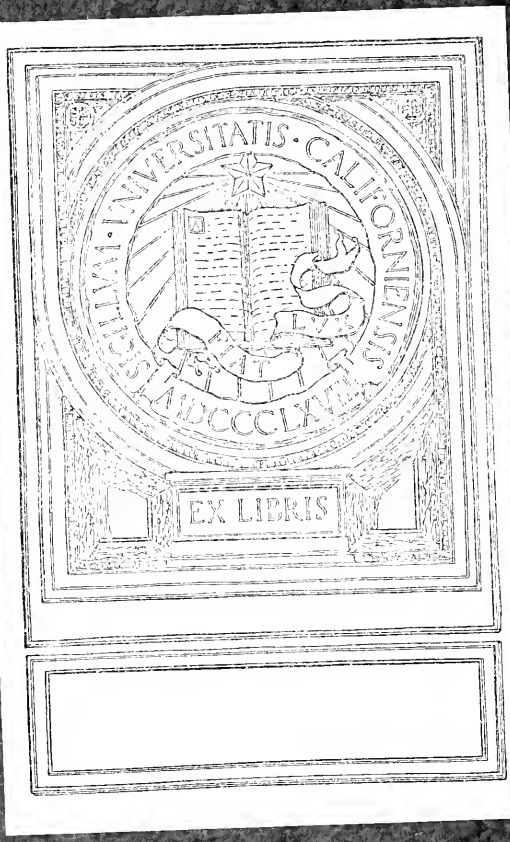
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FINLAND

ITS COUNTRY AND PEOPLE,

A SHORT SURVEY.

HELSINGFORS 1919

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HELSINGFORS 1919
THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING-OFFICE
2001—19

I have collected and put together the short essays by various specialists here published, in order to produce a small book for a foreign public, giving an account of the main features of Finland, its past and present state, and of the needs of its situation. The book is short, and does not even try to be consecutive, and can therefore not satisfy the reader who desires to know something more of the youthful state of Finland, and its people. Its purpose is only to be a first guide for those who are unacquainted with the circumstances. The following gentlemen have written articles, or otherwise assisted in the production of this book; — E. J. Ahla, K. R. Brotherus, B. C. Carlson, A. Grotenfelt, K. Grotenfelt, J. Granö, T. Hartman, K. Hilden, P. J. Hynninen and Y. O. Ruuth.

Kaarlo Blomstedt.

Helsingfors, April, 1919.

Geographical Introduction.

Finland is situated in the northernmost part of Europe, in the eastern area of so-called Fenno-Scandia, roughly speaking between the north latitudes of 60° and 70° and the longtitudes 21° and 33° east of Greenwich. The superficial area is 377,426 square kilometres. There are natural geographical boundaries on the south and west, where it is washed by Lake Ladoga, the Gulf of Finland, the Baltic, the Åland Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia. The frontier against Sweden, fixed at the Peace Conference at Fredrikshamn on Sept. 17:th, 1809, follows the course of the river Torneå and its tributaries Muonio and Konkämaeno. The frontier against Norway, fixed partly at Strömstad on Oct. 2:nd, 1751, and partly in St. Petersburgh on May 14:th, 1826, follows for some distance the course of the river Teno. The whole long eastern frontier, the Russian part of which was fixed at Stolbova on Feb. 27:th, 1617, is on the other hand quite unnatural, both geographically and ethnographically, winding through great forests across an area where Finnish is spoken. The south-eastern frontier on the Carelian Isthmus, between Lake Ladoga and the Gulf of Finland, was settled on Oct. 9:th, 1816.

There are no high mountains in Finland, nor any extensive plains. The whole variation of elevation is very small, but regarded in detail, the surface is almost everywhere very uneven. If we take an elevation of 200 metres to be the mean between high and low land, we can say that the greater part of Finland is low-lying, though hilly. In the north and east only are there any considerable heights, but not even there are there snow-covered mountains. The basic rock, which

here as elsewhere in Fenno-Scandia is primitive rock, granite, gneis and crystalline slate, is comparatively seldom visible through the covering of loose earth. Moraine gravel, formed by the diluvian ice, and sometimes finer, sometimes coarser, is widespread. Boulder stone gravel and sand are also common, and originate from the period of the melting of the inland ice-fields. These often appear as ridges of boulder stone, following the direction along which the ice retreated, and add considerably to the unevenness of the surface. Among these ridges we may specially mention the Drumlins of the Great and Little Salpausselkä, which cross the south of Finland in mighty belts. In all the low-lying areas which were covered by the sea at the end of the diluvial period we find the stratified clay of the Arctic Ocean lying on the gravel, and in the low-lying coastal districts, the later so-called field clay also. The largest clayfields are to be found in the Lowlands of Ostrobothnia and in southern Finland, south of the Salpausselkä.

Like most areas that have lain under the diluvial ice, Finland is well watered. The country is often called „The Land of the Thousand Lakes". It could with reason be called the land of a hundred thousand lakes. According to the official statistics, inland water covers an area of 44,286 square kilometres, or nearly 12 % of the whole surface of the country. The lakes cluster chiefly in the centre of Finland, in the so-called lake upland shut off by Salpausseljät. The coastal districts, on the other hand, are rich in rivers, the clay having filled up most of the hollows in the rock, and so made the formation of lakes impossible. Owing to the hilly surface, chains of lakes are very characteristic of Finland, as are also broken and irregular lakes with numerous islands, and indefinite water sheds. The waters of the lake district are divided into three great series, the Vuoksi or Saima chain in the east (water area 60,073 square kilometres), Kymmene or Päijänne (36,717 sq. km.) in the centre, and Kumo or Pyhäjärvi (26,730 sq. km.) in the west. In addition, there is in the north the great water course of

the river Ule (about 23,000 sq. km.) and in the south, on the coast, that of the river Svartå or Lake Lojo. The largest rivers are all in northern Ostrobothnia, where the watershed is far inland, and the most important of them are the Kemi, 478 km. long, the Torneå, 375 km., and Iijoki, 310 km. In southern Finland there is the river Kymmene, short, but very powerful. Rapids are very numerous, although the fall is in most cases not great. The largest rapids in the country, Pyhäkoski in the river Ule, have at the normal height of water, 197,317 horse power. The height of this fall is 57 metres, extending over a length of 20 kilometres. The most famous rapids are those of Imatra, where the river Vuoksi crosses Salpausselkä, but the power is less than that of Pyhäkoski, 141,312 horse power, while the height of the fall is 18 metres, and the length 1,300 metres. There are in Finland altogether, 1,442 rapids with a minimum fall of half a metre, and a minimum force at the normal height of water of 50 horse power. Their total force is calculated to amount to over 2 ½ million horse power.

Notwithstanding the insignificant variations of elevation, Finland can be divided according to the character of the surface into districts which differ considerably in landscape, the coastal district, the middle upland, and the primitive rocky area. The coastal district follows the coasts of the sea and Lake Ladoga in a low-lying belt varying in width between 30 and 140 kilometres. As stated above, large strata of clay have here filled the hollows in the rock, so that the land appears flat. In very few places does the ground rise above a height of 100 metres. In many places the coast is faced by an archipelago, the like of which is not to be found anywhere in the world. The Åbo—Åland archipelago, facing the south west coast is the largest of all. There are bays and sounds, islands and rocks, in infinite variation. Near the coast there are often islands of considerable size, which resemble the mainland in appearance, but the further from the coast one goes, the more characteristic the scenery becomes. The sea shore becomes bleak and rocky, the

trees are lower, and green groves are only to be seen in valleys and sheltered places. The outermost islands on the verge of the open sea are only isolated, bare, smooth rocks, wholly covered by the waves in stormy weather.

The middle upland covers the whole of the centre of Finland, as far as the Russian frontier in the east, and Lake Ule in the north. Its average height is about 100—150 metres above the sea, with a slight inclination to the north. The surface is exceedingly uneven, and rich in lakes. More noticeable here than elsewhere are the hills and ridges of gravel, running from northwest to south-east, which make clearly defined stripes in the landscape. Here and there rocky summits tower above their surroundings. Well known places of interest among these are Koli (336 metres) on the coast of Lake Pielisjärvi, Puijo (234 metres) near Kuopio, Pisanmäki (270 m.) west of Pielisjärvi, and Tiirismaa (223 m.) near Lahti.

