaking. The villas or rooms to which one repairs are but scantily furnished, and a large number of one's household goods have to be conveyed thither. It is a house removal on a small scale, in which beds and bedding and cooking utensils figure largely. One also takes a large supply of groceries and other edibles, as the fare obtainable in many country districts is very limited. Milk and eggs are nearly always to be had, excellent and in unlimited quantities, but meat is by no means so easily obtained.

One waits until some one kills a calf or a sheep, and orders according to the state of the thermometer. Fish one can have if one is fortunate enough to catch them, or if one can find peasants willing to sell their own catch. For vegetables one is allotted a cabbage-patch of one's own. They come up very quickly, owing to the great length of the summer days, but it is advisable to post on some seeds to be planted before one's arrival in the country. It is usual to bake one's own bread. Sour milk, which is solidified to the degree of junket, is a favourite summer dish. Fruit abounds in the shape of wild berries, but there is usually little garden fruit.

Summer in Finland is a revel of beauty. After the long grip of winter relaxes, spring comes with a rush, like a wild creature set free from a leash. Arriving in the country in early June, one is lifted up on the rising wave of the summer. If June is true to her character, the sky and water are deepest blue and the sun is never lost sight of except for the brief hour or two when it is quenched by the sea. This mystical interval is so beautiful that it is hard to turn from it and sleep. The land is lovely with a swiftly succeeding pageant of lilacs and fruit-blossom and wild roses, and the hills are covered with the waving foliage and the white stems of delicate birches, like dancing maidens, and the more masculine beauty of pines and firs. The rock-strewn meadows are brilliant with wild flowers.

The days are spent simply enough. One may begin by bathing from a hut at the end of the little wooden pier which belongs to every summer villa.

Many people bathe several times a day in the hot weather. No bathing-dress is worn, and there is no mixed bathing. It is common for groups of farm-labourers or of farm-girls to go down to bathe of an evening, and as one rows home towards sunset one may hear their cries and splashings borne for an extraordinary distance across the water. Rowing may be both work and recreation. At noon one may catch bait for the line one will set at night, and in the early morning one rows out anxiously to see what one has caught for breakfast. Among the commonest fish are the perch and the gädä, the latter a kind of salt-water pike. One may also row out to watch the sun turn the rocks to crimson and sink into the rippleless sea, or, again, for a picnic on an island. On one such picnic we bought quantities of strömming (the Baltic herring) from two old fishermen who might have stepped out of the sagas, then made a fire and cooked the fish by stringing them on twigs and holding them near the flames. Fish never tasted so good before or since.

Yachting is another favourite summer pursuit and a never-failing source of pleasure amid the belt of islands around the coast, which offer an infinite diversity of interest and beauty.

On land there is one's humble garden to attend to and walking of all kinds—walks to the nearest store to provide for household needs; walks of exploration through the country-side; walks to farms to buy butter and eggs; frantic walks when one is baking and has forgotten the yeast.

In the course of these walks one comes across

many a characteristic Finnish scene: cottages, all wooden, and often painted a brilliant red which blazes in the sunshine and looks cheerful in the winter, nestling under rocky hills or lying close to a sunny bay, with fishing-nets stretched along the side walls; or peasants waiting on the wooden piers for the uncertain advent of the little steamer, whose arrival is the event of the day or even of the week; or a pine-clad hill from which one sees on either side an alternation of forest and gleaming water until the eye becomes weary of distinguishing the successive stretches of each and looks down to the flower at one's feet.

When it has taken its fill of the outer beauties of the country-side, the mind naturally turns to the human life that has such a fair setting. And without some realization of country life anything like a true understanding of Finland is impossible. For agriculture is Finland's staple industry. According to a report made in 1901, over one and a half million persons, or some 71 per cent. of the rural population, were engaged in agriculture and its subsidiary occupations, and this would represent about 57 per cent. of the entire population at that time.

The first thing that strikes one is the Finnish farm. The older farm buildings are of unusual interest. Like most things in the country, they are made of wood. In the earliest buildings the tree trunks are still rounded, only the bark having been removed, while in those of a later date the beams have been squared. Inside, the walls are not papered, and in the gaps between the beams knives

and saws and other implements are placed. The number of things made of wood, and especially of birch wood, is amazing, and includes shoes, baskets of all kinds, knapsacks, halters, brooms and brushes. In a few old farms moreover, wooden door-bolts and nails and hinges and pestles and mortars may still be seen, to say nothing of dishes, cups and saucers. Birch bark was formerly used in times of scarcity to mix with bread.

Some of the farms, with a laudable sense of tradition, have started little museums in which are stored things of interest in connexion with their history. To see such a museum is to get a very high idea of human ingenuity and perseverance. Here you may trace the development of agricultural implements from the most primitive models, and see such objects as a harrow and plough entirely made of wood, and primitive shafts, ingeniously constructed of large branches that forked in a convenient shape. The old Finnish farmers had a remarkably keen eye for suitably shaped pieces of timber.

The older houses were chimneyless and the smoke escaped out of a hole in the roof. Consequently the upper half of the walls was stained a dark colour, and when the rooms were cleaned the part above the smoke-line was left unscrubbed and is clearly demarcated from the rest. Light came only from the fireplace and the *päre*, a long thin piece of resinous wood which was fastened to the wall at one end and lit at the other. But such old houses are now but little used as habitations.

The outbuildings are also of great interest. They

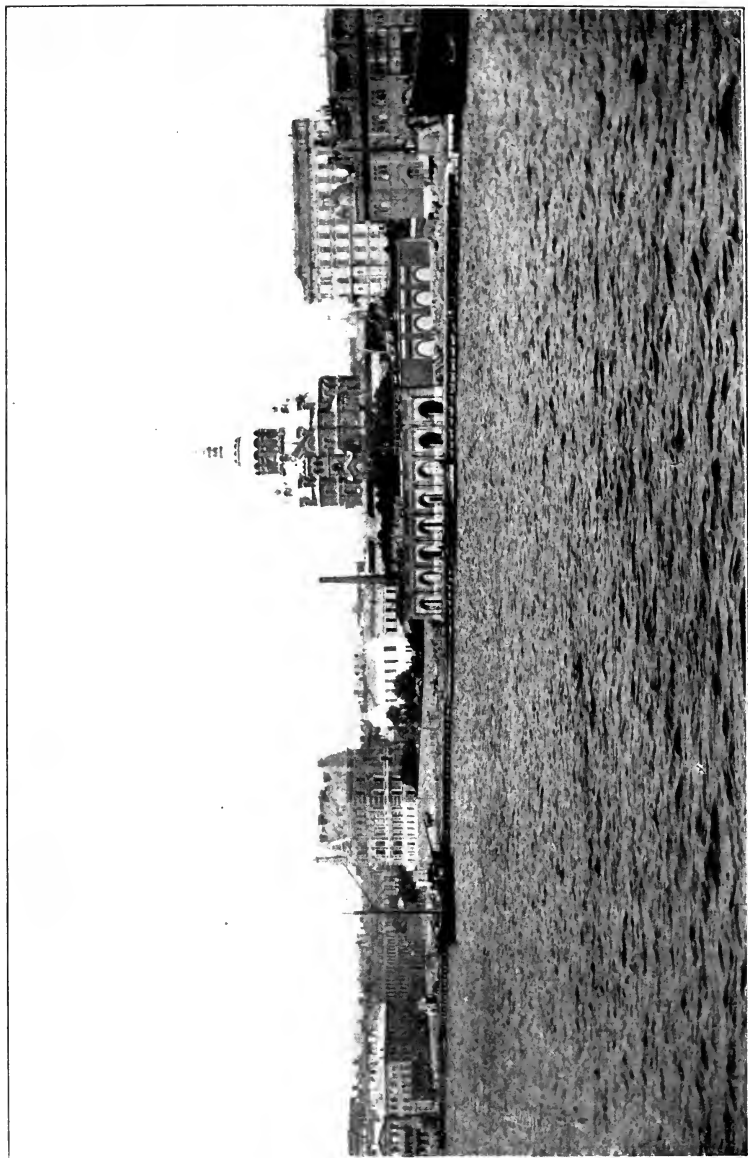
include houses for storing food of all kinds, clothes and agricultural implements. In the old days, before private distilling was made illegal, each farm had its own distillery also. Then there are huts in which old bachelors and old maids kept their belongings and partly lived, and finally the cow-houses, stables and pigsties. Above many of the stables is a loft, used as a storeroom in the winter and a sleeping-place for the girls of the farm in the summer. It is reached by a ladder or outer staircase. Other things that strike the eye are the little patch on which the farmer formerly grew his own tobacco, the well with its pine trunk for dipping the bucket, and the fences formed by pieces of wood placed slantwise and supported at intervals by posts.

Most essential of all the farm-buildings, however, is the bath-house. It is the first of them all to be built and serves as a home until the dwelling-house is ready. In one corner is the fireplace, made of great stones. Near the roof is a broad shelf on which the bathers lie. Sometimes there is a second shelf used for malting. There is usually a small opening, which can be closed by a sliding panel, through which fuel can be thrown in. In some old bath-houses there is a second hole, known as the wolf-hole, through which the farmer in old days kept watch at night on the wolves which might come prowling around and shot them if he got the chance. When the time for bathing comes, the stones are heated to a very high temperature, hot water is thrown on them and the house is filled with steam. You soap yourself, sit on the shelf, beat

yourself, or are beaten by the old bath-woman, with birch twigs, approach or keep away from the fire-place according to your ability to stand intense heat, and, finally, red as a tomato, plunge into the open air. If it is summer this is a simple matter, but even in winter the Finns run naked from the bath-house to the farm, and very often take a roll in the snow into the bargain.

The Finnish bath was, and still is, largely a family concern, the two sexes taking it in common and nudity seeming to have no terrors for them. It is curious to note, however, that when bathing in sea or lake men and women bathe separately. The explanation is, perhaps, that the bath-house is a kind of temple, the bath-woman its priestess, and the bath of the nature of a ritual. The church and the bath-house are holy places, says a Finnish proverb. The place has grave and lofty associations of another kind also. It is to the bath-house that the mother retires when a child is about to be born, and the temperature is made as high as possible in order to ease her delivery; to it, also, sick people are taken as to a hospital. There is a Finnish proverb to the effect that if the bath-house and brandy cannot help a man, death is near at hand. The bath is, moreover, a custom hallowed by great antiquity. Livy, during his exile among the Sarmatians in Dacia, describes the bathing customs prevalent there, and the description corresponds closely to the Finnish bath of to-day. Thus sentiment allies itself with custom in excluding from this sacrament of nudity any idea of licence.

While the Finnish bath remains unchanged, the farms are being considerably modified. They still remain picturesque, however, partly owing to the excellent custom of staining the outside of the newer buildings a brilliant red. And, in spite of modern inventions and the importation of agricultural machinery, they continue to be very largely self-supporting. This is partly due to the difficulties of communication in Finland. Usually the farms lie far apart and are often separated by great stretches of forest and water. There is no town at hand to which you can easily repair when you want anything, so that the country-side has had to develop and maintain a large number of small industries. Not only do country-folk still continue in many parts to build their own dwelling-places, but they also construct much of the furniture in them and make many of the implements used on their farms. The long winter evenings are the great time for such pursuits. In the old days the household used to gather round the open fire, the only source of light by which continuous work could be done after dusk. One can imagine the scene. Now, of course, lamps are everywhere used. The men do a great deal of carpentering, making buckets, spoons, cups, baskets, shafts for their carts, etc. What some of them can do with the aid of nothing but an axe is astounding, their dexterity with this tool being delightful to watch. Another common tool is the Finnish knife, which every peasant carries at his belt; it is used for every purpose imaginable, whether good or evil. The women do a great deal of spin-



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ning, weaving, knitting and dyeing. The clothes of the family are to a great extent made by them, though of recent years manufactured stuffs have become commoner. It is a delightful thing to see the peasant women spinning and weaving, and their work lasts better than the manufactured article. Some of them add to the family earnings by selling their productions.

Nearly all the needs of the peasant have to be met in the simple way described. The women may still be seen making potato flour, and candles are still made at home, more often than bought. Candle-making takes place after the autumn slaughtering, when the dead animals are salted and the spare fat is put aside for the purpose. Naturally the candles do not come out quite as smooth and regular as those one purchases in shops. Each little village or big farm has, moreover, its own workshop, to which representatives of the different handicrafts come annually, by appointment, to supply the needs of the community. Then the shoemaker comes and settles down in the workshop to make as many pairs of boots and shoes as the people will require for a twelvemonth. The harness-maker comes and repairs old harness and makes new sets, which will have to last till he comes again a year hence, and similarly with the other craftsmen. Indeed, the farm workshop, which becomes in turn a tailor's shop, a saddler's, a cobbler's, and half a dozen other trades, is a great feature of country life.

The farmers are usually comfortably off, have a considerable degree of education and culture, and

tend to be conservative. Their properties have often been held by the family for a great number of generations. There is among them a considerable amount of class-consciousness and they have little social intercourse with the agricultural labourers. Their farms are frequently very attractive and their hospitality is most generous. The great kitchens, with splendidly polished copper kettles and utensils, are not easily forgotten. Much of the life of the house takes place in the kitchen, and usually several large rooms are unoccupied except in the summer, when they are let for a very small rent to town-folk who come to the country for their holidays. Nevertheless, the lot of the Finnish farmer is not an easy one. The winter, as we saw, lasts from about five months in the south to about eight months in the north of Finland, and frosts are by no means uncommon as late as May and as early as August. Further, the greater part of the land surface is, and probably will remain, unsuitable for cultivation. According to the Agricultural Report published in 1901, only 8.6 per cent. of the land was cultivated, and nearly half of this amount ranks as pasture-land. There is reason to believe, however, that the cultivated area can be at least doubled or trebled.

Moreover, as we saw in the introductory chapter, there are many circumstances which modify the harshness of the climate, and even in the north, where the summer is shortest, things grow surprisingly well, owing to the fact that summer days are so long and light. The most productive soil is the clay land of Österbotten and the southwest, where

rye grows excellently. In the interior sandy soil prevails, together with vast stretches of marsh-land and moor-land. Wheat is but little grown, rye, corn and oats being of far greater importance. The following table shows the relative harvests of these three grains at different periods during the forty-five years between 1860 and 1905;

				Rye	Corn	Oats
1861-5	...	...	...	48.9	26.6	24.5
1881-5	...	...	...	40.7	21.4	37.9
1901-5	...	...	...	33.3	14.8	51.9

Rye is grown up to the 66th degree of latitude, but oats do not grow well after the 65th degree. The decrease in rye is due to its sensitiveness to frost, which caused farmers very large losses and made them look to the rearing of cattle as a safer and more profitable investment. This in its turn led to a demand for more fodder; hence the large extension of the land under oats. A further consequence was a greatly increased cultivation of hay, clover, turnips and also potatoes. The need of rye for making bread has been met by importation. The money value of the harvest of 1907, a representative year, was estimated at 162 million marks, of which rye accounted for 53 millions, corn for 19 millions, potatoes and other roots for 34 millions.

If we turn from the growing of crops to the raising of cattle, we find that horned cattle and horses are the most important, and among the former, cows naturally take the first place. The number of cows rose from 670,000 in 1865 to about 1,110,000 in 1907.

In the latter year the number of cows per thousand inhabitants was 374. Mention is made in another chapter of the large butter export. The number of horses rose from 260,000 in 1865 to about 330,000 in 1907. The horses are usually of a light build and are very lively. They have run successfully abroad. Most of the farm work is done with their aid, oxen being but little used for drawing purposes. The Finns as a rule treat their animals well. Sheep play a decreasing rôle in Finnish farming. In 1907 they numbered about 900,000, or rather less than in 1865, in spite of the great increase of Finland's population since that time. Nor do Finnish farmers seem to have realized the economic possibilities of the pig, in spite of the efforts of the State to induce them to improve the breed. There are great opportunities for enterprise in this direction. Bee-keeping and poultry are also practised but little, but the prospects of both would be excellent if more attention were devoted to the subject.

The total value of the stock reared on Finnish farms in 1907 is estimated at not less than 211 million marks.

There is every reason to suppose that the production of Finnish farming, both in crops and cattle, could be largely increased. In the first place far more land could be cultivated. Most of the uncultivated land consists of forests, but there are also great tracts of bog-land, which would provide good soil for cultivation if they were properly drained, as they doubtless will be when sufficient capital can be found. In the second place, better methods of cul-

tivation could be applied. Until recent times Finnish agriculture was extremely primitive. A wood was burnt down and the soil thus reached was cultivated as long as it repaid the labour, when the peasant proceeded to burn down a new wood and repeat the process of cultivation. This wasteful method is little in use to-day, however, and the Government has intervened with various restrictions. The old rotation of crops, namely, the growing of grain on two fields out of three, still prevails largely throughout the country, though in certain parts a more complex system has been introduced. The State is doing its best to further agricultural development. The grant for agricultural purposes in 1909 was over five million marks, of which nearly two millions was devoted to education and one and quarter millions to Farmers' Associations, which latter are private societies for the spread of agricultural knowledge, both theoretical and practical. Numerous schools of agriculture exist, and the University has an agricultural section to which about three hundred students belong. The State has created "The Institute for Agricultural Experiments in Finland" on a property near Helsingfors, and supports a society for the draining of marsh-land, which has two different establishments in the country. Four agricultural laboratories have been founded, besides one at Hangö for the analysis of butter. But a list of all the agricultural societies would be as tedious to the reader as it is creditable to Finland. An interesting study of State aid in Finland might be made.

Thirdly, a great increase in production would probably take place if the system of land tenure were altered, so that large estates were broken up and an increase took place in the number of small holdings.¹

Dotted about the country-side in most parts of Finland one sees the cottages of the agricultural labourers. Their position is in some ways a curious one and only becomes clear when we have obtained

¹ We find in the Agricultural Report already quoted that the proportion of land under cultivation in

Small estates (less than 50 hectares)	...	was 25.1 per cent.
Medium estates (50-250 hectares)	...	" 17.1 "
Large estates (250-1,000 hectares)	...	" 11.1 "
Very large estates (over 1,000 hectares)	...	" 9.7 "

In other words, small properties are more highly cultivated than large ones. The same thing holds good of the raising of cattle. Compare the following table from the same Report—

NUMBER OF ANIMALS PER 100 HECTARES OF CULTIVATED LAND
IN HOLDINGS OF—

	Less than 3 Hectares	3-10 Hectares	10-25 Hectares	25-100 Hectares	Over 100 Hectares
Horses	22	17	11	7	5
Cows	128	55	37	26	24
Sheep	110	57	39	22	6
Pigs	21	11	7	4	3

Small holdings are advocated not only on agricultural grounds, but also as a means of redressing the economic grievances of large classes of the country people.

an idea of the country-side as a whole, and of how the land is owned and held. The greatest landholder of all is the State, which owns nearly 40 per cent. of the land surface of Finland. Most of the State land, however, consists, as we shall see, of forests, and lies in the north and east of the country. It may be ruled out of account in the present connexion. What really concerns us is the land which is privately owned. First of all there are the great estates. Although they number only 1.4 per cent. of the total number of estates, their area is nearly 18 per cent. of the land privately owned. Most of them are situated in the centre of Finland, where the land is but thinly populated and little cultivated, or in the south and southwest, where the population is comparatively dense and the land is cultivated proportionately. Their growth is explained in two ways. Firstly, even as late as the close of the Middle Ages, the land north of the 62nd degree, save for the coast, was uninhabited, and it became the policy of the Swedish kings to colonize North Finland with people from the south. These colonists maintained themselves by fishing, hunting, and the primitive form of agriculture associated with the burning down of forests. They therefore required very large areas of land, and as there was in early times no lack of it, the State allowed them to acquire as much as they liked, free of cost. Secondly, during the nineteenth century rich men bought up small estates, especially in South Finland, and converted them into large ones, while in the north, centre and east speculators and saw-

mill companies bought up enormous tracts of forest land at low prices from the peasants, who sometimes were not fully aware of their value.

The life of the wealthy landowners is similar to that lived on great estates all over the world. The houses are usually large wooden structures with spacious and airy rooms and plenty of verandas. They are specially designed as summer residences. The gardens are not comparable with English gardens, but have a wild beauty of their own derived from their close relationship with uncultivated Nature. Little game is reared, and altogether sport plays a smaller part than in the life of English gentry. The estate is usually within easy reach of its own farm, which provides it with most of the necessaries of life. The relationship between the landowner and the tenants varies a great deal; in some cases it still seems quite patriarchal.

The agricultural labourers may be divided into two classes, according to whether they hold land as tenants or have no access to the land at all. The former are usually known as *torpare*. The system which produced them was in origin as follows. The larger landowners found their arable land separated by natural causes into a patch here and a patch there, with lakes and stretches of forest lying in between. It was consequently difficult for a single man to superintend their cultivation, and holdings were let out to tenants (*torpare*), who usually paid their rent, not in money, a scarce commodity, but by doing so many days' work per annum on the landlord's own farm. The position of the *torpare*

naturally varies considerably, and the system is far more developed in some parts of the country than in others. It has many drawbacks. The principal claim of the *torpare*, taken up by the Socialist party, is that landowners must either cultivate their land themselves or let others cultivate it on legally established conditions, and that no land must be left idle while there is any one who desires to cultivate it. It is maintained that it would not only enormously benefit the *torpare* themselves, but that it would go far towards providing land for the very large landless population; that it would increase the total wealth of the country and do away with the necessity which exists to-day of importing food on a large scale; that it would benefit not only the country but also the town population, whose position is at present threatened by the influx of masses of unemployed persons, attracted thither from the country by the hope of high wages. finally, that it would decrease emigration, which has in recent years assumed large proportions.

An important law of 1909 provides for a tenure of from fifty years (minimum) to one hundred years (maximum), and secures to the tenant adequate compensation for the improvements carried out by him during his tenure. These concessions are far from satisfying the *torpare*, but are admitted by them to be a great improvement on the old system. But there are difficulties from the side of the landlords, who are dissatisfied with the fifty years' leases, and often prefer, therefore, not to contract with their *torpare* for a new lease, but either to sell

the land or work it themselves. This may easily lead to a further increase of the landless population. It seems clear, therefore, that the law of 1909 does not provide a permanent solution, and that the problem has still to be faced.

Finally we come to the agricultural labourer who has no land to cultivate at all and is unable to get any. This class has increased very rapidly during the last few decades, on account both of the general growth of the population and of the rising value of timber, two circumstances which have sent up the value of land.

The landless population accounts for no less than 43 per cent. of the inhabitants of Finland, and but few of these can find an outlet in industry, which plays but a small part in the country-side. They live mainly as agricultural labourers and by working in the forests, much of their employment being casual. It is from this class that most of the emigrants come, and they form the chief contingent of the country people who stream into the towns.

The general situation in the country-side as regards landholding is summarized in the following table from the report of 1901 already referred to:

Households owning their holdings	...	110,629	or 23 per cent.
“ renting “ “	... ..	160,525	“ 34 “
“ without any land	... ..	206,988	“ 43 “

The poorer peasants, like the farmers, are very hospitable, and there is something of the *grand seigneur* in the simple and dignified way they entertain one. Their usual mode of living, however, is simple in the extreme. They eat mostly rye bread,

porridge, salt fish and meat, potatoes and curdled milk, and their usual drink is coffee. Alcohol is rarely obtainable in the country, but smoking is very largely indulged in. Among the poorest people the housing conditions are often very bad. The cottages I have seen often seemed stuffy and dirty, and there was a lamentable failure to appreciate the advantages of fresh air and light. A lack of energy and hopefulness characterized many of the men and women, while the children were often pasty-faced and thin. The latter looked as if they required more air and better food, the former as if they needed some one to give them a lead.

Not only is the air in the houses often extremely stuffy, but there is much overcrowding. This is partly due to failure of the landlords to provide proper accommodation, but partly also to a genuine preference of the peasants for the cosiness of living all together, many of those who actually have, or could afford, greater space not caring to avail themselves of the possibility. In former times it was the custom to build a house as one large room, with a hole in the roof through which the smoke could ascend. In this room all the varied life of the household took place, and the hole in the roof kept the air sweet and fresh. Nowadays houses are built with separate rooms, and sometimes with windows that cannot be opened and with stoves instead of open fireplaces. In the absence of fresh air consumption results. The disease increases and sanatoria are built to combat it, but until people live more healthily, the disease will prevail.

These remarks will fail of their purpose, however, if they give the impression of the Finnish peasants as being sickly people. They are, as a rule, remarkably strong and sturdy, although one cannot help feeling that if they had more fresh air in their houses, and did not live so much on salted food, they would be still stronger and sturdier. Through the long battle with adverse conditions they have acquired some of the best qualities of the Scotch, including a remarkable tenacity, endurance and thrift. This is, among the best of them, combined with a faith in God which has stood them in good stead in their exceptionally hard struggle against the intractable forces of Nature. Runeberg has expressed this side of their nature admirably in the following poem. "The Peasant Paavo"¹:—

High, among the moors of Saarijärvi,
 On his frosty farm, lived peasant Paavo,
 Diligently managing his farming,
 But his fruits he from the Lord expected.
 There he dwelt in peace with wife and children;
 Earned for them their bread, a scanty living;
 Dug his ditches, ploughed his fields and sowed them.

Springtime came, and from the sprouting corn-plot,
 Half the crops went off with melting snow-drifts:
 Summer came and then the pelting showers
 Beat the ears to earth—just half the harvest;
 Autumn came—the frost took the remainder.

Paavo's wife now tore her hair, lamenting:
 "Paavo, Paavo, thou ill-fated husband!

¹ I have taken the translation appearing in *Finland—an English Journal devoted to the Cause of the Finnish People*, some numbers of which appeared in 1899 and 1900.

Seize thy staff, the Lord hath us forsaken;
Begging bread is hard, but worse is dying!"
Paavo grasped his spouse's hand and uttered:
"The Lord is trying us, and not forsaking.
Thou must mix with bark our bread together;
Ditches I will dig in double numbers;
From the Lord will I expect a blessing."

So she mixed with bark their bread together;
Ditches dug he then in double numbers;
Sold his flocks, and buying grain he sowed it.

Springtime came, and from the sprouting corn-fields
Nothing floated off with melting snow-drifts;
Summer came and now the pelting showers
Beat the ears to earth—just half the harvest;
Autumn came—the frost took the remainder.

Paavo's wife then beat her breast, lamenting:
"Paavo, Paavo, thou ill-fated husband!
Let us die, the Lord hath us forsaken!
Death is hard, but ten times worse is living!"
Paavo grasped his spouse's hand and uttered:
"The Lord is trying us, and not forsaking.
Twice as much of bark thou must be mixing
With the bread; I'll dig as many ditches.
From the Lord do I expect a blessing."

Twice as much of bark the wife now mixed
With the bread; he dug as many ditches;
Sold his kine, and buying corn he sowed it.

Springtime came, and from the sprouting corn-field
Nothing floated off with melting snow-drifts;
Summer came and now the pelting showers
Beat no ears to earth in ripening corn-fields;
Autumn came—the frost, no more destroying,
Left the golden crops to greet the reaper.

Peasant Paavo bowed the knee, and uttered:
"The Lord hath tried us only, not forsaken."

And his wife knelt down, and murmured with him :
"The Lord hath tried us only, not forsaken."
And with joy spoke she unto her husband :
"Paavo, Paavo, seize thy scythe, rejoicing ;
It is time to live a life of gladness,
It is time to leave the bark for ever,
And to make our bread of pure corn only."
Paavo grasped his spouse's hand and uttered :
"O Woman, no one bears his trials so calmly
As the man who ne'er forsakes his brother ;
Twice as much of bark with bread then mix thou,
For frost-bitten stands our neighbour's cornfield."

CHAPTER VI

SOME COUNTRY-SIDE MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS

WE should be making a mistake if, relying on our impressions when travelling through the country, we condoled overmuch with the Finnish peasant on the loneliness and monotony of his life. He has interests and resources of which we townsfolk know nothing. His inner life is far richer than we suspect. He reads Nature "as a scholar who reads a book" and sees things in her which to us are quite hidden. He has the freedom of the lakes and forests—a freedom only to be won by a life lived among them. He has the peasant's profound interest in all the works of Nature around him, in all the simple and necessary processes of life as lived in the days before towns were. He has the lore of the hunter and the trapper. At the very gate of his farm or holding lies the forest, still teeming with a life of which town-dwellers have lost the secret, still teeming, moreover, with animal and bird life. England may have been something like it in the days when it was covered with forests and a price was paid for every wolf-skin. To-day the wolf is but little seen in Finland, only coming in the winter and returning to Russia with the approach of summer.

Nevertheless, it is not so long ago that the peasants still constructed wolf-traps. A deep pit was dug and covered with fir branches, and in the middle was erected a pole to which was attached a cage containing a duck. The wolf jumped to seize the duck and fell into the pit. Sometimes two or three were caught in a single night. The bear, like the wolf, is disappearing from Finland. He rarely molests the peasants unless he is first disturbed, and one could wish that he were left alone. As it is, his winter home is marked by the peasants, who sell the information to persons desirous of bagging a bear-skin. In the old days bear-hunting was a great occupation, partly because at that time the bears were often destructive of crops and cattle. Many stories are told of adventures with bears. A famous old hunter, who in the course of his life killed 198 of them, was once pursued by one up a tree. The bear bit his leg and he fell on to its back, but with great presence of mind he seized its fur and yelled out "March!" upon which the frightened beast galloped away, and the hunter slid off its back and escaped. On another occasion, when his gun missed fire, the same man saved his life by thrusting his arm right into the open mouth of the bear that rushed at him. This unnerved the bear and the hunter escaped with a bad bite. In the old days the killing of a bear was celebrated as a very important event, and his deeds were sung over his dead body, as if he had been a great human hero.¹

The elk is another creature which is fast disap-

¹ Cf. the description in the "Kalevala," Runo 46.

pearing, in spite of its being protected by law. It is, in a sense, a foe to the peasant, being very destructive of crops and young trees. The lynx is still to be met within the depths of the forest, and everywhere foxes abound. One can still see in places an interesting old type of fox-trap. A long stake is fixed in the ground, and is shaped at the top like a three-pronged fork, the central prong being the longest. The edges of the prongs are sharp, like knives. Some bait is fixed at the top, and when the fox jumps for it, his paws are caught between the prongs and he cannot escape.

Of the birds of the country, the commonest are the blackcock, the partridge, the hazel-grouse and the capercailzie, in shooting which the peasant is accompanied by his sporting dog, a kind of wolf-hound. In the far north are swans and wild geese and eider-ducks in great quantities, nor is the eagle unknown. Near the coast wild ducks abound. Fishing is carried on both in the sea and in the great lakes and rivers. Salmon-fishing on a large scale takes place on many of the latter, especially in the north, the fish being caught in pens. This practice has much spoiled the country for the angler. Nevertheless, angling is a very popular pursuit among the peasants, especially among those living near the great lakes. The Finnish temperament finds in angling a particularly congenial recreation. The coast population naturally rely upon sea-fishing for a large part of their livelihood, the Baltic herring being the principal catch.

In winter, fishing is carried on extensively

through holes in the ice. Large colonies of fishermen camp out on the frozen sea, often having horses and sledges with them. It happens nearly every winter that the ice cracks and one or more fishing colonies are carried out to sea on gigantic icefloes. They are then at the mercy of wind and wave; if they are fortunate, the wind that has blown them out to sea will change, and they will be blown ashore again. But it often happens that they are on the floe for days before being picked up by passing vessels or by the boats that go in search of them. Sometimes the floe may break up into several pieces, each with its contingent of human beings. The men take it all very coolly. Like miners, they seem to be indifferent to the great perils they are exposed to, and often they are carried out to sea because they have been too careless to set a proper watch. If the crack were reported at once they could, of course, get ashore before it became too wide.

Seal-shooting on the frozen sea is an important winter pursuit. The peasant lies flat on a sledge which he propels with his feet. In front of the sledge is fixed a white board or sheet, so that the seals may not notice the approach of the sledge across the snow. The peasant then stalks the seal till he is near enough to get a shot. Sometimes the sledge is dispensed with, in which case the hunter wears a white overall and a white cap and creeps along on his stomach.

Of the felling of timber and its transport to the coast we shall speak in another chapter. But there is one other pursuit of the Finnish peasant of which

a word should be said here, namely, tar-burning. Tar-pits used to be common throughout the country, and even to-day a great deal of tar is burned in the north chiefly for purposes of export. The method is to extract the tar from the wood by means of heat. When the tar has been extracted, it is run into barrels, which are sometimes attached to shafts, so that a horse can draw them along as if they were carriages composed solely of large wheels. If it is not wanted for home use, the tar is taken to the nearest waterway and put into boats for transport to the coast. These boats are designed to shoot the numerous rapids *en route*. They are about 30 feet long and only 3 feet broad, very lightly built so as to yield before a slight shock, but with lofty sides to keep out the foaming water. The skill and nerve required for steering these boats are very great, but accidents very seldom occur. The first plunge into a rapid, the noise of which you have heard for several minutes before, is a fine sensation. The boat seems like a wild creature released, speeding along in the first ecstasy of freedom; it seems to have acquired a life of its own, to exercise choice, to take pleasure in the sinuous curves of its body as it neatly shaves the foam-capped rocks and threads its way between the dangers that menace it. At times, especially if you have your eye fixed on the banks, you seem to be gliding forward with astounding velocity. At other times, it seems as if your boat, save for the tossing, stood still in a rough sea, the crested waves of which rushed upon it with the intent to destroy. Look at the banks, however, and

the illusion vanishes. When you emerge from the rapids to smooth water the silence is overwhelming.

For the peasant the country-side is still alive with spirits which townfolk have lost the power of seeing, but which have to be seriously reckoned with by the tiller of the soil. There are still living persons who claim to have seen mermaids and the Lady of the Forest, and little old men sometimes help the labourer at his work. Sand eddies conceal witches who travel along in them. Spirits have been known to unharness horses that an instant before were ready to start. Cows are still ridden by the nightmare. To protect them one must put a knife in the wall above the stall. Another way of shielding cows from harm of any kind is to make a hole in the threshold of the cow-house and put quicksilver in it. Many ordinary occurrences forebode important events. If squirrels build near a house it is believed that one of the inmates will die shortly. The loss of a tooth is also supposed to indicate a death. If a cat runs across the road you will have bad luck, and as a preventive should spit three times. Visitors will come if the cat licks its paws or if your nose tickles. Breaking things indicates a wedding, and so on. Recourse is still had to charms for the curing of sickness, the healing of wounds, for luck in fishing, hunting, weaving, churning, agriculture and love and the evil eye is still feared and guarded against.

Dr. Gunnar Landtman, who is well known for his explorations among the tribes of the South Pacific,

was given a most circumstantial account of how a shepherd boy in South Finland saw the Lady of the Forest. "She stood leaning against a high pine-tree and looked very beautiful. She was wearing a fine large hat. The shepherd boy was on a hill when he became aware of her and she looked at him flauntingly. When he opened the gate and called out the cows she turned and fled. There was a fine aspen grove in the place and the tree-tops swayed when she ran, so that she was followed by a kind of hissing sound. She was very ugly behind. For this reason wood-nymphs do not like being seen from behind." The same author was told about two country-girls who "came to a stream and saw some one sitting on a plank that was stretched across it. At first they thought that it was a human being. 'Do you see that?' said one of the girls. At the same moment the creature plunged into the water and disappeared. Then the girls knew that it was the water-spirit. They were so near that they could have hit her with a stick. The creature looked like a woman; she was washing herself when they saw her, and her breasts were so long that she threw them over her shoulder. She had no clothes on and was quite naked. Her hair was black and long."

Dr. Landtman records the following mysterious adventure that happened to a fisherman who went out in his boat one Sunday morning. While fishing he caught half a perch on his hook. He was surprised, but thought that the perch had in some way lost its tail. Presently there was another bite, but no fish came, and immediately afterwards a voice

said, "Stump, come back." The man, however, was not frightened and continued to fish. Then a great hand arose above the surface of the water, and suddenly the fisherman was cast ashore, boat and all. When he came to, the perch was gone without his knowing how it had happened. He didn't dare to put out again and after that never fished on a Sunday morning.

A whole book might be written on the curious habits and customs and beliefs that still survive in the Finnish country-side and help to enrich its life. Finland is indeed unusually interesting from this point of view, because its folk-lore is derived not only from the primitive Finns but also from the primitive Scandinavians. Dr. Landtman's stories are all taken from a Swedish-speaking tract quite close to Helsingfors. Swedish Österbotten is an even richer field.

Social life plays a greater part in the country than the great distances separating villages would lead one to imagine. The peasants meet mostly on Sundays, when it is the custom in the lake districts and in the lagoons to row to church in the enormous church-boats, which hold young men and maidens, old men and children, and are as spacious as Noah's Ark. They belong to the village or commune that builds them, and often have room for more than a hundred people. There are a dozen or more pairs of oars and each oar is so big that it is pulled by two persons. Near the church several such boats may be seen moored, and after the serv-

ice they race each other home as far as their routes converge, enjoying the wildest excitement.

The churches are mostly built of timber and have a certain picturesque quality in the landscape. The bell-tower usually stands separate from the church. The pastor, who is appointed and supported by the congregation, has a large house near by, and in old days travellers went as a matter of course to the parsonage for food and lodging. In every church is hung a copy of the Act of Assurance by which Alexander I guaranteed Finland her constitutional liberties. As churches are quite out of the reach of some of the people, especially of those dwelling on remote islands, open-air services are often held in the summer by the seashore.

The Church has played an important part in the life of Finland, especially in the sphere of education.¹ But of recent decades it has lost much of its hold upon the people. The Socialists have been responsible for a good deal of anti-religious propaganda and the Church itself has got rather out of touch with the needs of modern life. But what has done most of all to discredit religion in Finland has been the attitude taken up by the clergy towards the russianizing of their country. A few, indeed, boldly took their stand on the constitution and spoke out nobly, but the majority gave way from motives of expediency, thereby losing the confidence not only of the intellectuals but of large numbers of the working classes. Rarely has a finer chance been thrown away.

¹ Cf. Chapter X.

Harvest-time is the signal for great social gatherings. The peasants of the neighbourhood assemble at the farm where haymaking or harvesting is going on, and work together during the day and feast and dance at night. All who work are entitled to share in the feasting. These dances are unforgettable. Many of the peasants dance astonishingly well, and there is a naturalness and enthusiasm about the whole thing which compares very favourably with the more ceremonious and blasé dancing in fashionable ball-rooms. In parts of the country the midsummer dance survives. On Midsummer Eve you get into a farm cart trimmed with birch-branches and filled with hay, amid which you lie, and are driven through the light Northern night to the accompaniment of an old fiddler who sits on a chair in a corner of the cart. Singing and talking, you bump along the not very good road until towards midnight you come to a village green, in the centre of which a gaily decorated maypole has been erected. Here, in the delicious cool, you dance around the maypole and revel in the joy of a night that never grows dark. In the early hours of the morning you drive back, perhaps dozing in your bed of hay, and after getting your oars from the tree under which you have hidden them, row across the silent fjord and creep along the path through a pinewood to your home.

In many parts of Finland the old pagan custom of dancing and singing around a fire on Midsummer Eve continues, and still in the twentieth century the young people may be seen leaping over the flames.