The area of primitive rock covers the whole north of Finland. It is the highest land in the country, and the mountains sometimes rise above the tree-line. The land rises gradually towards the north, reaching a height of over 1,000 m. in the furthest north-west. On the frontier of Norway rises the highest summit in Finland, the Halditsrokko, 1,353 m. above the level of the sea. Low compared to this and many other summits are Aavasaksa (222 m.) in the valley of the river Torneå, and Ounasvaara (216 m.), on the river Kemi, both famous tourist centres, whither travellers go at midsummer to see the midnight sun. The Lapland mountains are in general not steep, but rather rounded, so that it is easy and not, as in the Alps, dangerous, to climb to the very top. The most undulating and richest lake districts of this primitive rocky area are in the south, in the beautiful Kuusamo and the neighbourhood of Lake Ule.

Notwithstanding the fact that Finland is situated comparatively far north, the climate is not so cold as that of other countries in the same latitude. This is chiefly due to the mitigating influence of the Gulf Stream, and the south-

west winds. Situated on the one hand on the border of the largest continent in the world, and on the other hand not far from the Atlantic, the climate is intermediate between that of mainland and coast, and more closely approaches the latter. The Gulf of Bothnia and the Gulf of Finland, together with the countless lakes, chief among them Ladoga, are also important climatic factors. The mean temperature is about 5° Cent. (41° fahrenheit), or about 6° Cent. higher than the normal temperature in the same latitude. The coldest month is generally February, the warmest July. The difference in temperature between the coldest and warmest months is generally about 23°— 27° Cent., but in north Lapland and east Carelia it is about 28° and in Åland only 19°. Such severe cold as to freeze quicksilver is rare in the southern parts of the country, but in the north and northeast it occurs almost every winter. The monthly mean temperature in the south can some times rise to 22° Cent. and in the north it can fall to 25° or 27° Cent. below zero.

The yearly rainfall over the whole country averages 530 millimetres, (nearly 21 inches). A considerable portion of the annual rainfall falls as snow. Snow generally falls first in November, and reaches its greatest depth in March. This depth averages about 20 centimetres (about 8 inches) in Åland, about 60 centimetres as a general average, and in some places as much as 80—90 centimetres. In winters when much snow falls, it can reach a depth of 1 ½ metres in the north and east of Finland.

As the altitude and climate of Finland is much the same all over the country, so too the vegetation is fairly homogeneous. The greatest part of the country belongs to the Euro-Asiatic zone of pines. The pine and fir are the commonest trees. In populous areas, where the fir has often been dislodged from its original home, mixed forests are of frequent occurrence. In the south, Finland is connected with the vegetation of central Europe by a narrow zone of oak. In the farthest north there is a small Sub-Alpine zone of birch, and small districts are above the limit of forestation.

Naturally, the richness and character of the flora varies considerably in widely separated districts. The number of species diminishes rapidly towards the north. The numbers of species in the southern districts are 663—795, while the corresponding figures for northern Lapland are 303—427. Åland has the richest vegetation, and there flourish many species wholly wanting on the mainland.

The fauna of Finland is closely allied to that of northern Scandinavia and northern Russia. As the greater part of the country is covered by forest, the most characteristic animals are naturally forest dwellers. There are 44 species of land mammals native to the area, 200 birds, 10 reptiles and batrachians, 70 sea- and freshwater fishes. Many large animals which were formerly very numerous have become rare or died out with the spread of cultivation. The bear was not uncommon even in south-western Finland at the beginning of last century, but has been eagerly hunted, and now remains only in the unhabited regions of Lapland, north Finland and on the Carelian border, and is rare even there. 146 bears were killed altogether in the years 1909—1913. The wolf is seldom seen south-west of a line drawn from Uleåborg to the north-east shore of Lake Ladoga. On the other side of that line it still sometimes does much damage to the herds of reindeer. As lately as 1870—1880 the lynx was so common that it was shot in almost every parish south of the polar circle, but it has now greatly decreased. Only 143 were shot in the years 1909—1913, and it may by now have entirely dis-appeared from south and western Finland. Wild reindeer are probably not now to be found in Finland at all. The elk, on the other hand, had almost died out in the middle of last century, but it is now protected and has considerably increased. There is much fishing, especially for salmon, trout, gwyniad and small herring.

Finland has a very small population in relation to the size of country. According to the statistics of 1915, there are now 3,300,650 inhabitants, or not quite ten persons to each

square kilometre. The most densely populated portion is the province of Nyland, where there are nearly 37 persons to a square kilometre. Generally speaking, the population is concentrated in the coastal districts, where, owing to the fertility of the soil, agriculture is profitable. The density of population decreases towards the north, being rather more than 2 persons to a square kilometre in the province of Uleå, and in many northern parishes less than 1.

Finland is inhabited by two main races, speaking different languages, viz. Finnish and Swedish. The Finns form the majority, or 88 %, and the Swedes about 11 %. The Swedes live on Åland, a considerable part of the south-western archipelago, the coast of Nyland, and part of the Ostrobothnian coast. In many parts the two races are much mixed. From an anthropological standpoint, they differ in that the Swedes have a greater height, longer skulls, etc.. The Finns are divided into two main tribes, the Carelians, who extend far beyond the frontier, and the Tavasts in the west. In the farthest north there live a small number of Lapps (1657 persons in 1910), some of whom have learnt Finnish. There are in addition a certain number of Russians, Germans, Jews and Gipsies, who form however altogether only about ½ % of the total population.

There are now 38 towns in Finland, more than half of which are situated on the sea coasts. Most of them are quite small. Except Helsingfors, the capital, the population of which was 176,521 in the year 1915, there is not one with a population exceeding 100,000. Åbo is the largest, with a population of 54,600, Tammerfors 45,560, Viborg 28,790, Vasa 24,536, and Uleåborg 21,622. 29 towns have a population under 10,000, and in 22 of these it is under 5,000. Only 15 % of the whole population of the country are town-dwellers, — less than in any other European country except Russia.

A Sketch of Finnish History.

The fortunes of the Finnish nation have been settled by its geographical situation as the furthest outpost of western civilisation against the east. The stone, bronze and iron objects that have been found, show that in prehistoric times, two influences from different directions, from the west and from the east, met in Finland. In the first centuries of our era there apparently lived a Scandinavian population on the western coast of Finland, of the same race as the population in Sweden, on the other side of the Gulf of Bothnia. But at some time, probably about A. D. 400—700, the western Finnish race on the eastern coast of the Baltic settled in its present home, the inhabitants of Finland proper and Tavastland came to Finland across the sea from Esthonia and Ösel, and the Carelians spread northwards over the Carelian Isthmus as far as the White Sea. For the most part, the Scandinavian population of western Finland mingled with the new-comers. The Swedish population now living on the southern and western coasts settled here chiefly during the ages of the Vikings and the Crusades.

When the Finns arrived in the Finnish peninsula, they were not at the stage of complete barbarism. In their previous home in the neighbourhood of the Düna — where they are mentioned by Tacitus — the Baltic Finns came in contact first with the Lithuanians and then with the Goths. From these they received important influences, as is shown by the language, in regard to cattle breeding and agriculture, in such matters as dwellings, dress, tools, weapons, and navigation, and in social and religious customs. The country was divided into divisions, where the elders decided common affairs in an *assize-court*, but there was no continuous principality, which could have united the whole nation for a struggle against an external enemy. Even in heathen times there arose on the coasts of Finland commercical centres which were visited by the Baltic merchants, such as „Turku" (i. e. „market place" = Åbo) at the mouth of the river

Aura, „Hämäläisten Satama" (= „the harbour of the inhabitants of Häme", or Tavastland) presumably in western Nyland, and „Björkö" (= „commercial island") in front of the present Viborg.