At Whitsuntide, also, such fires are made, to celebrate the return of sunlight and warmth to the earth, and the peasants sing ancient runes—so ancient that in some places, like Ristala, near Tavastehus, the very meaning of the words sung has been forgotten beyond recovery.

Apart from the harvest and midsummer, it is the Church festivals that are celebrated most enthusiastically. Easter has its painted eggs, as in other countries, and a special dish called “memma,” which is made of malt, sweetened and boiled till it becomes quite thick, and served in birch-bark baskets. It is eaten with lots of cream and sugar. Easter, for some reason, is a great time for children to swing. All Saints’ Day is remarkable as the day on which servants’ contracts take effect or expire in the country districts—for servants are engaged there by the year. Shrove Tuesday is celebrated by eating large buns, which are placed in a soup-plate filled with milk and swell to a most embarrassing size.

Christmas is, of course, the greatest feast of all, and preparations are made for it long beforehand. Bread is baked, ale is brewed, and the elaborate treatment of the stockfish is taken in hand. As the festival approaches, the whole house is washed and cleaned and the floor is covered with clean straw. On Christmas Eve the whole family retires to the bath-hut and undergoes the tremendous purgation of the Finnish bath, afterwards perhaps taking a roll in the snow. Then follows a meal from the Christmas fare of rice porridge and stockfish. Nor

have the animals, in the midst of whom Our Lord was born, been forgotten. They are given extra food, and a sheaf of corn has been put out for the birds. The family retires early to rest, the children often sleeping on the straw in memory of the Christ-child who was born in a manger. Sometimes what is called a "heaven" is suspended from the ceiling. It is a framework of threads covered with straws and decorated with pieces of paper cut in the shape of stars and other appropriate emblems. Lit up from below by candle and firelight it has a beautiful transparent effect, and must seem very lovely to a child. On Christmas morning all rise very early, while it is still dark. They may have to drive very many miles before reaching the church in time for the six o'clock service. All do honour to the great festival, according to their means. The best horses are put into the sledges, which are covered with bright rugs, and as many bells as possible are attached to the harness to make a merry sound. Nor is this early morning drive entirely through pitch darkness. For all, both high and low, have placed lighted candles in their windows to celebrate the Saviour's birthday, and every house or cottage you pass flashes to you the good news. In the old days there used to be a man holding a torch, who stood at the back of the sledge and lit up the road for you, but this custom has died out. When you reach the church you find that this, like the cottages, is brilliantly lighted with candles. They stand everywhere—not merely in the conventional places, but here, there and everywhere, and especially in

the windows. From the outside the church shines through the darkness like a vast and brilliant lantern. Tied along a fence near by is a long row of horses and sledges; the breath of the horses issues in clouds of white steam. At the end of the service there is a rush for the sledges, for it is the custom to race home from church. If the way lies in part across a frozen lake, a tremendous pace may be attained and there is the keenest excitement as half a dozen sledges strain abreast. The remainder of the day begun thus strenuously is usually spent in eating the Christmas ham and other seasonable fare, and in quietly resting. On St. Stephen's Day it is customary for the young people to go out driving and wish each other a good year for the flax, and on New Year's Eve you melt tin and throw it in water to harden, after which you hold it up against the wall and see your future in the shadow it casts or in the shape the hardened tin assumes.

The marriage customs are interesting and vary greatly in different parts of Finland. In some places the proposal is still made, not by the lover, but by a friend acting on his behalf. The wedding is a great event among the richer peasants and recalls echoes of the wedding described in the "Kalevala," the feasting in some cases lasting no less than three days. The bride is dressed by a woman who is the official village bride-dresser. If the bride had misbehaved in her earlier life her wreath used to be made in a different way from that worn by other brides.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the old mar-

riage customs in Finland is one that has not yet disappeared among the Swedish population of Österbotten.

Between nine and ten of a Saturday evening the youths of the village meet, dressed in their best clothes, and stand and talk for some time, waiting for the girls to go to bed. Presently they disperse, moving off unobtrusively each to visit his own girl. If he is engaged, a boy may go openly to the place where his sweetheart is living, but otherwise it is *de rigueur* not to let the others know which girl he visits. The girls are free to admit or refuse admission to any boy, but when once they are engaged the girl is expected to admit her betrothed only.

In the old days the girls of a farm usually slept all together, but nowadays they sleep, as a rule, in a hut outside the main building or have a room to themselves, thus enjoying privacy for these nocturnal visits. In the summer, moreover, these meetings very often take place in the remote-lying huts or cottages where the girls live in order to be near the pasturing cattle and to be able to make butter and cheese on the spot, without having to transport the milk many miles to the farm. The girls take a great pride in these *saeters* and make them look as gay and attractive as possible, hanging up their prettiest handkerchiefs and petticoats as ornaments. When a boy who is not engaged comes to the place where the girl he desires to visit sleeps, a curious ritual takes place. The boy taps on the window, and the proper thing is to use a cigarette-holder, or something else that makes a sharp noise. It ought

to sound as much as possible like the click of a telegraph apparatus. After tapping, the boy waits a little and then calls out, "Do you hear anything?" If he fails to get an answer he taps again, louder and longer, and says:—

"Kick the fur to the feet,
Kick between the wall-beams your sleep;
Put your foot on the floor,
Your hand on the door
And let us meet.

Why in the name of all the devils are the girls so mighty and proud that they don't care to get up and answer an honest village boy? Don't you hear?"

Usually a voice is heard from within saying, "Hullo, there!"

Then the boy exclaims: "Of course you must have heard. Aren't you getting up? It is such a small trouble to get up and see what a boy wants this evening."

"Well, it isn't such a trouble," says the girl.

"It isn't so great that you haven't done something greater before. You are coming after all, aren't you?" says the boy.

Then the girl comes to the window and draws the curtain, so that she can see the boy. They say "good evening," and then the boy asks:

"What is going on in there, now,"

"I am only sleeping," she replies.

"Perhaps you have a sleepy boy with you," he continues.

"No, I've no naughty sweetheart," she answers.

"Aren't you going to let me in." he says.

“I don’t know if I will,” she replies.

“Oh, you will surely let me in,” he pleads.

And then she either agrees, saying, “All right, then, I will,” or refuses, saying, “I won’t let you in this evening. Good night” in which case he has to go off without further ado.

“If the girl is willing to receive him, however, she goes to the door in her underskirt and admits him, lights the lamp if it is dark (in the height of summer it is light all night), and then gets into bed again. Presently the boy asks if he may stay with her overnight, and if she says yes, he is allowed to take off his boots, coat, waistcoat and collar, put out the light and lie down at her side. If a boy to whom she is not engaged attempts to undress more the girl leaves him. The night is spent in talking, and in the morning the girl gets up and makes coffee, after which the young man departs, thanking her for a good lodging.

If a boy from another village turns up, his friends consider it only hospitable to secure him night quarters also. But one of them must go with him to explain to the girl who he is and guarantee his respectability. Any boy who misbehaves very soon forfeits his right to night quarters, for the report travels rapidly round the village and none of the girls will have anything to do with him.

The origin of this custom, which seems to have been common at one time all over the north of Scandinavia, was that, owing to the great distances separating them and to the hardness of the life, young people had very few chances of meeting openly and

getting to know each other. In these days the conditions are changed and the custom is no doubt doomed to disappear.¹

¹ For my description of this custom I have followed closely the account of it given in Brage's "Årskrift," 1908.



CHAPTER VII

THE WORLD OF THE ANCIENT FINNS

BEFORE proceeding further it is desirable to glance at the racial mind of the people we are studying, as it is expressed in their ancient poetry. This poetry was probably composed by a variety of runo-singers or minstrels during the centuries immediately preceding the introduction of Christianity into Finland. But as it was handed down orally from father to son for generations, in the course of time it naturally received many influences from Christianity, and opinions differ greatly as to the pre- or post-Christian composition of many of the runos. The songs were sung by two singers who sat opposite each other, clasped hands, and swayed forwards and backwards to the accompaniment of a harp. One sang a line, which the other repeated, thus giving the first one time to think out the next line. It is described in the opening lines of the poem:—

Let us clasp our hands together,
Let us interlock our fingers;
Let us sing a cheerful measure,
Let us use our best endeavours,
While our dear ones hearken to us,
And our loved ones are instructed,

While the young are standing round us,
 Of the rising generation,
 Let them learn the words of magic,
 And recall our songs and legends.

These my father sang aforetime,
 As he carved his hatchet's handle,
 And my mother taught me likewise,
 As she turned around her spindle,
 When upon the floor, an infant,
 At her knees she saw me tumbling,
 As a helpless child, milk-bearded,
 As a babe with mouth all milky.

We have already seen how the fragments of this ancient poetry were collected and fashioned into a whole by Elias Lönnrot, and shall now regard it mainly as it throws light on the world of the ancient Finns. The word "primitive" strikes its key-note. The earth itself is a primitive, pre-human place, which, together with the sun, the moon and the clouds, has been formed out of the broken fragments of a teal's egg, which the teal had laid on the knee of the Water Mother, who, before she had descended from the sky and been fertilized by wind and wave, had been the Virgin of the Air. When the earth has been formed, Man, in the person of the aged bard Wäinämöinen, issues from the Water Mother's womb. The world as it presents itself to him (or to the primitive people who created him) is on a vast scale. He himself lay thirty years in his mother's womb, and when he forced his way out and fell into the surrounding water he was tossed about on the sea for eight years before reaching land. The land, too, was primitive and vast, as it must

have appeared to those who first attempted to subdue it, and it was full of powers hostile to man, which had to be propitiated. We read of an oak-tree that grew so vast that it overshadowed the entire country, hiding the sun and the moon. Even inanimate things, such as iron and wood, have the power of speech, while birds and beasts talk freely. Indeed, the animal world is of very great importance to the inhabitants of these huge wastes. Thus an eagle saves Wäinämöinen by conveying him on its back from the sea, when, after swimming for many days, he begins to feel faint; and when the northern maiden Aino is drowned, it is the hare that takes the news to her family. Aino herself is turned into a fish, and as such is caught by her old lover Wäinämöinen, only to escape into the water again and mock him.

The population of Kalevala (the Land of Heroes,) seems to live in small groups, separated by great stretches of water, forest and moorland. It is a pre-civilized life they lead, and the finer shades of feeling and expression, such as a lyrical sense of the beauty of the earth and of motherhood, coexist with the thoughts and customs of a barbarous age. One is reminded of early art, where the conception is human but the lines are stiff and unyielding. These heroes and heroines still have much unassimilated metal in their composition—they are often metallic to the touch. But they by no means resemble the stark and mighty figures of Icelandic saga or of the Nibelungenlied, their metal being of quite a different quality.

The story and characters are not exclusively Finnish in origin, but their relation to other sagas cannot be discussed here. It is enough that they are profoundly informed and moulded by Finnish feeling and thought.

The principal men in the story are Wäinämöinen, the aged bard, whose origin we have already seen, and who is renowned for his wisdom, his singing and his magic; Ilmarinen, the mighty smith, who rejoices in his forge; Lemminkainen, a jolly, hot-headed, reckless rascal, who is a favourite with the girls and is always getting into trouble; and Kullervo, a tragic figure whose hand is against every man's. Of the heroines must be mentioned especially Louhi, the mistress of Pohjola (the North), who is an extremely formidable personage, and her daughter, the Maiden of Pohjola. These two women it is difficult to characterize, as they appear in many contradictory parts and are obviously the creations of several different minds.

The motive that unites these and the minor characters of the poem is the forging of Sampo, the magic mill, and its transference from Pohjola to Kalevala. Closely associated with this are the attempts made by the heroes to win the beautiful Madien of Pohjola as bride.

The great power in this ancient world-order is magic, and almost anything can be achieved by its means. By it Wäinämöinen sings his enemy Joukahainen into a swamp, and Ilmarinen actually forges himself a new wife, though it is true he fails to give her life and warmth. In every emergency recourse

is had to it, and the magical spells in the "Kalevala" are innumerable and often wearisome. In order to control anything you must know and relate to its origin. You can then do what you like with it. Almost any risk is worth taking in order to master a powerful spell, and Wäinämöinen actually goes down to Tuonela, the kingdom of death and hell, in order to secure three magic words necessary for the construction of a boat he is building. Their ancient reputation as magicians clings to the Finns even to-day, and it is commonly believed among sailors of other nations that the Finn has the power of calling up storms. In Kalevala the magical world and the natural world have not yet been differentiated; magic mingles at every turn with daily life and there seems to be no sense of inconsistency. At one and the same moment we are face to face with the dullness of every-day home life, as when Joukahainen, with the most powerful sorcery and with the cosisunk chin-deep in the filthy swamp by magic spells, beseeches Wäinämöinen—

Speak thy word of magic backwards,
 Break the spell that overwhelms me!
 You shall have my sister Aino,
 I will give my mother's daughter.
 She shall dust your chamber for you,
 Sweep the flooring with her besom,
 Keep the milkpots all in order:
 And shall wash your garments for you.
 Golden fabrics she shall weave you,
 And shall bake your cakes of honey.

Upon which Wäinämöinen, who desires a wife for his old age, dissolves the spell.

While these excursions into the realm of magic and descriptions of life on a huge scale have their interest, it must be admitted that after a time they become tedious to any but a student of folk-lore. They create an atmosphere of primitive life, indeed, but there is too much of it. The most attractive and interesting side of the poem, apart from its literary beauties, is the descriptions it gives of the manners and customs of the primitive Finns.

There are many references to agriculture, but the real interests of the men are rather to be found in hunting, fighting, magic and love. When Lemminkäinen desires the daughter of Louhi in marriage he is set three tasks: to capture the elk of Hiisi, to bridle the fire-breathing horse of Hiisi, and to shoot a certain swan—all exploits of the hunter—and a whole runo is devoted to the description of how Wäinämöinen killed a bear and of the great feast that followed. Fighting, however, plays a smaller part than in most other epics and does not seem to have been regarded with great enthusiasm, but rather as an unavoidable evil. It is usually an individual affair, and although one hears of bodies of men engaged in it, as in the great struggle for the Sampo, what most interested the audience was evidently the description of single combats. Magic plays an important part in fighting and is resorted to where possible as a substitute for physical force. In fact, war is at least as much a matter of supernatural as of natural agencies. The heroes are not ashamed of telling lies to their enemies; indeed, it seems rather creditable to do so if one is not found

out. Nor are they ashamed to express their feelings by weeping. They have a great and almost childish delight in bright fresh objects, such as axes, swords, nicely appointed sledges and shields. Take, for instance, this description of a boat built by Wäinämöinen:—

There the pale grey boat is lying,
 And the boat with red he painted,
 And adorned the prow with gilding,
 And with silver overlaid it;
 Then upon the morning after,
 Very early in the morning,
 Pushed his boat into the water,
 In the waves the hundred-boarded,
 Pushed it from the barkless rollers,
 From the rounded logs of pine-tree.
 Then he raised a mast upon it;
 On the masts the sails he hoisted,
 Raised a red sail on the vessel,
 And another blue in colour;
 Then the boat himself he boarded,
 And he walked upon the planking.
 And upon the sea he steered it,
 O'er the blue and plashing billows.

Here, again, is a description of a spear:—

Then the smith a spear constructed,
 Not a long one, not a short one,
 But of middle length he forged it.
 On the blade a wolf was sitting,
 On the edge a bear was standing,
 At the joint an elk was trotting,
 On the shaft a colt was running,
 At the end a reindeer leaping.
 Then fresh snow was gently falling,
 And a little snow had drifted
 As it drifts in early autumn,
 White as is the hare in winter.

Nor are they indifferent to their personal appearance and to the joy of bright colours, as the following description of Ilmarinen dressing for his wedding shows:—

Then she brought him finest stockings,
Which, as maid, had wove his mother,
And with these his shins he covered,
And his calves were hidden by them.
Then she brought him shoes that fitted,
Best of Saxon boots she brought him,
And with these the stockings covered
Which his mother sewed as maiden;
Then a coat of blue she chose him,
With a liver-coloured lining,
Covering thus the shirt of linen,
Which of finest flax was fashioned;
Then an overcoat of woollen,
Of four kinds of cloth constructed,
O'er the coat of bluish colour,
Of the very latest fashion,
'And a new fur, thousand-buttoned,
And a hundred-fold more splendid,
O'er the overcoat of woollen,
'And the cloth completely hiding;
Round his waist a belt she fastened,
And the belt was gold-embroidered,
Which his mother wrought as maiden,
Wrought it when a fair-haired maiden;
Brightly coloured gloves she brought him. . . .
Which his father once had purchased,
When as bridegroom he adorned him.

As regards home-life and family relationships, the people of Kalevala have an extraordinary affection for their mothers. This, indeed, is one of the most beautiful features of the poems. The bride, when she is being instructed in her new duties, is warned never to forget her own mother:—

For it was thy mother reared thee,
 And her beauteous breasts that nursed thee,
 From her own delightful body,
 From her form of perfect whiteness.
 Many nights has she lain sleepless,
 Many meals has she forgotten,
 While she rocked thee in her cradle,
 Watching fondly o'er her infant.

If she forgets her mother the daughters of the
 kingdom of death will reproach her:—

Why hast thou forgot thy mother,
 Or despised thy dearest mother?
 Great the sufferings of thy mother,
 Great her sufferings when she bore thee,
 Lying groaning in the bath-room,
 On a couch of straw extended,
 When she gave thee thy existence,
 Giving birth to thee, the vile one!

Wäinämöinen, hero and sage as he is, turns to his
 mother for comfort in his distress, saying:—

Would my mother now were living,
 And my aged mother waking!
 She would surely tell me truly
 How to best support my trouble,
 That my grief may not o'erwhelm me,
 And my sorrow may not crush me,
 In these weary days of evil,
 In this time of deep depression.

Even the rascally Lemminkainen pities his mother
 when he realizes how all her children are scattered
 and remembers

How like flowers we gathered round thee,
 In one homeland, just like berries.

He turns to her for aid in every scrape. One of the finest episodes in the "Kalevala" is that in which Lemminkainen's mother, learning of her son's death, goes in search of his body, rakes the water of the cataract in which he has been drowned until she has collected all the scattered fragments and joined them into a whole, and restores him to life with the help of magic and the gods.

The formidable position occupied by the mother in a household is seen from the instructions given to the bride as regards her attitude to her mother-in-law. The newly married couple did not have a separate establishment, but lived patriarchally in the house of the bridegroom's parents, and the mother-in-law could, if she chose, make herself remarkably unpleasant to the young bride and give her all the hard work. An old woman warns the bride of her own sad experiences in this respect saying:—

Fodder gathered I in summer,
 Winter worked I with the pitchfork,
 Even as a labourer toiling,
 Even as a hired servant,
 And my mother-in-law for ever,
 Evermore for me selected
 Worst of all the flails of threshing,
 Heaviest mallet from the bath-room,
 From the beach the heaviest mallet,
 In the stall the largest pitchfork.
 Never did they think me weary,
 Nor my weakness e'er considered,
 Though my work had wearied heroes,
 Or the strength of foals exhausted.

Old women were often powerful magicians, and

this, no doubt, accounts in part for the respect in which they were held. The young wife, on the other hand, seems to have been very much kept in her place, and going to a new home was almost as delicate an operation for her as walking on eggs. The instructions given her are of real interest, throwing much light on the life of that time. For instance:—

If you see the Great Bear clearly,
With his front to south directed,
And his tail extending northward,
Then 'tis time for thee to rouse thee
From the side of thy young husband,
Leaving him asleep and ruddy,
Fire to seek among the ashes,
Seeking for a spark in fire-box,
Blowing then the fire discreetly,
That from carelessness it spread not.

After lighting the fire there are the cattle to be attended to, and by the time that is done the baby will be crying, and she must return home “like a blizzard” to comfort it. The room has to be done, so she comes along with a bucket of water, a besom, and a pine-chip, and has to be kind even to other people’s babies who may interrupt her:—

Sweep thou then the floor to cleanness,
Sweep thou carefully the planking,
And upon the floor pour water,
Not upon the heads of babies.
If you see a child there lying,
Though thy sister-in-law’s the infant,
Up upon the bench then lift it,
Wash its eyes, and smooth its hair down,
Put some bread into its handies,

And upon the bread spread butter;
But if bread perchance be wanting
Put a chip into its handies.

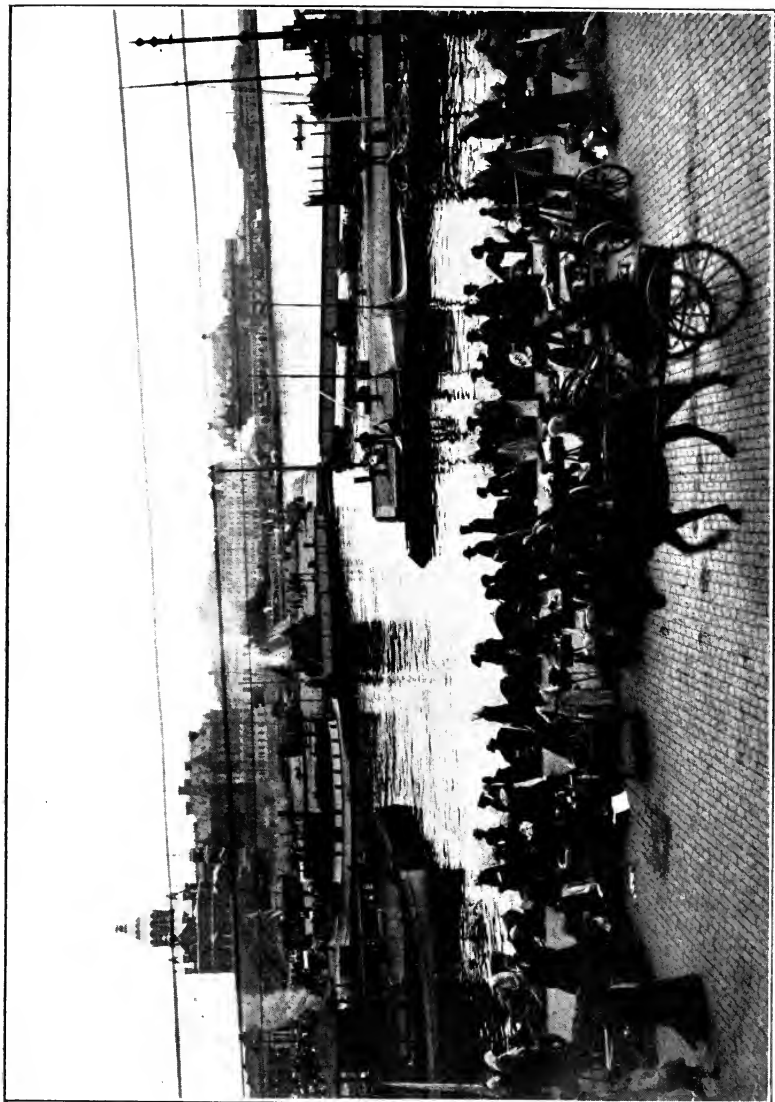
The cleaning of the room is a really formidable affair, but she must never venture to get tired or rest; for her husband will be coming in from his work and she must take him a basin and towel and be nice to him. And then there is her mother-in-law to help. Water has to be fetched, the dough has to be kneaded, the corn must be ground in a handmill, logs have to be taken to the bakehouse, the oven heated and the baking done. She must not linger with her bucket by the water, lest her father-in-law or mother-in-law imagine that she wishes to see her charms reflected there, which would never do. She must make no noise when she gets the wood, because they might think she was flinging it about in a temper. When she does the washing-up she must be careful to count the spoons and dishes, for there are dogs, cats and birds about and "the village swarms with children." Then there is spinning and weaving to be done, for the family requires thick woolen garments, and there is also ale to be brewed. The young wife must be careful to stir the ale with her hands and not use a stick, and when she has to go out at night to look after it she must not be afraid of the wolves. In the evening her father-in-law will want his bath, and she must go out to the bath-house and prepare everything. And she must be quick about it, or her parents-in-law will imagine she is wasting her time, "on the bench her head reclining."

When a stranger comes she should not resent it:—

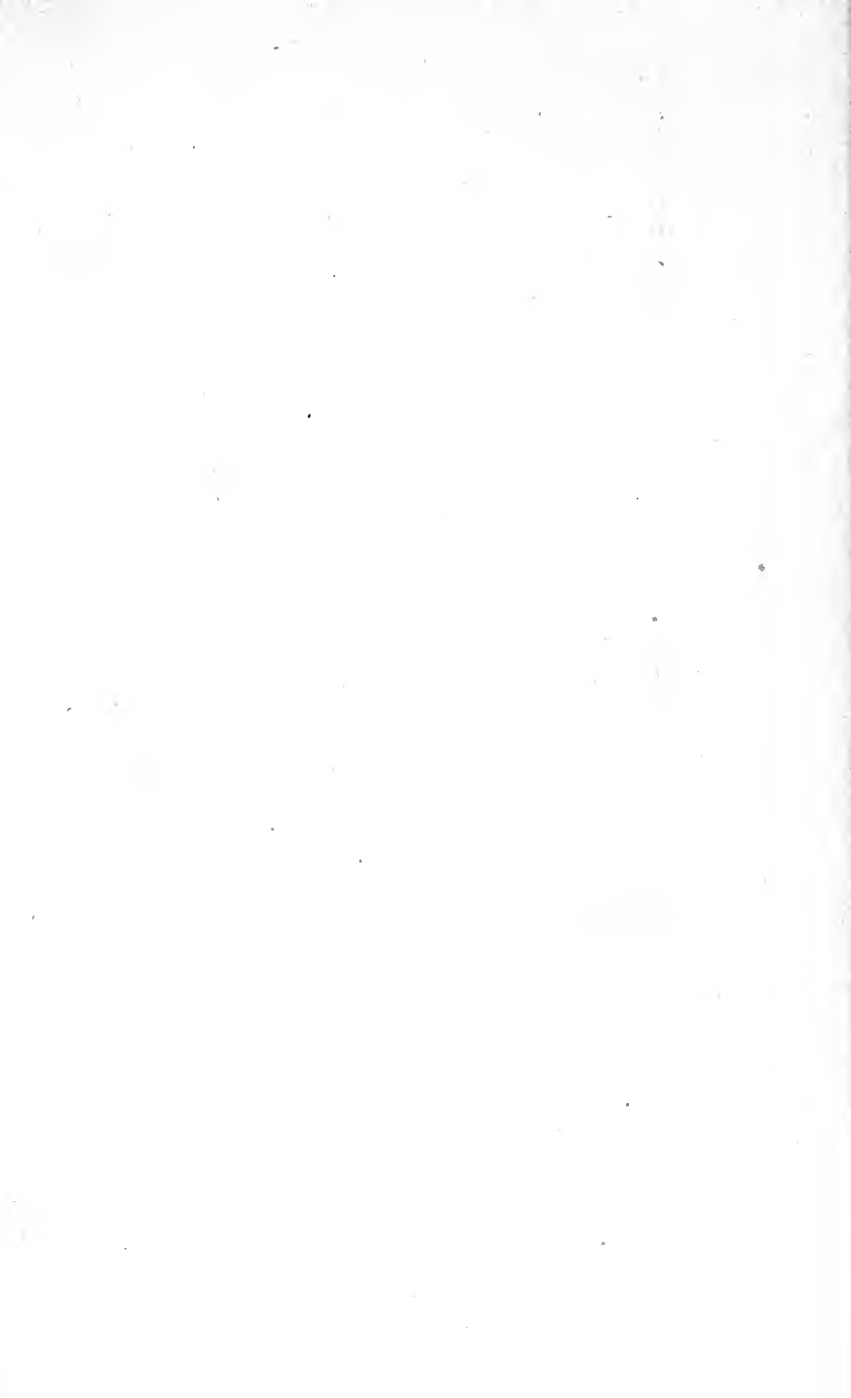
For a well-appointed household
Always has for guests provision:
Scraps of meat that are not needed,
Cakes of bread the very nicest.

She must amuse him with her conversation, but when he goes she must not accompany him farther than the house door, lest her husband should be angry or gloomy. If she wants to go into the village she must ask leave first, and be careful what she says when she gets there. Thus, if asked whether her mother-in-law allows her butter, she must answer that she gives it to her by the spoonful, and must never let on that she only does it grudgingly about twice a year.

From other parts of the poem one infers that the mother-in-law was not always as black as she is painted for the bride's edification. There is, indeed, a special element of heightening or exaggeration in the long description of the marriage in the "Kalevala" which shows that we have to deal with a rather elaborate form of ritual prescribed for the occasion. The bride is required to weep bitterly on account of the breaking with her old life. She is then comforted and instructed in her duties, after which an old woman frightens her by recounting the terrible experiences she herself had as a wife. Then the bridegroom is instructed in his turn, after which the farewell is said and the two drive away and receive a tremendous welcome at the bride-



A MARKET PLACE, HELSINGFORS



groom's home, the bride being greeted in words such as the following:—

Noble damsel, fairest camse,
 With thy beautiful complexion,
 In the house wilt thou be honoured,
 As in father's house the daughter,
 All thy life shalt thou be honoured,
 As in husband's house the mistress.

The bridegroom's duties are unfortunately not given so fully as those of the bride, the chief emphasis being laid on good treatment of the wife. If she proves thoroughly recalcitrant, however, he is recommended to use physical force but only after he has tried every other means:—

Bridegroom, give thy bride instruction.
 And do thou instruct thy apple,
 In the bed do thou instruct her,
 And behind the door advise her;
 For a whole year thus instruct her,
 Thus by word of mouth advise her.
 With thine eyes the next year teach her,
 And the next year teach by stamping;
 If to this she pays no heeding,
 Nor concerns herself about it,
 Choose a reed where reeds are growing,
 From the heath fetch thou some horse tail,
 And with these correct the damsel,
 In the fourth year thus correct her.
 With the stalks then whip her lightly,
 With the rough edge of the sedges,
 But with whip-lash do not strike her,
 Neither with the rod correct her.
 If to this she pays no heeding,
 Nor concerns herself about it,
 Bring a switch from out the thicket,
 In the dell select a birch-rod,
 Underneath thy fur cloak hide it,

That the neighbours may not know it,
Let the damsel only see it;
Threaten her, but do not touch her.
If to this she pays no heeding,
Nor concerns herself about it,
With the switch correct the damsel,
With the birch-rod do thou teach her,
But within the room four-cornered,
Or within the hut moss-covered.
Do not beat her in the meadow,
Do not whip her in the cornfield,
Lest the noise should reach the village,
And to other homes the quarrel,
Neighbours' wives should hear the crying,
And the uproar in the forest.

One does not find in the "Kalevala" a very high ideal of love, and throughout the poem the mother seems more highly venerated than the wife. The sexes are very free in their relations, and there is little trace of chivalrous feeling between them. Most of the heroes seem to regard women as their fair prey. Even Wäinämöinen, the most sympathetic of them, hardly shines in his pressing of his suit upon the girlish Aino. Marriage by capture seems common. Lemminkainen, after having enjoyed the favours of every woman but one in the village which he visits, finally carries off that one by force. Ilmarinen, also, wins one of his wives in a similar manner, only to turn her into a seagull when she persists in being hostile to him. Irregular relations are not, indeed, approved of in theory, but are so common in practice that the theory seems almost a dead-letter. No doubt, however, the heroes enjoyed a greater license in these matters than the common herd and are not to be taken as entirely

typical of the latter. Faithfulness to a past love seems to enter no one's head.

The amusements of the primitive Finns consisted largely in feasting, bathing, and singing. One of the most spirited descriptions in the "Kalevala" is that of the great wedding banquet. All is on a gigantic scale. The ox, which is of middle size only, is so big that a swallow cannot fly between the tips of its horns in a day and a squirrel takes a full month to run from its neck to the tip of its tail, and the house was of such dimensions that

If a cock crowed at the smoke-hole,
Underneath they could not hear it;
If a dog at end was barking,
At the door they did not hear it.

(The speeches, alas! are on a similar scale.) The hostess, however, feels called upon to reply to the bridegroom's compliments on the splendid hall in the following terms:—

Hail, all hail to thee who enters
In this room of small dimensions,
In this very lowly cottage,
In this wretched house of firewood,
In this house of pine constructed.

The singing of the heroes is frequently described. A harp was used, the singer accompanying himself. Wäinämöinen's singing was especially wonderful, and there is a fine detailed description of how all the creatures of earth and air and water came to hear him and grouped themselves around him as he sat on the singer's stone,

On a hill all silver-shining,
From a golden heath arising,

and how the emotions of the singer swept through his audience and moved them to tears.

Of the bath-house and its ancient ritual some description has already been given. Here it is described in verse. His sister prepares a bath for Ilmarinen:—

Annikki, whose name was famous,
Heated secretly the bath-room,
With the boughs the wind had broken
And the thunderbolt had shattered.
Stones she gathered from the river,
Heated them till they were ready;
Cheerfully she fetched the water,
From the holy well she brought it,
Broke some bath-whisks from the bushes,
Charming bath-whisks from the thickets,
And she warmed the honeyed bath-whisks,
On the honeyed stones she warmed them;
Then with milk she mixed the ashes,
And she made him soap of marrow,
And she worked the soap to lather,
Kneaded then the soap to lather,
That his head might cleanse the bridegroom,
And might cleanse himself completely.

Then the smith, e'en Ilmarinen,
Went to take the bath he needed;
There he bathed himself at pleasure,
And he washed himself to whiteness;
Washed his eyes until they sparkled,
And his temples till they glistened,
And his neck to hen's-egg whiteness,
And his body all was shining.
From the bath the room he entered,
Changed so much they scarcely knew him,
For his face it shone with beauty,
And his cheeks were cleansed and rosy.

Of the religion of the ancient Finns it must suffice to say that it seems to have been an extraordinary mixture of animism and magic, with monotheism occasionally breaking through in noble appeals to the Supreme God. Amid much that is on a very different level of holiness we also find such passages as the following:—

God does not forsake the worthy,
Does not ruin those that trust Him,
Never are the good forsaken,

and this precept:—

Do not walk in thine own virtue,
Do not walk in thine own power,
Walk in strength of thy Creator;
Do not speak in thine own wisdom,
Speak with tongue of mighty Ukko.

Christianity has begun to cast its shadow over the old deities and to modify the old animistic conceptions, and the close of the poem shows Wäinämöinen leaving his country in sorrowful anger after the Virgin Marjatta has given birth to a boy who is baptized as King of Karelia, and whom the old bard, like Herod, desired in vain to destroy. He puts off in his boat, but promises to return again. Meanwhile he leaves his *kantele* and his songs with his people.

Judged purely as literature, the "Kalevala" suffers from the variety of its composition. It consists, as we saw, of a great number of runos composed by different singers, which have been combined into a whole. Such an origin implies a considerable lack of unity, which is well illustrated

in the person of the Maiden of Pohjola. One singer, treating of her in her maiden days, represents her as a beautiful, proud and cold girl. Another represents her as a bride, but she has become shy and timid to a degree that is almost pitiable. A third represents her as a wife, and she has become hard and ruthless and cruel. To this lack of unity must be added other defects already referred to, a certain inhumanity in the characters, and a weariness arising from long-winded description and repetition, and from the extremely primitive nature of the world in which the action takes place.

Against this we have to set considerable literary beauty, the charm of a primitive atmosphere that is genuinely refreshing, provided we do not stay in it too long at a time, the fascination of something that comes out of the very heart of the people, naked and unashamed, and with the charm of antiquity upon it.

Breath that is the spirit's bath,
In the old beginnings find,

are words that apply to the "Kalevala" when all that can be urged against it has been said.

The literary quality of the "Kalevala" is perhaps best seen in the tragic story of Kullervo, which also illustrates the darker side of the national character. The incident, save for an entire canto devoted to the recitation of charms for the protection of cattle, is admirably condensed and concentrated. Kullervo is brought up as a slave. His parents' home was destroyed by enemies, and he believes them to be dead. From his very birth he is alone

and unfortunate. When, after his terrible and weird murder of his wicked mistress, he escapes and finds that his parents and brothers and sisters are alive after all, still worse tragedy than murder awaits him. For soon after he is reunited to his family he meets and ravishes a maiden, whom he afterwards discovers to be his own sister, long since lost and given up for dead. When the girl discovers who he is, she throws herself into a torrent and is drowned. He then, too, determines on suicide, but first goes out to be revenged on the people who had enslaved him. He returns to find his home deserted, and, wandering into the forest, he comes to the place where he had the fatal meeting with his sister:—

There the tender grass was weeping,
 And the lovely spot lamenting,
 And the young grass was deploring,
 And the flowers of heath were grieving,
 For the ruin of the maiden,
 For the mother's child's destruction.
 Neither was the young grass sprouting,
 Nor the flowers of heath expanding,
 Nor the spot had covered over,
 Where the evil thing had happened,
 Where he had seduced the maiden,
 And his mother's child dishonoured.

There he dies on his sword.

NOTE.—The translation used in this chapter is that of W. Kirby, published by Messrs. Dent in "Everyman's Library."

CHAPTER VIII

THE LANDMARKS OF FINNISH LITERATURE SINCE RUNEBERG

I. KIVI

BETWEEN the "Kalevala" and the Finnish literature of to-day there is a great gulf, consisting of many hundred years. The reasons for this should be apparent from preceding chapters and need not be repeated here. But when writers began once again to make use of the Finnish language they took up, as it were, a broken thread. Story-telling had been the joy of the ancient poets and it is to story-telling that modern Finnish writers instinctively turn. They are the true heirs of the bards who wove their tales in the light of the flickering *päre*, when Finland was still Suomi and the Finns were still pagan. In those days their country must have seemed to the poets as vast as the cosmos and as self-sufficing. Foreign lands were remote and dim, lying on a far horizon. And when the spirit of the race once more incarnated itself in stories, these stories seemed to come direct from the soil, uninfluenced by grafting from the outside world. They sprang not from the cultured people who live in towns, but from the very heart of Finland. It is this


which gives its chief interest to Finnish literature.

The first figure in the history of the Finnish novel is also the greatest.

Alexis Kivi was the son of a tailor who lived at Nurmijärvi, in the province of Nyland. His real name was Stenvall, but he is known almost exclusively by his pseudonym, Kivi. He was born in 1834, and at the age of twelve was sent to school in Helsingfors and afterwards became a student at the University. During both his school and student years, and indeed throughout his short life, he suffered acutely from poverty, which contributed to the bad health which always dogged him. He seems to have been an extraordinary mixture of morbidity and healthy-mindedness. His mother was very religious in a revivalistic direction—she had the sole Bible in the village and the boy read only religious literature. Yet nothing pleased him more than to wander about the woods with a gun and to spend his days in the open air. While still a student he won a prize for a drama based on the Kullervo episode in the “Kalevala”—his own unhappiness and loneliness doubtless attracted him to that hero. In 1864 appeared “Nuumisutarit,” a fine study of peasant life in the form of comedy. After this he produced more rapidly, owing to a relief from the financial strain. He was given a refuge at Sjundeå, in a Swedish-speaking district, by Charlotte Lönnqvist, a lady nineteen years older than himself. Finnish literature owes her a great debt of gratitude. Nevertheless, Kivi after some years longed to be back in his home region, feeling a stranger amongst

the Swedish-speaking peasants. "The peasant here," he complains, "stands far from the rich spiritual life that exists in the Finnish peasant's breast." He regards the Finnish peasant as "the most humorous in the world; in my opinion he has a profounder inner life than any other. However this may be, I long to be away from here, from the Swedish population, and to hear the Finnish language around me. My life here is indescribably monotonous. I don't get on with the peasants and still less with the gentry. I spent the last two years almost like a prisoner in a tower. During the last three months, however, I have amused myself by hunting, and have bagged ninety-eight birds—capercailzie, blackcock, hazel hens and two ptarmigan. On my expedition I have used both gun and snares."