The Swedes, who were troubled by Viking expeditions undertaken by the Finns, made themselves masters of Finland in three Crusades. The first expedition to Finland proper was made by king Eric IX. and the bishop of Upsala, St. Henry, but it does not seem to have led to any permanent political conquest. The district converted to Christianity was left to take care of itself under the rule of churchmen. The first Finnish bishop, an Englishman named *Thomas* (1220—1245) seems to have contemplated the formation of a kind of ecclesiastical state directly under the rule of the Pope, on the model established by Bishop Albert in Lithuania. The unfortunate result of the Crusade to Ingria in 1240 however, compelled the leading men of Finland to make another application to the Swedish government, and the second Crusade, directed against Tavastland by *Earl Birger* in 1249, finally brought the country under Swedish rule. The Stadholder *Torgils Knutson* of Sweden, by the third Crusade in 1293, extended his dominion to the east of Finland, to Carelia, where he established a fortress at Viborg at the north-east corner of the Gulf of Finland. These war-like operations led to a long struggle between the Swedes and the Russians from Novgorod for the posession of Carelia. The war only ended in 1323 with the Peace of Nöteborg (Schlüsselburg), when the three western districts of Carelia, Savolaks, Jääski and Äyräpää, were declared to belong to Sweden, while the remainder belonged to Russia.

After the conclusion of the Peace of Nöteborg, the judicial system, the system of government, the relations of the estates etc., were gradually assimilated to those of Sweden. In 1362, when *Hakan*, the son of Magnus Erikson, was elected to be joint monarch with his father, the inhabitants of Finland received the full rights of citizenship and the right to take part in the election of the king. The Catholic Church

received the same authority, in temporal affairs as well as in ecclesiastical, as it had in other countries of western Europe. The bishop of Åbo, who was ex officio a member of the council of the kingdom of Sweden, represented Finland in that council, and in the latter part of the Middle Ages the same position was held by a succession of Finnish born men. The most distinguished of these was *Magnus Tavast II.* (bishop 1412—1450), who had received his education at the University of Prague. During his time the judicial system was improved and the colonisation of unoccupied land was developed, in addition to various measures for elevating the dignity of the church, adding to the clerical office, establishing new churches and monasteries, etc.

Meanwhile the domination of the Mongols in Russia had lessened the danger that threatened Finland from that side, but as soon as the Tsar Ivan Vasiljevitsch II. escaped from their domination, the attacks on Finland began again with renewed force. The so-called *Great Russian War* broke out in 1473, and Finland was miserably ravaged until the war came to an end by the Treaty of Novgorod in 1497.

The Reformation took place in Finland in the time of *Gustav Vasa* (1523—1560) and of Bishop Mikael Agricola, the father of Finnish literature. During the same period order was restored in the government, the bailiffs and revenue collectors, who had been guilty of many misdeeds, were placed under stricter control, the commercial power of the Hanseatic League was brought to an end, and the wildernesses in the interior of Finland, most of which had hitherto had no permanent inhabitants, were taken into cultivation and populated. The *Russian War* (1555—1557) which broke out in the latter part of the reign of Gustav Vasa, ended without victory for either side. During the war, on his visit to Finland in 1556, the king established the *Duchy of Finland* for his favourite son Johan, and included in it the western and best cultivated part of the country. This Duchy had no long history however, for after the accession of Erik XIV. (1560) a fratricidal war broke out between

him and Johan, which ended in the taking of the fortress of Åbo and the imprisonment of Johan.

Under Johan III (1568—1592) another *Russian War* broke out, which lasted till the end of the reign, and brought much distress upon Finland. The war however, was not without fame. Pontus de la Gardie took Kexholm and several Esthonian fortresses, and owing to these successes, Johan raised Finland in 1581 to the dignity of a *Grand Duchy*. Peace was only made in 1595, after the death of Johan, when Russia acknowledged the supremacy of Sweden, and it was agreed that the northern frontier of Finland should extend to the Arctic Ocean and the Varanger Fjord.

Sigismund, son of Johan II., against whose Stadtholder the Finnish peasants rebelled in the so-called „club-war" (1596—1597), resigned the crown in favour of his Uncle *Karl IX*. Karl based his authority on the support of the common people, and tried to further their interests. The Finnish peasants called him „The Good King". He realised how important it was for Finland to extend to the Arctic Ocean and the White Sea, but his efforts in this direction were thwarted by the peace made at Knäred in 1613, when Sweden was compelled to resign to Denmark the whole sea coast. On the other hand, Jacob de la Gardie and Evert Horn fought with success in Russia, and during the reign of *Gustav Adolf II.*, Karl's successor, the provinces of Kexholm and Ingria were united to Sweden by the Peace of Stolbova, 1617. This treaty of peace was the most advantageous ever made by Sweden with its eastern neighbour, and was the beginning of the Swedish period of greatness. It was also very important for Finland, for that country was no longer to be the first to be trampled under foot by hostile attacks, and further, because the peace united to Finland a large area which geographically and ethnographically belonged to it. This facilitated the intellectual and material development of the country during the following century. Gustav Adolf organised the commercial system (Regulation of Commerce, 1617), the judicial system (Lower Court of

Appeal established at Åbo, 1623), the method of government, and scholastic matters. A specially noteworthy period was the time when *Per Brahe* was Governor General of Finland, under Queen Christina's regency. The administration was then reformed, ten new towns received their charters, the University of Åbo was established (1640). The Thirty Years War, in which many Finns fought with honour, brought heavy troubles to the country, but also made this nation known to Central Europe for the first time. Especially disastrous to the country and the people was the unprecedented increase of feudalism. large earldoms and baronies were distributed to victorious generals and other nobles, mostly Swedish, and the position of the peasants became more and more intolerable. By the end of Queen Christina's reign two thirds of the land and half the ordinary revenue had been alienated from the state as gifts.

The reduction of the enfeoffments taken up by kings Karl Gustav X. and Karl XI. was consequently even more essential in Finland than it was in Sweden. It is no accidental circumstance that many of those who worked most enthusiastically for the reduction were Finns (Fleming, Wrede.). The seventeenth century is also famous in the history of Finland in the sphere of learning and of elementary education, owing to the activity of the bishops of Åbo, Isak Rothovius, Johannes Gezelius senior and Johannes Gezelius junior. The era of Swedish greatness was however injurious to Finland in a national sense, for many Swedish officials were sent hither, but did not become nationalised as previously, so that the educated class became more and more Swedish, and divorced from the Finnish speaking peasantry. Another Russian war (1658—1658) during the reign of Karl Gustav, was inconclusive.

The reign of *Karl XII.* was disastrous to Finland. When he came to the throne the country was exhausted by severe famines, the so-called years of the *Great Death* (isot kuolovuodet, (1695—1697), and in 1700 the *Great Northern War* broke out. The glorious victories at the beginning of the

war (Narva, 1700, the crossing of the river Düna, etc.) were finally turned into defeat through the obstinacy of the king. The eastern entrenchment of Finland, Viborg, was taken in 1710, and in the end, after the battles of Pelkäne (1713) and Storkyrö (1714), the whole of Finland passed under the rule of Russia, which practised here the greatest cruelty and oppression. In the *Peace of Nystad* (1721) Sweden was compelled to cede to Russia some of the Baltic provinces, Ingria, the province of Kexholm, and even a part of Finland, including the important town of Viborg, a district which had always belonged to Sweden.

This treaty of peace made a deep impression on popular opinion in Finland. The doubt arose whether Sweden would in the future be able to protect Finland from the attacks of the enemy, and keep that country under its rule. This doubt was only strengthened by the next war against Russia, the so-called *War of the Hats*, („haltujen sota", 1741—1743). Another district, as far as the river Kymmene, was detached from Finland, and the Empress Elisabeth issued a proclamation from Moscow, advising the Finns to separate themselves from Sweden, and to form an independent frontier state between Russia and Sweden.

In other respects, the period 1719—1772, the period of the Diet of the Four Estates, saw great progress in the economic life of Finland. The area of the country was parcelled out, canal making was undertaken, the coercive restrictions on commerce were abolished in 1765, largely owing to the efforts of A. Chydenius, but the unfortunate party conditions, and the blind subservience of the Cap party to the Russians, threatened finally to destroy the independence of the whole state.