Kivi's homesickness in a Swedish-speaking tract becomes intelligible when one reads his works. "The Seven Brothers," his greatest book, could have sprung from no other country than Finland and could have been written in no other language than Finnish. It was published in 1870. Although a few of the critics had some idea of its worth, Professor Ahlqvist, the most eminent of them, made it the subject of the most bitter attack, which did the author serious damage in every respect. Early in 1871 Kivi's mind gave way and he was removed to an asylum, where he died on December 31, 1872. "The Seven Brothers" is both realistic and symbolical. It is symbolical of the struggles of man to subdue the intractable forces of nature, both in the world around him and in his own breast. Kivi se-



lects the moment when the wild nomadic life of half civilized man is being transformed into the more disciplined life of a civilized community. Man has to break in wild nature with a plough and force the desert to produce crops for his use, and he has to break in his own self-willed soul, as one breaks in a wild horse. The story is told realistically enough, yet with vivid and grotesque imaginative power and fantastic humour. Kivi's favourite reading was the Bible, Shakespeare and Cervantes, and his realism is that of the two sixteenth-century writers.

The seven brothers are the sons of a man who had been a great bear-hunter and had finally lost his life in this pursuit. He had a farm called Jukola, in South Tavastland, but had neglected it owing to his passion for hunting, and his sons inherited his dislike for regular work, though they loved the farm with a passionate love. After their mother's death they come into conflict with the village authorities. They had never succeeded in learning to read and are threatened by the pastor with the stocks. They go to the parish clerk to learn, *en route* proposing one after the other to a girl who will not take any of them, and having a fierce battle with the boys of a neighbouring village. They cannot master the alphabet, are locked up by the clerk without any food, but break the window and after many adventures escape home. But they have made the neighbourhood too hot for them, and, to escape being put in the stocks, they take to the woods with their guns, a couple of dogs, and their one-eyed horse drawing a cart laden with hunting gear, household

gods and the cat. They live in the woods, building themselves a room which serves every purpose, including that of a bath-room, and spend their time in hunting, lazing and story-telling.

But at Christmas this hut is burnt down and they are forced to return to Jukola till the spring, when they take to the forest again and have extraordinary adventures. Once when they are bear-hunting their dogs are attacked by a herd of wild bulls. First come ten bulls, seven of which the brothers succeed in slaying after a terrible struggle. But presently they are attacked by thirty-three of them. They fly madly over the fence, through which the bulls crash, and over one obstacle after another, till they take refuge on a high rock where the beasts cannot follow them. Here they have to stand a siege. They shout and yell in vain for help. For three days they are without food. One of them gets drunk at the brandy flask, and a horrible fight takes place in which they are all in imminent danger of falling down from the rock. As it rolled and writhed from side to side, "the heap of brothers looked like a many-headed monster." By a wild instinct of justice, the drunkard is condemned to death, and one of the brothers has to be forcibly restrained from flinging him from the rock. Finally they do the only thing left to them to do, and shoot the bulls. It is a terrible massacre. The owner is furious, but the brothers, dripping with the blood of the bulls they have skinned, and desperate with hunger and strain, threaten to send him to another world after his bulls if he has them molested. A

compromise is arranged and the brothers agree to make good the damage. In order to do so they have to cultivate the soil, and a new stage in their career is entered upon. They begin to realize that they are members of society and that, as such, they have duties and responsibilities. This conversion is accompanied by many backslidings, but gradually there is a reconciliation between the brothers and society. They return to Jukola, learn to read, get married and settle down. The transition from nomadic to civilized life has been completed, and a new stage in the history of the brothers, and of the fatherland they symbolize, has commenced. As it is said of one of them: "The fatherland was no longer for him a vague part of a vaguely conceived world of which he knew neither where nor what it was. Now he knew where that land was, this precious quarter of the world where the Finnish people lives, builds and struggles, and in whose bosom our fathers' bones rest. He knew its frontiers, its seas, its secret smiling lakes and its fir-grown ridges, extending like brushwood fences. The picture of our land as a whole, with its features, kind as a mother's, had impressed itself once for all in the depths of his heart."

As Kivi's work is almost unknown outside Finland, and owing to the extreme difficulty of translation is likely long to remain so, the following vivid incident may serve to give an indication of his quality. The brothers, in celebrating Christmas out in the forest, had got fighting, and as a result their hut was set on fire and nearly all their belongings

burned. It was night and they were practically naked, for they had been partaking of the Christmas bath, but they would die of cold if they stayed where they were and there was nothing for it but to make for the nearest shelter.

“Thus they betook themselves on their journey, naked, save for their tow-yarn shirts and carrying each his birch-wood knapsack on his back and his gun over his shoulder or in his hand. Thus they trod the dark and wintry road, fleeing from the cold which came rushing upon them from the marshes of the north. Yet it did not show them its most terrible countenance. Winter did not this time put forth all its severity. Sometimes, indeed, the face of the heavens was bare, but the sailing clouds covered it again and it blew but moderately from the north. And the brothers were accustomed to cold. Their skins had been tanned by the cracking cold of many a winter, and, formerly, as unruly boys, they had often gone barefoot for hours at a time and been stuck in snow-drifts. Nevertheless, this journey from Impivaara to Jukola was ghastly, terrifyingly ghastly. They hastened forward with dread at heart. At the head rode Eero and Simeoni on Valko’s back; the others followed them, running at their heels, trampling the snows of the wilderness amidst the driving snow. But at Impivaara, close to the stove, the stones of which were still glowing, sat the cat and the cock, gazing sadly at the charred ruins.

“The brothers hastened in the direction of the village; already they had left Sompio Marsh behind

them and were approaching Teerimäki, where the terrible howl of the wolves was continually audible. But at the moorland between the marsh and Sennala Matti's clearing there was a change of riders: Eero and Simeoni dismounted and two of the other brothers quickly took their places. Without delay they continued on their journey, plunged across the rising moor, crossed the road leading to Viertola, and went on through the wide and murmuring pine forest. At last they approached the rocky hill at Teerimäki and suddenly the many-voiced and wild crying of the wolves ceased. Soon they stood at the top of the hill and gave their horse breathing-time; the riders got off its back and two others at once took their places. Still they remained on the snowy hill-top; the north wind blew, the sky momentarily cleared again, and the pole of Charles's Wain showed that it was past midnight.

“But when they had rested, the brothers hastened onward again, following the level route over the hills and, when that ended, descending into the dark forest where nature lay gloomy around them. The moon looked down palely, the owls shrieked, and here and there in the depth of this wilderness stood a strange shape, like a forest bear, terrifyingly huge—it was the mossy upturned roots of fallen pines. Like rigid and motionless ghosts, these bear-shapes stared at the strange procession that rushed past them. Without a movement they gazed, but between them and among them there soon arose in the desolate forest an awful movement. For now the hungry wolves were collecting on the tracks of

the brothers, coming nearer and nearer to them. Now in front, now behind, now rustling over the path or between the trees on either side of it, glimpses could be caught of them hurrying along. Furious and bloodthirsty, they followed the fugitives from Impivaara; there was a cracking and a snapping around them when the dry pine branches broke. Valko trembled and snorted nervously, and the man who was riding in front could scarcely prevent him from bolting. The wolves ventured nearer and nearer. Panting and bloodthirsty, they often swung past the men at close quarters, and in order to frighten them the brothers sometimes fired off their guns to the right or to the left, but the wolves did not retreat far.

“Now they came to Kiljava moor. Here and there stood the withered trunk of a pine, the home of hawk and owl. The fury of the wolves became terrible and the men were in fearful peril. Tuomas and Timo were riding, but the others, who were running after them, suddenly stopped and almost simultaneously fired a sharp volley at their pursuers, who shrank back from it and withdrew a little. Once more the men rushed on, but it wasn't long before the bay of the pursuing wolves was again heard around them and the danger was greater than ever. Then Tuomas pulled up the horse and said in a loud voice: ‘If your guns are empty, load at once—as quick as lightning.’ Thus he cried, and dismounted, bidding Timo hold on to Valko. The brothers stood still and loaded, and felt no cold either in their feet or in any other part.

The wolves, too, stood still, fifty paces from the men, staring continually at them with their ravenous eyes and lashing their tails in eager anticipation.

“*Tuomas*. Are our guns loaded?

“*Aapo*. Yes. What shall we do?

“*Fuhani*. All at once!

“*Tuomas*. No, if we love our lives! Some one’s gun must always be loaded—remember that. Lauri, you have the steadiest hand and sharpest eye, stand by me.

“*Lauri*. Here I am. What do you want?

“*Tuomas*. A hungry wolf will even eat its bleeding brother. If we could bring that off, we are saved. Let us try. Lauri, we will aim at the one in front on the left, but you others, reserve your fire. Lauri, look sharp as an eagle and fire when I give the word ‘Now.’

“*Lauri*. Ready.

“*Tuomas*. Now.

“They both shot at the same instant and the wolves fled in hot flight. But one of them remained on the spot and tried to hobble after the others, but in vain. The men hastened onward again with might and main: six brothers on foot, and Timo alone on the horse in front of them. Thus it continued for a while. But soon the wolves ceased their flight, wheeled round and hurried once more towards the men. The driving snow rustled and the level plateau of Kiljava resounded when they rushed forward in a pack. At wild speed they reached their comrade who was writhing in his own blood, dashed by him, but quickly swung round as the smell of

blood arose temptingly to their nostrils. They slewed round, their tails lashed, the snow whirled in a blizzard, eyes lusting for blood gleamed in the night. Horrible to see, they rushed in a band at their wounded brother, and a frightful howling and tumult arose on the moor; one might have thought the pillars of the sky were broken. The ground shook and the snow was transformed into a wild mess, where his former friends tore to pieces the son of the wilderness whose blood the sure aim Tuomas and Lauri had caused to flow. But silence reigned once more over the midnight moor. Nothing could be heard except soft breathing and the crunching of bones as, with bloody muzzles and glittering eyes, the creatures eagerly tore to pieces their victim.

“But far from their terrible foes the brothers journeyed on, and like music in their ears was the murderous clamour of the wolves at Kiljava—for them it was the sweet and joyful message of safety.”

II. AHO

Kivi was followed by Pietari Päivärinta, a peasant who lived in Österbotten. In the 'seventies, when he was already a middle-aged man, he fell on the ice one day, broke his leg, and was laid up for several weeks. He employed the time in writing a novel which was largely an autobiography. It described how he was one of many children in a poor peasant home, where hunger often knocked at the door; how during one portion of his childhood he even had to beg, how he learned to read and write without going to school, and how when twelve years

old he went into service. Soon after coming of age he marries, and a new struggle begins. He and his wife borrow money and buy a piece of uncultivated land, on which they build a cottage for themselves and work manfully until they are finally able to pay off the debt and bring up a numerous family in well-being. Prosperity, however, brings trials of its own. The hero is elected to responsible positions in the commune, which take him away from home-life, and gradually begins to drink. On one occasion, when drunk, he maltreats his wife, but this misdeed proves his salvation, for he is conscience-stricken, reforms, and henceforth leads an exemplary life.

This may serve as a type of the peasant novel in Finland. There is little action, but the description has all the fascination and the originality of truth. It succeeds in rendering the real and unmistakable atmosphere of Finnish peasant life, with its depth and its simplicity. One is thankful that the Finnish peasant has not been too overwhelmed by the prestige that surrounds authors to dare thrust himself into those sacred ranks. It is known that Päivärinta hesitated to do so, but once, when in Helsingfors, he saw Topelius and other writers, and discovered that they were ordinary human beings, upon which he felt entitled to try his own hand at composition.

The Finnish novel is not, of course, free from the defects of its origin. Among the early writers there is a lack of selection, a formlessness and a long-windedness which, as we saw, characterizes the de-

scriptions of things in the "Kalevala" also. But against this must be set the virtues of freshness of vision and faithfulness of representation. These writers know what they are talking about, and they give us life near the marrow. The subjects which they choose are drawn from their own struggles against cold and hunger and darkness, the difficulties of rearing a family and so on. Birth, growth, love, decay and death are described as they appear to the peasant. As we read, we peep into the peasant's soul. There is a naïve realism about it. He does not idealize his fellow-peasants in the spirit of a Rousseau, he writes of them just as he knows them—just as we might write of mutual acquaintances to friends whom we know well.

Quite a large number of peasant novelists appeared after *Päivärinta*, but as, when space is limited, it seems advisable to concentrate attention on the larger figures only, I shall pass by such interesting writers as Kauppi-Heikki, Santeri Alko, Heikki Meriläinen and Juhani Kokko (better known as Kyösti), and pass at once to Juhani Aho, who, however, does not spring from the peasantry, but from the clergy.

When we reach Juhani Aho we enter upon a new stage in the art of Finnish novel-writing. In the course of an illuminating study, Professor Söderhjelm says of him that "his life-work in the service of Finnish literature is something that, in the literature of many other countries, only a long development, often embracing several generations, has brought about. He has in an astonishingly short

time effected a revolution in Finnish prose, raised it to a high artistic perfection. His peculiarity and significance consist in the fact that he has responded with the same sensitive receptivity to the influence both of Finnish nature and national character and of the modern currents in foreign literature. In the best of his art he is completely a European; but the deep vein of personal lyricism, whose murmur is heard in all his writing, has never been diluted, and the inner affinity with the land and the people which makes him so entirely Finnish has never been broken. When we say that he has created and developed a modern Finnish art of story-telling, we underline the three words, *modern, Finnish, art*, with equal emphasis."

Juhani Aho was born in 1861 at Idensalmi, and is said to have received his first literary impetus from a groom, who used to recite him bits out of Runeberg and Walter Scott. He is a tall, fair and massive man, who gives one the impression of some ancient chieftain. He lives simply and works in the most modest of studies, from which he overlooks the open sea beyond a foreground of rocky coast. The summer life in the open air is his delight, and he is, like Runeberg, an enthusiastic angler. His strongest literary impressions were derived from Runeberg and Topelius, and, later, from the Norwegian realists of the 'eighties. His earlier stories deal with Finnish peasant life. In "The Railway"—to the writing of which he looks back with great pleasure—he records with great insight the transition when the remote country-side first comes into

contact with modern mechanical civilization. Another good example is his short story, "When Father brought home the Lamp." All that that wonderful and puzzling new implement meant to the Finnish country-side, and all the wonder and admiration it evoked among the neighbours, is brought out with rare humour and sympathy. Behind the humour and the fun, there is a suggestion of the lamp as symbolizing the triumph of light over darkness in these far-off regions. Finally, there is a certain regret for the ancient life passing away. Pekka, an old labourer, did not take to the lamp, and the children of the house used to creep out to the bath-house to be with the old man, who spent the long evenings sitting there by the light of the *päre*, and to listen to the crickets, who had forsaken the dwelling when the changes took place.

Aho presently passes to a study of life among the wealthier classes, as in "Squire Hellman," "The Parson's Daughter" and "To Helsingfors." "Squire Hellman" is a broadly humorous study of the tables turned on a bully. Through the first half of the story the Squire rushes like a tornado, the terror of his wife, servants and horses. He is a mean and avaricious man, rack-rents his tenants and is loathed by the neighbours, on whom he hurls a force of invective that recalls Squire Beltham in "Harry Richmond." His uncontrollable temper, however, brings him into conflict with the authorities of the law and he becomes as cringing as he had formerly been domineering. His final discomfiture, when he is forced to spend a large sum of money on

a dinner to those whom he has insulted, and suffers agonies at every glass of wine that is drunk and every cigarette that is smoked, is told with great spirit. In one part of the story Aho reveals the psychological interest which becomes so pronounced a feature of his later novels. It is when Hellman drives across the ice, miserable and chilled to the bone, and for a moment sees himself as the ugly thing he really is and remembers his petty thefts and his hardness to the poor. The mood soon passes, as it would in so shallow a nature, and is replaced by his usual bouncing self-assertion. Another feature of the story is the sympathy that Aho reveals, almost unconsciously, for the poor whose faces Hellman grinds. He is alive to the evils of the countryside, where Hellmans turn beggar-women and their children roughly from the door and evict unfortunate tenants.

In "The Parson's Daughter" we see the pathetic and unsuccessful struggle of a girl brought up in narrow surroundings at a country parsonage to liberate herself and live a larger life. She is compelled to marry her father's curate, a man she does not love, and in a later and much finer book, "The Parson's Wife," we see the intolerable married life that opens out its weary vista before her. Romance comes to her in the person of a lover, and her changing feelings afford Aho the opportunity for a wonderfully fine psychological delineation. She resists the exquisite temptation, but her life seems utterly valueless and broken. "To Helsingfors" shows how a boy, who has been educated simply in the

country, becomes a student and is brought in contact with the vices of the larger world in the country's capital. It is a painful work.

In 1889 Aho paid a visit to Paris, which had important results on his writing. Hitherto he had written in the rather circumstantial way of the peasant novelists, although he had gifts of refinement and vivid perception far superior to theirs. But in France he learned to cut away unnecessary matter and concentrate. The result is seen in his volume of short studies entitled "Chips," the first of a notable series, in which the author touches upon a great variety of subjects both grave and gay. They are models of fine workmanship and full of atmosphere, and rank as some of Aho's very best work. A good example is that entitled "Pioneers." It describes in a very few pages how a young man and a girl who were in service at a country parsonage determined to get married. They were having a nice easy time of it in service, but the instinct that brought them together and the desire to start a home of their own made them eager to face a life that could be nothing but hard. For they had to create their little holding out of forest and rock-strewn soil, with hardly any capital to start on. And so they marry and are full of hope, though the parson, who realizes what they are facing, anxiously shakes his head. A few years later we see the man, pale and worn out, driving his wife's coffin to the churchyard on a tumble-down cart drawn by a poor starved horse. The story was of debts, frost, children, a sick wife, and then her death from overwork. The cottage they

had entered so full of hope was now untended and desolate, and signs that the struggle had been too much for human nature were all around. Nevertheless, they had worked valiantly. Land had been cleared for corn, and birchwood had been cut down and groves of alders had been converted into meadows, "but behind them stood the dark pine forest like an unsurmountable wall. There he had been obliged to stop."

"The first pioneer has fulfilled his task; the man can do no more good there now. His strength, his energy are gone, the fire of his eye is extinguished and the self-confidence of his marriage morn has forsaken him. Another will certainly come after him and take over the cottage plot. He perhaps will have better luck. But he will have a lighter task to begin with, for before him no longer stands the savage forest quite untouched by man. He can settle down into a ready-made hut, and sow in the plot of land which another has ploughed up before him. That cottage plot will, no doubt, become a large and wealthy farm, and in course of time a village will grow up around it. Nobody thinks of those who first dug up the earth with all their capital, the only capital they possessed—their youthful energies. They were merely a simple lad and lass, and both of them came there with empty hands.

"But it is just with such people's capital that Finland's wildernesses have been rooted up and converted into broad acres. Had these two only remained at the parsonage, he as a coachman and she as a housemaid, then perhaps the course of their own

lives would have been free enough of care. But the wilderness would not have been cultivated, and the foreposts of civilization would not have been planted in the midst of the forest.

“When the rye blooms and the ears of the corn ripen in our field, let us call to mind these first martyrs of colonization. We cannot raise monuments upon their graves, for the tale of them is by thousands, and their names we know not.”¹

Aho's gaiety and humour find expression in another of these “Chips,” entitled “Sasu Punanen.” Sasu was “fat, lazy, sleepy, taciturn, with no interests, no enthusiasm,” the dullest fellow on earth. But beware of passing judgment. You have to see a man in his own sphere to know what he is worth. Sasu's sphere is the Finnish bath. He prepares for it as other people might prepare for confirmation. One day he persuades a friend to go with him and we see Sasu in all his glory. He undresses with religious care—“at the bath one must undress slowly and not as if one would rush headforemost into the water”—and arranges his discarded garments with the exactitude of a philosophic system. When he has finished this he admires himself long and lovingly in front of a looking-glass before proceeding into the bath-hut. The birch twigs must not be warmed before he is there, for fear of losing the smell of them, which is the “best thing in the whole bath.” Finally he gives the order for the water to

¹ I have availed myself of the excellent translation by Mr. R. Nisbet Bain in “Squire Hellman and Other Stories” (Fisher Unwin).

be thrown on the hot stones, and the steam and heat become so intolerable that both his friends and the old bath-woman cry him mercy. "The stones hiss like a hundred spitting cats; it seems to me as if they would suddenly rush at me, strike their sharp claws into my body and tear me to pieces." But Sasu just revels in it, and when the bath-woman says, "You'll burn yourself and me too," he answers, "Why, it's simply nothing as yet . . . how will you stand it in hell?" And so he proceeds through the mighty ceremony, now taking an active part, now passive in the bath-woman's hands, now calling for beer to increase his sublime perspiration. "What he thinks of I don't know, but he seems to me a genius in comparison with myself, a giant genius among all bath geniuses. If the Finns in past days had a bath-god, a bath-hero, whom they worshipped, he must have looked like this."

Aho's tragic power and the concentration of his writing are nowhere seen better than in his novel "Outlawed." The hero is a strong and silent young peasant for whom, like his prototype Kullervo, all things in life go wrong. The first words of the story strike its key-note—"Leave him in peace."

Junnu is the son of a prostitute, and in his youth was imprisoned for stealing a dish of sour milk—an escapade to which he was egged on by other boys. Those at the farm where he now works readily take advantage of his good-nature, but in spite of his great physical strength and occasional outbursts of terrible exasperation they all despise him and make

his life a burden to him. He longs to be alone, away from them all, where he can be in peace. He obtains permission from the farmer who employs him to settle as a *torpare* in a remote part of the forest, far from human habitation. There he builds himself a hut and lives alone with his horse and cow, and begins to taste of happiness, though never without the suspicion that it cannot last, that evil is impending. He does everything he can think of to exclude the possibility of his being interfered with on any pretext by the outside world, and to propitiate the Fates, which have always been so hard on him, and gradually his bitterness melts away and his forebodings vanish. But now when he has at last attained a measure of serenity, a blow, stunning and incredible, falls. He hears the sound of axes in the forest and from a hill-top sees a straight line being cut through the trees. It advances day by day and comes nearer and nearer his own hut. Finally human beings appear—engineers who are superintending the new railway. They actually enter his hut and make themselves at home there. Soon after, the navvies arrive and he sees the fields he had cleared and ploughed and sown with such energetic love trampled under foot and made hideous with the appliances of modern building. He is informed that he must go, for the railway is to pass right over the spot where his hut stands. He cannot even get compensation, for the land is not his, and it is only the crafty and farseeing farmer who stands to gain by Junnu's improvements. The navvies mock him and regard him as half mad, and presently he dare not

leave his hut out of sight for fear the threat of pulling it down should be carried out. He becomes as much a prisoner as if he were locked up in a cell. Finally the sheriff comes along, and Junnu, furious at the destruction of his home, with its cargo of hopes and dreams, and maddened at the way he has been cheated both by man and by fate, insults him and thus hastens the evil hour. The order to pull down the hut is given forthwith. There is a wild scene as Junnu rushes out, threatening to kill the first man who touches it, and pulls down the ladder on which a man has ascended nearly to the roof. The man is not killed, but Junnu is seized and bound and laid unconscious on his own sledge. When he comes to, he sees the ladder again standing against the wall of his hut, and as he is driven off to prison the roof beams are already falling.

Junnu emerges from prison weak and miserable and with a mind distraught by suffering and the sense of injustice. He comes back to the neighbourhood of his old home and finds the railway line completed. His horse has been sold for a song to a man he hates, but his cow at least is safe in the hands of an old woman. He goes out eagerly to look for it. There it is on the other side of the line, at the head of some other cows. It recognizes its master, lows and comes towards him. "But when it reaches the line and is about to cross, the locomotive is already whistling at the curve and, belching forth smoke on either side, rushes forward at full speed.

"The cow stops in the middle of the line, is dumb-founded, stares at the locomotive and can move

neither forwards nor backwards. The engine whistles and toots, but cannot check its course.

“Junnu rushes forward, waves his hands and shouts, seizes his cow by the horns; it backs the more he pulls it forwards and advances when he pushes it back . . . and he has already got it half over the rails when the engine, its drivers cursing and shaking their fists and the brakes creaking terribly, drives over his cow, cuts it in two before him and trails along one half of its body while its fore-quarters remain in Junnu’s hands.

“It still lives some moments while he holds it by the horns; it throws up its neck, moves its legs as if to extricate itself, but then falls unconscious on the embankment at Junnu’s feet, its eyes staring at him.”

After this, Junnu, with every hope shattered, disappears. But from the forest he has watched men working on the railway and, maddened by suffering, he gets the idea of wrecking the festival train which is to be run in celebration of the opening of a new part of the line. Thus he will be revenged on the whole pack of his enemies.

We see him dripping with sweat, as he struggles feverishly to loosen a sleeper. Finally he gets one nail out, but another still holds fast when he hears the engine whistle as it leaves the neighbouring station. “Shall he leave it to another time? No; he cannot, he will not. It must be now, now, that all his sufferings are to be avenged. He grasps his axe and begins to hew at the sleeper. But the axe strikes a stone, sparks fly. Its edge is spoiled. The train is

already in motion, its roar comes nearer and nearer. Again he grasps the pole, presses it under the rail and throws himself on it with all his might. The rail is lifted, the sleeper smashes, the nail comes up. . . . Now he has them! But when he makes another effort, and hears the noise of the train echoed by the sides of the cutting, the pole breaks and he falls on his back on the line. He springs up ferociously, grasps the rail in his hands, tears it with his fingers, bites it with his teeth, and he knows not what. . . . The engine whistles behind him. It will escape him; they will be saved, they will drive over him. . . . No, never. He jumps aside, perceives the engine with its waving flags, its shining eyes, rush towards him, whistling and clattering, and quick as lightning a new thought darts through his brain. . . .

“He bends down, puts his arms round a mighty stone, lifts it up, rushes back to the line, shuts his eyes, flings the block at the hurtling monster, hears a frightful crash and reels senseless from the embankment into the ditch.

“When he comes to, he finds himself lying on his back as if on a moving floor, surrounded by men who shriek and gesticulate; he recognizes the engineers, the sheriff, the farmer and Tahvo . . . his head is aching, the engine whistles spitefully, smoke eddies before his eyes and he knows that he is on the gala train, which carries him swiftly to the town—for ever.”

Such is the end of this tragic and vivid story, in which Aho represents symbolically and in a characteristic Finnish setting the struggle between a man's

desire to express himself and the forces of society which often ruthlessly crush out both the desire and the man.

Of late years Aho has gradually receded from realism, and has written several historical novels and several stories whose scene is laid in the past. The idealistic and romantic side of his nature, always strong, has more and more gained the upper hand. It is nowhere more beautifully apparent than in his descriptions of Finnish scenery. Professor Söderhjelm writes finely: "Finnish nature is mirrored in his writing as faithfully as in the most perfect picture. No one has rendered as he has the tranquillity of summer evenings with their clear and silent atmosphere, where the stroke of an oar or the sound of a cow-bell is heard for miles, over quiet fjords and moors, or the light of the sunset on cottage windows on distant heights. The gaiety of the winter day and the desolation of the winter night live in some strokes of his pen with the same force as the light and peacefulness of June nights. Over all his writing lies very much of the inmost essence of Finnish landscape: the gentle harmony, the sad intensity, the peaceful lines, the mildly varying colour."

III. TOPELIUS

Swedish literature in Finland differs considerably from Swedish literature proper, just as American literature differs considerably from English. Even in respect of language the distinction sometimes

makes itself felt, and still more in respect of feeling, atmosphere and tradition.

The truth of this is seen when we glance at Runeberg's predecessor, Franzén (1772-1847). He was the son of a merchant at Uleåborg, entered the University of Åbo, became Porthan's favourite pupil, and subsequently was made Professor of History. He is best remembered for his poetry, however: he had a fine lyrical gift and a great power of conveying the beauty of northern scenery and the simpler emotions of northern folk. But when Finland was separated from Sweden he left both the country and the best part of his poetic gift behind. He seemed to lose inspiration when he was cut off from his native soil, and his work seemed a little strange to the people of Sweden. As a Finnish critic writes, "There was something genuinely Finnish in his temperament and this perhaps prevented him from penetrating in Sweden as he did here."

In dealing with Runeberg in an earlier chapter, we have already spoken of the most striking figure in the Swedish literature of Finland, but we have by no means exhausted its interest. During their years in Helsingfors, Runeberg and his wife took into their house a young Österbotten student, Zacharias Topelius, whose literary talents were greatly stimulated by this association. Topelius was the son of a distinguished father, who was in a sense the forerunner of Lönnrot, just as Franzén was in some respects the forerunner of Runeberg. The elder Topelius, during his medical journeys, because acquainted with some of the Finnish runos, immedi-

ately began collecting them, and published a collection under the title of "Ancient Songs of the Finnish People." His son Zacharias was born in 1818, took his degree in 1840, and the following year was editing the *Helsingfors Tidningar*. He was very young for such a post, but through his friendship with the Runebergs he was in touch with literary circles. He knew personally the members of the Saturday Club, and though he was not old enough to become a member himself, in the early days he was sometimes present at their meetings as a silent auditor. "During these Attic nights," he writes, "one could become acquainted with Runeberg's quiet humour, Snellman's merciless logic, Nervander's sarcasms, Nordström's sallies, sharp as needles." He was thus brought up in the great traditions of the National movement, and himself handed on the torch received from his friends. He may indeed be regarded as the great popularizer of the movement. With less original force than several of his predecessors, he had more power than they to bring the meaning of it into the homes of unlearned and simple men. And he did so through his genius for sympathizing and getting on with children. He showed the child what Finland meant, what it really was to be a child, and later, a citizen of his beloved country. This seed planted in the minds of children flowered in them when they came to years of maturity—flowered in a patriotism which aimed at being prepared not merely to die well but to live well for their country. He compiled a reader for the Elementary Schools entitled "The Book of Our Land," which is

a model of what such a book should be, and both inspires and instructs every child. It consists of two hundred readings, divided into six sections—the land, the people, the legends, and three more dealing with the history. Much more important, however, from the point of view of literature, was his “Readings for Children,” a collection of fairy stories and tales of adventure, which has been much translated.

Children were passionately devoted to this man with the heart of a child, and in his old age Uncle Topelius received many letters from young admirers. Here is a specimen:—

MY DEAR UNCLE TOPPELIUS ZAKARIAS,—

I do so long for my dear Toppelius. You must come some day and see us we live in west church street we will come to the station to meet you, you must look for two boys with stars in their caps, you ought to write a story-book for me . . . greetings from my mama and my papa and my brother and greetings from my sister and from Karl-Johan Sandelin.

J. A. S.

6 years the 7th of March.

Topelius had indeed a rare gift of inspiring affection. Professor Werner Söderhjelm, describing the poet's visits to Helsingfors in his old age, writes: “Old and young are personally acquainted with him; the latter have always been present at some school festival he has visited, or been members of some deputation that has waited upon him, or of some choir that has sung in his honour on a sum-

mer's day at Björkudden—or they may be simply the children of his older friends, who merely on this account call him 'Uncle' and regard themselves as quite intimate with him."

The same writer records an incident that is typical. One evening a group of young artists and authors were discussing some question or other at the principal hotel, when Topelius happened to come in and was persuaded to join them. Warmed by his enthusiastic reception, he rose and made a speech that they never forgot, "about the old that goes and the new that comes in its place, about the heritage left by those who depart and which the young must preserve, about the high mission of art in our land, where it has to walk along untrodden ways."

It must not be supposed, however, that Topelius was without original talent or was only appreciated by young people. Both as a poet and writer of historical romance he ranks high. "The Tales of a Surgeon" has been much translated and is deservedly popular. It tells in a rather discursive way and with great variety of incident the history of Finland, beginning from the time of the Thirty Years' War. It is as if an old man spent his winter evenings chatting to you over the fire and telling you of his past life. Topelius became Professor of History, but there is little of the professor about these tales. He just talks in an intimate way about things he loves. Most of all he loves his country, and especially his native Österbotten. You see the people there, understand just how they are planted on the soil, and how their lives are affected by the great do-

ings in the outside world. Then you see how they were called on to take a share in them. He loves to show you their great deeds abroad, and to describe their fighting qualities in the campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus. Most of the great characters of that time are introduced into the story, and there are vivid pictures of popular life in different countries. The threads connecting the different periods covered are furnished by two families, whose history is traced through several generations with something of the comprehensiveness which Tolstoi devotes to the principal families in "War and Peace."

Perhaps Topelius will be remembered best, however, by his lyrical poetry.

The following stanzas, which are the opening of an ode of thanksgiving to those nations of Europe (including Great Britain¹) which subscribed generously to relieve the distress occasioned by the Finnish famine of 1857, may be quoted as an example of his work. They are not without their applicability to Finland in her present struggle against an even worse enemy than famine.

On the world's furthest peopled strand
 Fate gave to us a fatherland,
 The last where man his foot has set,
 Daring the North Pole's threat;
 The last and wildest stretch of earth
 Where Europe's genius built a hearth;
 Her last and furthest-flung outpost
 'Gainst night and death and frost.

Tho' we are few, this fight of ours
 'Gainst darkness and wild nature's powers,

¹ The British fleet had attached part of Finland during the Crimean War.

Is yet Humanity's own fight
 For constant life and light.
 Our conquest is its conquest too,
 And if we fall, then 'tis most true,
 There falls with us a bulwark strong
 Life's forward path along.

Faithfully we've obeyed our call,
 Bought with starvation, death, downfall,
 Each yard of soil we've fenced with strife,
 And rescued thus for life.
 Life's house up here we've builded stout
 Where once lay desert all about—
 This is our thousand-year-old deed,
 For this we claim Fame's meed.

It is chiefly through lyrical poetry that the Swedish-speaking Finns have expressed themselves. It is impossible here to give an account of the many fine poets they have produced, such as Stenbäck, a contemporary of Runeberg, Wechsell, who wrote in the 'sixties, Tavaststjerna, the first of the modern realists in Swedish Finland and a fine lyrical poet, Lybeck and others. It must suffice to say that in these troublous days for Finland the fountain of song has not run dry. I have attempted to translate poems by two of the younger men. The first is a song in praise of Finland by Bertel Gripenberg, the second, by Hjalmar Procopé, is a song of liberty in the face of Russian oppression.

THE FAIREST LAND

The fairest land is the northern land,
 Where the forest usurps the meadow,
 Where the ground is rocky, barren, and dry,
 And no plough has driven a furrow,

Where towering pines, with mossy bark,
 Defiant strain to the sky,
 And high o'er the silent wilderness
 'Mid the cloudpack the eagles fly.

The fairest land is the forest land
 Which dreams in the silence ever,
 It binds our hearts with bonds of love
 That none may forget nor sever.
 It lures, it silently draws us on
 With urgent and secret wooing,
 It whispers on wild untrodden ways
 Trollsongs in the forest's sougning.

Thou haven to restless and homeless thoughts,
 Thou kingdom of lonely dreams,
 Thou northland's endless pine-clad heath,
 Peerless thy beauty streams;
 The fairest, dearest land I know
 Is the land of forests, the wide,
 With its harsh and heroic solitude
 Where unborn poems abide.

IN SPITE OF ALL

Let the blow descend! We have made our choice,
 And we are resolved to live,
 Though Asia and' all her Ural hosts
 Strive our death-stroke to give.

We do not await a golden spring,
 Nor o'erflowing barns and tuns,
 We await but years of ruin and stress
 And ravages of the Huns.

Yet, ye tyrants, remember in time your guilt,
 Lest the day of revenge come down—
 Not for ever shall Finland only shine
 As a gem in a foreigner's crown.

CHAPTER IX

PAINTING AND MUSIC

FINNISH painting is of very recent development, and its early stages are of little interest to any but a native of the country. It drew inspiration in turn from Sweden, Italy and Germany, but it was not until after 1880, when Finnish artists turned to France, and more especially to the school of Bastien Lepage, that a national school began to develop. Many good critics, indeed, would object to one speaking of a national school in Finland, maintaining that the Finnish painters have not evolved a new and distinctive vision or technique, but have merely painted Finnish subjects in a French way. This is a matter on which the writer is not competent to express an opinion. It is at least certain that even if she has not yet succeeded in producing work that is original in the very highest sense of the word, Finland can point to artists who in any country would be distinguished.

The first of these was Albert Edelfelt, who occupies in the sphere of painting a position similar to that held by Runeberg in the sphere of poetry. The objection is sometimes raised that he is too Swedish

to be representative of Finland, and it is indeed true that he has never portrayed, like Gallén, the wildest and most barbaric side of the Finnish soul. But, taking his work all round, he stands for Finland more completely than any other painter, and, in spite of strong French influences, his devotion to his motherland makes him a true Finn. His picture of father, mother and daughter going down to the seashore carrying masts and oars and fishing-nets is a symbol of Finnish life. The faces and hands of father and mother are worn and weather-beaten from their long struggle to wrest a living from the sea, which, with its rocks and islands, is a characteristic piece of Finnish landscape. The daughter, who walks between them with a kerchief over her head and the nets over her shoulder, is gravely sweet, dreamy, yet capable. All three look patient, strong, full of endurance, and noble with the dignity which comes from living face to face with elemental things. Edelfelt was thoroughly Finnish in his love of portraying the sea and the life of the island folk, and these are among his most delightful pictures. There is the child's funeral, where the little coffin is conveyed in a boat across the blue lagoon, a work full of pathos and beauty; the exhilarating picture where the old man sails his boat across a rough sea, his daughter by him; the romantic scene of young girls boating on a light night of midsummer, and how many more. When he paints the meeting of Christ and Mary Magdalene after the Resurrection, his background is a Finnish bay and a birch wood, the Christ wears the birch-bark shoes common in the Finnish country-

side and the woman is dressed like a Finnish peasant-girl. He never tires of portraying the worn honest features of peasant women in their natural surroundings, the background often being a charming little vignette of a red-stained Finnish farm or cottage on the edge of its native woods, in which the trunks of silver birches gleam white in the sunlight. He has also left charming studies of the summer life of the upper classes.