The reign of *Gustav III.* (1772—1792) also brought many useful measures to Finland. Nevertheless there was dissatisfaction against him, both here and in Sweden, especially among the nobility. An independent Finnish party was formed, under the leadership of Georg Magnus Sprengtporten. During the Russian war of 1788—1790 this party

took action to disseminate its aims, and formed an army among the officers, the so-called „League of Anjala" (Anjalan liitto), This however was soon subdued by the king, as it lacked popular support. On the contrary, the treacherous action of the officers in opening negotiations with the enemy in the middle of the war aroused general disapproval. The war ended with the Peace of Verälä, which did not alter the boundaries of the state. During this period Finnish national life was very deeply influenced by Professor Henrik Gabriel Porthan (died 1804) of Åbo. His scientific and literary publications on philology and the history of Finland awakened the Finnish national spirit of independence, and laid the basis of its future growth.

Gustav Adolf IV. finally sealed the fate of Finland by his obstinate and heedless policy against Napoelon. In February 1808, without any declaration of war, the Tsar Alexander I. allowed the Russian army under Buxhoevden to cross the frontier of Finland. The Finnish army was not without capable officers, (Adlercreutz, Sandels, Döbeln) and the soldiers fought with splendid courage, but the generalship was bad, and the army was disheartened by the mean surrender in May 1809, of Sveaborg, the fortress outside Helsingfors, which had been considered impregnable. The victories at Siikajoki, Revonlahti, Lappo and Alavo were without result, and the defeat of Adlercreutz by Kamenski at Oravais on Sept. 14:th, 1808, decided the war in favour of the Russians. The whole country fell into their hands. By the *Peace of Fredsikshamn* (Sept. 17:th, 1809), Sweden was compelled to cede to Russia the whole of Finland, including Åland, and even a piece of Vestrobothnia, as far as the river Torneå.

Before the treaty of peace however, the Tsar Alexander had already entered into negotiations with the representatives of Finland, and in October 1808 he invited to St. Petersburg a Finnish deputation, whose spokesman was Baron K. Mannerheim. At the request of this deputation, the Diet of Finland was summoned to meet at Borgå in March

1809 and settle the affairs of the country The Tsar had solemnly ratified the former Finnish constitution, and the Diet on its part acknowledged him as Grand-duke of Finland. A governing council of Finns was formed, which a few years later received the name of the Senate (1826), and which had the control of finance, military affairs, etc. A Governor-General was appointed to watch the interests of Russia in Finland. In his speech at the closing of the Diet, Alexander used the well known phrase, — „The Finnish people is henceforth raised to the circle of the nations". Before the Peace of Fredrikshamn therefore, the Finns and Alexander had come to an agreement as to the future political relation of Finland to the Russian state.

In outward appearance, this separation of Finland from Sweden, with which it had been connected for centuries, was brought about by violence, and the Finns had fought bravely to the last against the invading enemy. In reality however, the separation was the result of a gradual evolution. Alexander I. (1809—1825) showed a real desire to preserve the political autonomy he had assured to Finland at Borgå. A central government was set up in Finland. a political secretary was appointed to represent Finnish affairs to the Tsar, and a „committee of Finnish affairs" was formed for his assistance, the first president of which was *Gustav Magnus Armfelt*. A bank was established in 1811 to assist in the control of finance. The parts of Finland that had been acquired by Russia in 1721 and 1743, including the province of Viborg or so-called „old Finland", was on Armfelt's advise, reunited to the rest of the country in the beginning of 1812. The inhabitants of these districts were given the same political rights as those of the rest of Finland, Helsingfors was made the capital of the country in place of Åbo, and in 1819 all government offices were removed thither. In the latter part of Alexander's reign the question of summoning the Diet was twice mooted, but the conservative tendency which the Tsar now showed defeated the aims of the political leaders of the people. This was still more the

case during the reign of *Nicholas I.* The Governor-General, Zakrevski, pursued the policy of restricting the rights assured to Finland, and of Russianising the people. By a statute of 1826 the land in the province of Viborg which had been granted to Russian nobles became their freehold, and the peasants lost their rights of ownership in it. In 1829 a strict censorship was established, and by the end of Nicholas' reign, nothing might be printed in Finnish except works on religion and economics. The government took many measures for the material prosperity of the country. New towns were built, agricultural and trade schools were established, an new division of the provinces took place, the Lower Court of Appeal was established at Viborg. Financial changes took place in 1840, under L. G. von Raartman, Director of Finances, and in the years 1845—1856 the Saima canal was constructed. Notwithstanding the hard times of the latter part of Nicholas' reign, this was a period of great importance for the future of Finland, owing to the spread of the nationalist movement. A. J. Arvidson had laid the basis of this movement in the time of Alexander I., but its real founder was *Johan Vilhelm Snellman*, in the eighteen-forties. It received its strength from the vigorous literary and scientific activities which grew up on the nationalist foundation, among the representatives of which may be mentioned E. Lönnroth, A. M. Castrén, J. L. Runeberg, Fr. Cygnaeus, G. Rein, and Z. Topelius.

The Crimean War, which broke out at the end of Nicholas' reign, had some effect even on Finland, where Sveaborg was bombarded in August, 1855. At first the war aroused some hopes of separating Finland from Russia, and uniting it to Sweden again, but there was little support for this idea. When Alexander II. (1855—1881) ascended the throne, an era of brisk development began. The Finnish Diet was summoned again to Helsingfors, after an interval of over 50 years, and the Tsar himself opened the Diet in September 1863. New ordinances regulating the procedure of the Diet were confirmed in 1869, which instituted perio-

dic meetings of the Diet, the official use of Finnish was ordained by a statute of 1863, Finland received a separate coinage (1865), the redemption of the land alienated was begun, and a national education system was established. This course of development was only interrupted for a short time by the failure of the crops in 1867—1868. The reanimation of political life was manifested in the growth of political parties. A Finnish nationalist party, — the „Fennomans" — was formed under the leadership of Professor *Yrjö Forsman,* afterwards knighted under the name of Yrjö-Koskinen, and this party had a majority in the Diet, and in the Estates of the Clergy and the Peasantry. It was opposed by the Liberal Party, which shortly became more and more a Swedish party, and subsequently even adopted that name. The questions of the official language and the educational system caused violent collisions between these two parties, but this could not prevent the Finnish language from gradually coming more and more into general use, instead of the Swedish that had previously been predominant among educated people, nor hinder the Finnish nationalist elements from acquiring ever greater significance. The Diet of 1877—1878 adopted conscription, and a Finnish army was formed „for the defence of the fatherland and the state".

The violent death of Alexander II. in 1881 caused sincere sorrow in Finland, and it soon became evident how great a loss the country had suffered. The reign of Alexander III. seemed at first to promise a democratic government of Finland. The leaders of the different parties, Yrjö-Koskinen and Leo Mechelin, were called to be members of the Senate, and the intervals between the Diets were shortened from 5 to 3 years. But soon passionate enmity against the Finnish national and liberal institutions arose among the nationalist Russian elements, which took the Russian conservative point of view. The Governor-General of Finland, F. Heiden, allowed himself to be led by the Pan-Russians, and the Tsar yielded to them also. A new criminal law, which had

already received the Tsar's sanction, was countermanded, owing to its supposed separatist tendency (1889), the Finnish Post Office was put under the control of the Russian Department of the Interior, and a special Russo-Finnish committee was appointed in 1891 to codify the constitution of Finland. It is true that all the plans of Russification which were formed were not carried out, but their formation showed that the hopes raised by the accession to the throne of *Nicholas II.* (1894—1917) were doomed to disappointment. C. E. von Daehn, the Secretary of State, who had energetically defended the rights of Finland, was dismissed in 1898, and now began in full force the effort to crush the constitutional form of government which had been confirmed by the Tsar. Lieut. General N. Bobrikov was appointed Governor General of Finland, and undertook the task. By a breach of the law, the Russian Minister of the Interior, V. von Plehve, was made Secretary of State. The conscript army of Finland was abolished in 1901, and finally the Guards corps in 1905. All endeavours to persuade Nicholas to change this policy were in vain. He would not even give an audience to the spokesmen of the Diet, the *Great Deputation* that visited St. Petersburg, nor even the European deputation sent by men of literature and science, and led by the Frenchman Frarieux and the Finno-Swede Nordenskiold. The only form of resistance possible for Finland was *passive resistance*, by which we refused to obey illegal enactments, and by means of which we fortunately managed to prevent conscription to the Russian army, which it had been decided to put into force. The new political situation produced a new division of the parties. Those who believed in unconditional adherence to the legal rights of Finland and resistance to Russification formed the constitutional party, and were joined by those of progressive opinions from the former Finnish and Swedish parties, while the „Old Finnish" party consisted of those who thought it necessary in some measure to submit to coercion, and not to break relations with the Russian government al-

together. Beside these, a Social Demoeratic party on a strict class-war basis was formed during the same period. Bobrikov persecuted ruthlessly all who supported the opposition, and exiled many (Mechelin, Wrede, Castrén, Ahmavaara). Finally, Eugen Schauman shot him on the steps of the Senate in Helsingfors, on June 16:th, 1904, after which he shot himself. When, a few months later, Plehve also was assassinated in St. Petersburg, there followed a slight modification of the policy against Finland. Alarmed by the *Great Strike* which took place in Russia and spread also to Finland, the Tsar accepted the manifesto prepared by the Constitutional Delegation of the Diet in Helsingfors, which contained a promise to restore the rights of Finland, and establish a new electoral system based on general and uniform suffrage. This was carried out, and confirmed by the last Diet of the Estates in 1905—1906. It soon appeared however that the promises of Nicholas II. were not to be relied upon, and the Russian government proceeded to take still more violent measures to destroy the independent constitution of Finland. The constitutional government under Leo Mechelin was removed after the Great Strike. In the summer of 1908 Mechelin and three other members of the Senate were forced to resign. Then the members of the so-called Coalition government formed by E. Hjelt found themselves compelled to resign their places, and during the following year first constitutionalists and then Old Finns also likewise resigned. A number of persons who had been in the Russian service and were total strangers to the conditions of Finland, were appointed to the places of Senators. In June 1910 the Russian government proposed a law, and passed it in the Russian Duma, enacting that the Duma should have the power of passing legislation on any matters concerning Finland. The Finns were therefore ordered to elect four members to the Russian Duma and two to the Council of the Imperial Senate! Several „laws" were passed in this way, requiring a sum of money to be paid to the Russian revenue for military purposes, granting Russians equal

rights with Finns in Finland, and regarding the trial of Finnish officals in the Russian courts of law for their opposition to Russification. In accordance with the last mentioned act a large number of the ablest Finnish officials were removed to Russia and sentenced to long terms in the prisons of St. Petersburg. All efforts by the Diet to avert these measures were in vain, and only caused its repeated dissolution. At the beginning of this new period of Russification, Lieut. General F. Seyn had been appointed Governor-General of Finland in 1909, and had undertaken to continue in the spirit of Bobrikov.

This was the state of things when the great European war broke out in August 1914, but the war brought no relief to the oppressed condition of Finland. On the contrary, it seemed to have urged on the Russians to still more active measures. The government declared its intention of not summoning the Diet at all during the war, prescribed certain taxes on its own account, and published a complete programme of Russification. Moreover, the war naturally had serious effects on the economic life of Finland, and made difficult the supply of many important articles of food. Under these conditions, feeling in Finland was of course wholly against Russia, and Finns believed that their only hope lay in the defeat of that country. Many young men, both from the educated classes and from the peasantry, went to Germany and obtained military training there, and formed a corps to fight against Russia. For this reason the government applied more and more severe measures, including imprisonment, exile to Russia, and execution. Others too who had opposed Russification were punished, including the ex-president of the Diet, P. E. Svinhufvud, a barrister at law, who was illegally dismissed from office and carried as a prisoner to Siberia.

The Russian revolution of March 1917 brought a change in these conditions. The new interim government of Russia at once acknowledged the *political autonomy* of Finland, and put an end to the system of oppression. The Diet was

summoned, and the Social Democrats obtained a small majority (103 members out of 200), but after the passing of the so-called „law of supremacy" (maktlagen) by which the Diet assumed the exercise of the supreme power, the Diet was dissolved, and a general election was held. In the new Diet the number of the Social Democrats was decreased to 92, the Old Finnish party obtained 33 seats, the Young Finns 24, a new party called the „Maalais" party, formed to further the interests of the agriculturalists, especially the poorer among them, obtained 26, the Swedish party 21, and the so-called Popular party 4. The situation became more and more tangled and disturbed, and the Bolshevist agitation, which had spread from Russia, influenced it greatly. A coalition government of Socialists and non-socialists, which had been formed after the revolution, was dissolved. Violent riots with much bloodshed took place in many parts of the country, and bodies of Red Guards were established with the support of the Russians in Finland. The most recent experiences had however strengthened the conviction that only complete separation of Finland from Russia could ensure security for the future. When the new Diet assembled on November 1:st, a government was formed under the leadership of *P. E. Svinhufvud*, which declared the neutrality of Finland in the world-war. On December 6:th the Diet proclaimed Finland a sovereign state. In the beginning of the following January, 1918, the independence of Finland was acknowledged by Russia, France, Germany and the Scandinavian countries. When however, the government took certain measures for the maintenance of internal order, which had been seriously disturbed, there was a passionate outburst of indignation among the Social Democrats. At the end of January the radical elements in that party seized the power, and brought about a violent revolution and civil war, which is more fully described in another chapter.

When the Diet was able to assemble again after the quelling of the Red insurrection, only two members of the

Social Democratic party remained, as all the others either were in prison or had fled the country, owing to their participation in the insurrection. A number of important and urgent laws were passed, dealing with tenant rights, roads, means of communication, food, and a law establishing special courts for trying cases of high treason. These courts were required for the trial of about 80,000 prisoners charged with participation in the insurrection. Difficulties had become apparent in the exercise of the supreme power by the Diet, and it was therefore decided on May 18:th, to entrust this power to P. E. Svinhufvud as Regent. The new constitution was not passed however, as agreement as to its form could not be obtained. Finally the government was instructed to take the preliminary measures for the election of a king. During the summer, in August, peace conferences between Finland and Russia were held in Berlin, with Germany as intermediary, but no final result was reached. The Diet reassembled in the autumn, on October 9:th decided by 64 votes against 41 to carry out the election of a king, and then unanimously chose *Prince Friedrich Karl of Hesse* to be King of Finland.

But the change in the course of the war which took place at this time, the victory passing from Germany to the side of the Entente, had brought about quite a different political situation. Prince Friedrich Karl replied to the invitation with thanks, but asked to be allowed to defer his final answer, owing to the changing circumstances, and on December 14:th he refused the crown offered to him. At the same time, the German troops which had come to Finland during the War of Independence left the country, the Senate, which had conducted the government, retired, and a new Cabinet, under L. Ingman, took its place. The Regent Svinhufvud, also resigned his position, and on December 12:th, 1918, the Diet elected in his stead the General who had become famous in the War of Independence, Baron *Gustav Mannerheim*. The Diet continued its legislative activity, passing a new Military Service Act, and amendments

to the radical Local Government Act which had been passed by the Socialists when they had the majority. The food situation in Finland had become more and more threatening during this year. It was finally relieved however by an agreement with the Entente as to the importation of food stuffs. Further great upheavals had again brought changes in the political parties. When, in December, the Young Finnish party decided to make the establishment of a republic a part of its programme, a large number of its former supporters joined the Old Finns and formed the National Coalition party, on a moderately progressive basis. The Young Finns took the name of the National Progressive party and adopted a programme of republicanism and more radical reform. Another general election was held on March 1:st, 1919, after which the state of parties in the Diet was Social Democrats 80, Agricultural party 42, Coalition 28, Progressive party 26, Swedish party 22, and Christian Labour party 2. The numbers of the Social Democrats had thus further diminished by 12, and the non-socialists, when united, formed a decided majority, but the socialists had returned in large numbers, in spite of their many errors, and were still the largest party in the Diet. Most of the seats lost by them had been won by the Agricultural party. The Regent opened the Diet on April 4:th, with a speech in which he reviewed the recent improvement in the position of Finland, an improvement largely due to the fact, which has also been recognised abroad, that Finland had shown itself able to maintain interior order and legal institutions, even under great difficulties. There are however many difficulties still to be overcome, if the responsible work of the Diet is to lead to sure and permanent results.

The War of Independence and the Red Insurrection.