Edelfelt is best known to the outside world as a portrait painter; people of all ranks and conditions in half a dozen countries sat to him. His portraits are strong and convincing, but have also a high degree of delicacy and charm. They are less accessible to the public than are his landscapes, but equally worthy of study. That of the singer Aino Ackté in the Athenæum at Helsingfors is one of the finest. There is also a striking picture of the actress Ida Aalberg as Hedda Gabler, which hangs in the foyer of the Finnish Theatre. Interesting portraits of several eminent contemporaries, including Jean Sibelius, are introduced into the fresco which adorns the great hall at the University and represents the foundation of the University at Åbo in 1640. This fine work, only a portion of which was completed, owing to Edelfelt's untimely death, was but one of a long series of Finnish historical scenes that he painted with enthusiasm throughout his life, and which had a real effect in stamping upon the popular imagination some of the great events of Finnish history. Most important of all Edelfelt's works in this respect were his illustrations to Runeberg's "Tales

of Ensign Stål " (see p. 38). Great as was their influence from their first appearance, it was trebled after Russia had begun her attack on Finnish liberties, and many of the pictures have found their way, through reproductions, into almost every Finnish home, and, by giving expression to, have actually helped to form, the Finnish soul. The drummer-boys who head the men of Björneborg as they march through the snow; Döbeln, risen from his sick-bed to lead his men to victory at Jutas; the old magistrate, his face lit up by a divine light, as, with hand on the book of law, he defies and finally wins over the amazed Russian general—these are an inspiration to noble patriotism to all Finnish citizens, and may have done nearly as much to popularize the great deeds of their ancestors as the poems of Runeberg themselves.

Since Edelfelt's death by far the most striking figure in Finnish painting is that of Axel Gallén, who is still in his prime. He came under the same influences as Edelfelt in Paris, but is in most respects a great contrast to him. Edelfelt represents that side of Finnish nature which is most closely connected with West Europe, and, while he makes a distinctly national impression, his pictures do not give one a keen shock of surprise as Gallén's do. Edelfelt, again, chooses his subjects mainly from the coast-lands and the southern, more civilized parts of Finland, while Gallén goes preferably to the wildest regions of the interior and the most primitive people. Edelfelt's mentality is of the order of Runeberg's poems, while Gallén has gone for his inspira-

tion to the ancient legends of his people and delights in the barbaric extravagance, and the wild vastness of the "Kalevala" world. In much of his work he is the spirit of man before it has been disciplined and civilized, when it is still at war with monsters and at the mercy of primitive incalculable forces. His people seem to dwell in wild pathless forests or by huge mysterious seas, and to be in some ways pre-human in their disposition. He loves to portray the vast melancholy of untilled country, the almost terrible silence of it, the life of the forest and of forest creatures before man has dominated them; and man, slow, obstinate, powerful of body and sad of mind, rude, brutal, patient, indomitable, dead to the world beyond a narrow radius.

The atmosphere of such a world Gallén has rendered very wonderfully in such pictures as the "Making of Sampo," "Kullervo" and the "Mother of Lemminkainen." In the last-named picture, the mother is sitting by the banks of the dark river of death, which is bordered by great stones covered with blood, and on which is seen the swan which Lemminkainen came to kill. She supports herself with her right hand, while the left rests on her son's dead body, which she has pieced together from a thousand fragments. Her face is turned towards the sky with an almost incredibly intense expression in its every line, as she beseeches the Creator to restore the breath of life to the corpse. Above her head we see a ray of light and the bee which flew to other worlds and brought the ointment which restored her son to life.

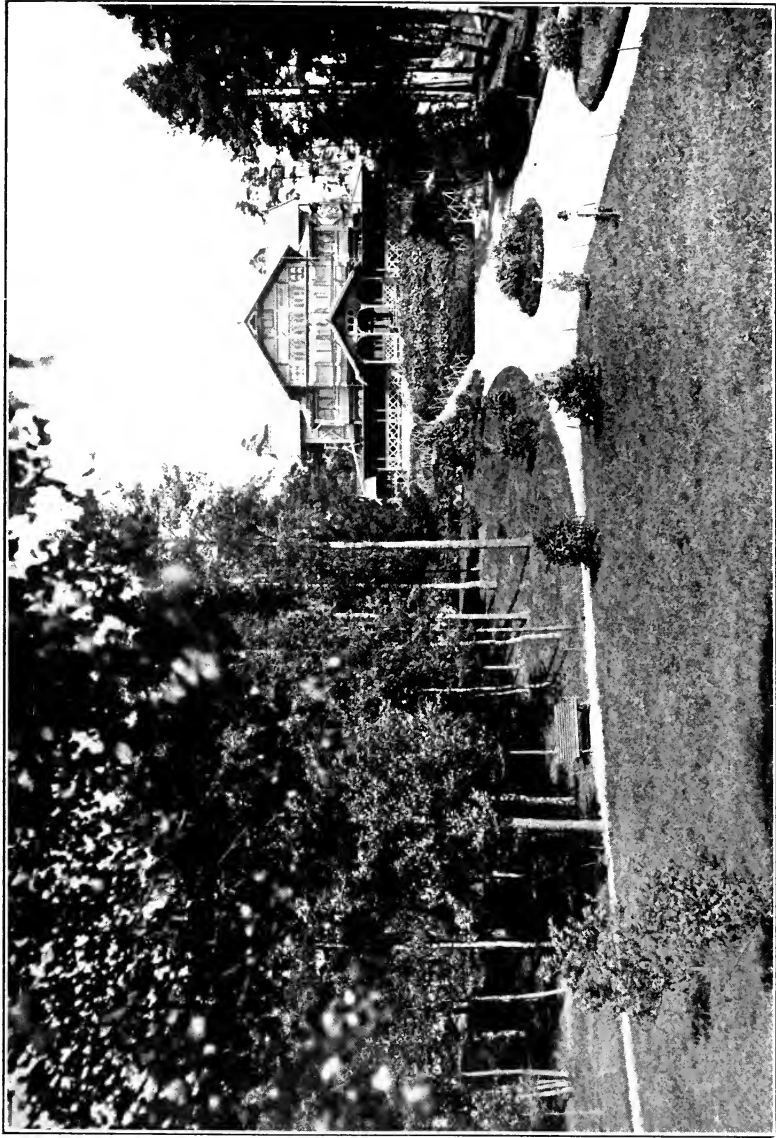
Of recent years Gallén has rather forsaken the "Kalevala" and chosen his subjects elsewhere, no doubt with advantage to his art, which seems to have widened and become more human and complete. His manysidedness is remarkable. He ranks high both as a painter of portraits and of landscape. In either field his aim is to represent the soul of what he is painting, to pierce right through the surface to what lies behind it, to use the outer shell and surroundings of an object to express its inner spirit. He chooses by preference, and is at his best in portraying, subjects that are strongly suggestive and mysterious, that cause one to reflect and dream. He is rarely commonplace, but when he finds a sympathetic subject all his powers are evoked, and he impresses one by his sheer force of imagination and intensity of expression.

Gallén has also painted some important frescoes for a mausoleum at Björneborg. The following is a description of one of them, representing the river Tuonela, the Finnish equivalent of the Greek Cocytus:—

“ On the bank of the Tuonela stands a group of human beings, both men and women, old and young, waiting to be taken to the other side. Thus the picture represents in other words the different relations of human beings to death. In the boat, which is gliding forward on the dark river, sits huddled up, with her head in her hands, a young naked woman, while a middle-aged man with a determined expression on his face is just getting into it. On the bank we see another naked woman, beside herself with de-

spair, hiding her face, while a young girl, sadly and inquiringly, but at the same time submissively, gets ready for the last journey. An old bearded man with large corns on his feet sits still with his hands crossed over his knees, awaiting death. Among the other figures in this sad and solemn picture our attention is directed first to a man on the right, in whom the artist has portrayed himself, wearing an apron and with a trowel in his right hand."

Gallén, however, does not always strike the dramatic and tragic note; he can also be idyllic. He has a wonderful feeling for snow, whether feathery on trees or lying like a shield on the iron earth. Some of his most charming work consists of snow scenes in the hush of winter. He also loves tranquil summer nights and days by the water. His "Bathing Girls" is a masterpiece of this kind, daring in design and colour, exquisite in feeling. The joy of life is expressed in every line of the glowing picture, with its blue water, which becomes brilliant gold where the sun strikes it, and its beautiful figures and quaint attitudes of young girls tingling with unconstrained enjoyment as they splash one another or roll on the sand at the water's edge. Again, in the triptych representing the story of Aino—an earlier work, while French influence was still strong—a more human and lyrical atmosphere prevails. In one of the side panels we see Aino dressed as a peasant girl and wearing birch-bark slippers, followed by the white-bearded Wäinämöinen through a twilight wood of pines and birches, between the stems of which gleams the sunset. It is a characteristic piece of



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Finnish landscape. In the other side panel Aino is sitting naked on a rock by the water, watching the water-maidens disporting themselves. Aino, it may be remembered, was drowned, and Wäinämöinen sought her everywhere, disconsolate. The centre-piece represents the story of how he caught her in the form of a salmon and drew her into his boat, only to lose her again. We see the old man leaning forward in his boat with arms outstretched and Aino, in human shape, plunging into the water. The landscape is of a blue lake with pine-clad shores, and suggests utter loneliness. The boat, which is streaked with a rough decoration of red and furnished with the pointed oars common in the north of Finland, rocks from the shock of Aino's leap from it.

Perhaps the most interesting figure in Finnish painting after Edelfelt and Gallén is Eero Järnefelt.

He is a type of the artist *par excellence*; he lives preferably remote from the bustle of modern life and careless of the demands of the public. In an age that admires stress and violent accentuation he is liable to be overlooked. There is about his work no fuss nor self-advertisement, and he does not paint to advance any cause, artistic or otherwise. He is concerned to put on the canvas his own quiet but intense vision. He has painted landscapes which, as you gaze on them, reveal through the temperament of a lyrical poet the very soul of Finnish nature; and he can combine his vision of nature with the note of human endurance and suffering, as in his picture of "Burning the Forest," which is, as it were, a restrained cry of pain. The girl with the blackened

face, who stares out at us from amidst the rolling smoke and the flames, is an image of tragic childhood which grips the heart. Järnefelt is also a fine painter of portraits, especially if he is interested in his subject. The noblest of his portraits is, perhaps, that of Matilda Wrede, the saintly woman who has left a position of comfort and social distinction to give up her life to the service of the men and women in Finnish prisons. Few artists could have painted her with such sympathy and understanding, for few modern artists have the passionate and intense contemplation which is necessary in order to shadow forth on canvas the human soul.

There are many other artists of established reputation whose work cannot be more than referred to in this brief sketch. Westerholm has long enjoyed fame as a landscape painter. His snow scenes, painted by preference when there is rather a dead atmosphere, reveal a loving and careful study of the moods of his native scenery that recalls Wordsworth. Enckell is a painter of great refinement of perception and considerable originality of outlook, delightfully free from slovenliness of execution. Thomé, Favén and Finch are all artists who stimulate by the genuine originality of their vision; the latter, though an Englishman, has rendered the hard and brilliant loveliness of Finnish landscape in summer as successfully as any of the Finnish artists. These painters, whose inspiration is derived in considerable measure from contemporary French art, are developing a studied, subtle and refined technique, a conscious simplicity of treatment, which aims at dis-

pensing with all unnecessary detail. It is probably to them and the group of which they are members that the future belongs, and their annual exhibition is looked forward to with deserved interest.

Many of the younger artists are handicapped by poverty, which prevents them from studying abroad, this in its turn perhaps inducing among them too great a contempt for the traditions of painting. The conditions of picture-selling in Finland are also unfavourable to them. It frequently happens that the richest men have not yet learned the art of buying pictures, and often, when they have acquired it, prefer to purchase foreign works. Consequently the Finnish artist has to do most of his work for museums and lotteries, and one of the greatest needs of the present day is a public possessing insight and discrimination which will buy Finnish pictures.

Even more than in painting, the soul of the nation is mirrored in its music. It has already been pointed out that the "Kalevala" is but the co-ordination into an epic poem of a vast number of songs, handed down from generation to generation. The old runo singer is fast dying out, but the love of song remains, and shows itself in the extraordinary wealth of folk-song which exists among the Swedish- as well as among the Finnish-speaking population. As in other countries, it was gradually being forgotten, but of recent years much has been snatched from the jaws of time with commendable energy.

The Finnish folk-songs are not purely Finnish in origin. Modern research shows that the popular

melodies of most countries have wandered about from one land to another, and those of Finland are no exception to the rule. In them we do but find Finnish characteristics stamped on to what was originally a common European stock. Nevertheless the national note is strong in them. It is both grave and gay, seeming in the one case to embody the surging joy of the summer on which no darkness ever falls; in the other, the long snow-lit twilight of the winter, when for months on end the sun scarcely peeps above the level of the frozen earth. Among the Finnish-speaking population especially, the sad note predominates, sorrow and loneliness being the favourite themes. "In this country," said Lönnrot, "people often dwell far apart from one another and therefore seek friends and companions in the whole of Nature. They imagine that all things in Nature have life, feeling and the power of speech. If any one goes to a foreign land, the sun and the wind are his old friends. If the young bride leaves her home and grieves that all there will forget her, she knows that at least the osiers and wattles will recognize her when she returns. . . . But the glad and happy also seek Nature's companionship. Joyous girls beg the cuckoo to sing them silver and gold. Mountains, trees and animals express their thoughts to each other and to human beings." The ancestral love of song is also clearly expressed in the actual life of to-day, and one cannot help realizing that it springs out of the inmost heart of the people. In the long summer evenings people sit together and sing. On anniversaries, choirs sing before the statues of

Finland's great men. At dinners given to honoured guests, singing is often part of the entertainment offered. The Finns imprisoned in Russia for defending the constitution have often been sent off with singing and welcomed with singing on their return. From emigrant ships upon the Atlantic floats the sad cadence of Finnish song, and in the new world the Finns meet together and sing their country's immemorial songs in a strange land.

Modern music is a very recent growth in Finland, and its development has been extraordinarily rapid. It may be said to have commenced with the foundation of the very interesting Musical Society at Åbo in 1790. The "father of Finnish music," Frederic Pacius (1809-91), was German by origin and made German influence, notably that of Mendelssohn and Spohr, strongly felt. Richard Faltin (born in 1835), who did a great work in introducing more modern music into Finland, was also born in Germany. The first distinctively Finnish composer was Karl Collan, Pacius' son-in-law (1828-71). He was followed by Martin Wegelius and Robert Kajanus, the latter of whom founded the Philharmonic Orchestra at Helsingfors, and is in his composition a worthy forerunner of Sibelius. He did much to give Finnish music the national direction it has since taken. Of other present-day composers, beside Sibelius, the most interesting are Selim Palmgren, Erkki Melartin, Oscar Merikanto and Armas Järnefelt, all young men.

Finnish composers have, as might be expected, turned mainly to folk-song and the "Kalevala"

for their themes. The latter, with its vast indefiniteness, is full of suggestion to musicians, and, if Finland develops a national opera, will no doubt furnish its heroes and heroines, as Homer did for Greek tragedy. In this way Finnish legend may become more widely known to the rest of Europe.

Among Finnish composers Jean Sibelius is by far the greatest. While transcending the limits of nationality and forming part of the main current of European music, he is yet distinctively Finnish in his love of Nature and his patriotism. The latter is discernible in his choice of subjects, both for orchestral music and for songs, but it is best described as an atmosphere pervading all his work. Not only did he often turn to the "Kalevala" for his inspiration, but also to that other great source of national feeling, the poems of Runeberg. He is a great lover of Nature and there seems to be something peculiarly Finnish in his way of apprehending her, the Finnish landscape in all its moods being often brought most vividly into the mind of the hearer. There is a keenness of perception that reveals the composer as gifted with highly developed physical senses, his works sometimes giving one the effect of bracing days spent in the country. He also rejoices to portray in his music the crashing of storms through the forest and over the water. He excels in depicting poignant moments, especially in his songs, which are among the finest of modern times.

It is appropriate that a nation in whose music the song has always played so great a part should be unusually rich in fine voices. Their quality is clear

and metallic, like the physical atmosphere of the country. Finnish singing is rich in spontaneous feeling and has a fine primitive quality. Probably we shall hear much of Finnish singers in the future. Compared with the best German singers, they are perhaps deficient in the highest gifts of style, polish and culture, and *lieder* singing has been but little developed among them. It is rather in opera and folk-song that they shine, where finesse is less requisite and their simplicity and strength tell. When they sing the songs of their native country really well, one has the impression, not of exquisite art, but of the simple utterance of nature, heartfelt and inevitable, the sublimation of peasant song. Choral singing is a great feature of Finnish life and sometimes reaches a very high level, as in the choir Suomen Laulu.

Thanks to Mme. Aino Ackté, who needs no introduction to British readers, Finland has initiated a musical festival which may come to have a national importance. It is held in the summer at Nyslott, in the heart of Finland. Here the ruins of a noble castle rise from a rocky island in the great Saima chain of lakes, and thither go up the lovers of Finnish music to listen to Finnish choirs, a Finnish opera, and native compositions of all kinds. It is a wild romantic spot, and the castle with its grounds an ideal setting for Finnish opera. It remains to be seen whether the festival will have any effect in developing musical talent; it certainly gives local composers a chance of bringing their works before a wider public.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION

ELEMENTARY schools in Finland date from the eighteen-sixties. In early times the priest, assisted by the sacristan, was the only schoolmaster. It devolved on him to teach the people to read, and laggard pupils were braced to their task by the law of 1686, which enacted that no one might receive the Holy Communion who had not a knowledge of the Scriptures, nor be married who had not both received the Communion and learned to repeat Luther's catechism. Parents were expected to take their share in the work of instruction at home, on pain of being fined. When the inadequacy of this system became too glaring, parish schools were established, and as, in so thinly populated a country as Finland, these could not be instituted in sufficient numbers to provide for the needs of the more remote households, that interesting phenomenon, the ambulatory school, came into existence. Teachers journeyed from place to place and settled down to instruct for a few weeks at each. Such schools still exist in some of the more remote parts of Finland. They belong to and are kept up by the parish, and will disappear if State elementary education is made compulsory. They act as a sort of preparation for

the elementary schools, which latter presuppose in their pupils at entrance a certain knowledge of reading and the Scriptures.

It was during the period of progress after Alexander II's accession that the present system of elementary education was established through the foundation of the *Folkskola* (People's School). In 1863 the first training college for elementary teachers was opened at Jyväskylä, with Finnish as the language of instruction, and when, after a four years' course, the students left the college to take up the practical work of teaching, the elementary school was fairly launched.¹

¹In 1908 there were 2,663 such schools in the country-side alone, of which 89 per cent were mixed schools. The following table shows the rapid spread of elementary schools since 1877, together with the tendency of the mixed school to replace the separate schools for boys and girls. The figures relate to schools in the *country* only. These, of course, constitute the great majority of Finnish schools. Those in the towns will be referred to later.

Year	Total Number of Schools	Mixed Schools	Percentage of Mixed Schools
1877-8	357	172	48.2
1887-8	755	446	58.7
1897-8	1,510	1,206	79.9
1907-8	2,663	2,369	89.0

If we divide the country schools according to the language of instruction, the result for 1907-8 is as follows:—

Finnish	2,279
Swedish	374
Both Finnish and Swedish	10

The total number of children attending the country elementary schools in 1907-8 was 112,362.

There are two terms, from September 1st to December 20th,

The subjects taught at the elementary schools include reading, writing, arithmetic, Scripture, history, geography, the elements of science, singing, drawing and gymnastics. The most original feature of the instruction is, however, the time devoted to sloid, or manual labour. The girls are taught sewing, knitting, darning, patching and dressmaking, and in some schools cooking, while the boys pass from working in paper and pasteboard to woodwork and carpentering. The theoretical knowledge acquired through arithmetic, geometry, drawing and natural science is thus practically applied. The children are particularly fond of this part of their work, and the idea might with advantage be adopted in other countries.

The teachers are trained in special training colleges, of which there are at present eight.¹ Ten and from January 15th to June 1st, the school year beginning on September 1st.

The hours of instruction are usually 8 to 10 and 12 to 3 or 8 to 11 and 1 to 3. At the end of every hour there is a pause of ten minutes, an excellent custom. The school age is from nine to thirteen, the school course lasting for four years. The average number of children in a school was in 1907-8 42, the average number of children to each master or mistress being 35.

With regard to elementary education in the towns, it should be noted that the school age is from seven to thirteen instead of from nine to thirteen as in the country, and that school attendance is practically compulsory. In 1907-8 the town elementary schools were attended by 34,628 children, rather more than half of whom were girls.

Of the 1,150 teachers, no less than 843 were women.

¹ In 1877-8 the teachers numbered 363, in 1907-8 there were 3,197, of whom 1,681 were men and 1,516 women. There were also about 2,000 persons giving instruction of various kinds in addition to the regular teachers.

years ago there was a serious difficulty in providing sufficient teachers, and even to-day it is not easy to fill vacant posts. The salaries of teachers are as follows: the commune provides a house, garden and firing, or the money equivalent of these, while the State pays a salary of 900 marks to single teachers, whether men or women, and 1,100 to teachers with families. The original salary is increased by 20 per cent after five, ten, fifteen and twenty years' service. The teacher has further the prospect of a pension, but here the principle of equal pay for equal work ceases to be applied, and men are better pensioned than women.

In spite of the extraordinary development of the People's Schools, of which it is reckoned there is now in the country districts one per 957 inhabitants, as against one per 1,619 in 1896, the popular need of education has not yet been met. At the present time only about 50 per cent of the children of the school age attend the elementary schools in the country districts, and it is calculated that even if each of these schools had as many pupils as it could receive, some two thousand more would still be required to receive all the children. Against this deficiency in schools we have to place the fact that thanks to the efforts already alluded to of parents and the clergy, practically every one in Finland can read from the age of seven and a very large proportion can write. This has been the case for a couple of centuries and is very much to the credit of the country.

These remarks do not apply to the children of school age belonging to the Russian (Greek Ortho-

dox Church,) who in 1906 numbered 9,106, of whom 2,694 were absolutely without any education.

A strong desire exists to make elementary education compulsory, so that the advantage of the *Folkskola* may be shared equally by the entire population. At present, the number of children of school age attending elementary schools varies from 76 per cent in the southern province of Nyland to only 30 per cent in the northern province of Uleåborg. A first step in the direction of compulsion was taken in 1898, when it was decided that the country communes should so divide themselves into districts that all the children could attend a *folkskola* without walking more than 5 km. A school was to be erected in each district thus formed, provided that it contained at least thirty children seeking entrance. In 1910 the Diet voted a Bill on these lines, making elementary education compulsory and extending the course from four years to six. But Russia here, as in other cases, blocks the way of progress, and there is at present no chance of the Tsar giving his sanction to the Bill.

The Finnish child, if its education is to be continued, will pass from the People's School to a State or private Secondary School. The State maintains Classical Schools (*Lyceer*) and Modern Schools (*Realskolor*) for boys, and Modern Schools for girls (*Fruentimmerskolor*). In the Classical Schools, Latin and Greek are taught; in the *Real* Schools and Girls' Schools these are replaced by modern languages. The Boys' Schools have eight classes, the highest of which leads on to the University; the Girls' Schools have only five classes, but in many

places continuation classes are either provided or subsidized by the State for those girls who wish to become University students. The ordinary teacher's qualification is the degree of Magister and the attending a Normal School, which is an ordinary boys' school at which would-be teachers attend the lessons and have themselves to give trial lessons, besides passing an examination in pedagogy, in order to acquire the teacher's certificate. The hours of instruction are the same as at the elementary schools. The course, however, is an eight years' one.

No corporal punishment is permitted in the secondary schools, and it will probably soon be abolished in the elementary schools.

The private schools include Mixed Schools, Girls' Schools and *Real* Schools, the teaching in all of which corresponds in the main to that given in the State *Real* Schools. All the private schools receive substantial support from the State.

They are regarded as an important field for experiment, and it is here that the substitution of a modern for a classical education first took place. The most important experiment, however, was of the Mixed School (*samskola*), which began to appear in the 'eighties. Quite apart from educational theory, its cheapness commended it to a poor country, it being obviously much cheaper to build a single school for both sexes than to establish separate houses with different teaching staffs for girls and boys.

Very different opinions exist on the subject of the

Mixed School, but the balance seems on the whole to be in favour of it. None of the more serious moral troubles which it is sometimes supposed to bring in its train have appeared. It is admitted, however, that in many schools a certain amount of flirting takes place between the girls and boys in the higher classes, and complaints have been heard from girls that the mixed school makes the boys less manly and more snobbish. One also hears of boys requiring a great deal of pocket-money in order to give their best girls a good time. On the other side one can set such stories as the following, coming from a schoolmaster, who relates that the boys of his school requested that girls from other schools might be invited to the annual dance, as they did not look upon their own as real girls. Many girls again have denied the existence of much flirtation at their schools. When opinions are so contradictory one can only infer that the conditions are widely different at different schools. I should surmise that the Mixed School is seen at its best in the country districts, where there is less opportunity of spending money and going to cafés.

Perhaps the most serious criticism of the Mixed School lies in the still unsolved question whether it is good for girls to be educated just the same as boys. (There is, indeed, a certain difference in the gymnastic training.) It seems possible that there is a very real danger of the girls overexerting themselves. A series of weighing experiments made a few years ago in the mixed schools in Helsingfors showed that the girls decreased in weight during the term and only

increased during the holidays, while the boys increased throughout the year, though most during the holidays. Whether the result is the same in the mixed schools in the country I am unable to say. The situation might perhaps be summed up by saying that while it has been shown that co-education is free from the terrors with which early prejudice clothed the idea, it has not yet been proved that its advantages are so overwhelming that we ought forthwith to adopt it.

Hitherto the State, while liberally financing the mixed secondary school in private hands, has established very few such schools of its own.

The administration of the schools is in the hands of the Board of Education, which is subordinate to the Ecclesiastical Department of the Senate.¹ Different sections preside over the elementary and secondary schools and provide inspectors for the various districts. The authority of the Senate, however, stops short of the University, which is at once the goal of the schools and entirely independent of the administration presiding over them. The University is one of the comparatively few old institutions in Finland. It was founded at Åbo in 1640, and after the great fire was transferred to Helsingfors in 1827.

At the end of their eight-year course the pupils at the secondary schools take the so-called Student Ex-

¹ As this title may be misleading, it should be pointed out that the Church and the School administration for the last forty years have been separate. The Ecclesiastical Department corresponds to the *Cultus Ministerium* in other countries.

amination, the papers of which are set and corrected by University professors. Subject only to success in an oral examination at Helsingfors, those who pass gain the coveted privilege of studying at the University and wearing the students' cap.

The University is divided into six faculties, containing over 3,000 students, more than 700 of whom are women.

Its social life is founded on the Student Corporations, to one of which every undergraduate belongs. The corporations are twelve in number and are based on locality. They are not, however, residential, like English colleges. Each corporation has its own club premises and carries on its separate social life. There is also a Students' House to which all students have access, independently of the corporation to which they belong.

Thanks to an investigation made by the present Vice-Chancellor, it is possible to determine with considerable accuracy the different classes of society from which the students are drawn. Professor Hjelt divides the students according to their fathers' rank or profession into upper, middle and lower class, and taking two three-year periods gets the following results:—

			Upper, per cent	Middle, per cent	Lower, per cent
1894-6	Men Students	...	51.8	30.7	16.6
1894-6	Women Students	...	75.0	21.5	2.9
1903-5	Men Students	...	46.5	34.0	19.1
1903-5	Women Students	...	49.3	33.4	15.9

The result shows very clearly to what an extent the

advantages of higher education are within the reach of the middle and lower classes. The privilege, however, seems often to be dearly purchased, for many of the students are forced, through lack of means, to study on borrowed money, and in later life quite a number of men are still paying off the capital loaned to them in their student years. Many of the students manage on very small sums, but there is plenty of extravagance among the richer ones and much money is wasted at restaurants.

The first woman student matriculated in 1870, the next in 1873; but for a long time women studied in very small numbers only, and it was not until 1901 that they were placed on an absolute equality with the men. They have shown a rather marked preference for the Historical-Philological faculty. The girls of the Finnish-speaking lower class have been peculiarly ready to avail themselves of the privilege of University education, as the following table of Professor Hjelt relating to women students in 1893-6 and 1903-5 shows:—

		Upper, per cent	Middle, per cent	Lower, per cent
Swedish speaking	... ..	72.1	24.2	2.9
Finnish speaking	... ..	39.9	37.0	19.9

The percentage of students, both men and women, who complete their University course by taking the final examination is rather small and is decreasing, the reason being that most girls and boys are keen to take the Student Examination as the culmination of their school career, but do not desire a University

degree. This remark is specially applicable to girl students.

In addition to the primary and secondary schools and the University, there exist many other educational institutions of great importance to the country, by means of which knowledge filters through to all classes of society. Among the most interesting of these are the so-called People's High Schools, a kind of popular university built upon the foundation laid by the elementary school. The idea came originally from Denmark and has been adapted so as to meet Finnish conditions. The aim of these schools is both ideal and practical. They try to awaken among the peasantry an interest in culture and in the problems of the day and at the same time train them in the best methods of farming and housekeeping. The first of these schools was founded at Borgå in 1889, and to-day there are over forty of them, in about two-thirds of which the instruction is given in Finnish. The majority of the students are between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two and belong to the landowning peasantry. Each school has between twenty and one hundred students. In the year 1907-8 the total number of students attending the schools was 1,447, of whom 578 were men and 869 women. The course lasts from November 1st to May 1st. The success of these People's High Schools is undoubted, and most of them receive an annual subvention from the State.

It is not only from these schools, however, that culture is gradually being spread through the Finnish country-side. The University students them-

selves have through their corporations organized a kind of Extension lecturing with a similar object. In the vacations students travel about the country-side spreading the knowledge they have themselves acquired at the capital. It is an excellent plan. It keeps the students in touch with the working people, it is instructive for the country population, whilst it benefits the student intellectually, because, by forcing him to explain his knowledge to others, it compels him first to think it out and make it clear to himself. One would like to see a similar movement in other countries. Moreover, the student corporations have also raised considerable funds for sending special lecturers to country places, for the founding of libraries and for other educational aims.

A word must also be said of the efforts made by the country-folk themselves at self-improvement, in the shape of the Young People's Clubs which have developed so rapidly of late years. The idea started in Österbotten in 1882 and has since spread to every part of the country, the different branches being kept in touch by means of a federal body situated in Helsingfors. These clubs have a double purpose. Firstly, they afford young people a regular opportunity of meeting, which is by no means always an easy matter in the Finnish country-side, and of indulging in singing, dancing and theatricals. Secondly, they aim at interesting them in art, literature, science and the questions of the day.

There are a great number of other educational institutions which cannot be mentioned here—such as navigation schools, agricultural colleges, gardening

schools, commercial schools, schools for abnormal children, etc. Finally, reference must be made to the important Technical High School at Helsingfors, which has some sixty lecturers and over four hundred students, who are divided into five faculties—architecture, engineering, machine engineering, chemistry and land-surveying.

Education in Finland is carried out under certain disadvantages, some of which are inevitable, others of which might be remedied. Among the former none is a more serious handicap than the large number of languages that have to be studied. The following are compulsory: Finnish, Swedish, Russian and German, together with French in the modern and Latin in the classical schools. It is difficult to see how the number is to be reduced, for Finnish is practically useless outside Finland and Russian outside Russia, and, although Swedish opens up the riches of the Scandinavian world, yet it is inevitably to West Europe that Finland turns in order to keep in touch with the great world. English is still a voluntary subject in most schools, but is being studied more and more. In fact, it has become very fashionable to learn English.

The circumstances which condemn the Finnish school-child to learn half a dozen languages may be deplored, but can hardly be altered. The system of education is, however, fairly open to criticism in certain respects where changes might well be made. Thus, too high a value seems to be set upon the purely intellectual element in education, which is bad both in itself and also because Finland is too

poor a country to support a large leisured class. The attitude expresses itself most clearly in the tendency for secondary schools to prepare their pupils too exclusively for a University career. This uniformity is sometimes attributed to the prevalence of the German ideal in Finland. How far the accusation is just it is difficult to say. It is certain that Finland has largely gone to school in Germany, and that her debt to German culture can hardly be overestimated. But the excessive importance attached to University education and intellectual culture is probably due, at least in part, to the desire of the Finns to turn out as quickly as possible a Finnish-speaking educated class qualified to hold the more important positions in the State, this having led to an overproduction of students or, at least, to a too rapid production of them.

However this may be, one cannot help feeling that a greater elasticity in educational ideals would be good for Finland. Boys and girls in the secondary schools work for years in order to pass the Student Examination, and, having done so, never take a degree. They have, indeed obtained what they desired, the commercial value of the Student Examination, such as it is, and the honour it brings. But the energy which has gone to winning these might in hundreds of cases have been much better applied in other directions. Moreover, the country itself loses by having its intellectuals turned out too much of one pattern. That a reaction against this excessive intellectualism will take place it is fairly safe to prophesy, and this will no doubt bring with it a change

in the relation of the University and the secondary school. Fears are already being expressed that the present tendency, if unchecked, might lead to the production of an intellectual proletariat despising manual labour, and remedies for the excessive uniformity of the system are being eagerly discussed, and—in the People's High Schools—put into practice.

A foreigner may perhaps be allowed to question whether there is sufficient personal contact between students and professors at the University. There is no college system with its nexus of common residence to unite them, and the students seem, according to our English notions, to be left too much to themselves. This is especially the case in their choice of lectures. They do not map out a course of study and stick to it, but flit from one subject to another like bees among the fair flowers of learning, with the result that too many emerge from the University without knowing anything really well. I believe that students are in the habit of attending far too many lectures, and several have told me that their first and second years have been largely wasted for this reason. The remedy is surely a greater supervision of the students by the professors, who could teach them how to study systematically and thus go directly to their object instead of making a long detour. Moreover, too many students seem to come to the University without any definite idea of what subjects they want to study. Here the advice of the teachers in the higher classes of the schools ought to be of value.

Increased personal contact between teacher and taught would probably counteract another exaggerated tendency in the Finnish student—namely, the propensity to run after every new thing. It is so easy to start a new interest in young Finland, so difficult to keep it going. A thing is tried, becomes fashionable for a moment, and then is replaced by something else, which as rapidly gives way to yet another interest. Altogether, there is far too much intellectual fluidity among the younger generation of Finns, and not enough stability.

Another sphere in which one would like to see a change is that of sport. That sport should play a very much smaller part in Finnish than in British education is neither to be wondered at nor regretted. What one does regret, however, is that boys and girls who in their early years became adepts at sport should, on going to the University, almost entirely abandon it. The reason assigned for it is lack of time. But as a great many students find plenty of time to spend in restaurants and in amusements generally, in the majority of cases the reason does not seem a convincing one. Moreover, one feels that a moderate amount of time devoted to outdoor exercise would have an excellent effect on their studies and help to keep their minds fresh and brisk. It always strikes one rather painfully to see the splendid skating-rinks covered with children, while young men and women are hardly represented at all. If the Finns did not allow the restaurant, with its sedentary habits, to take the place of sport until a few years later than is the case at present, they would be-

come a splendid nation of athletes, and this without the sacrifice of intellectual pursuits. It is pleasant to be able to add that in the opinion of competent observers the restaurant habit has been diminishing during the last twenty years and the interest in sport increasing.

There are many features of Finnish education that strike one as being admirable. First of all, the Finns are prepared to spend money on their schools. The more recent school-buildings are models of their kind and would excite admiration in any country. They are kept extremely spick and span and are splendidly equipped in every way. The teachers seem to do their work efficiently and to be keen on keeping in touch with educational movements all over the world. They are enabled to do so with considerable success, as sums are available to assist teachers desirous of spending their holidays abroad in studying foreign school systems. The University also has in its gift a number of valuable travelling scholarships, thanks to which much of the best work of Finnish scholars has been rendered possible. The importance of such scholarships in a relatively poor country can hardly be overestimated.

The willingness to spend money on education is only the outward sign of one of the best features of Finnish character—namely, a genuine intellectual curiosity. Reference has already been made to the extravagant forms this enthusiasm sometimes takes, but it is at least the defect of a noble quality. This little nation lying in what even to-day seems a remote corner of Europe, and which a hun-

dred years ago seemed almost a mythological country, has for over two centuries had one of the best records for literacy in the whole of Europe, and is to-day informed by a resolute determination to be in touch with "the best that has been known and thought in the world." Teachers have been among the most honoured men and women in the country, and there is nothing of that condescending attitude towards the profession that was common in England not many decades ago, and which even to-day has not entirely disappeared.

I should not like to close this chapter without some reference to the professors and students with whom I have had the honour of being associated, and from whom I have received kindness which I shall never forget. The men students are simple, manly fellows, remarkably free from "side" and very easy to get on with. The girls are capable and intelligent and by no means blue-stockings. Altogether, the relationship between teachers and students seems a very pleasant one, marked by goodwill on either side. Of the professors it is enough to say that their work is valued most highly by those who know it best. The quality of Finnish research is familiar to English readers through the books of Professor Edward Westermarck, Professor Yrjö Hirn and others. Finnish professors are by no means exclusively academic in type, and many of them take an important share in the public life of the country.

CHAPTER XI

THE DIET AND PARTIES

THE machinery of Government in Finland is rather complicated. There are three main factors to be reckoned with—the Emperor-Grand-Duke, the Senate and the Diet, and the inter-relation of these is based on the old Swedish constitution, as defined by the “Form of Government” of 1772 and the “Act of Union and Security” of 1789. This constitution was guaranteed to the Finns by Alexander I in 1809, when Finland entered the Russian Empire.

The Emperor-Grand-Duke governs in accordance with the fundamental laws and the other laws of the country, with the assistance of Finnish authorities and officials. The legislative power is exercised by the Emperor and the Diet together, but certain administrative ordinances can be issued by the former alone. The official medium of communication between the Emperor and the Finnish authorities is the Secretary of State for Finland.

The Governor-General is the head of the civil administration of the country.

The Senate, which corresponds in certain respects to a Cabinet, consists of two Departments, that of

Justice and that of Economy. The former is primarily a Supreme Court of Appeal, but has also certain functions of an administrative nature, which in other countries fall under the domain of the Ministry of Justice. The latter is the administration proper and is divided into eight "expeditions" or ministries, at the head of each of which is a Senator. Senators are appointed for a term of three years by the Emperor, who under normal conditions takes into consideration the prevailing feeling in the country in his choice. A strong desire exists to separate the Department of Justice from the rest of the Senate and transform it into an independent Supreme Court. The fact that its members are appointed by the Emperor largely for political reasons, and for a brief tenure of office only, seriously weakens the Department to-day. It is also desired to remove from the Department all business of an administrative nature. In the Senate sits the Procurator, its legal adviser, whose business it is to see that public officials do not transgress the laws. The Senate, it is important to notice, is not responsible to the Diet.

Before passing to the Diet, it may be well to indicate briefly the nature of local government and the considerable functions it discharges.

The country is divided into 38 urban and 475 rural communes. The present organization of the former was only established in 1873, that of the latter in 1865 (now Act of June 15, 1898). Behind it, however, there lies a long experience in self-government, based on the old Scandinavian insti-

tutions. Towns of more than two thousand inhabitants elect representatives, and smaller towns and rural communes are also entitled to do so; but it frequently happens in the country communes that business is still settled in a general assembly of all the voters, which elects an executive to carry out the decisions it has arrived at. The right to vote depends on taxation, and, while in the Diet elections the principle of one man (or woman) one vote reigns, in the communes a man may have any number of votes up to twenty-five, according to the size of his income. This is a curious instance of the co-existence of the old and the new in Finnish life. Married women do not exercise the communal vote, because their husbands pay their taxes. No doubt when the political situation becomes normal again the communal laws will be revised. The communes have the right to manage practically all their own affairs, including finance, the communal properties, schools, police, poor law administration and the public health. There are, however, a few matters in which they have to obtain the consent of the provincial governors or the Senate, such as the raising of loans. In the urban communes is a town court consisting of a mayor and aldermen; it is a court of justice acting also as a magistrate, i.e., the executive body of the town administration. But there may also be many elective municipal boards, the principal one being that of Finance (Drättselkammare). The country communes have no such court. In 1909 the 38 urban communes had a population of 451,030. According to the budgets for 1908, their combined income

amounted to nearly 34 million marks, of which more than a quarter was derived from income tax. The municipal debt amounted to nearly 55 million marks, while the assets were estimated at nearly 144 millions. The population of the 475 rural communes in 1909 was 2,608,229, their income for 1908 being 12 millions, of which nine were derived from income tax. The debt amounted to nearly 17 millions.