There are two parallel political movements to be noted in Finland, in the period succeeding the Russian revolution. On the one hand there is the desire of the people for complete national independence, and on the other hand there is the attempt of the Social Democrats to carry through a social revolution in a Bolshevist direction.

The Finnish people's desire for freedom from the Russian suzerainty increased under the regime of brutal russification, which was resumed in 1909 after some years of respite with redoubled energy. On the outbreak of the world-war this regime became even more severe, and a decree completely abolishing the Finnish rights of autonomy gained the official sanction of the Tsar. Finns had learned to regard Russian adversity as their gain, and all hoped that that mighty colossus with feet of clay would collapse under the strain of the great struggle, so that the Finnish people might attain the object of its dreams, namely independence. Finland had had no army of its own for fifteen years, and it was feared that liberty could not finally be gained without resort to arms. Bodies of young men therefore went to Germany to obtain there the neccessary military training, Germany being the only power at war with the oppressors of this country.

For a short time the Russian revolution brought relief to Finland's political conditions, but it did not lead to a realisation of the desire for independence. It soon became evident that the Russian democrats had as little regard for the rights of Finland as Tsarism or the Duma. The Russian troops stationed in this country interfered without compunction in its internal affairs, and with the progress of dissolution in Russia, and the consequent deterioration of discipline, this interference became more and more unbearable. In many places the Russian troops committed murder, plunder and crimes of every description.

After the revolution, the interim government in Russia had assumed the authority of the Tsar with regard to Finland as in other respects. When this government was overthrown by the Bolsheviks, in November 1907, Finland was forced to take decisive steps for a separation. On November 15:th the Diet assumed the supreme power in the state. On December 1:st, acting as supreme power, it declared Finland to be an independent state, and the government resolved immediately to take measures to obtain the due recognition of this country's independence. On January 4:th, 1918 the Acting Central Committee in St. Petersburg recognised the severance of the union of Finland with Russia. Immediately afterwards the independence of Finland was recognised by the governments of Sweden, France and Germany. Recognition by several other powers shortly followed.

The joy of having attained this great aim was however considerably reduced by the fact that complete anarchy was at that time reigning in this country. The Finnish Social Democrats were in close relations with the extreme Left of the Russian revolutionaries, and had determined, partly under their influence, to try to guide events in this country in the same direction as they were taking in Russia. When, in the general election of December 1917, the Social Democrats lost their majority in the Diet, and were thus by the will of the people deprived of the possibility of realising their plans in a lawful manner, they decided to adopt extra-parliamentary methods, and to carry through by violence a social revolution in accordance with Bolshevist ideas. Bodies of „Red Guards" were formed all over the country, drilled by Russian instructors and amply supplied with arms and munitions from the immense stores of the Russian army. A general strike was declared in November 1917, during which the Reds committed many violent acts, the Social democrats thus trying to force all the other parties „to their knees". They did not however succeed in this attempt. Meanwhile they proclaimed the continuance of the revolution, and owing to their bands of hooligans, a com-

plete state of lawlessness prevailed. The peaceful population was terrorised in every way, robbery and pillage were rife, criminals were released from prison, officials were dismissed from office and imprisoned, the government offices were occupied by the Reds, and punitive expeditions were undertaken against those who offered resistance to the plundering hordes. In country places no police existed; in the towns the militia were quite unreliable, and sided with the Social Democrats and the barbaric Russian soldiers. These cooperated with the Reds in every way, and threatened to frustrate every attempt to form a police force for the protection of private and public welfare. When Finland had declared itself an independent and neutral state, and the government demanded that the Russian troops should leave the country, the Social Democrats, by a party resolution, urged these foreign soldiers to remain, in order to defend the rights of the proletariate.

The situation was forced to a climax at the beginning of 1918. The government on January 12:th, 1918, obtained from the Diet full authority to take all measures necessary for the restoration of order. Civil voluntary militia troops had been formed all over the country in the course of the autumn, but in spite of their enthusiasm, these were unable to defend the country against anarchy, owing to their lack of arms. They were however of the greatest importance when all the well-disposed elements were summoned to help in the liberation of the country and the maintenance of order. In Ostrobothnia a regular training school for reliable militia troops had secretly been formed by order of the government. A committee of Finnish ex-officers was appointed, to superintend the initial measures of the struggle for liberty, and in the middle of January they left for Vasa in order to begin their task. The government secured General Mannerheim as leader of the whole enterprise, and gave him extraordinary powers for the purpose.

The resolution of the government to put an end to the „Red Terror" was regarded by the Social Democrats as a

formal declaration of war. The Party Executive published a proclamation in which all the „forces of the proletariate" were summoned to fight against the government, which was described as intending to strike a death-blow at the working class, by means of its „army of butchers". Energetic arrangements were made for the defence of anarchy. The Red hordes constantly received consignments of arms from St. Petersburg, and trains of Russian auxiliary troops were sent to different parts of the country. Thus the Social Democrats prepared to let loose the terrors of war.

On January 26:th the Helsingfors committee of the Social Democratic party nominated an Acting Committee, which was granted „the elementary rights of revolution". This committee was to be the supreme organ of the revolution, and the workers and Red Guards were to render it unconditional obedience. Some of the Social Democratic groups showed a certain hesitation as to the dangerous game which was being played, but the more radical elements, who had long been influenced by the agitation of the socialist press, were stronger in debate, and gradually the more moderate elements were also drawn into the general whirlpool. The beginning of the revolution was announced on the night of January 27:th by firing from the People's House in Helsingfors. The next day proclamations declared that the revolutionary committee had assumed the supreme power in the country, which was declared to be in a revolutionary state of war. The „revolutionary Government of Finland", a kind of commissariate of the people on the Russian model, was afterwards appointed at mass meetings in Helsingfors. The direction of this government was placed in the hands of a hydra-headed „general council of workmen", and K. Manner was placed at its head.

Supported by the Red Guards, amply supplied with Russian weapons, and with Russian soldiers stationed throughout the country, the insurrectionary government then began to realise its programme, namely to set up a „dictatorship of the proletariate", — in a country with

universal suffrage, and the most democratic constitution in the world. The other parties had hardly begun their preparations, and no resistance could be thought of in the districts where the Red forces were concentrated. At the last moment, a few members of the legal government succeeded in reaching Vasa, where the leaders of „White Finland" gathered, and counter measures were taken. The remaining members of the government, including its head, Svinhufvud, were proclaimed outlaws by the insurrectionaries, and forced to hide in the capital. The nonsocialist members of the Diet were hunted, and when found, imprisoned; two of them, who fell into hands of the Reds, were murdered. All the government offices and institutions were occupied by the Reds, who nominated special commissaries to them. The Reds forcibly entered the vaults of the Bank of Finland, and seized all the money there.

The insurrectionaries could not however extend their sway over the whole country. In the north, the loyal elements prepared to defend its freedom and independence. It was decided first to secure Ostrobothnia, and the railway connecting it with Savolax and Carelia. North of that line were to be placed the troops, the so-called „White army", which was to conquer the Red terror and drive out the Bolshevist hordes. When the insurrection broke out, the leaders of the White army began their task, with the voluntary militia formed in Ostrobothnia. The parishes round Vasa formed the starting point. The Red troops in those parts were soon disarmed and taken prisoners. Vasa and Nykarleby were occupied by the White troops on January 28:th. Gamlakarleby was taken the next day, Christinestad on January 31:st, and Brahestad on February 1:st. Uleåborg fell on February 4:th, after stubborn resistance, and Torneå was liberated on February 6:th. The whole of Ostrobothnia was now in the hands of the Whites. More than 5,000 prisoners and great quantities of arms and ammunition had been taken. Vilpula station was occupied in order to secure the strategically important Haapamäki — Jyväs-

kylä railway, which by a curious coincidence had been finished a few days previously. At the same time, the war was begun in Carelia, which was also quickly cleared as far as the neighbourhood of Viborg. The resistance of the Reds and the Russians was likewise broken in Savolax. Kuopio was taken on February 11:th. The Reds defended themselves for a long time at Varkaus, but finally it too fell on February 20:th.