The present parliamentary system in Finland only dates back to 1906. Up to that time the old Swedish representation had been in force. The Diet had consisted of Four Estates, namely, the Nobility, the Clergy, the Burghers, and the Peasants, which sat and voted separately. The electorate numbered some hundred thousand persons, a mere fraction of the population, and large groups of citizens who were keenly interested in politics were entirely excluded from participation in them. Long before 1905 this system had been regarded as obsolete, but circumstances had prevented the substitution of a more modern alternative.

The present representation came as one of the results of the Great Strike of 1905, by which the Finns induced the Tsar to withdraw the illegal ordinances of the Bobrikoff régime and restore the constitution. Two proposals for a new system of election had been previously discussed in Finland, each of them being based on the idea of universal suffrage; one of them favoured a two chamber system, the other a single chamber, elected by proportional representation. The latter opinion prevailed. A committee drew up a scheme early in 1906, which

was accepted by the Four Estates, and received the Emperor's sanction on July 20th.

The Diet thus consists of a single chamber. It contains two hundred members, who are elected every three years by direct and proportional representation. Every man or woman who has attained the age of twenty-four, provided he or she is not disqualified owing to certain obvious disabilities, such as are recognized in every country, is both entitled to vote and eligible for a seat in the Diet. The Diet meets yearly, being convoked by the Emperor, and its session lasts for ninety days. The Emperor, however, has the right to dissolve it before the expiration of the session. In this case new elections have to be held and the Diet meets again. The Emperor has also the right to summon an extraordinary Diet. The Finnish and Swedish languages are on a footing of equality, and the Speaker uses both when pronouncing a ruling or making a communication. Naturally much more Finnish is spoken than Swedish, and Swedish speeches are translated into Finnish by a special interpreter.

The first election on the new system was held on March 15 and 16, 1907. The number of persons who voted was 899,347, about 70 per cent. of the whole electorate. The parties were divided as follows:—

Socialists	...	...	...	...	...	80
Old Finns	...	...	...	...	...	59
Young Finns	...	...	...	...	...	26
Swedish party	...	...	...	...	...	24
Agrarians	...	...	...	...	...	9
Christian Workmen		...	...	...	...	2

The great surprise of the election was the large number of Socialists returned, the new party claiming no less than two-fifths of all the seats. As, however, some account of the Socialists is given in another chapter, reference will only be made here to the other parties. The Swedish party, representing the Swedish-speaking population of Finland, lost most by the new system of election. Hitherto they had controlled two out of the old Four Estates; now they shrank to an eighth part of the new representation. Nevertheless, their influence is out of proportion to their numbers, because for generations they have been the governing class in Finland and have developed a practical political capacity which gives them a considerable advantage over their less experienced colleagues. They have been long accustomed to control a machine which the more recently enfranchised classes are still but learning to manipulate. They first began to organize themselves as a political party in the eighteen-eighties, when the triumph of the National movement seemed to render the formation of a league in defence of the Swedish language imperative. The *Nya Pressen* was founded as their Press organ about that time. To-day the party is represented in Helsingfors by *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Dagens Pressen*. In internal politics both conservative and radical shades of opinion emerge. With regard to Russia they have always led the movement for "passive resistance," and insist on the strictest observance of the constitution. They do not, of course, stand in any way for political separatism.

The Finnish party (usually called the Old Finns or Fennomans, to distinguish it from the Young Finnish party) began organizing in the eighteenth-sixties. Its aim was the realization of Snellman's ideal, "one nation, one language." The philosophic conceptions on which the party is based are derived from Germany and are rather Bismarckian (Snellman, it will be remembered, was a disciple of Hegel). The party achieved a great work in winning its rights for the Finnish language and paving the way for the intellectual and cultural development of the Finnish-speaking population. Its yielding attitude towards Russian aggression has lately brought it into conflict with the other parties and weakened its hold on the country. It is sometimes accused of yielding in order to receive the posts from which the passive resisters are expelled. If applied to the party as a whole, the accusation must be regarded as unfair, but it is true that a great many political adventurers joined the party during the Bobrikoff period in the hope of personal advancement and have done much to discredit it. To-day a tendency exists among many of the Old Finns to abandon their former policy towards Russia and adopt that of the constitutional parties. Altogether the party seems to be in a transitional state. Like the Swedish party, it contains both conservative and radical elements. Its principal organ is *Uusi Suometar*. The party is strongest among the peasant proprietors, especially in west and south Finland, and has a very large number of adherents among the Lutheran clergy.

The Young Finns represent a revolt against the too conservative and bureaucratic leaders of the Old Finnish party. They definitely seceded and organized as a separate party in the early 'nineties. Among their original aims was a speedy settlement of the language question, about which they regarded the old leaders being too lukewarm, too considerate to the Swedes. Their party program was, on the whole, a radical one, the political philosophy behind it being French and English, rather than German. Large numbers of artists, scientists and literary men are among their members. As soon as the pressure from Russia became serious, the Young Finns abandoned their earlier standpoint on the language question and co-operated with the Swedish party in the interests of national unity. During the Bobrikoff period they joined with the Swedes in founding the constitutional party for passive resistance against Russian aggression. The party served as a refuge for many of the Old Finns at this time, who could not agree with the yielding policy towards Russia. If the Young Finns succeed in holding to the ideal of a united Finland, with "one spirit and two languages," they will do the country an immense service. It is worth pointing out that Herr Svinhufvud, for many years the honoured Speaker of the Diet, who is generally regarded as the best representative of a united Finland, is a Young Finn.

The Agrarians represent the small landowners.

The party situation in Finland might be roughly summarized as follows: With regard to Russia, the

Swedes, Young Finns and Agrarians form the so-called constitutional party, insisting on a policy of rigorous passive resistance against aggression. The Socialists usually make common cause with them, occasionally differing on points of detail. The Old Finns, however, adopt a somewhat yielding policy towards Russia and are thus frequently opposed to the other parties. Latterly there has been a tendency among them to come into line, as they have realized the true extent of Russia's designs on Finland. With regard to internal politics, the situation is more complicated. Broadly speaking, however, the middle-class parties always unite against the Socialists, whom they can thus outvote. Except for their common dislike of the latter, the Swedish party and the Old Finns usually disagree. Between the Old and the Young Finns there is a good deal of friction, the former tending to regard the latter as not sufficiently devoted to the cause of Finnish nationalism. Nevertheless, they have strong interests in common. The Young Finns are on rather friendly terms with the Swedish party, as they have temporarily abandoned the language struggle and the two parties agree in their Russian policy. The whole situation is complicated, however, by the fact that in each of the middle-class parties there is a right and a left wing, not definitely organized as such, yet clearly perceptible. Generalizations about the Finnish parties are therefore beset with pitfalls.

To a foreigner, one of the most interesting features of the Diet is the light it throws on proportional representation. Persons interested in the

particular system that obtains in Finland are referred to Mr. John H. Humphries's "Proportional Representation" (Methuen), which includes a very lucid exposition of this rather complicated subject. Here it is sufficient to point out that the elector's task is an easy one, as is seen from the fact that less than 1 per cent of the voting-papers are spoiled. The counting, however, takes several days. In the selection of candidates great freedom is permitted. The country is divided into sixteen electoral districts returning different numbers of members, except Lapland, which is only represented by one.

The proportion between the seats actually gained and the votes cast is shown in the following analysis of the election of 1909. The result is typical of all the elections that have taken place since 1907, any of which would have served equally well as an illustration. The justice of the distribution is on the whole very striking.

Party	Votes	Seats actually obtained	Seats in Proportion to Votes
Socialist	337,685	84	80
Old Finn	199,920	48	47
Young Finn	122,770	28	29
Swedish	104,191	25	25
Agrarian	56,943	14	13
Christian Workmen	23,259	1	6

Briefly, it may be said that the system works very smoothly and gives a fair representation to all the parties.

The work of the Single Chamber Diet has been

conditioned largely by the unfortunate political relations between Finland and Russia. It falls roughly under three categories—legislation proper, representations to the monarch, called forth by the abnormal political situation, and thirdly, financial matters. The first Single Chamber Diets devoted most of their attention to legislation. They have little positive result to show, owing to the hostility of the Russian authorities, which has prevented the measures passed from becoming law. In fact, for several years legislation has been practically at a standstill. Since 1910, when reaction became still stronger, the Diets have been obliged to devote most of their time to the last two categories, which, owing to Russian interference with Finnish finance, are closely allied. In a succession of excellently worded petitions and addresses, the Diet has vindicated Finland's right to her constitution in the face of Russian aggression, and has demonstrated the illegality and the harmful effects of Russia's present policy. This attitude has been resented in Russia, with the result that, except for that of 1911, none of the Diets since 1907 have been allowed to run their natural course of three years, but elections have taken place annually.

There seems to be a very general impression among persons who have sat both in the old Four Estates and the Single Chamber Diet that, as regards its composition, the older body was superior. The sudden irruption of the proletariat into the Diet may well have temporarily lowered the average of education and political insight among its members.

Even the critics of the new Diet, however, admit that a remarkable improvement in its work has taken place during its later sessions, which suggests that the Finnish peasantry are quick to learn their new duties and will justify the confidence placed in them. There seems to be no real ground for pessimism, especially when the inevitable dislocation accompanying the early stages of so sudden and far-reaching a change is borne in mind. On many sides one hears that the effect of the extended franchise on the electorate has been to widen their interests in a remarkable manner.

Of recent years the opening of the Diet has been an interesting ceremony, because a symbolic one. It takes place in the State ball-room of the Palace, which in happier days was the scene of friendly hospitality extended by the Emperors to their faithful subjects. To-day no Emperor comes to the deserted building, which lives on its memories. Only when the Diet is opened does it regain a temporary lease of life. From one of the doors enters the Diet, headed by its Speaker. It looks curiously out of place in the polished and shining hall. Among its members one does, indeed, distinguish many intellectuals, but it seems mainly an assembly of farmers, careworn, silent men with rugged, strongly marked, yet extraordinarily impassive faces. Here and there one notices a woman. They take up their position in a semicircle opposite an imposing throne placed on a dais. After a few minutes a sharp military shout is heard, and the Russian Governor-General enters, followed by a long succession of

officers, both military and naval, in brilliant uniforms. Glittering in steel and gold, they take up their position opposite the sombre-coloured Diet. When they have settled themselves a dramatic moment occurs. The representatives of the Autocrat Tsar and of the Finnish democracy take a step forwards towards each other and exchange curt formal bows, suggestive of the brief handshake of boxers before a bout. The Russian stands brusque in manner, unsympathetic, the picture of the military martinet. He gives the impression of a German rather than a Russian. Indeed, this apostle of russianization is a German by family and a Lutheran by religion. He has an evil reputation in Finland, where he was Bobrikoff's right-hand man. The Finn confronting him is a tall, massive man, looking as unshakeable as a rock of Finnish granite, a typical representative of his country's patient strength. The Russian reads out something in a harsh voice; the Finn briefly replies. Again curt bows. Nothing more happens. The uniforms troop out at one door, the black coats and homespuns at another. The muzzled Diet has had its session opened; in the streets outside are Cossacks.

CHAPTER XII

FINLAND'S WORLD-INDUSTRY

THE characteristic features of a Finnish landscape are forest, water and rock, and it is precisely from these and especially the two former that the wealth of the country springs at the present day and is destined to spring far more rapidly in the future. Possibilities of utilizing the enormous supply of granite are indeed not to be compared with the certainties of wealth that lie in the endless forests and the innumerable sources of water power. Probably in no country in the world, certainly in no European country, is there such a combination of conditions favourable to the development of a timber, and more particularly a paper industry.

Roughly speaking, 63 per cent of Finland is covered by forest, a proportion greater than that reached in any other European country. Even if from this is deducted marsh land and bog, an enormous surface of dry forest land remains. Both the geological formation of the greater part of the country and also the climate are favourable to forestry—far more indeed than to agriculture—and the natural re-growth of the trees is unusually rapid. The

difficult work of transport is facilitated by two circumstances. Firstly, there is always enough snow in the winter to make it easy to bring down the logs from the forests, and yet the snow is not so deep as to make the cutting down of timber difficult. Secondly, the country is intersected by an enormous network of waterways. The great Saima basin, extending 360 miles inland, has no parallel in Europe, and, as a glance at the map will show, there are many other notable chains of lakes. Along these great natural waterways it is easy to float logs down to the sea-coast at a low cost. Moreover, nearly all the rivers through which the lakes issue have a large number of rapids and are capable of producing an enormous degree of water power, whether for saw- or paper-mills. Nearly 2,000 rapids have been counted in Finland, and Imatra alone, which takes the overflow of the Saima basin, is calculated to be equal to not less than 140,000 horsepower. Finally there is an ever-increasing world market for both sawn goods and all sorts of paper, but especially for the latter, which is by far the most profitable of the two, and which, as we shall see, is bound more and more to engage the activities of Finnish capitalists in the future.

The forests are largest and thickest in the centre of Finland, between the great lakes and the plain bordering the Gulf of Bothnia, and in the east along the Russian frontier, and in the north. The principal trees are the common pine (*Pinus sylvestris*), the fir (*Abies excelsa*) and the birch. But many other trees also flourish, notably both kinds of alder,

the aspen, the larch and, in South Finland, the oak, etc. The forests contain a very large variety of berries, which are of considerable importance to the peasants.

It is comparatively recently that the value of the timber as an article of export was realized. To the earliest inhabitants of Finland the forest was a place where one hunted. At a later period trees were used for building, firewood, etc. As cultivation came into use, the forests were regarded as manure—i.e. they were burnt down in order that the soil might be fertile for the production of crops. Even to-day this custom persists in parts of East Finland. Accidental fires also perform a great work of destruction, as may be judged from the fact that in each of the three years 1868, 1883 and 1894, when proper precautions were already being taken, considerably more than 100,000 acres of forest was burnt down in the State forests alone. Gales have also been terribly disastrous from time to time. The keeping of reindeer has involved a great destruction of trees in North Finland, and the ignorant topping of trees to provide fodder has been another source of loss. Worst of all has been the wholesale selling of forests to timber companies and speculators by the ignorant peasants—fortunately a thing of the past. The forests were often sold for a mere song, and were simply ravaged by the purchasers, who took all they could and rarely thought of replantation. The coast district of Österbotten and the shores of the Saima chain of lakes have suffered terrible havoc in this respect, and the only compensation

has been that agriculture benefited by the money derived by the peasants from the sale of their trees.

Only in the middle of the nineteenth century, when saw-mills became common, did people begin to think seriously of scientific forestry. The first Institute for the training of foresters was opened in 1859. But owing to a lack of pupils it had to be closed from 1866 to 1874. Moreover, many mistakes were made in practical matters, the most important being that the foresters' districts were made so large that no single man could adequately control them. A period of discouragement and stagnation set in, but the steady increase of the timber export led to further attempts at scientific management, which have been far more successful, and to-day the administration of the forests seems much more satisfactory. The farmers know the value of their trees and exact a good price for them, and, though small proprietors are not and cannot be expected to be versed on forestry, the larger companies spend money in improving their forests by draining, thinning out the trees and replanting. Even to-day, however, there is reason to fear that in some of the privately owned forests the trees are still cut down with a recklessness, a disregard for the future, that calls for severe condemnation. Thus the export of props and pit-props has lately been unusually large and has involved in places a deplorable destruction of young trees that brings with it no commensurate gain. It is also worth pointing out, in view of the great growth of the timber export, that the dimensions of the trees that come to the

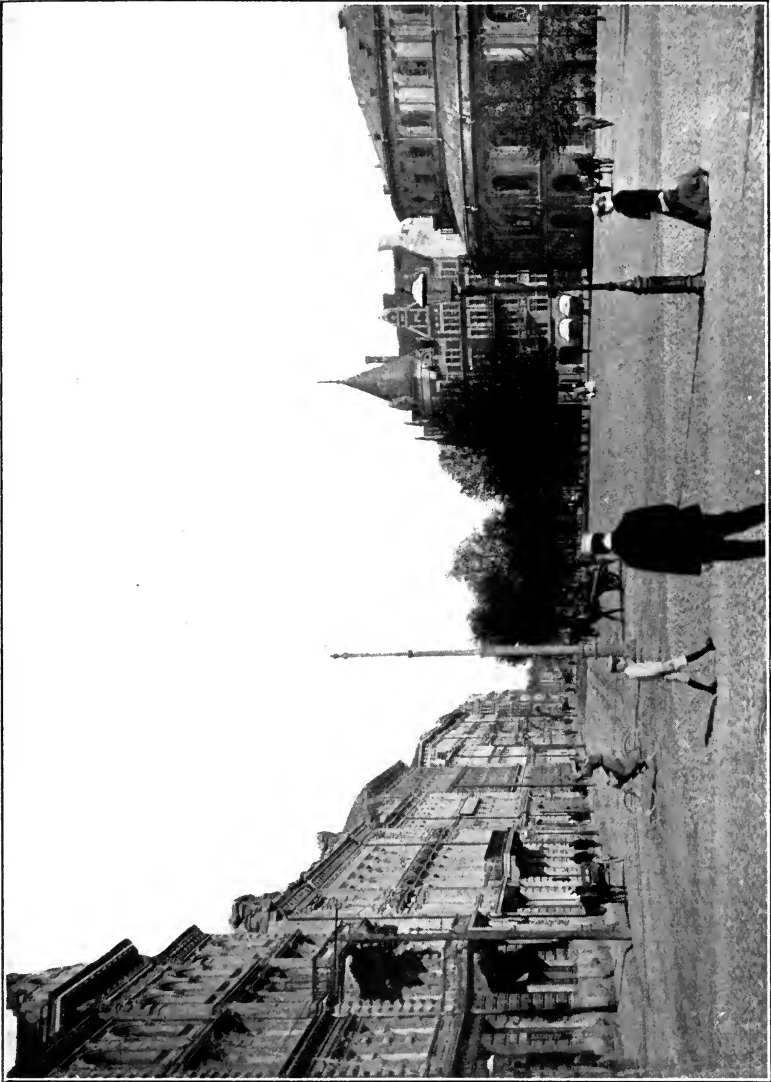
saw-mills are gradually diminishing. In 1889 an average of 33.9 trees went to a standard of sawn goods; in 1896 it reached 40, and although since then it has fallen in some years, in 1911 it was as high as 46. This does not, however, necessarily mean that the forests are badly looked after, because as the tree grows fastest till it reaches a diameter of, say, 7 or 8 inches, and then increases in thickness very much more slowly, the best results economically are obtained by cutting the trees before the period of slow growth sets in.

The forest land of Finland is divided into Crown and private forests. The former have existed for many centuries, since the State in early times claimed for itself a right to all waste lands. In 1908 the Crown forests covered nearly 13 million hectares, about a third of the total area of Finland, over 11 million hectares being situated in the vast province of Uleåborg. But only about 5½ million hectares are real forest land where the trees grow thickly, most of the remaining 7½ millions being marshy land, where vegetation is comparatively thin.

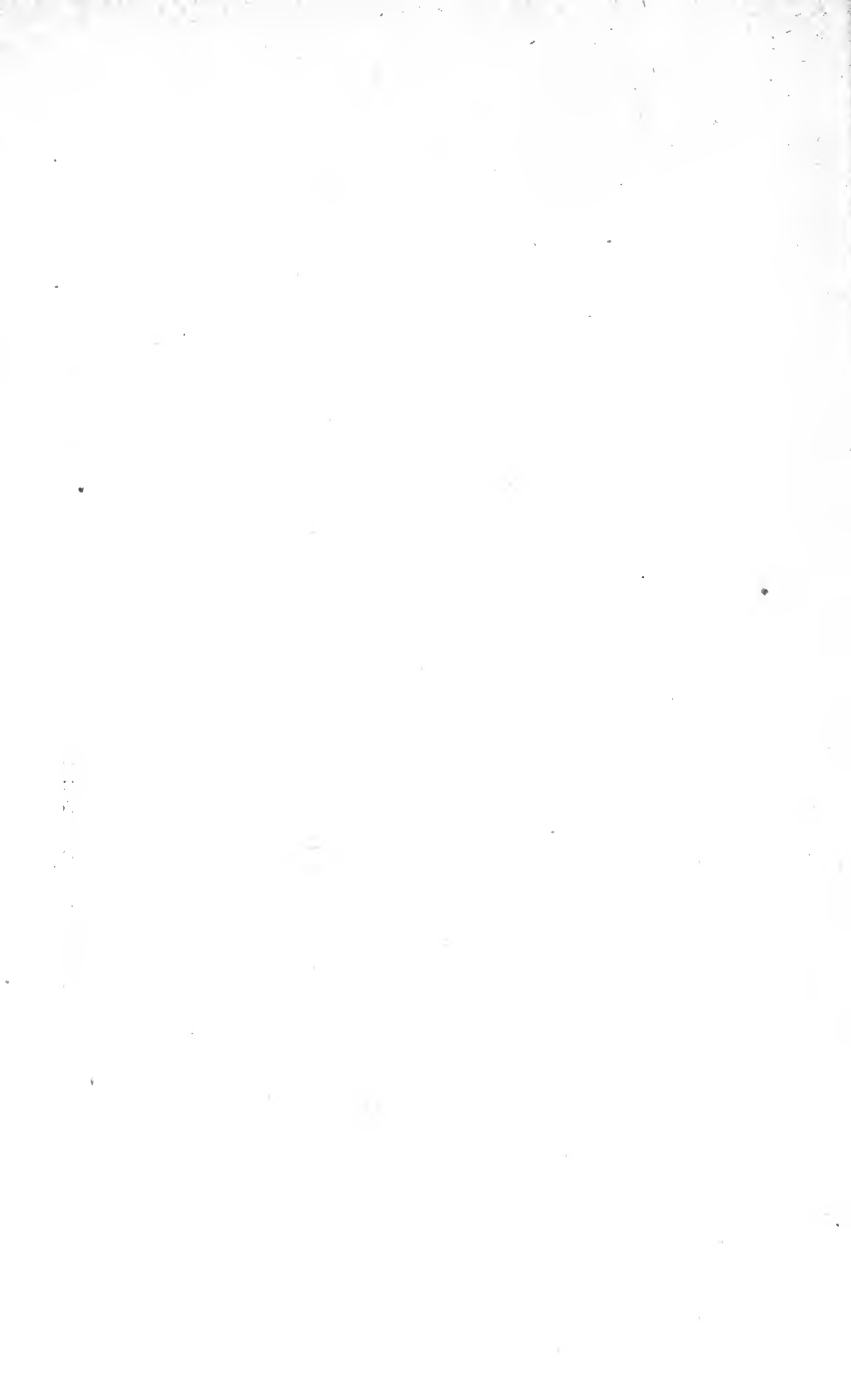
The private forests amount to nearly 10 million hectares of good forest land and nearly 2 million hectares of marsh land.

The process by which the logs are got down from the forests to the mills is one of great interest. As soon as the snow falls in the autumn the felling of the trees begins. The life of the woodcutters is anything but an easy one. They leave their homes for weeks at a time and settle in the forest so as to be near their work. If possible they live with some

of the peasants, but it often happens, especially in the thinly populated north, that they have to rig up shelters for themselves. One even hears of men sleeping out round a fire, turning first one side towards the heat and then the other. They cut down the trees, rough-hew them with axes, peel off the bark, pile them on sledges and take them to the nearest waterway, where they are stacked either on the banks or on the frozen water. When the spring comes they are floated to the sea. Down the rivers it is for the most part easy work, for the stream carries them slowly along, and the only difficulty is that they sometimes get stuck in narrow or rocky places, where the current is powerful or there are rapids. Men are usually stationed at such spots to disentangle the logs with long forks. It is a difficult and dangerous work and often leads to loss of life. If a very serious stoppage occurs, recourse must sometimes be had to explosives. When the logs emerge from the rivers into the great lakes, artificial traction is of course necessary. The logs are collected in large numbers, and, by means of a girdle of trees chained to each other, are formed into huge rafts. Sometimes the girdle breaks, and then a most terrible confusion arises, which it takes days to set straight. The passage of these rafts is necessarily a very slow one, and the men who are in charge of them build a hut on board and settle down comfortably for the summer. There is quite a little harvest of songs expressive of the life of the raftsmen. They are not very popular characters in the country-side, however, having the rep-



PART OF ESPLANADE AND NATIONAL THEATRE, HELSINGFORS



utation of being extremely rough and quarrelsome. The old method by which they got their raft to move was very primitive. They rowed out as far as possible with an anchor attached to a line, dropped anchor, returned to the raft and wound up the line on a capstan until the raft was pulled along as far as the anchor, upon which the process was repeated over and over again indefinitely. Nowadays tugs do the work more and more. When the lakes issue in rivers the raft is of course dissolved and the logs are once more borne along by the current. In places where the stream is used to supply power, canals are constructed for the passage of the logs. Even with the use of tugs on the lakes it often takes one or two summers for the logs to make the entire voyage from the place where they are originally floated to the saw-mills.

In 1910 the saw-mills numbered 531, not counting a considerable number which worked only to supply the needs of the owner or the commune. Most of them are small, the number of saws which turn out more than 10,000 cubic metres a year not much exceeding 100, but these latter include some very large mills. Most of the larger mills lie at or near the mouths of the principal rivers, the Kymmene, the Kumo, the Vuoksi, and, in the far north, the Kemi and the Torne. For this reason Kotka, at the mouth of the Kymmene, and Björneborg, at the mouth of the Kumo, have become important places for the timber export. In East Finland, Viborg holds a similar position, chiefly because it lies close to the mouth of the Saima canal. Among the

persons and firms which own the large saw-mills may be mentioned Ahlström & Co., Hackmann & Co., Rosenlew & Co., August Eklof, Gutzeit & Co., Salvesen & Co., the Halla Company, the Finland Wood Company, Ltd. The latter is a British firm, and the three preceding it belong to Norwegians.

It is noteworthy that, in spite of Finland's wealth in water power, almost as many mills are driven by steam as by water. This is especially the case with the larger mills, practically all those which turn out more than 20,000 cubic metres per annum using steam. The reason is that their position has been determined by other considerations than the accessibility of water power, and that such power is not essential in saw-mills because sufficient fuel is obtainable from the waste products of the mill.

The growth of the industry has been most rapid, the average value having risen from 37 millions of marks in 1886-90 to 143 millions in 1906-10. Of the timber exported in 1911, 2,235,000 cubic metres was unsawn, 277,000 cubic metres partially sawn and 3,120,000 cubic metres sawn and partially worked up. Of the unsawn timber the greater quantity consisted of props or pit-props, while of that worked up, 1,478,000 cubic metres consisted of boards, 857,000 cubic metres of battens and 403,000 cubic metres of planks.

The raw-material of the saw-mills is derived from the fir and pine forests. There is, however, an important industry which utilizes the birch, namely the bobbin industry. The conditions for carrying it on profitably do not exist in many countries. A very

large amount of wood is required, as there is a wastage of over 90 per cent. Consequently it is only profitable to make bobbins in a large town or near mills worked by steam, where the waste can be consumed as fuel. Moreover, there are transport difficulties that do not exist in the case of the saw-mills. For birch logs cannot be floated down like fir and pine logs, but must be piled on barges and brought down by tugs. Consequently such facilities as Finland offers for water transport are of the utmost value, and the bobbin industry flourishes accordingly. There are now thirteen factories, including six large ones, two of which belong to the Tornator Company, two to the Kaukas Company, while two more at Kuopio were bought in 1912 by Messrs. Coats, of Paisley.

Great as are Finland's natural advantages as regards saw-mills, they are still greater as regards paper-mills. The water power, which is often dispensed with in the former, is of the very highest importance for the latter. While paper-mill owners have the greater need for water power, they also, by reason of the different conditions of transport, have a greater liberty to place their mills where they can get it. In 1910 the mills were using 77,200 effective horse-power, and since then the amount has been increased. Three-quarters of it was used in the pulp factories, most of the rest in the paper factories, about 3,000 horse-power going to the cellulose factories. Electrical power is also used and its employment will certainly increase. In 1910 there were 110 electric generators in use.

Most of the Finnish paper-mills are named after the rapids by which they are situated and from which they derive their power, and end in -koski, the Finnish for waterfall. The largest firm is the Kymmene Company, with a capital of 14½ millions of marks. It consists of three factories lying close to each other on the Kymmene River. The Tornator Company is the second largest. Among other important firms are Valkiakoski in South Tavastland and Leppakoski in East Finland.

The growth of the paper industry has been extremely rapid, as the following figures as to the value of the output show:—

1885	...	...	...	...	9	millions of marks
1895	...	...	...	...	16	“ “
1905	...	...	...	...	41	“ “
1912	...	...	...	...	93	“ “

As the paper industry exists principally for purposes of export, it is interesting to note certain changes in respect of the countries which take the production. Cellulose up to 1904 went almost exclusively to Russia, but in 1911 Russia took only about one-fourteenth of the total export. Ground wood pulp also used to go almost entirely to Russia, but in 1911 Russia took little more than a quarter of the export. All along, Russia has taken most of the paper export, but the amount sent to other countries has increased from 3.2 per cent in 1909 to 21.8 per cent in 1911. After Russia, Great Britain is the best market for Finnish paper goods, and in 1911 imported 87,500 tons of ground wood pulp, cel-

lulose, paste-board and paper. Nearly 20,000 tons consisted of paper, three-quarters of it being brown paper.

The extraordinary development of the paper industry is having an important effect on the saw-mill owners. Saw-mills pay less and less, especially in cases where the owners have no land of their own from which to draw their supply of timber. For, owing to the successful development of paper manufacturing, the value of forest land is rising rapidly. Both paper- and saw-mill owners find it impossible to get their raw material on the old easy terms, when farmers would give them ten-year contracts for felling the timber on their land. The farmers realize the state of the market and will only contract for two or three years at a time. Consequently the mill-owners are tumbling over each other in their eagerness to buy up forests while the price is still low compared to what it will undoubtedly be one or two decades hence. But even now the price is usually too high to make saw-mills a profitable undertaking except for those who already own their land, and there is little room for doubt that a silent revolution will take place, and that, wherever possible, saw-mill owners will turn their energies to paper making. There is far more money to be made in this way. A standard of sawn goods brings in some £7 or £8, while the same quantity of wood turned into rough paper brings in from £30 to £50. Moreover, recent experience shows that the export of the more expensive products of the industry is increasing at a far greater rate than that of the

coarser products—another strong reason for believing that the future belongs to the paper-mill. It is, however, impossible for paper-mills to replace saw-mills all over the country, for the simple reason that it is only the fir that can be used in making paper, pine-wood being unsuited to the purpose. But it has been estimated that if all the white wood now exported as raw material for paper making in other countries and as planks, battens and boards were converted into paper, the paper export could be increased fourfold or fivefold without cutting down any more trees than is done at present.

In spite of the very advantageous conditions in Finland, many paper-mills are not doing well. The reason is that they started on wrong lines and find it difficult to recover. The chemical process by which paper is made out of wood was only invented some thirty years ago, and the early paper-mills were largely experimental. They had to feel their way and made many mistakes. The mills had to be rebuilt, the installations were wrong, too many different kinds of goods were made in the same mill, and so on. Now, however, those who start paper-mills have the benefit of past experience to guide them. They know what to do, and their only need is the capital with which to do it.

CHAPTER XIII

OTHER INDUSTRIES

A "FINNISH WEEK" which was held in the autumn of 1913 showed that a very large number of goods of different kinds are produced in Finland. But while Finnish timber and paper are making their way to all parts of the globe, most of the other industries work mainly for the home market, and do not seem capable at present of very much development.

An exception to this remark is the stone industry. This is, like timber and paper, a natural industry for Finland, which is particularly rich in stone. The soil rests on a foundation of granite, and this has to a large extent come to the surface and constitutes a considerable portion of the area of Finland. It is the most important of the varieties of stone found in the country. There is an annual export worth from 100,000 to 200,000 marks to Aberdeen, but by far the greatest export is to Russia. This is only natural, as Russia is so near to Finland and is herself poor in stone. The "rapakivi" granite from the east of Finland has been much

used in St. Isaac's and the Kazan Cathedral at Petersburg, while the red granite from south-west Finland is used for the monuments of Alexander II at Moscow and of Alexander III at Moscow and Petersburg. The export to Russia ought to increase considerably with the growth of Russian towns. The chief thing that hampers the development of the industry is the difficulty and expense of transport.

While Finland's wealth in timber and granite and water power has long been realized, it is still an open question whether or not she contains mineral wealth. From the oldest times iron has been worked in Finland, and one of the leading personages in the "Kalevala" is Ilmarinen, the smith. Yet the country seems poor in iron, and the iron worked was obtained not from mines, but from the beds of lakes and bogs. Several attempts to discover iron mines really worth working have been made from the seventeenth century up to to-day, but without success. Under the circumstances the manufacture of iron goods is not likely to take place on a great scale, more especially since considerable orders that used to come from the Russian State have, since 1906, been cancelled, owing to political reasons. Nevertheless, iron is an important industry in Finland, employing over 10,000 persons, and the modern mechanical workshops are excellently managed.

In the eighteen-seventies gold was discovered in the north of Finland, in the bed of the Ivalojoiki, which flows into the Arctic Ocean. Gold-washing has since then regularly taken place, but the results have been inconsiderable. Altogether, people had

better receive with caution reports of wealthy gold mines in Finland.

The prospects with regard to copper seem more hopeful. It is possible that an old mine at Orijärvi, which has lately been reopened with modern plant, may yield good returns, though the present management of it has not succeeded in winning the confidence of the Finns. Moreover, at Outokumpu, in the province of Kuopio, some rich veins of copper have been discovered.

Another industry that deserves special notice is the manufacture of textiles. For this Finland possesses no natural advantages, but she has achieved considerable results, especially in the last twenty years, during which the value of the production has risen from about 20 to about 70 millions of marks. The chief seat of the industry is Tammerfors, advantageously situated between two lakes and enjoying the title of Finland's Manchester. From 1856 to 1906 Tammerfors enjoyed important privileges, by which its manufacturers were allowed to import their raw material duty-free, even if it had been partly improved. The largest factory is that of Finlayson & Co., named after the Scotchman who founded it in 1820. There are important factories also at Forssa, Vasa, Abo and Björneborg. The annual import of textiles is worth about 25 millions of marks, of which Germany sends ten millions, Russia seven, and Great Britain five. The export is not a large one and goes almost entirely to Russia.

A fair quantity of linen goods is exported to Russia, though limited to 50,000 poods, or 820 tons, a

year, which is allowed to enter under the preferential duty agreement. The same quantity of cotton goods is also allowed under the same preferential duty agreement, and is consequently exported to Russia annually.

Finally, mention must be made of the dairy industry, which has of recent decades become important, over 200,000 casks of butter of 1 cwt. each being exported annually. By far the greatest amount is sent to the United Kingdom. Cheese is also made, most of it going to Petersburg.

The general growth of Finnish industries may be seen from the following figures:—

The imports per inhabitant were worth	23	marks	in	1856
“	“	“	141	“
“	“	“	“	1911
The exports per inhabitant were worth	8	“	“	1856
“	“	“	101	“
“	“	“	“	1911

The number of industrial workers rose from 36,700 in 1885 to 102,900 in 1911.

Finnish industries are highly protected and are likely to remain so. Even on paper the duty is a very heavy one, and it is infinitely cheaper to buy most sorts of paper in Great Britain than in Finland, as the manufacturers here take advantage of the tariff to keep their prices high.

The only large tariff question affecting the country to-day is whether or not Russia will abolish the tariff wall separating her from Finland. Many politicians in Russia are desirous of doing so, as being part of their policy of russianizing Finland. Russian manufacturers, on the other hand, are strongly against it and have protested against the scheme

both individually and through their Chambers of Commerce. They believe that they stand to lose heavily by it, as while there is a substantial duty on Finnish goods going into Russia, practically all Russian goods coming into Finland are free of duty. Hitherto, the manufacturers' protests have been successful, but it is by no means impossible that the politicians will gain the day. The effect on Finland of the removal of the tariff wall would vary in the different industries. Thus, the textiles would suffer, because in Finland there is now no duty on raw cotton and in Russia there is a heavy one. Moreover, the cotton industry is highly developed in Russia. Paper, on the other hand, would probably benefit considerably, as the Russian market would be open to it duty-free, while at present the duty on Finnish paper is very heavy. Indeed, the probable effect of the change would be the shutting up of the Russian paper-mills. Taking it on the whole, it is unlikely that the removal of the tariff wall would hurt Finnish trade, seeing that the huge Russian market would be opened to Finland. As business men there is no reason to think that the Finns are inferior to Russians, and the Finnish working men, even if they should prove less clever and quick than the best Russians, are on the whole steadier, more orderly, and more sober. Moreover, in Russia regular work is constantly being interfered with by Saints' days and other holidays, while in Finland work proceeds with the regularity usual in other European countries.

The great need of Finnish industry at the present

moment is more capital with which to exploit the natural resources of the country. Seeing that the rate of interest is high, there is an excellent opening for the judicious investor. The banks allow 5 per cent on a deposit standing account, 3 per cent on a current account, while the dividends obtainable from many other investments considerably exceed 5 per cent. Curiously enough, so far Britishers and Norwegians seem to be the only foreigners who have invested money in Finnish industrial enterprises, and they partly control the business by having one or two men on the board of directors where the business is not entirely managed by them.

Finland also offers a very fair market for the British manufacturer, who, however, has been somewhat slow to realize its possibilities. At present most of the foreign trade is with German firms, which show most praiseworthy energy and send over large numbers of agents and commercial travellers. Nevertheless British goods are much preferred to German, and in many of the shops German goods are passed off as British for this reason. What handicaps British articles is usually the higher price. But this is sometimes a purely artificial difficulty, as British goods are often exported to Germany and then re-exported to Finland instead of being sent direct from England. The present time is a favourable one for an effort on the part of British firms to establish a direct connection with Finland. For there is now a strong wave of interest in everything English. The language is being studied more than ever before in the schools and at

the University. Finns travel in England and send their daughters to be "finished" there, English books are read, English fashions are copied, English games are played. A commercial *rapprochement* is the natural concomitant of all this, and young Finnish business men are beginning to study English rather than German, so that the language difficulty is likely to grow steadily less. British firms, however, are slow to take their chance. They should send energetic representatives who speak German or Swedish and who will cultivate personal relations with Finnish business men. One would like to see a stores established in Helsingfors in which all the goods were guaranteed of British make. There might be an opening for such a stores in other places also, for Finland is a country with an industrial and commercial future and the towns are growing rapidly.