Thus within a very short time the whole of north and middle Finland came into the hands of the valiant volunteers. The front extended from Sastmola on the Gulf of Bothnia to the shores of Lake Ladoga on the Carelian Isthmus. It was no easy task for the volunteers to hold their ground against the great and growing army of the Reds and the Russians while the White army was being organised, but this was achieved, thanks to incomparable self-sacrifice, courage and presence of mind.

While the Red leaders called more and more troops under arms, received fresh Russian reinforcements, and prepared their army for the final struggle, the Red government did all in its power to strengthen its position in the south of Finland and to establish the Bolshevist ideal state. A great many revolutionary laws were passed, and revolutionary courts of law were established, which embarked upon a series of condemnations. An agreement was made with Russia, which was to have a lasting effect on the inner life of the „socialist republic of Finland". The manufucture of false bank notes was started and energetically carried on, every kind of desperate measure was taken to alleviate the food difficulties, which grew day by day, and attempts were also made to inspire the foreign socialist parties with confidence in the order of things in Red Finland. Meanwhile difficulties gathered over the insurrectionaries. The wheels of the administrative machine stopped completely, as the officials unanimously refused to serve the Red regime, and there were no competent persons to put in their places. As the technical and economic leaders of industry refused to work,

all production came to an end, and as the banks were closed, a lack of money was soon felt which not even the forging of notes could supply.

The Red Guards formed the chief support of the insurrectionary government. These troops were originally recruited from the worst elements in society, undisciplined workmen from the fortifications, and released prisoners, and they soon understood that they were indispensable and usurped one privilege after another. A number of less dangerous persons were compulsorilly enrolled in the Red ranks, but the moral standard remained very low, and through the influence of newspapers and professional agitators the troops were kept constantly in a state of wild excitement and mad class hatred. From the very beginning of the insurrection the Red battalions wielded complete terror, and as time went on and they were defeated on the fronts, they became more and more embittered. The terrible instincts of the wild beast got the upper hand among these hypnotised masses, and whenever opportunity offered, their murderous instincts broke out in the celebration of orgies which, in their outrageous bestiality, are unmatched in the history of insurrection. The number of peaceful citizens killed by the Reds has not been exactly stated, but according to a cautious calculation it amounts to about 4,000.

The work of organisation went on in White Finland with ardent zeal, but under immense difficulties. At first the situation appeared to be almost desperate, owing to lack of arms. An urgent application was made to Sweden for help in this respect, but without result. At last, during the latter half of February, a large consignment of munitions arrived from Germany. At the same time, the Finnish „Jaegers", trained in Germany, returned home, and immediately joined the White army as instructors and group leaders. Many volunteers came from Sweden to aid Finland in its hour of destiny. As the work of arming and drilling the White army proceeded however, it became clear that to save Finland with the forces at the disposal of the

military leaders would take too much time and cost too many sacrifices. The whole south of Finland was suffering under the Red terror, and would be totally laid waste before the White army could force its way thither. Moreover, there was no certainty whatever that in the absence of naval forces, the Finnish volunteers would be able to drive off the Russian fleet which was lying off Helsingfors. The crew of this fleet were Bolshevists, and entirely on the side of the Reds. An appeal for assistance was therefore sent to Germany, the only power which under the existing circumstances, and after the refusal of Sweden, was in a position to render effective help. This cry of extreme distress was not without effect. A treaty of peace was made between Finland and Germany on March 7:th, and the German military authorities then began operations. Their first measure was to occupy Åland.

By the middle of March the White army was ready for service. It first marched on Tammerfors, where the Russian and the Red army had gathered considerable forces. In order to turn the flank of the Red position before Vilppula, Mannerheim sent forward his troops from Virdois on the one side and from Jämsä on the other, while the troops on the Satakunta front approached the Björneborg railway, and held the enemy there. This extensive operation was a complete success. The enemy was driven back with considerable loss, and forced to surrender the line between Teisko and Orivesi. Tammerfors was surrounded between March 21:st and 26:th. The strong positions at Kangasala were also taken at the same time. A general bombardment of the Red positions round Tammerfors began on March 30:th, and the final attack on the night of April 3:rd. The defence was strong, and the severe fighting resulted in many casualties. By April 5th the town was completely taken. Much booty was taken, including 10.000 prisoners, 30 cannon, 80 machine guns, several thousand rifles, a large quantity of ammunition, 26 locomotives and several hundred railway carriages. The moral effect of this great victory influenced the whole course of the war.

Simultaneously, the Germans began their offensive from the south. The first contingent of German troops had reached Hangö by April 3:rd, when the Russians and the Reds fled hurriedly. The German troops then marched on Helsinfors, whence the insurrectionary government, with its offices and stores, was hastily removed to Viborg. On April 12:th German troops entered the capital of Finland, which was then liberated from the Red terror, by the help of the voluntary militia which had secretly been formed, and of a German naval detachment which arrived from Reval on the 13:th. The whole of western Finland was then surrendered without further resistance. The Red hordes fled from Åbo on the 12:th and from Björneborg on the 13:th, and this area was cleared by the volunteers with comparative ease. From Helsingfors, the German troops proceeded northwards along the railway line; on April 21:st they took the important railway junction of Riihimäki, and on the 26:th they occupied Tavastehus.

At the same time, the Finnish western army drove back the Red forces from the district south of Tammerfors, took the line between Urdiala—Kylmäkoski—Toijala, and forced the enemy to retreat towards Lahtis. April also saw the beginning of decisive operations on the easternmost section of the front. On the 4:th and 5:th of this month the Russian forces at Rautus, on the Russian frontier, were attacked by the Carelians, and almost completely annihilated by them. On the 25:th the Red forces had to abandon their front between Joutseno and Kavantsaari, which they had defended long and obstinately, and with great loss. This facilitated the surrounding of Viborg. Viborg, the last great stronghold of the Reds, fell on April 28:th, after very severe fighting by various sections of the White army. The Red government had left the town before it was completely surrounded, removing their stolen millions and their stores, and had fled to St. Petersburg, but nevertheless the spoil was immense. 12,000 prisoners also fell into the hands of the victors. The Red hordes gathered near Lahtis — 20,000

men — were forced by the German troops to capitulate on May 2:nd. Next day Kouvola and Kotka were taken, and Fredrikshamn fell on May 4:th. Finally the strong positions of Ino were surrendered by the Russians on May 15:th. On the 26:th, General Mannerheim, with a portion of the victorious voluntary army, made a solemn entry into Helsingfors.

The War of Independence was now at an end, and the separation of this country from Russia was sealed with blood. The insurrection had been begun on the direct initiative of the Russian Bolshevist government, which, through its chief, Lenin, had openly declared that Finland would thus be united to Russia by closer ties than ever. The organisation, equipment and leadership of the Red army was in the hands of Russian officers, and the Minister of War and General Staff of the Russian Commissariate had directed the war, and sent Russian auxiliary troops and supplies of munitions for the support of the Reds. The plan was not merely to unite Finland with Soviet Russia, but to use this country as a base for the spread of Bolshevism to western Europe.

The insurrection entailed disastrous consequences for the Finnish Social Democrats. By the end of the War of Independence, about 80,000 members of the party were interned in prison camps. Large numbers of Red Guards had either fallen at the fronts, or been court martialled and shot for murder or robbery with violence, during the clearing of the country. Moreover, the Social Democratic leaders had been obliged to flee to Russia, or, being branded as traitors, could only look forward to very long terms of imprisonment.

The Finnish people as a whole had however passed with honour through their very severe trial, had secured their national independence, and manifested their firm resolve to repress any attempt to make their country the scene of Bolshevist revolutionary experiments.

The Trial of the Insurrectionaries.

After the quelling of the insurrection the most important matter was the care and trial of the immense number of prisoners, which amounted to nearly 80,000.

During the War of Independence, a special court for the trial of criminals had been instituted at the head-quarters of General Mannerheim, the government's Commander-in-Chief.