It may be pointed out that the bankruptcy laws in Finland protect foreign firms, which consequently do not have to fear the dangers that beset them in Russia.

Partly because industry itself is on a small scale and of recent growth, industrial legislation is still at a rather elementary stage. Although the making of matches out of white phosphorous was prohibited as early as 1865, it was not until 1889 that a more comprehensive factory law was passed, which is still in operation. This aimed chiefly at safeguarding children. No child under twelve years of age could be employed in a factory at all, and night-work was forbidden for persons under eighteen.

The maximum number of working hours for children under the age of fifteen is six and a half, that for persons between fifteen and eighteen is twelve. Children who have not been to a secondary technical school have to attend classes at least twelve hours a week. Certain minimum sanitary conditions are exacted, and inspectors are appointed to see that the law is obeyed. At the present day some of these inspectors are women.

In 1895 was passed a Workmen's Protection Act, by which employers are compelled to compensate workmen for injuries received while in their employment. In case such injuries should result in permanently unfitting the injured person for work, or in death, the employer is required to guarantee his ability to pay the necessary compensation by insuring his workmen with approved companies. By a law passed in 1902, sailors on board Finnish ships are placed in a similar position. Sickness insurance is not compulsory.

It must be admitted that Finnish industrial legislation requires much improvement. But the fault lies not with the Finns but with the Russian Government, which has refused to sanction many Bills passed by the Finnish Diet with the object of bettering the position of the working classes. What Finland is aiming at in this respect may be seen from the Bakeries Law of 1908, which is one of the very few pieces of legislation the Single Chamber Diet has succeeded in getting through. This law confines work to weekdays and forbids night-work, i.e., between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m.; establishes a forty-

eight hour week; permits of not more than 120 hours' overtime per annum, overtime being paid 50 per cent above the usual rate; provides for the inspection of bakeries; prescribes strict sanitary conditions, and makes offenders against all these provisions liable to fines of from 10 to 700 marks. Hotels and pensions come under the operation of this law, as well as bakeries. The law is thus an excellent piece of work, and as soon as Finland is free to carry out her own wishes in the matter she will doubtless pass more industrial legislation on the same lines.

Meanwhile she does what she can. A permanent exhibition has been established for the showing of all the latest inventions for the protecting and safeguarding of workmen in the workshop, factory and mine, and Miss Vera Hjelt, its chief promoter, looks forward to the day when factory-life shall be made so safe that "there need be no danger that we should not be prepared to share with the manual labourer." At the same time a considerable social reform literature is growing up in Finland, typical of which are such books as Miss Hjelt's investigation of the standard of living among the industrial workers, with its rich statistical material, and the same writer's study of seamstresses. Although of great interest to residents in Finland, these books are too detailed to attract the foreign reader who is not something of an expert, and therefore will not be described here. With reference to the former book, however, it may be of general interest to point out that the average income of the 350 families

investigated was about £65, of which about four-fifths was earned by the head of the family. The main items of expenditure were as follows:—

					Per Cent.
Food	...	...	...	...	55.4
Housing	...	...	...	...	12.4
Clothing	...	...	...	...	11.8
Heat and light	...	...	...	...	4.1

Prices are rising here as elsewhere, and usually at a higher rate than wages. Two hundred and fifty-nine of the families managed to live on their earnings, while 91 families were forced either to borrow or to encroach on their savings—not a very satisfactory state of things.

CHAPTER XIV

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

IN many ways the year 1899 marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Finland, and will be looked upon by future chroniclers as a turning-point in the national life. Not only was it the year in which the russianization of the country seriously began, with its profoundly disturbing effect on the entire nation, but it was also the year which saw the birth of a self-conscious Labour movement which seems destined to influence in a far-reaching manner the whole future development of the country. It is true that a number of working men's associations existed as early as the eighteen-eighties, but it was only in 1899 that an organized Labour party came into being, as the result of a congress at Åbo. A Finnish Socialist explains the late development of the movement by saying that it could not arise before the National movement had "paved the way of education for the lower ranks of the nation. . . . The rise of the social question is nothing but the second step in our nation's great process of awakening and development which the National movement began."

But if the Labour movement came into being late, it has made up for this by the rapidity of its growth.

This is mainly due to the unquiet period which gave it birth, though it may also be remarked that ideas and movements seem to spread through small nations with a rapidity far above what is usual in large nations. Both the russianization and the resistance to russianization added fuel to its fire. Bobrikoff prepared a way for it by his contempt for law and tradition, which helped to destroy old sanctions in the minds of the people. On the other hand, the passive resisters, by initiating the great national address of protest to the Tsar and other movements in which the people as a whole shared, did much to make the masses of the people politically conscious. To these two factors must be added a third—namely, the growth of the revolutionary movement in Russia during the Russo-Japanese War, which, in this stormy period, inevitably reacted on Finland. Both in Russia and Finland the autumn of 1905 brought a crisis to a head, and in either case a General Strike was the deciding factor. The strike in Russia forced the Tsar to concede the Duma; the strike in Finland induced him to restore the Constitution and enlarge its basis.

The General Strike in Finland had a double character. It was aimed primarily against the Russian oppressors of the country, but it also took on the aspect of a rising of labour against capital, and was followed by a considerable bitterness of class feeling, which was accentuated by the occurrence of an outbreak in which a few persons were killed. The success of the strike, in which the Labour leaders naturally had a large share, together with the mil-

lennial hopes that floated in the air both in Russia and Finland during that wonderful time, brought the Labour cause forward with a rush. The adoption of universal suffrage deepened the class-consciousness of the manual workers, and the result was a Socialist triumph at the polls in the first election under the new system.¹

But although the circumstances we have mentioned account for the suddenness and the rapid development of the movement, they could not have had such an effect if the soil had not been ripe for them. The real cause of the hold taken by Socialism lies, as we saw, in the conditions prevailing in the countryside—the existence of a large number of persons who own no land and the precarious position of many of the *torpare*, or tenants. It follows from this that Finnish Socialism has its chief strength not in the towns but in the country. Of the 48,000 members of the party in 1912, only about one quarter were town-dwellers. From this, again, it follows that trade unionism has had less to do with the movement than in most other countries. It stands to reason that there will be comparatively little trade union organization where there are few towns and few factories. As industry develops, however,

¹ The rapid growth of the movement may be illustrated by a few figures. In 1899 the membership of the Social Democratic party was 9,446. In 1908 it had risen to 71,266. It is true that by 1912 it had sunk to 48,406, but this does not imply a corresponding loss of influence in the country, as is proved by the fact that the percentage of Socialist votes to the total poll has risen steadily, since the election of 1907, from 36.7 to 40.1 per cent., and the deputies elected from 80 to 86 in a House of 200. In 1912 the party had no less than 1,450 branches.

this state of things is being modified, and there is every reason to think that trade unions have a promising future. The working classes in Finland realize instinctively how important the solidarity of the people is in their struggle for better conditions, and this is the best of bases for the common action which trade unionism implies.

The capacity of the Finns for common action is strikingly shown by the success of the Co-operative movement, which flourishes especially among the Finnish-speaking population. In 1899 some enterprising persons founded *Pellervo*, a society for the propagation of the co-operative principle among the peasantry. Thus, co-operation in Finland did not, as in most other countries, originate from the independent initiative of the working classes, but was the result of a deliberate propaganda. *Pellervo* did a great work of education in preparing models for co-operative societies, training and sending out lecturers, publishing books, issuing tracts, instituting travelling libraries and helping the peasants to start co-operative associations. Moreover, some of its members had previously paved the way for the success of the movement by agitating for a law of co-operation, which was sanctioned in 1901.

The most important branches of co-operation in Finland are dairies, banks and stores. All these have proved very successful. There are also many other kinds of co-operative undertakings, such as societies for the purchase of thrashing machines and moss litter, for the buying and selling of eggs, for the procuring of telephones, for the acquisition of

land, the securing of steamboats for inland traffic, etc. In the towns there are co-operative bakeries, restaurants, etc. In addition to the local societies there are four large central societies, including one, named *Valio*, for the sale of the members' butter. In 1906 20 per cent of the butter exported from Hangö came from *Valio*, and in 1909 the amount had risen to 42 per cent. It is interesting to note that banks are relatively few where big properties exist, relatively numerous where small holdings are common. Some idea of the extremely rapid growth of the movement may be gained from the figures given in the footnote.¹ Of its importance to the country there can be no question, and its value is not merely economic but educational and ethical. Punctuality, orderliness and business habits are fostered. The principles of scientific farming are learned and the mind is brought to bear on problems of organization and management. The sense of responsibility is

¹ The co-operative dairies in 1903 numbered 75, with a membership of 5,500 and a sale of 3½ millions of marks. In 1908 there were 343 dairies, 33,200 members and the sales had risen to 29 millions.

		No. of Banks.	No. of Members.	Loans in Millions of Marks.
1903	...	24	500	.04
1908	...	308	11,900	3.10
		No. of Stores.	No. of Members.	Sales in Millions of Marks.
1903	...	71	13,000	6
1908	...	495	100,000	52

The central societies show a similarity rapid growth.

In 1909 87 per cent of all the co-operative societies were in the country, only 13 per cent in the towns. The membership is, however, relatively greater in the towns. The number of co-operators per 1,000 inhabitants is about 50 for the entire population.

developed, and the sense of social solidarity. The peasant through co-operation enters into a wider mental and moral life, and is led to realize how ultimately he may come to be the master of his own destiny.

The Finnish Socialists are strictly Marxist, and their programme is based on the Erfurt programme of the German Socialists, from which it differs but slightly. The movement is still crude in many respects, having developed far too rapidly. Many who profess Socialism most eagerly can hardly be supposed to have grasped its implications. Its Parliamentary representatives have sometimes put forward schemes which showed an incapacity to grasp the actual conditions of Finnish economy. It seems, moreover, to an outsider, that class hatred has been preached to an extent that may endanger Finland's unity of action and blind people to an objective view of things. Class hatred was sufficiently embittered in the days following the Great Strike, and it is surely a dangerous policy to further play on this feeling. It may also be suggested that the movement would not suffer by developing the spirit of poetry alongside the spirit of economics, and by insisting on the responsibilities of the workers as well as on their rights. Nevertheless, however much one may regret certain developments among the Socialists, the movement has much to its credit side. Its organization is wonderfully good and its enthusiasm for education inspires confidence. The "People's Houses" which exist in many Finnish towns are a real tribute to the solid qualities of

those from whom they have sprung. That in Helsingfors is particularly fine. It is the headquarters of the Socialist party and also of the trade unions, most of which have their head-offices there. There is a fine spirit of comradeship about the place. In the great hall, one of the largest in Helsingfors, first-rate concerts can be heard at a very low price. The party has instituted all over the country a great many societies for spreading popular enlightenment, including libraries and reading-rooms, dramatic and musical societies and sports clubs. It also owns a considerable Press, including six dailies, the most important of which is *Työmies* (The Working Man). Previous to 1905 there were but few Socialist papers, while to-day their combined circulation is over 135,000.

There is a good deal of indignation and pessimism among the upper classes on account of the startling development of the Socialist movement and the acuteness of its class feeling. One cannot help the reflection, however, that in the Socialist movement the upper classes are to some extent reaping what they have themselves sown. The violence of party feeling between the Fennomans and Svekomans in the past caused both of them somewhat to neglect the material well-being of the people, while their preaching of hate against each other paved the way for the preaching of hate between class and class. Probably, however, the situation is not so bad as people fear. The Finnish peasant moves very slowly, and, although there may be some Syndicalist feeling in parts of the country, Labour unrest is not

likely to break out seriously, unless stimulated by some outside event, such as a revolution in Russia. Meanwhile, future trouble might be saved if Labour and Capital would try to meet, not as opposing parties in a law-court but as human beings. No lasting agreement can be reached where the two parties do not make a genuine attempt to understand one another and to enter into each other's lives and difficulties. This is unusually difficult in Finland, owing to the obstinacy of the national character and the extreme self-righteousness of the opposing parties, unsoftened by any feeling which might prompt them to regard each other as men and brothers. To say that a thing is difficult, however, is not to say that it is impossible, and there are among the upper classes of Finland plenty of people who have the welfare of the working classes genuinely at heart and love the people, not merely as statistical units, but for their own sake and because they know their lives. From such people the basis of an understanding might arise. Only an unimaginative person will discern in the Labour movement nothing but the crudities of its green-sickness and remain blind to the inspring idea of the manual workers of a nation alive to their common interests, united in pursuing them and determined to avoid, if possible, the grosser evils of industrialism as existing in most other countries.

We may conclude by quoting Snellman's aphorism: "Every loosened bond at first brings the froth to the surface of a nation's life. It is through the exercise of freedom that people learn its use."

CHAPTER XV

THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN

THE Feminist movement in Finland has not been without its heralds in literature, and before speaking of it in its practical aspects it may be well to glance at the life of the remarkable woman who in her novels and plays best embodied the new ideals and aspirations of women.

Minna Canth was born in 1844 at Tammerfors. Her father, who some years later moved to Kuopio, where he kept a store, was comfortably off. Minna was educated at a Swedish school in Kuopio, with the intention of becoming a schoolmistress. In 1863 she went to Jyväskylä, where the first Finnish college for the training of elementary teachers had just been opened. Two years later, at the age of twenty-four, she married one of the teachers. At this point a life which had hitherto been happy was overclouded. Her husband proved to be a narrow-minded tyrant, without the slightest perception of his wife's character and abilities. She was not allowed to have a servant or even to see people freely, and she had to dress according to her husband's instructions. In 1874, however, her husband became editor of a paper, and Minna did most of the

work on it, developing a fine literary talent. But when she wrote an article against the misuse of brandy, the proprietor of the paper, who owned a distillery, dismissed her husband. An important event in her life about this time was the visit of a theatrical company to Jyväskylä, which filled her with the desire to write plays—she had never seen a play before. In 1879 her husband died. She was left a widow with seven children, the youngest of whom was born nearly seven months after the husband's death. She returned to Kuopio and took to the business her father had formerly carried on. She served behind the counter and meanwhile did as much writing as she could. As her business prospered—for she was a most capable woman—she devoted more and more time to literature and the drama. As a Finnish writer says: "When she stood in her shop busied with her daily toil to earn her bread, the visitor did not guess, unless he knew it beforehand, that he had before him one of the most important personalities in Finnish literature. But if he crossed the threshold of her hospitable home he was met by a breath of real culture of idealism and of European civilization."

The best introduction to her works is to be found in her comments upon her own life: "When, as a young mother, I stood before life's most sacred claims, irresolute, more ignorant than any so-called uneducated woman, I learned profoundly to despise and condemn the miserable thing which is called woman's education, that delusion which goes by the name of woman's culture. I place the responsibility

for every bad mistake I made in looking after the children, for every dearly-bought experience, on the wretched system of education which, instead of preparing woman for life, drives her helplessly astray. And when at last I had succeeded in acquiring the power to fulfil the duties that a quiet life in a secure position demands of a mother, I and my children were suddenly deprived of our support. Then once more I stood irresolute, unprepared, alone responsible for a large family, although my mind had never been made to realize such a possibility, still less been given an insight into it, while, to crown all, I found most of the sources of income which are open to men were closed to me as a woman. With a body very weak from the birth of many children following closely one upon the other, ill, miserable, weighed down by trouble and anxiety, I saw before me a life of poverty and need, perhaps meanly sustained by humiliating alms and charity, and this not only for myself but for the many little ones to whom I had given life. In desperation I grasped instinctively at the first best expedient, or rather, the only possible one I could find, and thus took to trade, without capital and without knowledge. In spite of this, I was successful, owing to a combination of favourable circumstances and the gradual return of my health and strength. The crisis was past, but I had issued from it with my eyes open not only to what is false in woman's position in society, but also to various other social injustices and wrongs. It is not any light-headed lust of destruction, but the hard serious realities of life, that urge woman and

the workman to opposition against society as it now is. And as the cause lies deep, they will not know of any retrogression or reaction before they have reached the goal of their striving. No reference to 'existing conditions,' 'historical evolution' or 'political wisdom' can compel them to continue to endure injustices, so long as they are not given the right, by participating in legislation, to try to reshape these conditions and themselves to exercise influence on the course of historical evolution."

It is easy to see from the above what was the content of Minna Canth's novels and plays. The titles alone are enough to indicate it—"Poor Folk," "The Workman's Wife," "Voices of the People," "The Unfortunate." Her themes are that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor, one law for the man and another for the woman. She gave voice to the awakening social consciousness of the time and thus acted as a powerful inspiration both to the woman's movement and, in a lesser degree, to the Socialists. Women, especially, speak of her in terms of the utmost veneration and affection.

Judged purely as literature, her work must be said to suffer from the intensity of its propagandist spirit, which causes her at times to strike a false note and sacrifice considerations of art. Nevertheless there is a power about her and a sincerity and a sanity which makes her characters and situations vividly alive and caused her plays to arouse a bitter fury of opposition.

Such is the woman who typifies the more serious, determined and large-hearted side of Finnish wom-

anhood. We may now take a leap over intervening years and consider the harvest that sprang in part from the efforts she inspired.

On July 20, 1906, was promulgated in Finland the new law of the Diet which gave women the political franchise on the same terms as men; and in March, 1907, the first election took place on the basis of the new law. Finland was thus the first country in Europe which made the experiment of women's suffrage.

To understand the motive that induced Finland to make this experiment, both general and particular circumstances must be taken into account. The main general circumstance is to be found in the unusually large share taken by women in the life of the nation. This, in its turn, is chiefly due to the fact that Finland is a poor country, and has hitherto been unable to afford the luxury either of a large non-producing class or of a large number of idle women. When Nature is niggardly and the struggle for existence hard, both men and women must work. The women of the lower classes do their full share, whether on the farm or in the factory, though especially on the farm, where they not only tend the cattle and help at haymaking and harvest, but often do such rough work as ploughing and hedging and ditching, besides taking part in such different pursuits as fishing and building, and burning the forests to make fields. If we turn from lower to middle class women, we find the same principle in operation. It is regarded as natural and right for them to earn their living, and an idle woman is apt to be looked at askance. Of

middle-class women a large number are engaged in commerce. They hold positions in banks and business houses as clerks and cashiers to an extent that astonishes the foreign visitor, who also learns with surprise the number of women who are doctors, dentists, architects. Women have also thrown themselves with enthusiasm into the work of education, and to-day they outnumber the men teachers both in the elementary schools and in the secondary private schools. Of recent years the women have flocked in great numbers to the University, and are likely soon to be eligible for election to professorships and lectureships. Among other sources of employment for women are certain branches of the public administration.

A subsidiary circumstance which made Finland more predisposed than most countries to the idea of women's suffrage is the prevalence of co-education, which, whatever its advantages and disadvantages may be, has certainly helped to familiarize men and women with the idea and the practice of working side by side and enjoying the same rights and responsibilities.

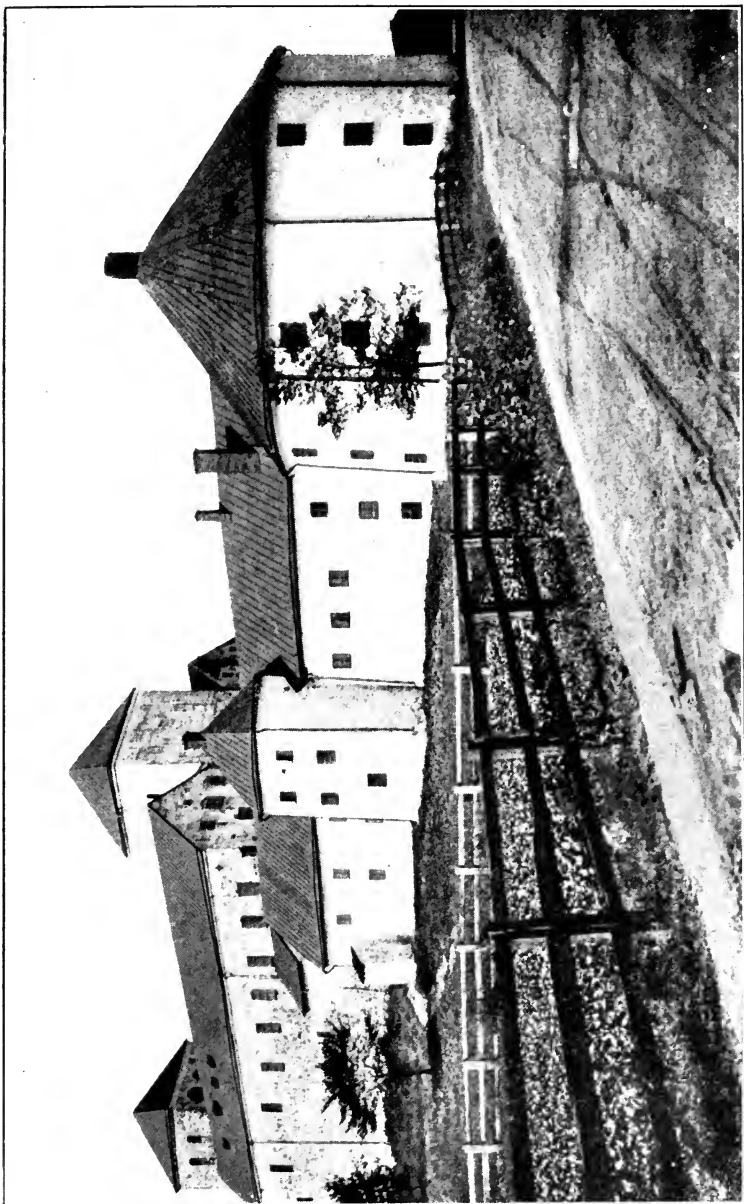
Passing from general circumstances favorable to women's suffrage to particular ones, we are confronted with the stirring events of the last fifteen years. Previous to those events there was, indeed, a Feminist movement in Finland, which began to be organized in the eighteen-eighties. In 1884 a Woman's Suffrage Bill was introduced in the first of the old "Four Estates" (the Chamber of the Nobility). The Bill was defeated, but it proves that as early

as 1884 women's political rights had at least received some recognition. Fifteen years later began that curious concatenation of events which carried the movement to a realization of its central aim. For in 1899 the Tsar issued the famous February Manifesto, which at a stroke deprived Finland of her Constitution. Not content with protesting against this *coup d'état* through the ordinary channels, the leaders of public opinion in Finland desired to make a protest which should be representative of the nation at large. A great address to the Tsar was planned and carried out, every adult man and woman in the country being invited to sign it. It was generally felt that this appeal to the non-enfranchised portions of the nation at a time of crisis implied a moral responsibility to enfranchise them, both men and women, when the crisis had passed. The women, moreover, proved themselves of great value during the period of russianization which followed the February Manifesto, both by the moral stimulus they gave to passive resistance and by many services in the same cause. They often undertook work which it was impossible for the men to carry out. In 1905 took place the Great Strike, which resulted in the restoration of the Constitution, and when subsequently the question arose of widening the electoral system, and the women put forward their claim to the vote, this was agreed to by all the Four Estates with hardly a dissentient voice, special reference being made in the debates to the great services rendered by the women in resisting russianization.

It seems clear that had not the women been helped by outer circumstances they would not have gained the vote as early as 1905. They have to thank for their enfranchisement not only their own efforts, but also both the exalted state of national feeling which followed the restoration of constitutional government and the wave of strongly democratic sentiment which accompanied the Great Strike. It is no less clear, however, that the women would not have been enfranchised even under these circumstances had they not shown by their conduct in a time of crisis that they had earned the right to be considered as citizens.

How did the women utilize the vote thus acquired?

Before trying to indicate what they have actually done, it may be well to clear the ground by pointing out a number of things that they have not done. Firstly, they have not formed an independent woman's party. There was, indeed, some talk of this, but the idea was abandoned. There were good reasons against it. In the first place women were politically inexperienced; and in the second, seeing that they already enjoyed full political rights, the formation of a special party seemed unnecessary. Accordingly the women joined the political groups already existing, and election statistics show that they have voted for the different parties in much the same proportion as the men. There is no truth in the assertion sometimes made that woman's suffrage has especially benefited the Socialist party. An investigation made by two members of the Diet, Dagmar and Arvid Neovius, shows, on the contrary,



CASTLE AT TURKU, LINNA. BUILT ABOUT 1200

that it was in districts where the women voters outnumbered the men that the percentage of Socialist votes was smallest.

Secondly, women did not fail to use their votes. The percentage of women on the register who have voted at the various elections since 1907 has varied between 54 and 60 per cent, the corresponding figures for men being 64 and 70 per cent.

Thirdly, in spite of their numerical preponderance—there are about 60,000 more women than men on the register—women have not flooded the Diet with representatives of their own sex. The number of women elected has varied from twenty-five to fourteen in a House of two hundred members, i.e., from 12.5 to 7 per cent. Women's moderation in this respect has been due to a recognition of the greater political experience of men, to the feeling that the conflict with Russia made the time inopportune for introducing changes or risking experiments on a large scale, and also perhaps to a growing conviction that a small number of women representatives is sufficient to ensure a due recognition of women's interests, seeing that experience shows that men pay great attention to the opinion of women on subjects which mainly concern the female sex.

Fourthly, women have not wasted the House's time by prolixity of speech.

When we pass to the question of what women have actually achieved some valuable evidence is available. In January, 1913, when the Danish Government's plans for electoral reform were being discussed, the leader of the Right asserted that in most

countries where women's suffrage had been introduced there was a feeling of great discontent with it. The Danish women saw a danger to their cause in the spread of such reports, and, in order to meet it, applied to competent persons, in countries where women already enjoyed the franchise, to give their opinion on the subject. Dr. Maikki Friberg took up the matter as regards Finland, and collected a number of representative opinions. These are valuable as coming not from young enthusiasts, but from tried statesmen and public men, whose names are respected throughout Finland. As their testimony about the actual work of the women and the general effects of the suffrage is infinitely more valuable than the writer's own opinion could possibly be, I shall quote from them at some length.¹

With regard to the character and qualifications of the women representatives in the Diet, the following extracts may be taken as typical. Professor

¹ Of the persons whose opinions I quote, the late Senator Mechelin was the best known of Finnish statesmen and an eminent champion of Finland's constitutional rights. Theodore Rein was successively Professor of Philosophy, Rector and Vice-Chancellor of the University, besides having been a prominent figure in politics and literature. Baron Wrede, after being Professor of Civil Law, became President of the Department of Justice in the Senate, i.e., he has held the highest juridical appointment in Finland. He is also one of the most universally respected members of the legislature, his opinion carrying great weight there. P. Svinhufvud was the Speaker of the Diet from the first session of the Single Chamber in 1907 until 1912. Professor Rosenqvist is Professor of Theology at the University and a member of the Diet, while Dr. Axel Lille was a member of the old Diet (the Four Estates), and is editor of the *Nya Pressen*.

Rosenqvist writes: "As regards women's work in the Diet, it probably bears comparison with the average among the men. It is true that no leading personalities have emerged from the ranks of the women representatives—they will perhaps always have to be looked for among the men—but there are, and doubtless will always be, among the women in the Diet, competent, hard-working, conscientious and enlightened women representatives. If weaker elements can be pointed out among them, the same are not lacking among the male representatives also."

Senator Mechelin wrote: "The women who have been elected to committees have performed their duties satisfactorily. This has been especially the case with the Finance, Social and Cultural Committees. At the Diet debates not all the women members have spoken—the same thing is true of the men—but in practical knowledge and oratorical ability their speeches have usually been as good as the men's."

With regard to the personal relations of the men and women members, these, said Mechelin, "may be briefly characterized as a good comradeship," while Th. Rein writes that "the co-operation of men and women has, so far as I know, been in every way a friendly one and marked by mutual respect." This testimony coincides with that given elsewhere by Miss Vera Hjelt, one of the women representatives, who writes: "We could turn to the men as to comrades and friends when we desired to be initiated into any branch of the complicated machinery of

State. The tone of goodwill, sincerity, refinement and encouragement that we met with in our participation in the life of the party to which I belong has confirmed my belief that it is by way of co-operation, and not of suspicion or separation, that the influence and work of women can be of importance in legislation. Also in committee work, shared with men of different parties, equality has prevailed. Women have had no reason to feel themselves repulsed or in any way treated inconsiderately."

With regard to the work of the women M.P.'s in general, Baron Wrede holds: "As regards the share taken in the Diet's work by the women representatives, they have, as far as I know, neither in the question of political petitions and addresses nor in that of the Budget, contributed in any way worth mentioning to the solution of these problems. On the other hand, in the sphere of legislation proper they have made notable contributions, both by their own initiative and by their participation in committee work and in parliamentary debates. To what extent such contributions would or would not have been made by men, if there had been no women representatives, remains an open question. Nevertheless, it seems as if certain questions or groups of questions, especially social ones, are taken up with warmer interest by the women than by the men. That the former have not mastered the technique of legislation is a natural consequence of their lack of juridical knowledge, and is true also of the majority of men."

As regards the work specially furthered by

women, Senator Mechelin wrote that "many of the questions brought up by them had not received proper attention from the men. Among the questions of reform which have been taken up by the Diet on the initiative of women members, the following may be mentioned: the property rights of women, the raising of the marriage age for women from fifteen to seventeen, the improvement of the legal position of illegitimate children, the establishment of maternity insurance for very poor women, the appointment of female sanitary inspectors, the setting aside of funds for the promotion of public morality, the extension of the right of women to hold public offices. The above examples show that our women representatives have specially concerned themselves with those spheres in which women usually have a closer insight into existing evils than men. This is not feminism, for the measures proposed are all of a universally useful nature."

Theodore Rein gives a longer list of the motions and petitions in which women have wholly or partly taken the initiative, including, in addition to those already cited, such matters as the abolition of the husband's guardianship of his wife, the rights of women to their children, the establishment of a home for unprotected children and their mothers, practical training in housekeeping, alterations in the prison administration, temperance legislation, compulsory schooling, the construction of new railways, the improvement of the legal position of the Jews, etc. "Many of these propositions have," he goes on to say, "been accepted by the Diet. The fact that only

in a very few cases they have resulted in the passing of new laws and ordinances is due, not to the Diet, but to the Government's (i.e., the Russian) policy of obstructing ameliorative social legislation."

Finally, as regards the alleged general discontent with woman's suffrage and its bad effect on home life, there is an absolute consensus of denial. P. Svinhufvud writes briefly: "Neither have I heard in Finland the expression of any dissatisfaction over woman's suffrage, nor are there, in my opinion, any well-founded reasons to be advanced against it"; while Dr. Axel Lille says: "The granting of woman's suffrage was an act of justice and wisdom. There is in this country hardly any politically mature man, with a feeling of responsibility, who at this moment would wish the reform had never been made, and quite certainly none who would wish to take away from woman the franchise she has already received."

Senator Mechelin wrote that "the granting of woman's suffrage has not in any way had a bad effect on family and social life, but just the reverse. It lies in the nature of things that equality of rights has a healthy and ennobling influence on the way human beings treat one another. And that woman's exercise of the political franchise is calculated to have a disturbing effect on family life and household duties is nothing but a fancy of weak men who fear that their traditional authority will be lessened by such a reform."

Although the quotation is a long one, I shall conclude with some remarks on this subject by Theodore

Rein, which sum up the situation very fairly: "My own opinion, which I believe coincides with that generally held in this country, is that the reform which gave the franchise to adult persons of both sexes, and made them eligible for election to Parliament, has not had any harmful consequences, even if the positive gain has not been so great as had been hoped—this being due to the general political situation, which has prevented the Diet's legislative work from bearing the fruit it ought to and could have borne. The fear not seldom expressed, that woman's right to partake in political life would estrange her from and make her indifferent to her chief duty, that of caring for the home and the growing generation, has not in any way been confirmed here. As a matter of fact, it is only an extremely small proportion of the women who devote any considerable part of their time to political work proper, and of these it is only a minority who have families to look after. The incomparably greater number of women share in political life only in so far as once in every three years—or sometimes, if the Diet is dissolved, with a shorter interval—they take part in the elections. Naturally this cannot take up any one's time in such a way as to prevent her from fulfilling her duties to home and family. Nor need participation in the elections make women indifferent to their private obligations. The fact that, in consequence of their enfranchisement, they begin to interest themselves in its implications, and try to get the information they need for the exercise of their right, cannot be regarded as harmful. . . .

Women who have families to care for will then, more than they would otherwise, implant in the rising generation love of the nation and the fatherland, and the desire to promote their welfare. And even the relationship between man and wife ought in general to gain from the widening of the circle of interests which are common to both and whose importance both fully recognize.”

Although the principle of equal rights for men and women is recognized in the political suffrage, it has by no means been extended to all spheres of women's activity. Thus, it is a little surprising to find that Finnish women, while eligible for election to the Diet, are generally not eligible for election to municipal bodies, service on which would constitute an excellent preparation for parliamentary work, and that married women cannot even vote in the municipal elections. These facts are sometimes quoted by foreign opponents of women's suffrage as an argument against it. The Finns, it is said, are so disgusted with the effects of woman's influence in politics that they refuse to have it extended to the sphere of local government. As a matter of fact, however, the Diet passed a new communal Bill in 1909, giving women full equality with men, but the Emperor has not sanctioned the Bill.

Another important disqualification under which women still labour is that certain branches of the public service are, according to the letter of the law, confined to men. The law can in certain cases be circumvented, women getting a special exemption from their sex disabilities. Most women, however,

prefer to enter professions where the bar of sex has not to be removed for them. They can only be freed from this disqualification by a change in the fundamental laws.

With regard to property rights, the unmarried woman is rather favourably situated; she comes of age, like a man, at twenty-one, and then has absolutely the same property rights as a man, including those of inheritance. So also have widows, even if they have not reached the age of twenty-one. The position of married women, however, is considered less satisfactory. The law¹ unites, and has since time immemorial united, the real estate in the country acquired during marriage and the chattels, or personal property, of husband and wife, in which is included, also, real estate in towns, in a *communauté* like that of the French Code Civile, and it is, at the end of the marriage, equally divided between husband and wife (or heirs), if not otherwise agreed by a pre-nuptial settlement. Separate property is the real estate in the country which husband or wife owns at the time of marriage or inherits during marriage. But, by a pre-nuptial settlement, everything which husband or wife owns at the time of marriage may be made his or her separate property, and by a will or a gift the property conveyed, be it real or chattels, can also be made separate. By will, husband and wife can dispose of their property to each other or third persons, according to the common

¹ For marriages since 1890, the Act of April 15, 1889; for marriages between 1890 and 1879, Act of June 27, 1878; for still earlier marriages, the Swedish law-book of 1734.

rules of the liberty of testament. The right and duty of administration generally belongs to the husband. But newer legislation (Act of April 15, 1889) has, under the influence of the English Married Women's Property Acts, given the married woman the control of her own earnings, which, like the earnings of her husband, are common property and cannot, even by a pre-nuptial settlement, be made separate. Her husband cannot prevent her from working outside her home, if she so desires. On the other hand, she generally may not run a business without his consent. She has no control whatever over her own separate property unless this has been specially provided for in a pre-nuptial settlement; but her real property he may not alienate. By misuse of administration he makes himself liable to a judicial separation. A married woman is thus practically under her husband's guardianship. She is represented by him in judicial matters, but not in criminal matters nor in those concerning property which she controls.¹ It is probable, however, that, when the political situation becomes normal again, a comprehensive measure will be passed removing all the disabilities of married women; a draft Bill has already been produced by the Government standing legal-reform committee.

The divorce laws are rather favourable to women. By divorce a marriage ceases to exist altogether, and the wife's legal situation becomes like that of a widow. When divorce results from adultery, the

¹ The income of the wife's separate property of which she has the administration is common property, but under her control.

guilty party loses one half of his or her share in the common property. The innocent party may remarry, but the guilty party may never marry the co-respondent, nor any one else as long as the innocent party remains unmarried, unless the innocent party and the Government give their consent. The husband and wife may agree as to who is to have the children and be their guardian; the other has to pay half the cost of their education and up-bringing. The only other legal ground for divorce is desertion, i.e., when husband or wife leaves home and goes out of Finland, with the intention of not returning and living with the other. At the request of the one remaining at home, the court of justice asks the other to return within one year, and if the request is not complied with, the divorce is granted. In practice, divorce can be obtained still more easily, but this is not approved of. The guilty party loses his or her share in the common property, which goes to the children, if any, otherwise to the innocent party. This form of divorce is designed for cases of incompatibility, which is the commonest ground of divorce.

By special license the Senate also affords divorce in grave cases, such as hopeless mental disease in wife or husband.

The Diet has recently given its assent to two very interesting Bills concerning illegitimate children. Although the Bills have not yet received the Emperor's sanction, it is worth while describing their contents. The first has to do with the general position of illegitimate children. Guardians are to be appointed in each commune who will look after them

if the mother is thought to be unfit to do so. The father is compelled to help the mother to support the child until it is sixteen, and in certain cases even longer. The amount of money demanded for the child is to depend on the position of both parents—it is payable in advance at fixed intervals. The guardian has to bring about an agreement between the father and mother as to the sum required, and to see that it is not too low. The father has to support the mother entirely for two months before and after her delivery, and, if she keeps the child, for six months after its birth. If doubt exists as to the child's father, more persons than one are liable to be called upon to contribute to its support.

The second Bill is still more far-reaching. It provides that as soon as fatherhood has been either admitted or proved, the illegitimate child is entitled to absolutely the same rights of inheritance as children born in wedlock and to the use of its father's name.¹

In spite of the important share they take in industry, women have not organized themselves very much except in certain trades. In many cases they belong to the men's unions, which are on a firmer foundation than their own. The feeling of resentment amongst the men at female competition is not

¹ The present law as regards illegitimate children is as follows: The illegitimate child is supported by father and mother, and inherits both parents when the mother has been at the conception *bona fide*, i.e., has believed herself in legal wedlock with the father or has at least had his promise; so also when he has married her afterwards or only given her his promise and death has come between. The illegitimate child is generally educated by its mother, the father paying his half of the cost.

stronger in Finland than in other countries. Men continue to receive higher pay than women for the same work in nearly all branches of industry except the printing trade, where an agreement between employers and workers has established the principle of equal pay for equal work. There are also separate firms which apply the same principle, but these are exceptional.

It is interesting to know that women have not favoured special protective legislation for their sex in factories, unless such legislation is to apply to men as well. Not long ago the question of night-work in factories arose, and it was proposed to make it illegal for women, but the majority of women workers were against the proposal, because they questioned whether it really would protect them, and if it would not rather drive them out of the better organized and better paid factories into the ill paid and casual home-work. They preferred night-work with good wages to the prohibition of night-work with bad wages, and have only approved of its interdiction when, as in the Bakeries law, the embargo is laid on both sexes alike.

It has already been pointed out that the principle of equal pay for equal work is applied to the salaries of elementary school teachers, and the Diet in 1913 pronounced in favour of the principle in the case of women in the State service. A committee of the Senate had desired to pay the women less than the men, but the Diet declared its disapproval of the suggestion in the following important pronouncement: "In the opinion of the Diet there is no reason

to apply to women in the State service a procedure departing from existing regulations and from the general principle obtaining in those regulations, that salaries are determined according to the nature of the work done without reference to the person holding the office." Only by the establishment of this principle throughout industry will men cease to suffer from loss of work or lowered wages due to female competition.

To illustrate the excellent practical work which women are doing in Finland, one cannot do better than give a brief sketch of one of the numerous societies founded and organized by them. A good instance is the Martha Society. This was founded in 1899, the year of the February Manifesto, and its foundation was doubtless precipitated by the desire to counteract russianizing influences by stimulating the interest of the peasants in their own country and homes. It is entirely a woman's society, and its members are drawn from all classes without distinction. The objects of "Martha" are to work for improved housekeeping, a better bringing up of children, the spread of handicrafts and the teaching of gardening. It has, moreover, such moral objects as the encouragement of temperance and pure living. Its promoters began wisely by calling meetings at different places and electing local committees. They did not make the mistake of trying to manage the movement altogether from Helsingfors, but allowed the local bodies as much freedom as possible. Women lecturers travelled over the country making propaganda for the society. They visited the homes

of the peasants, talked with the women, sought to win their confidence and excite their interest. On the whole they were very well received, though sometimes their visits were at first regarded with suspicion. Sewing-parties were one of the earliest forms of the society's activity. Expert instruction in the cutting out of clothes was given and the meetings were frequently enlivened by lectures, discussions, reading aloud and singing. Many branches arranged for lectures independently of sewing-parties, preference being given to such subjects as woman's work in the home, the care of children, temperance, cleanliness, the duties of women to society, gardening and poultry-keeping. As far as possible practical instruction is given in the two latter activities, which have hitherto been much neglected in Finland. The society employs a large number of women gardeners, who travel round the country in the spring and summer, giving advice and help to members. In many places co-operative purchase of seeds is customary. Prizes are offered for the best-kept garden. Poultry-keeping is also making rapid progress, though the society only undertook it quite recently. Already a co-operative sale of eggs has been established and the society has its agent in Helsingfors. Courses in cookery have become very popular, and will help to raise the standard of Finnish cookery, which at present leaves something to be desired. One of the most valuable sides of the society's work is the encouragement of women's arts and crafts. Courses in weaving are numerous, curtains, handkerchiefs, blouses and dif-

ferent clothes being manufactured. With these is also combined instruction in the use of vegetable dyes. The revival of this old art is a matter of congratulation. "What calm and strong delight of colour the good old fabrics have," writes a member of the society. "They tell us of field and forest, of flowery meadows and green foliage, and first and last, of women's happy work in weaving beautiful objects for their homes."

The society has also a publication department and issues numerous tracts and pamphlets in addition to its own journal. It arranges exhibitions and excursions and has Martha Days, to which all who can make a point of coming. And all this admirable work is done not by rich people with an excess of money, but in the face of perpetual financial difficulties and the hampering of progress owing to meagre funds. Moreover, the entire society is managed, as it was originated, by women.¹

¹ The following details, kindly supplied by the society, may possibly prove of interest. The membership in 1912 was about 11,000, the members being divided among the 164 branches of the society. Each branch usually consists of a commune, i.e., a town or parish. But there are some branches including two or three communes, and certain communes contain more than one branch. The largest country branch contains 474 members, embracing a small town and sixteen neighbouring villages. During 1912 73 branches had cookery courses, which were visited by 3,125 women; 21 had weaving courses, with an attendance of 456; 96 had regular sewing-parties, at which the attendance varied from 10 to 50. Between 60 and 70 women gardeners travelled round the country and gave instruction and help to about 4,000 homes. Forty-three branches received instruction in poultry-keeping. Besides the ordinary meetings of the different branches, 335 large extra meetings were held and 500 lectures were delivered.

CHAPTER XVI

THE POSITION OF FINLAND IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

AS has already been pointed out, it was in consequence of the war of 1808-9 that Finland passed from Sweden to the Russian Empire, and this war was only the culmination of a struggle for supremacy which had been carried on for centuries. From the time when Petér the Great founded his capital at Petersburg, the ultimate control of the Gulf of Finland by Russia became a foregone conclusion, and the Russian monarchs clearly recognized the necessity of breaking down Sweden's power there. As early as 1742 we find the Empress Elizabeth, while at war with Sweden, issuing a manifesto to the Finns in which she offers to liberate them from the rule of Sweden and to make Finland an independent State. The Empress Catherine entertained a similar idea. In 1788 she urged the Finns, if they really desired peace, "to prevail upon the Swedish army to leave Finland." They were to "summon their own Diet, declare themselves independent, frame laws. . . .," and Her Majesty would "solemnly and for ever confirm all their resolutions" and, if necessary, protect them from the

Swedish king by force of arms. In 1808, when the Russian general Buxhoevden crossed the Finnish frontier before the declaration of war, he issued a manifesto on behalf of the Emperor Alexander I desiring the Finns not to resist his advance, because the Russians came as "friends and protectors." During the long struggle that followed two opinions were current in Russia with regard to Finland's future. One party desired annexation and the treatment of Finland as a province of the Empire; the other party advised the Emperor to guarantee to the people the constitutional rights they already enjoyed. The long and stubborn resistance of the Finns, combined with his anxiety to free the Russian army for duties elsewhere, induced Alexander I to adopt the latter policy, and, at his request, a deputation representing the nobles, burghers, peasants and clergy of Finland met at Petersburg on November 12, 1808, while, though Finland had practically been abandoned, the war was still in progress, to discuss with him what could be done for Finland. The deputies asked that a Diet should be summoned, representing the Four Estates of Finland, and on January 20, 1809, the Emperor convoked the famous Diet of Borga. General Buxhoevden was recalled as a sign that hostile relations no longer existed between Finland and Russia, and a civil Governor of Finland, Sprengporten, was appointed in his stead.

A word of explanation as to Finland's separation from Sweden is desirable. The alternatives before her were to resist to the end without regular troops

and then surrender unconditionally, or to accept the exceedingly liberal terms proposed by Alexander I, which included the most important thing of all, namely, the maintenance of the Swedish Constitution as the Constitution of Finland. As it became evident that Sweden neither could nor would do anything more for Finland, public opinion tended more and more to welcome the latter alternative. Sweden had left the Finns to take care of themselves and they did so. The deposition of the Swedish king, Gustavus IV, by his own subjects, which occurred about a fortnight before the Diet of Borga, removed all qualms of conscience from the minds of waverers. By the treaty of peace of Fredrikshamn, Sweden ratified the new order of things. The arrangement suited Alexander I as well as it suited Finland. The Emperor required a buffer State between Petersburg and the kingdom of Sweden. It was also desirable, in view of the proximity of the Finnish frontier to his capital, that he should have military control over that buffer State. He further desired, as part of the same policy, the control of its foreign policy. But otherwise, so far as he was concerned, Finland might be free and autonomous. Indeed, it was better so, for the Finns, whose fighting qualities he was only too well aware of, would then be contented, and unlikely, in the event of a new war with Sweden, to make difficulties for Russia by revolting in favour of the Swedes.

The position of Finland in the Russian Empire was determined by the proceedings at Borga and the Treaty of Fredrikshamn. The former were

marked by great solemnity. On March 15/27, 1809, Alexander I reached Borga and on the same evening signed the so-called Act of Assurance. On March 17/29 the Finnish Estates met the Tsar in the Cathedral of Borga to receive his pledge and subsequently do homage to him. The Act of Assurance was read out by the Governor-General on behalf of the Tsar. It runs as follows:—

We, Alexander the First, by the Grace of God Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, etc., do make known:—

That Providence having placed Us in possession of the Grand Duchy of Finland, We have desired hereby to confirm and ratify the religion and fundamental Laws of the Land as well as the privileges and rights which each class in the said Grand Duchy in particular, and all the inhabitants in general, be their position high or low, have hitherto enjoyed according to the Constitution. We promise to maintain all these benefits and laws firm and unshakeable in their full force. In confirmation whereof we have signed this Act of Assurance with Our own hand.

Given in Borga, March 15/27, 1809.

ALEXANDER.

The Four Estates then took the oath of allegiance, after which the Tsar spoke in French as follows:—

Je reçois avec sensibilité les serments de fidélité que les habitants de la Finlande viennent de me prêter par l'organe de leur représentants.

Les liens qui m'unissent à eux, affermis par ce mouvement spontané de leur affection, consacré par cet acte solennel, en deviennent plus cher à mon cœur, plus conforme à mes principes.

En leur promettant de maintenir leur religion, leur lois fondamentales, j'ai voulu leur montrer le prix que j'attache aux sentiments de la confiance et de l'amour.

J'implore l'Être tout puissant de m'accorder sa force et sa lumière pour gouverner cette nation respectable d'après ses lois et sa justice divine.

The Emperor then made a triumphant tour in Finland and was everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm. Before leaving the country he issued at Borga, on March 23/April 4, the following important manifesto in French, which he commanded should be translated into Finnish and Swedish and be read aloud, together with the Act of Assurance, in all the churches in Finland:—

Nous, Alexandre Premier, Empereur et Autocrate de toutes les Russies, etc., Grand Duc de Finlande, etc.:—

Ayant réuni les états de la Finlande en une Diète générale, et reçu leurs sermens de fidélité, Nous avons voulu à cette occasion par un acte solennel, émané en leur présence et proclamé dans le sanctuaire de l'Être Suprême, confirmer et assurer le maintien de la Religion, des lois fondamentales, les droits et les privilèges dont chaque état en particulier et tous les habitans de la Finlande en général ont joui jusqu'à présent.

En faisant promulguer cet acte par ces présentes Nous croyons devoir instruire en même tems Nos fidèles sujets de Finlande qu'en nous conformant à l'usage antique et vénéré de ce pays Nous regardons les sermens de fidélité prêtés par les états en général et par les députés des paysans en particulier en leur nom et en celui de leurs commettans, de leurs mouvemens propres et spontanés, comme bons et obligatoires pour tous les habitans de la Finlande.

Intimément persuadé que ce peuple bon et loyale conservera à jamais pour Nous et pour Nos successeurs les mêmes sentimens de fidélité et d'attachement inviolable qui l'ont toujours distingué, Nous attacherons à lui donner avec l'aide de Dieu de preuves continuelles de Nos soins assidus et paternels pour son bonheur et sa prospérité.

A Borga ce 23 mars, 1809.

ALEXANDRE.

These two documents are the charter of Finland's liberties. The Treaty of Fredrikshamn, which ended the war between Russia and Sweden, was signed on September 17 in the same year. In it

Sweden formally renounced all claims to Finland, thereby officially recognizing the change that had actually taken place several months before. It is urged by certain Russian controversialists that by this treaty the Act of Assurance and the manifesto of March 23/April 4, 1809, were cancelled. This is so far from being the case, however, that the treaty, in one of its clauses, actually recognizes the agreement already in existence between Alexander I and the Finns.

The clause quoted by Russian writers in support of their contention is No. 4 of the treaty. It contains the following proviso:—

These provinces [of Finland], with all their inhabitants, towns, ports, forts, villages and islands, with all their appurtenances, privileges and revenues, shall hereafter under full ownership and sovereignty belong to the Russian Empire and be incorporated with the same.

They omit, however, to quote Clause 6 of the same treaty, which runs as follows:—

His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias having already given the most manifest proofs of the clemency and justice with which he has resolved to govern the inhabitants of the provinces which he has acquired, by generosity and by his own spontaneous act assuring to them the free exercise of their religion, rights, property and privileges, His Swedish Majesty considers himself thereby released from performing the otherwise sacred duty of making reservations in the above respects in favour of his former subjects.

This clause clearly refers to the proceedings at Borga and recognizes the validity of the agreement then entered upon by the Emperor and the people of Finland. Consequently, both the Diet of Borga

and the Treaty of Fredrikshamn have to be taken into account in any definition of Finland's legal position. The former defines her position with regard to internal administration, the latter defines it exclusively from the standpoint of international law.

We must now glance briefly at the manner in which the sovereign power of the Autocrat of All the Russias was limited in his capacity of Grand Duke of Finland. What the Emperor did at Borga was to sanction the already existing Swedish laws in Finland, and in particular the so-called "form of government" of 1772 and the Act of Union and Security of 1789. These latter were to constitute the Finnish Constitution, or the "fundamental laws of Finland," and their essence was contained in sections 40 and 41 of the "Form of Government," which run as follows:—

The king shall make no new law nor abolish an old one without the knowledge and consent of the Estates.

The Estates of the Realm (Rikens Ständer) shall abolish no old law nor make a new law without the king's yea and consent.

In other words, a law, if it is to be binding in Finland, must, firstly, be passed by the Finnish Diet, and secondly, be sanctioned by the Emperor-Grand-Duke.

Other important principles established by the Constitution are the following:—

The country must be governed with the assistance of Finnish authorities (the only exception being the Governor-General).

The Constitution cannot be altered without the consent of the Finnish Diet. (This principle was defined more clearly by the law of the Diet of 1869.)

There were, however, certain fields of legislative activity in Finland in which the Emperor is at liberty to issue ordinances having the force of law without the co-operation of the Diet. This right descended to him in virtue of the old constitutional practice in Sweden, where, ever since the thirteenth century, it had been a recognized principle that the king could issue laws in certain minor matters by way of administrative procedure. These matters have never been actually defined and are regulated by precedent. They may be stated briefly as the administration of Crown properties and revenue-yielding rights, the carrying on of certain trades, general economy, the preservation of public order and the establishment of official departments. No administrative ordinance, however, may clash with ordinary legislation.

There are also certain matters affecting Finland which fall within the competence not of the Finnish but of the Russian State, such as the laws of succession to the Russian throne, foreign policy, the position of foreign consuls, the Russian army and navy and Church and schools in Finland.

The above is a brief statement of the legal relation of Finland to Russia, as it appears to the Finns. It is not the purpose of this book to render an account of the polemic that has raged round the subject. Persans interested in the juridical aspect of the conflict should consult such books as Mr.

J. R. Fisher's admirably lucid "Finland and the Tsars" (second edition, 1901). By far the most important document on the subject, however, is the declaration made by international lawyers in February, 1910, after a conference held in London. The signatories represent the best juridical opinion of Europe, and their verdict may fairly be regarded as conclusive so far as the legal issue is concerned. The statement is as follows:—

We, the following—

Gerhard Anschütz, LL.D., Professor of Public Law, University of Berlin; L. von Bar, LL.D., Geheimer Justiz-Rat, Professor of Law, University of Göttingen, Hon. Member and Past President of the Institut de Droit international, Member of the Court of Arbitration of The Hague; A. de Lapradelle, Professeur agrégé à la faculté de droit de l'Université de Paris, Directeur de la Revue de Droit international privé, Co-directeur du Recueil des Arbitrages internationaux, Associé de l'Institut de Droit international; Léon Michoud, Professeur de droit public à l'Université de Grenoble; Ernest Nys, Professeur de droit international à l'Université de Bruxelles, Conseiller à la Cour d'Appel de Bruxelles Membre de l'Institut de Droit international; Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., LL.D., D.C.L., late Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Oxford; W. van der Vlugt, Professeur de la philosophie du droit à l'Université de Leyde; J. Westlake, K.C., LL.D., D.C.L., late Professor of International Law, University of Cambridge, Hon. Member and Past President of the Institut de Droit international; C. V. Nyholm, formerly a member of the Supreme Court of Denmark—

Led by our studies to an examination of the relations, between Finland and Russia. . . . Having welcomed the suggestion made by a group of Dutch juriconsults to meet in London, in order to examine the arguments adduced on both sides, and to deliberate in common . . . have unanimously agreed on the following conclusions:—

1. The rights of Finland in respect to her Constitution are not a figment of Finnish "imagination," but an historical real-

ity; they do not form a "dogma" in which the Finlanders believe without being able to offer proof, but a juridical truth scientifically demonstrated.

2. It is not only from Sweden, under the Treaty of Frederikshamn (Article IV), but, as was recognized by the same document (Article VI), before this treaty, from the Finlanders themselves, that Alexander I, on his solemn promise to them to respect their Fundamental Laws, took possession of Finland.

3. When, at the Diet of Borga, the Oath of the Four Estates followed on the promises of the Czar, Finland "free as regards her internal affairs," "from henceforth placed in the rank of nations," did not enter into the Russian Empire as a conquered province, precariously endowed with temporary privileges, but as an autonomous organism, united by free agreement to a sovereign State, which, on account of this agreement, is obliged to respect this autonomy.

4. In whatever fashion authors analyse and define the tie between Finland and Russia, according to their conception of a State and their different modes of classifying institutions of public law, they are, with very few exceptions, all agreed, Russians included, on this point, that Finland has the right to demand that the Russian Empire should respect her Constitution.

5. The introduction in Russia of a constitutional system, could not modify the position of Finland. . . .

6. Being unable, by direct means, to withdraw either from the Diet or from the Finnish administrative organs all or any part of their powers, Russia cannot do so by indirect means through reserving to herself the right to determine the scope of this competence.

7. If the superior interests of the Empire demand the establishment of a common procedure for dealing with certain internal affairs, it pertains to the Diet either itself to determine those affairs or to consent to the creation of a body charged with determining them.

FREDERICK POLLOCK.

J. WESTLAKE.

ERNEST NYS.

A. DE LAPRADELLE.

GERHARD ANSCHÜTZ.

L. VON BAR.

LÉON MICHOU.

W. VAN DER VLUGT.

C. V. NYHOLM.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FIRST PERIOD OF RUSSIANIZATION

FINLAND and Russia are separated not only by such natural barriers as the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga, but also by the profound psychological gulf that lies between the Russians and the West European. Of this gulf the Russians themselves are perfectly conscious. Prince Kropotkin describes in his "Memoirs" a conversation he had with Tourguénieff in the eighteen-seventies. " 'You must have had a great deal of experience in your life among Frenchmen, Germans and other people,' he said to me once. 'Have you not remarked that there is a deep, unfathomable chasm between many of their conceptions and the views which we Russians hold on the same subjects—points upon which we can never agree?' " Tourguénieff then gave a striking illustration of what he meant from the sphere of marriage relationships. Kropotkin admitted that amongst the middle classes the difference between nation and nation was immense indeed, but contended that between the workers, and especially the peasants, of all nations there is an "immense resemblance." "In saying so, I was, however, quite wrong," he continues. "After I had had the opportunity of making a closer acquaintance with French workers, I often thought of the rightness of Tourguénieff's remark."

The same difference is implied in Tolstoy's remark to Dr. Sarolea: "I am glad you are going to make a special study of Russia, but if you want to

understand us you must grasp the principles of the Slavophiles."

Now, the Finns, thanks to the Swedish conquest, are essentially West Europeans. Their minds face west and not east, while the most typical Russian minds face east and not west. Life in Finland has a close family resemblance to life in any other West European country. But when one crosses the frontier of Russia one enters a new world and a new set of values. Compare Petersburg, by no means the most characteristic Russian city, with Helsingfors, and the difference is at once realized. Nowhere does it come out more strongly than in the churches, where the contrast between the gorgeous Greek Orthodox ritual of the one and the Lutheran simplicity of the other is almost startling. The difference of the worshippers is equally obvious. The Russian has probably sounded spiritual depths beyond the ken of the Finn, but it is easy to understand, when you see him at worship, that he has never developed the particular qualities out of which free citizens are made, and that he is an easy prey of those who wish to exploit him.

The difference of mentality between Russians and Finns expresses itself in different kinds of law and government. In Russia the sovereign is an autocrat; in Finland he is a constitutional monarch. In Russia the word of the sovereign is law; in Finland the idea of law penetrates the whole of society, just as it does in Great Britain, and sovereign and ministers are subject to it, no less than the poorest peasant. In Finland law is the product of the nation; in Russia it is the creation of an in-

dividual influenced by a bureaucracy. When the plans for a railway from Petersburg to Moscow were brought to Nicholas I, he drew a straight line across the map between the two towns, saying that that was the route it must follow, and thus it had to be built in spite of the enormous difficulties and needless expense this autocratic command entailed.

The above distinctions are not drawn with the intention of showing the West Europeans in general and the Finns in particular to be superior to the Russians. No one who has had even a superficial acquaintance with Russian life and character can doubt that while we of West Europe have much to give to Russia, we also have much to learn from her, especially in the sphere of spiritual things. The old contempt for everything Russian is out-of-date, and an attitude of sympathetic inquiry is fast replacing it. It is not a question of being better or worse, but of being different, and the object of the contrast we have drawn is simply to show how the inclusion of West European Finland within the Russian Empire inevitably brought with it the seeds of political conflict.

Sometimes, indeed, it seems surprising that the trouble did not come to a head much earlier than was actually the case. The only guarantee for Finland's Constitution was the sacred oath of the Tsars, and there was a constant danger that the autocrat might overpower the constitutional monarch. Temptations of this nature sometimes arose, as when, during the later part of the nineteenth century, Russian nationalism, impatient at being bound by a Constitution in Finland, when everywhere else throughout

the vast Empire the Government had a free hand, hinted to the Tsars that their scruples with regard to Finland's Constitution were unreasonable and out-of-date.

During the nineteenth century, however, the Tsars were true to their oath. Thus, when Count Steinhilf was appointed Governor-General of Finland in 1810, Alexander I wrote to him, in the course of other instructions: "My object in organizing the situation in Finland has been to give to the people a political existence, so that they shall not regard themselves as subject to Russia, but as attached to her by their own evident interests, and for this reason not only their civil laws, but also their political laws have been retained." Moreover, in 1811 the Emperor reincorporated the eastern portions of her territory, including the town of Viborg, which had been ceded to Russia in 1721 and 1743, and had since then been governed as a Russian province. Thus, instead of levelling the rest of Finland down to the provincial status of Viborg, he raised Viborg to be a part of autonomous Finland. Further, he reintroduced the ecclesiastical and judicial authority of Abo over Viborg and made arrangements for the representation of Viborg in the Diet. No better proofs of his intentions towards Finland could be desired. Towards the end of his reign he again showed his respect for the Finnish Constitution in a striking way. For, when Count Zakrevsky, the fourth Governor-General, obtained the Emperor's consent to the passing of certain ordinances, without having previously consulted the Finnish authorities, Alexander heeded the protest made by the

Senate and directed the Court for the future to "present his report through the proper constitutional channels."

The Diet was not summoned a second time by Alexander I, nor did his successor, Nicholas I, convoke it. This, as we saw, was hardly in keeping with the spirit of the Constitution, but it did not involve a formal violation of it, so long as no new law was enacted or tax levied. For though in the Swedish "era of freedom" (1719-72) the Estates met regularly every three years, later on it was left to the sovereign to convoke them when he thought it necessary. Although no new taxes could be levied, yet, seeing that the Crown had the disposal of the ordinary State revenues, such as customs, the income of crown properties, etc., it was possible for the sovereign to carry on the government without summoning the Estates, by acting in conjunction with the central governing body (in Sweden the Riksråd, in Finland the Senate). Moreover, there was, as we saw, the whole domain of so-called administrative legislation, where the sovereign can issue ordinances having the force of law, independently of the Diet.

But although the Tsar's failure to convoke the Diet was not actually a breach of the Constitution, it had a bad effect, and the impossibility of new legislation acted as a check to the country's development. It was in every way a great advantage to Finland when Alexander II in 1863 returned to the more regular procedure by summoning the Estates and assuring them in the speech from the throne that he intended to maintain "the principles of con-

stitutional monarchy essentially involved in the character of the Finnish people, and of which all their laws and institutions bear the impress." He closed his speech with the following striking passage, which seems to indicate that he contemplated the extension of constitutional government to other parts of the Empire: "It is for you, the representatives of the Grand Duchy, to prove, by the dignity, moderation, and the calmness of your discussions, that in the hands of a wise and well-conducted people . . . liberal institutions, far from being a danger, become a guarantee of order and prosperity."

After this the Diet was summoned fairly regularly about every four years. In 1869 the Diet was recalled and the Fundamental Laws were further defined, it being provided that a fundamental law can be made, altered, interpreted or repealed only on the representation of the Emperor-Grand-Duke and with the consent of all the Four Estates.

It is worth pointing out that in 1860 the Emperor decreed for Finland a separate money system. The unit was the Finnish mark, equivalent to the French franc and to a quarter of a Russian rouble.

On several occasions Alexander II stood between Finland and the bureaucratic Russian Ministers who wished to bring the country into line with the rest of the Empire. His most important intervention concerned military matters, which is interesting, seeing that it was this subject that eventually brought the Russo-Finnish conflict to a head. In 1873 Russia adopted a new scheme of army organization, as a result of the war between France and Germany. General Miliutin, then Russian Minister

of War, wanted Alexander II to extend the scheme to Finland by Imperial Decree. But when it was pointed out to the Emperor that this would be altogether illegal, he ordered that the scheme should be submitted to the Finnish Diet in the regular way. The Diet recognized the necessity for creating a more efficient force and keeping it in close touch with the Russian army, and in 1877 adopted a Government Bill giving effect to these principles. Attempts had been made by General Miliutin to induce the Emperor to alter the Bill, but in spite of the War Office he refused to do so, and the law was promulgated in 1878 in the form in which it had left the Diet. The most important provisions were that all Finns were to be liable for military service; that the army should consist of Finnish citizens only, and that its object should be the defence of Finland. The Governor-General was to be in supreme command, a Finnish officer was to report purely military matters to the Minister of War, who in turn was to report them to the Emperor, and the military department of the Senate was to be responsible for the civil administration, commissariat, barracks, etc. To the troops commands were to be issued, as before, in the Russian language.

The irritation felt by official Russia, with its excessive love of uniformity and centralization, at the exception forced upon its notice by the Finnish Constitution was not, however, the only element of danger to the Grand Duchy. The whole course of Russian policy in her frontier provinces constituted a menace to Finland. The russianization of Poland, which had long been proceeding, was carried out at

redoubled speed, and with appalling rigour, after the unsuccessful rising of 1863. The Polish language was persecuted and Russian officialdom ruled the country. A similar fate befell the Lithuanians, the Little Russians and the inhabitants of Caucasia. Then Russia turned her attention to the Baltic provinces, on the southern side of the Finnish Gulf. Almost the entire system of education in those provinces was made Russian, the political rights of estates, cities and corporations were arbitrarily withdrawn, and the racial strife between the German nobility and the Letts and Esthonians was exploited in such a way as to place the country more and more at the mercy of the Russian bureaucracy. How was Finland to escape a similar fate?

Further, a Nationalist movement in Russia had also to be reckoned with. Finland is anathema to a large body of opinion in Russia because in virtue of her Constitution she enjoys a separate position. This offence is aggravated by the fact that the Finns are one of the many non-Russian nationalities within the Empire. Perhaps the leading idea among the Russian Nationalists is a chauvinistic hatred of the foreigner. From this root has sprung the persecution of the Jews, Poles, Georgians and other non-Russian nationalities. The famous writer Katkoff had already in the 'sixties marked out Finland for destruction, and in the early 'eighties a vehement Press campaign, probably originated by Ministers who knew well how to inflame the worst feelings of the Nationalists, began to be directed against Finland. The argument ran that Finland's rights were purely illusory and based on misrepresentation and



ST. ANNE RESTAURANT, WIBORG.



even forgery; that Alexander I had not understood what he was doing, or had not meant what he had said; and his successors were urged in the name of Russia's interests to make an end of Finland's special position and extend to her the principles of autocracy as they existed in the rest of the Empire.

The Russian articles and brochures were repeatedly answered from Finland, and their arguments were refuted by Senator Mechelin and Professors Hermanson and Danielson. Nevertheless, the Russian Government proceeded to commence the work of russianization by issuing a manifesto on June 2, 1890, by which the Finnish Post Office was subordinated to the Russian Ministry, while in December of the same year another manifesto suspended the application of the new Criminal Law recently adopted by the Diet and sanctioned by the Emperor. Other ordinances were issued the next year tending in the same direction.

The accession of the young Tsar Nicholas II, in November, 1894, was the signal for great hopes in Finland, as well as in Russia. He, like all his predecessors since Alexander I, solemnly guaranteed Finland's Constitution, but that he was no friend to the constitutional idea early became manifest. The dreams of constitutional rule nourished by Alexander I and Alexander II were entirely abandoned, and the spectacle of a flourishing constitutional monarchy like Finland, on the borders of Russia and actually within the Empire, must have seemed not merely an eyesore to the Russian Court, but a positive danger, inasmuch as it afforded to

the discontented masses in Russia a working model of democracy at their very doors. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the attack on Finland became far more vehement than ever before.

It was the military question on which Russia determined to fight. She decided upon the extension of the Russian military system to Finland. The latter's army consisted mainly of nine battalions of infantry, so-called sharpshooters, who served three years, and a reserve which met for ninety days during three successive summers. The troops were drilled according to the rules of the Russian army and commanded in Russian, but the language of the military education was Swedish and Finnish. Russian investigators could find no fault with the Finnish army, and the Tsar Alexander III had officially declared that during manœuvres the Finnish troops had perfectly well collaborated with the Russian army.

The man chosen to carry out the Russian Nationalist programme in Finland was General Nicolai Ivanovitch Bobrikoff, who was appointed Governor-General of Finland in August and reached Helsingfors on October 12, 1898. A few days before his appointment the Tsar had issued his famous Peace Manifesto. Yet Bobrikoff was sent to Finland to force upon the people a military system by which the army would be quadrupled. His first hectoring speech to the Senate and provincial governors at once showed what Finland had to expect, and the impression was confirmed on January 24, 1899, when the Diet was opened and he read out on behalf of the Tsar the speech from the throne. In it the Finns

were treated as a number of Russian subjects living in a number of Russian "governments," and the Diet's constitutional right to decide legislative matters was completely denied. Moreover, the Military Bill laid before the Diet was extremely objectionable, being the military law of Russia; officers were to be Russians; courts martial and the military criminal code were to be Russian; the Finnish levies were to be sent to Russia and divided between Russian regiments and fed by Russian authorities.

While the Diet was still discussing this Bill, a new and crushing blow fell upon Finland. On February 15th General Bobrikoff arrived from Petersburg with the famous February Manifesto, the essence of which was as follows: Finland's Constitution was no longer to be observed where Imperial interests were concerned. On such matters the Diet might express an opinion but not decide. It lay exclusively with the monarch to determine what matters should be considered of Imperial interest, and consequently decided by him alone. The manifesto thus struck a fatal blow at the Constitution.

By a majority of ten votes to nine the Senate, the central administrative body of Finland, decided to promulgate the manifesto, and then proceeded to send a petition to the Tsar. It was not received, and a protest from the Diet met with the same fate. General Bobrikoff published the following bluff: "All reasonable people in Finland are satisfied with the manifesto." But there were no reasonable people in the Governor-General's sense. At a meeting of citizens in Helsingfors it was resolved to collect signatures for a national address to the Emperor

urging him to revoke the manifesto. Messengers were dispatched to spread the news far and wide. The result was astonishing. The signature of any adult man or woman was accepted, and when on March 14th the lists were counted in Helsingfors, the number of names was found to amount to 520,931. To realize the significance of these figures it must be remembered that all the signatures were collected in ten days, that the total population of Finland was only some two and a half millions, spread over an enormous area, and that hundreds of villages and islands could only be reached by sledges or by men on skis, sometimes at the risk of their lives, owing to the weakness of the ice in the spring. The immense collection of signatures can be seen at the State Archives in Helsingfors and is an eloquent testimony to the Finns' passionate love of their country, which, moreover, expressed itself at this time of national calamity by the ladies appearing in the streets dressed in mourning. A great deputation, consisting of five hundred men, elected by informal meetings in various Finnish communes, was dispatched to Petersburg on March 15th to present the address to the Tsar, and in spite of all his secret police General Bobrikoff knew nothing of it until it had already started. The Tsar refused to grant an audience, saying through the Finnish Secretary of State: "Inform the members of this deputation of five hundred men that I, of course, will not receive them, although I am not vexed with them." The russianization was to go forward.

Bobrikoff's central aim was naturally to get the administration of Finland entirely into his own

hands. Accordingly, the first step to the russianization of the whole of the country was to be the russianization of its officials. The rest would follow naturally, he hoped. The administration of Finland being legally in the hands of Finns, Bobrikoff had an alternative. He could either dismiss the Finnish officials and replace them by Russians, or he could retain them, but try to frighten them into assisting in the work of russianization. The latter course had two advantages. By retaining the Finnish officials he would not be violating that paragraph of the Constitution which requires that the country shall be administered by Finns. Secondly, it was much easier to russianize through men who knew the business of administration and spoke Finnish and Swedish than through persons absolutely ignorant of the language and conditions of the country. Accordingly, he embraced the latter policy, although not exclusively. He used the weapons both of persuasion and of threat, saying in effect, "You need not be so excited, gentlemen; we are not going to destroy Finland's autonomy, but only to make one or two necessary alterations. But these little alterations we mean to make, and, if you resist, it will be the worse for you."

The question of the promulgation of the February Manifesto had, as we saw, disclosed two currents of opinion as to the proper attitude of official Finland to encroachments on the Constitution. The Senate had been divided, ten Senators voting for immediate promulgation, nine for delay. When the question arose of the promulgation of the unconstitutional Language Manifesto of June 20, 1900 (to which

further reference will be made shortly), a similar conflict took place, and no less than twelve of the Senators sent in their resignations. The conflict of opinion spread from the Senate to the whole official world, and we see two different theories of Finnish deference develop.

The point of view of the party represented by the resigning Senators was as follows: Unconstitutional ordinances and commands ought not to be carried out either by Finnish officials or Finnish citizens. According to the Constitution, only Finnish law is binding in Finland and Russian law ought not to be obeyed. If an official receives orders to do anything that would involve the breaking of his oath to observe the Constitution, he is bound to disobey the orders, whatever the consequences to himself. At the worst, he must resign rather than assist in carrying out illegal orders from Russia. Let Russia do her own work of destruction; she should receive no help in it from Finns. Finland might get back what Russia had taken away by force—she would never recover what she had herself helped to destroy. The supporters of this policy consisted mainly of the Swedish and Young Finnish parties, who combined against Russian aggression in the so-called Constitutional party.

The standpoint of the Senators who remained in office, and of those who supported them, may be stated as follows: They agreed with the Constitutional party in the desire to preserve Finland's autonomy but differed as to the means to be employed, holding that an uncompromising stand on the strict observance of the Constitution would only

irritate Russia and cause her once for all to make an end of Finland's liberties. They did not believe that Russia intended to go beyond a certain point, and argued that if they gave way a little Russia would be satisfied and not demand more. Therefore the Finnish official was not necessarily to resign if he was ordered to execute unconstitutional commands; he was, in the words of Yrjö-Koskinen, "to look the truth in the face and, in so far as it was necessary, yield to the external compulsion of history." To put the matter in less metaphysical language, the Finnish officials "ought to consider the consequences of their actions in every individual case, and when they found that, as far as human eye could see, a temporary subjection was not to be avoided, they ought to resign themselves to treading the hard road of history, while protesting all the time and insisting upon all rights for the future." It was felt, moreover, on this side, that it would be far easier to bring about a return to constitutional government in the future if only the Russian *tschinovnik* could be kept out of the country. Accordingly, Finnish officials were not merely not to resign when a conflict arose between Russian commands and the Finnish laws, but they were also to accept vacant posts, if offered them, more especially in the Senate, the centre of the administration. As long as this was in Finnish hands a return to legal conditions would, they held, be possible.

The supporters of this policy, who consisted mainly of members of the Old Finnish group, stepped into positions from which members of the Constitutional party were ejected or had resigned.

A long and bitter controversy has raged as to which of the two policies the country ought to adopt. There is much to be said on either side, but to the writer it seems that the nation showed a sound instinct in supporting the Constitutional party, for the simple reason that the other policy, while having undoubted advantages, had the supreme disadvantage of playing into Russia's hands. For, whatever its other merits or demerits, it enabled Bobrikoff to do what he wanted, i.e. govern Finland with the aid of Finnish officials. He wrote in November, 1903: "I am content with the Senate and imagine they have nothing much against me." And von Plehve, who was at once Russian Minister President and Minister Secretary of State for Finland, in an open letter to W. T. Stead, said that "the principle of Imperial unity" must be established in Finland, and that it would be best if it could be accomplished through the co-operation of the local authorities, adding that the hope of such co-operation is justified, seeing that all branches of the Imperial authority are already working freely with the aid of pure Finns.

Bobrikoff had, however, to deal also with a very large body of officials of the Constitutional party. These he could not induce to do his will, and accordingly the only course was to get rid of them and put Russians or Finns of the Senatorial party in their place. In the early autumn of 1902 several ordinances were issued giving the Governor-General very wide powers over recalcitrant officials. All officials were henceforth to be liable to dismissal, without any investigation or trial, on the mere word of a superior—a flagrant breach both of justice and

of Finnish law. Further, Russians were to have the same rights as Finns to positions in the Finnish administration, although, according to the Constitution, such appointments can only be held by Finns. It lay with the Governor-General to decide whether a man was "qualified" for the position he desired. A further step was to free officials from all fear of prosecution in the Finnish courts for breaches of Finnish law committed by them in executing Bobrikoff's orders, by making such prosecutions dependent on the consent of a "higher authority," i.e. the Governor-General. Bobrikoff's power was still further widened, at the cost of the Senate, so that he was steadily approaching the position of Dictator of Finland.

The dismissal of officials began to take ever greater proportions and to become a matter of daily occurrence. One of the most important instances concerned the Court of Appeal at Abo. On April 18, 1902, some Cossacks, acting under the orders of the Russian Governor of the province of Nyland, General Kaigorodoff, had charged a peaceable crowd of people in one of the principal squares of Helsingfors and done considerable injury among them. For this the Governor was summoned to stand his trial before the Abo court. The court was ordered by the Russian authorities to drop the case, but refused to submit to this unconstitutional command. The trial was an important one, for the issue at stake was whether General Kaigorodoff, or any other Russian, could order his Cossacks to use their sabres and knouts on peaceful Finnish citizens with impunity or not. If the trial was quashed, it

meant that the Finns had no redress whatever against the violence of the Russian military, and that these could commit whatever crimes they chose without fear of punishment. The Russian answer to the court's refusal was summarily to make an end of the resistance by dismissing, with loss of pension, no less than twenty-three members of the court and replacing them by members of the Senatorial group. The acceptance of the posts by these men, and their retention of them after the events of 1905, was one of the greatest causes of bitterness between the Constitutional and the Senatorial parties. Bobrikoff continued the work of destruction by dismissing, in large numbers, members of the Courts of Appeals at Viborg and Vasa, besides removing from office the mayors of eleven of the principal towns of Finland. It is estimated that among the higher branches of the administration alone the dismissals amounted to nearly three hundred, and to these must be added all the military officers, high and low, the police officials, clerks and copyists, and a host of other persons who were either turned out or forced to resign.

Besides the dismissal of constitutionally-minded officials, Bobrikoff used various other means to denationalize Finland, only a few of which can be mentioned here. The February Manifesto, as has already been pointed out, was soon followed by the Language Manifesto of June 20, 1900. This required the extension of the Russian language to many new branches of the Finnish administration,¹

¹ Russian had of course always been used in the official communications between the leading Finnish authorities and the Emperor-Grand-Duke.

although the Russian-speaking population of Finland, exclusive of the military, is only some 8,000. It further provided for the dismissal of officials who could not within a given time speak Russian, which in its turn implied that only persons who spoke Russian would be eligible as officials in future. In 1902 it was further enacted that a very substantial amount of Russian should be introduced into the administration of the province of Viborg in two years from January 1, 1904, and into that of the rest of Finland in five years from that date.

Bobrikoff early took steps to stifle the expression of public opinion. Thus, by means of an ordinance enacting that no public meeting might be held without his permission, he made an end of Finland's time-honoured right of association, inherited from Sweden. Moreover, he flooded the country with his spies, that they might overhear and report speeches or conversations. The censorship of the Press was made far stricter. Many newspapers were heavily fined, others were suspended for several months at a time, others ceased to appear altogether. It often happened that papers which had actually been sanctioned by the censor were confiscated when published and their owners fined. One result of this persecution was the growth of a very interesting secret Press, which was organized in a remarkably able way.

The education of the country was also to be russianized. The Governor-General was made chief inspector of all educational institutions, and it was his duty to "so direct the instruction that the youth

of the country is inspired with a spirit of affection for H.M. the Emperor and Russia." There is something grimly humorous in the notion of Bobrikoff fulfilling this command. The hours that had to be devoted to the study of Russian were disproportionately increased so as to interfere seriously with the school curriculum. Spies contributed their share in instilling a love of Russia among the school-children, and many school-teachers had to leave their posts for political reasons. A special committee sat in the Governor-General's office to revise the text-books on Finnish history and geography used in the school—another spectacle which provokes a smile. Nor was the University quite left alone, the Vice-Chancellor being forced to resign in 1903, some students being banished and a certain number being "sent down" for six months.

A new Imperial manifesto was issued on April 15, 1903, conferring on Bobrikoff the powers of a Dictator. And about this time commenced the practice of banishing leading Finnish citizens who were objectionable to Russia. In April 1903 eight prominent men were commanded to leave the country within a week. Their houses were searched by Russian dragoons. Shortly afterwards, sentence of banishment was passed on eight others. In June and July seven more followed; in August and September eleven, in October three, and so on. Other persons met with even a worse fate, being arrested and transported to Russia, where they were imprisoned or kept under police supervision. In many cases no reason was given for the banishments; in others, only the general reason that the banished

man was a danger to public order. Against the violence of Russian troops or police there was no redress. Indeed, the police became, under Bobrikoff, more and more the rulers of the land. Their numbers increased, while their quality deteriorated. Many of the best among them were dismissed or resigned, and their places were taken partly by persons drawn from the worst elements of society and partly by Russians, Esthonians and other foreigners, who in most cases could speak neither Swedish nor Finnish. In Helsingfors and Viborg nearly half the police force consisted of foreigners, and in Tavastehus the proportion was even greater. Even among the officers were men who had been sentenced to imprisonment for crime, but who were sheltered by Bobrikoff on condition that they became his creatures. Far from protecting society, the police force became a menace to it. Persons were illegally arrested and kept in prison, women were subjected to insults, men and even children to gross maltreatment, and all classes of society to the ignoble supervision of the paid spy. Not content with this, Bobrikoff in 1903 procured an ordinance which, in defiance of the Finnish Constitution, gave to the Russian police the same authority in Finland as the native police, together with the right to receive salaries out of the Finnish State funds. Russian police now interfered in various branches of Finnish life, looking for forbidden literature in the custom-house, carrying on house-searchings, trying by bribery or the offer of preferment to induce the lowest element among the population to turn spy or informer. In this horrible aim they

were sometimes successful, and secret accusations began to be only too common. Such is the effect of forcing degrading standards of life, even upon a population that is naturally of sterling honesty.

Finally it must be pointed out how Bobrikoff carried out the military programme for which he was sent to Finland, and whose object was the extension to the Grand Duchy of the Russian military system. The first step was the issuing of an ordinance according to the military law of Russia which prescribed conscription. The number of conscripts was to be fixed by the Emperor. Finnish conscripts could be drafted into Russian regiments and were liable for service in Russia, and Finland was to have no separate military organization. Moreover, all the Finnish troops except the Guards and the Dragoon regiment were disbanded, a step which caused particular bitterness. Shortly afterwards Bobrikoff found an excuse for disbanding the Dragoons also.

A great national address of protest was made to the Emperor, nearly half a million signatures being collected. But the Finns prepared to protest also in a far more effective way, namely, by refusing to serve as conscripts. A most astonishing strike was the result, the execution of which implied a remarkable power of organization. When carried out in its fulness the plan of action was as follows: The clergy first refused to proclaim the new law in the churches. Both the clergy and the district clerks then refused to send in lists of the young men whose age rendered them liable to service. The recruiting boards refused to make a selection from these young

men. The presidents of the communes and the doctors refused to work the law in any way. Finally, the young men themselves refused to put in an appearance on the day when they should have become recruits.

In few places was this scheme carried out in its fulness, the clergy in particular often being very half-hearted in their resistance. The congregations in many cases, however, made up for this by walking out of the church in a body as soon as the pastor began to proclaim the law, or by singing hymns so loud that his voice could not be heard. By 1903, however, the resistance had weakened, partly owing to the arguments of the Senatorial party, who disapproved of the strike, and partly owing to the cleverness of the Russians, who began by merely insisting on an almost purely formal registration of names. About two-thirds of the conscripts presented themselves, Russian troops being in some cases employed to bring recruits to the place of meeting. In 1904 about four-fifths of the conscripts presented themselves, and Russia seemed almost to have gained her point. The long struggle against brutal oppression was clearly telling on Finland, and the spirit of the nation seemed likely to be broken, when relief came from an unexpected quarter. Eugene Schauman, a young gentleman employed at the Senate, shot Bobrikoff on the steps of the Senate House on June 16, 1904, and afterwards shot himself. He had no confidants, and for some time before the assassination he avoided his friends and refused to greet them in the streets, lest they should be arrested on account of his association with them.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SECOND PERIOD OF RUSSIANIZATION

OTHER circumstances besides Bobrikoff's death contributed at this time to relieve the pressure upon Finland. Russia was in the midst of the war with Japan, and needed all her forces for that great struggle. The war, moreover, afforded a long sought opportunity to the Russian revolutionary parties, who brought about the General Strike which resulted in the Tsar's concession of a Duma. Under Prince Obolenski, Bobrikoff's successor, the Russian grip on Finland was already relaxing, and as soon as the news of the Tsar's manifesto conceding the Duma to Russia reached Finland, the General Strike broke out there also.

It had many results, but the most important was that it induced the Russian Government to withdraw the illegal ordinances and restore constitutional government. The Tsar issued a manifesto to this effect, and life resumed its ordinary course. As was pointed out in previous chapters, the franchise was widened and the Constitution amended. The Russian officials vanished. The Senate was formed by the Constitutional party, under the chairmanship of Leo Mechelin, and an era of reform began. It seemed as if the constitutional battle having been fought and won in Russia, a bright future was opening for Finland.

The period of hope was, however, short-lived, and the storm-clouds soon gathered again round both countries. By means of wholesale executions and banishments, Stolypin crushed the revolutionary

movement throughout Russia, and, after a fierce struggle with the first two named Dumas, he succeeded, by means of his famous *coup d'état*, in getting a Duma which was an obedient instrument in his hands. Finland's turn now came.

To the old motives calling for the russianization of Finland new ones were added. The Russian Government was now animated by a desire to take vengeance on Finland for the death of Bobrikoff and the General Strike. The wish to distract attention as much as possible from the misgovernment at home was also a reason for reviving the Finnish question. Moreover, the Duma, crippled as it was, had introduced a new element into Russian politics. The reactionaries now required a certain amount of popular support, or at least the appearance of it, for whatever they undertook, and Stolypin purchased this by attacking Finland. He thereby secured the support of the Nationalists, who always regarded with satisfaction the persecution of the non-Russian nationalities within the Empire. This plan had been suggested early in 1906, when the position of the Russian Government was still critical in the extreme. Count Witte had said at a Cabinet Council presided over by the Emperor: "Assuming that we survive the present misfortunes . . . the Finnish question is not dangerous. . . . Why should your Majesty take it upon yourself to settle the Finnish question? Rather let the Duma do so. If it is nationalistic, it will go farther than the monarchs have gone; it will settle every question. It is inadvisable for the Government to provoke the Finns and drive them to ally themselves with the Duma."

This discussion incidentally throws a sad light on the degree of sincerity in the Russian Government's restoration of the Finnish Constitution a month or two earlier.

It is impossible to go into details about the latest attack on the Finnish Constitution, and the subject can only be presented in outline. The campaign commenced on May 18, 1908, when M. Stolypin explained his Finnish policy to the Duma. He argued that Russia's rights in Finland depended not on the Act of Assurance at Borga, but on the Treaty of Fredrikshamn (see Chapter XVI). He admitted Finland's autonomy, but said that this was merely a "local" autonomy, and that in Imperial matters Russia had the right to legislate for Finland. At the same time he hastened to reassure Finland and the world in general that "there must be no room for the suspicion that Russia would violate the rights of autonomy conferred on Finland by the monarchs. In Russia might cannot go before right."

The worth of this excellent sentiment was seen a fortnight later, when on June 2nd the Tsar sanctioned a protocol of the Council of Ministers which practically transferred the control of the administration of Finland from the Finnish Senate to the aforesaid Council. Before being brought before the Tsar, all Finnish legislative proposals and all administrative business "of general importance" must, according to this protocol, be communicated to the Russian Council of Ministers. The Council was then to determine "which matters concerning the Grand Duchy of Finland also have a bearing on the interests of the Empire, and consequently

call for a fuller examination on the part of the Ministries and the Government Boards." Having determined that a matter affects some "Imperial interest," the Council was to prepare a report on it. If the Council and the Finnish authorities differed in their views of the matter, the Finnish Secretary of State, who alone, according to the Constitution, can bring Finnish matters before the Tsar, was only to do so in the presence of the President of the Council of Ministers or some other Russian Minister.

Perhaps the most astonishing thing about this revolutionary protocol was that none of the Finnish authorities knew anything whatever about it beforehand. Neither the Secretary of State, nor the Diet, nor the Senate was warned. The whole matter was arranged privately by the Tsar and his Ministers. Yet it involved nothing less than the undermining of the Finnish Constitution.

Needless to say, the Senate protested to the Emperor, and no less than three memoranda was sent up to him, bearing the dates of June 19, 1908, December 22, 1908, and February 25, 1909.

The memoranda were rejected by the Emperor on the advice of the Council of Ministers. The Diet forwarded a petition dated October 13, 1908, but this met with the same fate. The Emperor went so far as to refuse an audience to the Finnish Secretary of State, so that the matter could not even be brought before him in the constitutional manner. Half the Senators, those composing the Department of Justice, resigned as a consequence of these proceedings, while Mechelin and many of his colleagues

in the central administration were dismissed. Let us now consider how the Russian Council of Ministers used the powers it had thus usurped.

In the first place, wide as were its powers under this unconstitutional protocol, the Council was not content with them, but proceeded to lay hands on measures that could by no means be classed as of "Imperial interest." Following the Council's advice, the Emperor refused his sanction to a number of such Bills. In November, 1908, a Trades Law adopted by the Diet was thus destroyed. In December, 1908, a grant of the Senate for the building of a road in Finnish Lapland was disallowed. In the same month a proposal to transfer £200,000 from the "General State Fund" to a fund for furnishing loans to secure small holdings for the landless population was interfered with. Instances could easily be multiplied. The administration of the country was seriously interfered with, the bureaucrats at Petersburg being entirely ignorant of Finnish conditions and utterly out of sympathy with the nation they were mismanaging. It is worth pointing out not merely the unconstitutionality and the harmfulness of the Council's action, but also its absurdity. Thus in January 1910 we find the Council of Ministers actually engaged in discussing whether a new porter might be appointed to the Geographical Department of the University of Helsingfors and whether the physical laboratory might be allowed to engage a new stoker.

The next great blow directed against Finland was the appointment of a committee, consisting of six Russian and five Finnish members, to draft

proposals for regulations concerning "Imperial legislation." Its real work was to decide what matters might reasonably be withdrawn from the competence of the Finnish Diet on the ground that they were "matters of Imperial interest." Both the Finnish and Russian members drew up projects, but naturally failed to reach any agreement. The reason becomes clear when we examine the Russian project. Legislation concerning the following subjects was to be withdrawn from the Finnish Diet and transferred to Russia:—

- (1) The participation of Finland in the expenditure of the Empire, and the imposts, taxes and charges to be fixed for this purpose;
- (2) The taking up in Finland of military service and of other military burdens;
- (3) The rights of such Russian subjects resident in Finland as are not Finnish citizens;
- (4) The employment in Finland of the language of the Empire;
- (5) The execution in Finland of sentences, verdicts and resolutions of courts of justice and other authorities in other parts of the Empire, as well as of agreements and covenants there entered into;
- (6) The fundamental principles for, and the limitations of, carrying on the Finnish government by special institutions on the basis of a special mode of legislation (Fundamental Laws of 1906, Article 2);
- (7) Safeguarding public order in Finland, and the organizations which deal with public order;
- (8) Criminal law, and the official responsibility of public functionaries in Finland;
- (9) The fundamental principles of the administration of justice in Finland;
- (10) The fundamental principles of public education in Finland, and the organization and control of the same;
- (11) The establishment in Finland of companies, associations and societies, and the conditions under which they may work, and the arranging of public meetings;

- (12) Legislation about the Press in Finland, and import of foreign literature;
- (13) The customs of Finland;
- (14) Protection of trade marks and commercial privileges, as well as literary and artistic copyright;
- (15) The monetary system in Finland;
- (16) The post, telegraph, telephone, aerial navigation and other similar means of communication in Finland;
- (17) The railways in Finland so far as they touch the defence of the Empire and the traffic between Finland and other parts of the Empire, as well as international traffic; also the railway telegraph;
- (18) Navigation, and the pilot and lighthouse service in Finland;
- (19) The rights of aliens in Finland.

A study of this list shows that Russia intended to abolish the Finnish Diet as it now exists and reduce it to the level of a county council.

Such was the end in view, and it now remained to carry it out. Count Witte's advice to let the Duma settle the Finnish question was not forgotten. But nationalistic as the Duma was, the Opposition put up such a hardy resistance when the above project was laid before it that the Premier thought it prudent to say that it was to be looked upon not as a Bill to be passed immediately, but rather as a programme for future legislation. As such it was accepted by the Duma, and the reactionary Purishkevitch uttered his triumphant exclamation, "Finis Finlandiae."

It was not for long that the Russian project remained at the programme stage. The obedient Duma proceeded to pass two laws which are having a profound influence on the situation in Finland. The one concerns the military question. Since the dissolution of the Finnish army by Bobrikoff, Fin-

land has, by decision of the Diet, paid an annual contribution to the Russian Treasury in lieu of military service. The Duma decided in January, 1912, that this arrangement should be made permanent. To make this contribution illegal it has not been proposed to the Diet, which would have accepted it. Far more important, however, in its effect upon Finland has been the other Duma law, which extended to all Russians resident in Finland full citizen rights. This also was never put before the Diet as a Bill, lest it be legalized; the Diet would have asked no better than accept it.

These two measures were laid before the Finnish Diet in the form of proposals about which it was to be allowed to express its opinion. The Diet refused to do so, on the ground that the whole procedure of the Russian authorities was a violation of the Finnish Constitution, according to which the Diet had the right not merely to give an opinion upon such questions, but to decide them. The Diet expressed its willingness, however, to meet Russian wishes in every possible way, only provided that these were brought to its notice in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. To have acted otherwise would have been to surrender Finland's entire right to constitutional government.

Finding that the Diet would not play into their hands, the Russian authorities returned the two measures to the Duma, which, in the committee stage, made important additions to them. The rights of Finnish citizenship were extended from the civil population to the Russian military in Finland, and the clause which prescribed that all Fin-

nish officials who resisted the execution of the Duma measures should be tried before a Russian court was widened so as to embrace not only the official but also the non-official world. This clause has caused more trouble than anything else of recent years in Finland, and has led to the astounding spectacle of the arrest and trial before a local court in Russia of one of Finland's three Supreme Courts of Appeal. And as the incident which led to this crisis is a trifling one, it is extremely important to remember that the Finnish objection to the Duma laws does not depend on the actual contents of those laws. Apart from the monstrous clause providing for the trial of Finns in Russia, the Diet would have little objection to passing similar measures, though that concerning Russian residents would require considerable modification in matters of detail. The real dispute is not over the rights of Russians in Finland, but over the right of the Duma to legislate for Finland. The conflict is as much one of principle as was John Hampden's refusal to pay ship-money. It arose in the following manner: A Russian wished to set up a store in Viborg. According to Finnish law, he had to apply for permission to the Governor of the province, but according to the newly made Duma law he must go to the town council. He went to the latter, which promptly referred him to the Governor, thus putting on record its refusal to recognize the Russian-made law. The Russian authorities then arrested three members of the town council, who were subsequently tried and imprisoned in Petersburg, under a clause of the Duma law. The Supreme Court of Viborg protested

against the arrest of the three magistrates, as being a breach of Finnish law, and ordered their release. This was refused, and steps were now taken against the Supreme Court. Twenty-four of its members were arrested in December, 1912, were tried next month by the Petersburg District Court, and (all except one) were sentenced to sixteen months' imprisonment and loss of office for resisting the Duma law. It must be difficult to find a parallel to such a situation as this, in which a Supreme Court in one country is forcibly removed to another country and there tried and condemned by a local court for having obeyed the very laws which it was bound by the most solemn oath to maintain.

The Viborg judges, many of whom are elderly men, have suffered acutely under the Russian prison régime, and their sufferings were increased by the knowledge that on their release their occupation would be gone and their places filled by Old Fennoman nominees of the Russian Government, under whom the Court cannot but degenerate.

The whole affair is typical of Russia's work of destruction in Finland. Everywhere honest and capable officials are being ousted and replaced by persons of an altogether lower type.

The province of Viborg has all along borne the brunt of the Russian attack. Bobrikoff, in his report upon his work from 1899 to 1902, proposed its reunion with Russia, and added significantly: "The reincorporation of the province of Viborg ought to be regarded only as the first step towards a final inclusion of Finland in the Russian State." Of

recent years the Russian Government has more than once contemplated carrying out this plan, but nothing has as yet come of it, owing as far as one can judge, to the opposition it provoked abroad. But that the idea is not abandoned is clear from the decision to incorporate with Russia two parishes, Nykyrka and Kivinebb, which lie on the frontier. These parishes, which number about 30,000 inhabitants, are to be annexed on the pretext that Russia requires them for military purposes, and there can be little doubt that their seizure is intended only to be the prelude to the reincorporation of the entire province.

Among other striking features of the work of russianization have been the frequent dissolutions of the Diet for protesting against the unconstitutional régime; the russianization of the pilot service; the disbanding of the boy and girl scouts, who were regarded as a menace to the Empire; and the appropriation of Finnish State funds for Russian purposes and to feather the nests of Russian officials. The list could be extended *ad nauseam*, but enough has been said to show the general trend of Russian policy. It is, indeed, the programme of Bobrikoff over again, without its dramatic elements. The Russian authorities have come to the conclusion that less resistance will be provoked if they go to work quietly.

Such a wholesale destruction of a nation's rights—rights, be it noted, which are not merely abstract rights of humanity but the concrete historical rights of Finland, definitely established by law—cannot possibly be justified on any other hypothesis except

that they seriously impair the safety or efficiency of the Russian Empire. If Finland is merely being sacrificed to the temporary convenience of Russian politicians, who desire either to distract attention from home misgovernment or to win the support of the least educated and most chauvinistic people in Russia, or again, because it is thought to be dangerous to the Russian Government to have a flourishing democracy so close to the Russian capital, or because it is a way of finding lucrative positions for hungry Russian officials, all that can be said is that such a sacrifice is not merely unjustifiable but abominable.

It is a dim perception of this fact that has caused the Fennophobes in Russia to raise the cry of Finnish disloyalty. Finland, it is argued, is disloyal, and Russia cannot afford to have a disloyal State so near her capital. Hence Finland must be russianized. Now, if Finland were really disloyal there would be much to be said for this argument. But Finnish disloyalty is a pure myth, and a myth whose origin will not bear examination, as any one acquainted with the activities of the Russian Secret Police in Finland very well knows. It is perfectly true that in years immediately following the Diet of Borgå there may have been a few sentimentalists who dreamed of a reunion between Finland and Sweden, but no one paid any attention to them, and to talk of a separatist movement in Finland is to misrepresent history. The bond between Sweden and her former province rapidly became what it now is, one of culture and historical tradition, without any political significance whatever. Meanwhile the bond with Russia grew steadily stronger, for

various reasons, such as the personal popularity of the Emperors, who were greatly beloved in Finland, the development of commercial intercourse between the two countries, the part played by Finland in the Crimean War, and, in a word, the general effects of the political tie uniting the two countries. Indeed, one feels that so far from showing disloyalty the Finns were more inclined to err on the other side, and in their gratitude to the Russian monarch to stint their sympathy for those in Russia who were striving to obtain the constitutional blessings that Finland already enjoyed. That Finland is less enthusiastically loyal to Russia to-day than twenty years ago may readily be admitted, but this must be attributed simply and solely to the fact that of recent years Russia has done everything possible to destroy her loyalty. In view of all that has been done to irritate the Finns, it says much for their good sense that they have not been goaded into rebellion, as many a more excitable nation might have been. But of rebellion there has never been a question, and to speak of such a thing is a calumny. If Russia wants to revive the waning fires of Finnish loyalty, she has only to return to the policy she pursued for ninety years with such conspicuous success. That policy was a surer guarantee of Russia's safety from invasion via Finland than the russianization of Finland can ever be.

Akin to the argument of alleged Finnish disloyalty is another, which runs that, owing to the danger of invasion via Finland, Russia must acquire absolute military control over the Grand Duchy, which must consequently be russianized. The an-

swer to this is quite simple—so simple, indeed, that it shows the argument to be one of questionable honesty. It is that Russia in virtue of the Constitution already enjoys absolute military and naval control over Finland, and that this control could not therefore be increased, however much the country were russianized. Finland has no authority whatever over the military and naval forces Russia chooses to station in the Grand Duchy, and would have no legal right to complain if Russia were to station the entire forces of the Empire there.

The only other ground on which the destruction of Finnish rights could possibly be justified is that these interfere with the efficient administration of the Empire. No serious attempt to show that this is so has been made on the side of Russia. It would indeed be ridiculous to maintain that the Imperial administration as a whole is interfered with by the Constitution of a country of 3,000,000 inhabitants, which is a mere corner of the huge Russian Empire. The narrower proposition that, in certain details, a modification of Russo-Finnish relations might prove necessary, may, however, be freely admitted. But if a modification of Russo-Finnish relations is desirable, the question arises: How ought any change determined on to be carried out?

The answer is perfectly clear. As the Conference of International Lawyers pointed out in March, 1910, "Finland has the right to demand that the Russian Empire should respect her Constitution," and "if the superior interests of the Empire demand the establishment of a common procedure for dealing with certain internal affairs, it pertains to

the Diet either itself to determine those affairs or to consent to the creation of a body charged with determining them.”

In other words, no change can legally be made without the consent of the Diet. For the overriding of the Diet's authority and the forcing of her will on Finland by external pressure, Russia has no justification whatever, either legal or moral.

Russia's refusal to make use of the simple and natural way of settling the question—the way time after time pointed out by the Finns—her persistence in pursuing a policy so contrary to her own true interests in Finland and one which can only end in turning the fairest spot in the Empire into a discontented and sullen land; her tenacity in the face of the protests of enlightened public opinion and of expert legal opinion both in Russia and in West Europe; her perseverance, in spite of dangers and complications at home, in a course of action of which the obvious risks so utterly outweigh the visible advantages—these and similar considerations have caused people to suspect that there must be some other motive in Russia's mind, and to find it in a historical necessity pushing her towards the open sea. In other words, it is argued that the russianization of Finland is in reality intended to mask an aggressive movement upon Sweden and Norway.

This theory has been put forward several times—e.g., by Mr. V. Whitford in the *Contemporary Review* for August, 1912, by Dr. Sven Hedin in several articles and pamphlets, and by Herr Konni Zilliacus in his “*Revolutionen och Kontrarevolutionen i Ryssland och Finland.*” It may be restated as follows:—

Russia has long desired to acquire great seaports, but found herself checked on every side. There have been four great lines of advance—one southwards to Constantinople and the Mediterranean, one eastwards to Port Arthur, one southeast to the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, and one northwest to the Atlantic. Sometimes one line of advance has been most pressed, sometimes another. The advance towards the Atlantic began with the foundation of St. Petersburg and the efforts of Peter the Great's successors to conquer Finland. A great step forward was taken in 1809, for not only did Russia acquire the Finnish ports on the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, together with the Åland Islands, but (what is usually little recognized) extended her frontier at one point to within 20 miles of the Atlantic. A glance at the map shows that Finland, far up in the north, pushes as it were an arm between Norway and Sweden. "For some 300 miles," writes Mr. Whitford, "Russia is only separated from the ocean by a narrow strip of Norwegian territory. At one point her frontier comes within 18 miles of the Lyngenfjord. There are many ports in the north of Norway which would afford excellent naval harbours, for instance Vardö, Hammerfest, Tromsö. All of these are kept ice-free throughout the winter by the Gulf Stream. When it is remembered that her Empire extends to the Pacific on the east, it will be seen how great is the temptation for Russia to acquire those few miles of territory which separate her from her goal on the west. Further, she might easily be provided with a practically unbroken line of communication from West Europe to East Asia.

For not far south of the Lyngenfjord runs the Lapland railway, recently constructed by Sweden. This joins the Atlantic at Narvik to the Gulf of Bothnia at Luleå. A branch line covers a part of the short distance from Luleå to the Finnish frontier at Haparanda (north of the Gulf of Bothnia). Consequently, if Russia were to acquire this railway, so temptingly close to her frontiers, she would possess, save for the one little gap just indicated, a vast line of railway joining the Atlantic to the Pacific."

There is no doubt that Russia would have preferred to reach the sea either in the south or the Far East. The result of the wars of 1827-8, 1854-5 and 1877-8 seemed to show conclusively that the way southwards was, for a long time, blocked. Efforts were now directed to the Far East, and ended in Russia snatching Port Arthur from the hands of victorious Japan. Everything possible was done to fortify and render impregnable the ice-free port thus won, the Siberian railway being continued to Port Arthur and a large fleet stationed there. But Russia's prodigious efforts and sacrifices only ended in the disasters of the war with Japan and the loss of the splendid port. Baffled here, Russia turned to the southeast and the northwest. She continued her earlier work in the former direction by gradually overrunning North Persia and preparing to annex at least part of that kingdom, thus getting nearer and nearer to the Persian Gulf—a process we are watching to-day. At the same time she continued her progress towards the Atlantic by returning with redoubled energy to the russianization of Finland.

Facts which lend confirmation to this theory are to be found, as Mr. Whitford shows, both in Finland, Russia and the Scandinavian countries.

For instance, Russia has interfered extensively in Finnish railway policy, forbidding the building of lines required by Finland for her economic development and demanding the construction of others for strategic purposes. Her object is to secure a rapid communication, firstly, between Petersburg and Vasa (where the Gulf of Bothnia is narrowest), and secondly, between Petersburg and Torneå (on the Swedish frontier). In previous wars Russian armies have invaded Sweden via Torneå and Vasa. A third line of advance was by the Åland Islands, in view of which Russia's attempt a few years ago to cancel the clause prohibiting their fortification is perhaps significant. Other Russian actions which are to be taken into account are the russianization of the Finnish pilot service, the steady but unobtrusive increase of the Russian military forces in Finland, the inducement offered to Russian officers to learn Swedish, and the large number of Russian spies sent to North Sweden.

Sweden is well aware of the Russian menace, and as Mr. Whitford shows, has entirely reorganized her system of defence with a view to meeting it, stationing more and more troops in the north to oppose a possible Russian invasion and building the powerful fortress of Boden. Many Norwegians are also keenly alive to the danger.¹

Russia naturally does not proclaim her designs

¹ Cf. *La Revue Scandinave*, March 1911. Article by Captain Axel Roekkebo.

upon the housetops, but nevertheless evidence of them sometimes slips out. The *Novoje Vremja* expressed a general feeling when, on January 2nd o.s., 1905, it wrote: "Russia is growing and spreading over regions of boundless extent. If she is to accomplish her historical mission, it is essential that she should secure access to the open ocean, which she resembles in greatness." Passing from the general to the particular, we find General Kuropatkin, when discussing Russian frontier policy in his book, "The Russo-Japanese War" (vol. i, pp. 40-4), declare, with regard to the Swedish frontier: "The southern portion quite corresponds to our requirements, but the northern is too artificially drawn and is disadvantageous to us, as it cuts Finland off from the Arctic Ocean and gives all the coast to Norway." The admission is rather striking from one in so high a position, though it need not be pressed too far. Nevertheless, it is not weakened when taken in conjunction with Russian railway policy in Finland. General Kuropatkin goes on to argue that "it is our duty to smooth the way as much as possible for the early unification of Finland and Russia, in order to ensure Russia's safety against an attack from Sweden"—a manifest absurdity, which suggests that the real motive of unification is not defence but aggression. For how could modern Sweden dare to attack Russia?

Whether the acquisition of a port on the Atlantic is or is not the main object of Russia's policy in Finland, the theory just sketched in outline is one which cannot be brushed aside as merely fantastic. If it is true, then Finland, in resisting russianiza-

tion, is unconsciously fighting a battle on behalf of Scandinavian independence and of all nations interested in its maintenance. If it is not true, Finland is still fighting a battle for freedom. She is maintaining the cause of constitutional government as against autocracy, of law as against anarchy, of Western civilization as against Eastern civilization, of nationality as against centralization and leveling. She is, moreover, fighting on the side of those who hope that Russia will develop on constitutional lines, and the Russian Constitutionalists are her natural allies and her stoutest champions. She has perhaps been a little slow to realize this and to cooperate with them. For her fate seems to be inextricably bound up with Russia, and her position in the Russian Empire of the future may well depend on the degree of sympathy she succeeds in fostering in the mind of the Russian nation. For it is not the Emperor, but the Duma, which will determine her fate in coming years, and even a representative Duma might as a whole be ignorant and prejudiced about Finland. Meanwhile, more than on Emperor or Duma, Finland's future seems to depend on her own power of resistance. Foreign sympathy is of great value in stimulating her resistance and heartening her courage, but of itself it can do little. For Finland it is a question of holding on tenaciously until better days dawn in Russia. But should the unexpected happen and the present Russian régime desire a friendly settlement of the Finnish question, the question would speedily cease to exist. For it is really an artificial question, raised by Russia as a pretext for russianization.

CHAPTER XIX

FINLAND AND THE WAR

WHEN the war broke out in the summer of 1914, the sympathies of Finland were divided. The inclination of the mass of the people was towards the Allies. In spite of what they had suffered from Russia they felt instinctively what some of the better-educated classes failed to grasp—that the defeat of the Allies would involve the defeat of democracy and the cause of the small nations.

It might seem strange that Russia, who had oppressed many small nations, should be drawing the sword on behalf of Servia, but, in some mysterious way, on this occasion Russia was in the right.

This feeling expressed itself in various ways. The writer was in Stockholm when the war broke out, and had to return to Finland on a train carrying some 800 Russians who had escaped from Germany and other parts of the Continent. Many of these Russians were penniless and destitute, but all alike were treated with the utmost kindness and generosity by the Finns who thronged the railway stations. There was no suggestion anywhere of the hostile demonstration which many of the travellers seemed to expect; old wrongs were forgotten, and a new spirit of brotherhood seemed to be taking the place of the old suspicion. This change of attitude was reflected in a new tone which became noticeable in several Russian papers which had been notoriously anti-Finnish, and in the manifesto issued by the Grand Duke Nicholas thanking the Finnish railway men for the efficient help rendered by them at

the time of mobilisation. It seemed that the war might initiate a new era in Russo-Finnish relations.

There was, however, a minority on whom the immediate struggle to retain their vanishing liberties pressed so hard, that they failed to see the world-conflict in its true perspective. For these, smarting as they were with their wounds, Russia loomed as a sinister power which could not by any possibility be fighting on the side of liberty. Nor was there any possible defence of France and Britain, who had irretrievably condemned themselves by joining hands with the Muscovite. To this minority it was useless to point out that the whole case of Finland against Russia was based on the sacredness of a "scrap of paper," and that to take sides with the power which openly repudiated treaties and the pledged word was practically to justify Russia in her aggression upon the rights of Finland. This party counted among its adherents, also, many whose education had imbued them with a genuine love or admiration for Germany, and theorists who contended that the essence of the world struggle was the social conflict of Teuton and Slav. Britain, in siding against Germany, was branded as a traitor to the sacred cause of Teutonism.

The Russian Government unfortunately played into the hands of the minority in Finland. After the too brief period in which the countries seemed to be drawing together, the reactionaries at Petrograd succeeded in frightening the Government into a resumption of the policy of russianization, on the plea that Finland was disloyal and could only be held down by force. Up to this time, the disloyalists in Finland were a negligible quantity, but the natural

result of this change of policy was to make many people in Finland say, "If this is what we get from Russia for showing our loyalty, have we not more to gain from a German victory?" Indeed, the question suggests itself whether the change of policy may not have been the result of German intrigue. A disloyal Finland would embarrass Russia, and the policy adopted and carried out by the Governor-General, himself of German origin, was exactly calculated to exploit any disloyalty there might be in the country. This, however, is matter for speculation. What is certain is that German agents were profuse in their promises to the Finns, if only these would revolt from Russia. With a fine inconsistency, German agents in Finland were promising to make Finland an independent republic, while others in Sweden were offering to restore the Grand Duchy to the Swedish Crown!

The net result of German intrigue and Russian mistakes was to cool the sympathy of the mass of the people for the Allies, and to make Finland, in feeling, a neutral country. It was common to hear the hope expressed that Britain and France might be victorious on the west, and Russia suffer defeat on the east.¹

No attempt will be made in these pages to lift the veil which has shrouded events in Finland during the greater part of the war. Nor is it profitable to attempt any detailed mapping-out of the future. In times of uncertainty, judgment must be based on,

¹ The feeling of neutrality was strengthened by the fact that the Finns do not serve in the Russian army. The application of the Russian system to Finland was several times mooted, but has never been carried out, chiefly from a fear of the possible consequences. Finns are fighting both in the Russian and German armies as volunteers.

and action guided by, broad principle. Broadly speaking, the future of Finland depends on whether the rights of the smaller nations are or are not going to be respected. In the event of a victory for the Central Powers, those rights would be trampled under foot as ruthlessly as were the rights of Belgium. The only hope of the smaller nations rests in an Allied victory. But even in the event of an Allied victory, there are certain small nations which may be pardoned if they view the future with considerable anxiety. Of these the Finns are one.

The future of their country depends on what happens in Russia, on whether liberal or bureaucratic tendencies prevail there. The Finnish patriot inevitably asks himself, "Is there any prospect of Russia becoming more liberal as a result of the war?" Let us glance at the nature of the prospect.

Among the forces making for liberalism are these. The war is taking the Russian peasant out of his narrow village life and showing him his own country and other countries. His mind is expanding, he is asking questions he has never asked before. He is comparing the conditions of life in Russia with the conditions of life in other lands. It was men who had fought in the Napoleonic wars who sowed the seeds of liberalism which were to result in the emancipation of the Serfs fifty years later, and no less a revolution may result from the impregnating of the Russian mind to-day with ideas current in Western Europe. The close association of Russia with France and Britain strengthens the same tendency. The Russian may not be easily coerced, but he can easily be won if his heart and imagination are touched. It was a British Prime Minister who won

Russian confidence by his gallant words at a critical time—"La Douma est morte. Vive la Douma!" A similar spirit in France and Britain may achieve similar results to-day. Russia has no desire to appear illiberal in the eyes of her Allies.

The war has advanced the cause of progress in other ways also. The prohibition of the sale of Vodka has been accompanied by a great increase of prosperity and of self-respect. The savings of peasants have increased by leaps and bounds, and therewith the feeling that they have a stake in the country. By cutting off supplies from the outer world, the war has given a tremendous stimulus to industry and to industrial organisation. This, as in other countries, is accompanied by a greater feeling of independence among the working classes. The political sense of the people has been developed by having to face great issues, and the power of organisation has been increased by the war-work which, in spite of the jealousy of the central government, has had to be entrusted to the Zemstvos. The army can no longer be officered exclusively by the aristocracy, and new men who have come to the front and tasted responsibility will not be denied their right to a share in the life of the nation after the war.

Last among the forces making for liberalism is the fact that Russia is fighting Germany. The conflict is not merely the external one that is being fought out on the plains of Central Europe—it is also an internal conflict, which is being fought out in Russia itself. This is easily realised by anyone who is able to estimate at their true value the many changes in the Government machine during the war, the many swingings of the pendulum towards and

away from the Central Powers. It is not always realised how deeply Germany has set her seal on Russian life, nor how much the ordinary Russian resents it, and wishes to emancipate himself from it, nor how difficult it is for him to do so. Prussia and Russia have been linked by many ties. The two aristocracies spring largely from the same barren countryside on the fringe of the Baltic, and have been inspired by similar ideas. Since the partition of Poland, they have had a common interest in retaining the stolen property. The Kaiser has been a bitter foe of the Russian Duma, and has encouraged every attempt to suppress it, realising that the establishment of Constitutional Government in Russia would imperil his own position at Berlin. Russia has always resented these German influences which have strangled her own attempts at self-expansion, but she has never been able to throw them off. There can be no doubt that if, as a result of the war, she succeeds in doing so, a great obstacle to progress will have been removed.

The signs are propitious. Sickened by the intrigues of pro-Germans in high places, whose policy threatened to disgrace Russia and to drag her into a dishonourable and feeble peace, the people, with instincts nobler than their rulers, have in these days taken the matter into their own hands. What the outcome of the March revolution may be, whether it will be guided throughout by the wisdom which has marked its early stages, it is impossible to say. We welcome its dawn, and our hearts respond to this spontaneous outburst of a great nation's indignation and hope. We know equally well that the path to be travelled cannot be an easy one. Rus-

sia was not born for easy victories. The task of readjustment is a gigantic one. It may be decades before the great problems of home and of imperial reform are worked out to a conclusion.

Meanwhile, as regards that particular portion of the Russian Empire with which this book is concerned, it is clear that if the principles for which the Allies claim to be fighting are to be carried out, Finland must receive other treatment than she was receiving before the war. It by no means follows, however, as some Finns seem still to imagine, that the clock can be put back 20 years, and all be as in the days before the russianisation policy was ever started. The Finnish problem must be considered henceforward as part of the general Russian imperial problem. This problem, in its vastness and complexity, is comparable only to the imperial problem which will confront the British Empire at the close of the war, and cannot be discussed here.¹

It must suffice to say that the Finns will have to abandon the too rigid nationalism into which they drifted, partly through a little people's fear of absorption, and partly through Russian aggressiveness, and learn to think of themselves as part of a great whole. It would be folly to predict a golden path for Finland, and the period of readjustment cannot be viewed without anxiety. But the path of exclusiveness will not be the path of safety. That lies, rather in a closer understanding with the men who stand for progress in Russia, and who have over and over again had the courage to stand up for Finland in the past.

¹ Some reflections on this problem as it affects Finland may be found in an article by the author published in the *Political Quarterly* for April, 1915.

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