When the country had been cleared of insurrectionaries, this court was transferred to the capital, and undertook the trial of the prisoners who had been taken all over the country during the insurrection. Subordinate local courts were formed under this central court, the presidents of which superintended the proceedings in every place where there was a prison camp. Each local president was assisted by several barristers, who examined the prisoners in the camps in the presence of witnesses, and drew up the indictments. A written statement was procured about every prisoner from the police authorities and the chief of the voluntary militia in his native district. The relations of the prisoners were also allowed to submit certificates in their defence, issued by their former employers or other reliable persons. The duty of the central court was to collect and arrange all the written evidence available with regard to the insurrectionaries, from such sources as the documents of the insurrectionary government, the roll of the Red Guards, the wage-sheets, lists of clothing, provisions, etc, and especially the correspondence between the Russian Soldiers' Councils in Finland and the leaders of the insurrectionaries. (It is from these documents that it was possible to prove that the Russian authorities, and the commanders of the Russian soldiers then stationed in Finland were concerned in the insurrection). The evidence thus collected was sent from the central court to the respective local presidents, in whose offices all the evidence and documents concerning each individual

accused were arranged, so as to form a dossier of indictment, and in due course submitted to the prosecutor of the court.

After these preliminary hearings, the local presidents had the right to decide, from the statement made by the judge, whether the prisoner was to be released or to remain in prison. About 10 % of all the prisoners tried by these local courts were released after the preliminary hearing, as being not guilty, and not dangerous. These persons were not called before the courts again unless strong fresh evidence was submitted.

These preliminary hearings, conducted by several hundreds of lawyers, were mostly finished in the course of June, 1918, and then the trial of the insurrectionaries before the courts of law could begin.

On August 6:th, 1918, the courts, which had hitherto been subordinate to the Ministry of War, were placed under the Chief Chancellor of Justice.

Owing to the immense number of prisoners, it was impossible within a reasonable time to try them by the ordinary courts of law, in accordance with the ordinary procedure. A special Act had therefore to be passed, instituting „special courts of law for the hearing of certain cases of high treason", and this act was ratified on May 29:th, 1918. Its first paragraph ordains „Punishable acts including implication in the Insurrection of 1918 against the lawful social order in Finland or connected with the Insurrection, whether the criminal have committed the crime himself, be its instigator, or otherwise a participator in the crime, shall be heard and tried at courts of law specially instituted for the purpose, and called courts of law for cases of high treason".

The court of high treason was divided into four subcourts, each with a president and four members, who were to be honourable and trusty men. The president and one of the members was to have judicial experience and legal training, and at least one of the members was to be an officer. According to the Act, as in the fundamental law with regard

to the appointment of judges, the appointment of the president and the members of the courts lay with the High Court of Justice. The departments numbered in all 140, and were placed in different parts of the country.

Prosecutors for each court of high treason were appointed by the Chancellor of Justice, from among the public prosecutors.

The Act also decreed that a special *high court of high treason*, which also could be divided into several departments, should be set up in order to revise the verdicts of the subcourts in special cases, for the final hearing of petitions for pardon on the part of the condemned, to decide the number of departments under the subcourts, and to fix the mode of procedure. This high court of high treason was divided into eight departments.

For each department of the high court there was a president and six members, of which the president and three members were to have judicial experience and legal training, and two members were to be officers. One member was to be a layman. The members of the high court of high treason were nominated by the High Court of Justice of the country.

The Act declared that it was a patriotic duty to act as president or member of the said courts.

The same Act also declared that the procedure of these courts was to be regulated in the same way as in cases under the criminal law, except where the Act otherwise decreed. The deviations from the usual procedure were provisions that the proceedings were to be carried on without circumlocution, that the court had the right of decision as to certificates and attestations, and that there was no appeal against the sentence of the court. It was decreed however that „on the demand of at least two members of the court.....the decision shall be submitted to the high court of high treason, for final decision of questions as to the application of the law to the crime in question, fixing the extent of the punishment, and for other questions of law. Questions of evidence which have

been decided by the said courts shall not be submitted to further trial".

Persons sentenced by the courts of high treason on the other hand, were granted the right of appealing for pardon to the high court of high treason, and this right was exercised by all those who were unconditionally sentenced.

The courts of high treason applied in their sentences the ordinary penalties of the general penal law of 1889. They described the criminals in some cases as guilty of high treason, and in others as guilty of treason. A large number of the criminals were also guilty of murder, robbery with violence, blackmail, house-breaking and other grave crimes.

The legal trial of the insurrectionaries was facilitated by the fact that the courts were allowed to pronounce sentences of conditional punishment. A conditional sentence based on the general law in force and in accord with the penalties laid down in the penal law would only have been applicable in a very small number of cases. The Diet therefore passed a special Act which made possible the conditional punishment of the insurrectionaries, by extending the penalties to which conditional sentences could be applied from one year's imprisonment, as laid down by the general law, to three years' penal servitude.

The efficient arrangement of the courts and procedure made it possible to try tens of thousands of rebels within a few months. The first departments of the courts of high treason began their work at the beginning of July, 1918. By the beginning of November, the greater number of the insurrectionaries, about 66,000, had received their sentence. Since then, only a few of the high- and subcourts have been at work. By the end of 1918 there was only a small number of insurrectionaries who had not been tried. For this reason, as an amnesty was granted on December 7:th, 1918, and because new charges were only brought against insurrectionaries in a few exceptional cases, the Diet decreed in March of the present year that the courts of high treason were to be abolished.

According to the statistical estimates available, the courts of high treason tried the following numbers of cases up to January 1:st, 1919; —

Sentenced to death	379	persons.
„ „ unconditional imprisonment	25,415	„
„ „ conditional punishment	37,886	„
Acquitted	6,814	„

Over 27,000 of the above, including all those sentenced by the subcourts to death or to unconditional imprisonment, made appeals to the high court of high treason or submitted petitions for pardon.

The high court confirmed the sentences of the subcourts in 245 of the cases which were submitted to it, in the form either of appeals or of petitions for pardon, i. e. in all cases in which the accused was proved to have been guilty of or accessory to murder in addition to other criminal acts.

Only 125 death sentences have been carried into effect. Executions were suspended in the beginning of November, 1918, and an amnesty proclaimed on December 7:th decreed that sentences of death should in every case be commuted to imprisonment for life.

Up to the middle of March, 1919, the high court of high treason had in all passed the following sentences; —

to death	245
„ imprisonment for life	621
„ 12—15 years' imprisonment	814
„ 11 „ „	29
„ 10 „ „	1,143
„ 9 „ „	473
„ 8 „ „	2,345
„ 7 „ „	750
„ 6 „ „	3,485
„ 5 „ „	3,975
„ 4 „ „	6,308
„ 3 or less „ „	6,815
Acquitted	88

It should specially be noted that forty of the prisoners sentenced by the high court were members of the Diet, belonging to the Social Democratic party. One of these was sentenced to death for high treason, attempted sedition and instigation to murder. Seven of them were sentenced to life imprisonment for high treason or sedition or both, while the remainder were sentenced to 7—12 years' penal servitude for high treason or as accessories thereto.

According to a special Act passed by the Diet on July 16:th, 1918, which differs from the general law on the subject, the penalties to which prisoners were sentenced by the high court of high treason were to be carried out in the following manner; — a prisoner sentenced to death was to be shot instead of being decapitated; those sentenced to imprisonment could be required to perform compulsory labour in the state workhouses, or to work outside the same for the state, the communes or private employers; those sentenced to three or more years' penal servitude could by governmental decree be sent to serve their term outside Finland, in a country designated by the government and under supervision approved by the government; and prisoners who had served half their term of imprisonmest, with a minimum of one year, or in the case of life sentences, those who had served eight years, could be released while remaining under supervision for the remainder of the term. In cases not covered by the provisions of this act, the sentence was to be carried out in accordance with the general law in force. Prisoners have not however been sent to penal servitude outside this country.

The courts of high treason had not yet finished their task, when the government, by proclaiming an amnesty, hastened to alleviate the fate of the insurrectionaries who had been incited and led astray by unscrupulous leaders, desirous of gaining power. An amnesty proclaimed by the Regent on October 30:th, 1918, decreed that all who had been or should be sentenced by the courts of high treason to terms not exceeding four years' unconditional imprison-

ment, should be conditionally released. This amnesty was shortly extended in another proclamation, issued by the Regent on December 7:th, 1918, „ in order that a larger number of the sentenced should have the opportunity of returning to peaceful work within the community, and because the safety of the state did not require the punishment of those who had not taken a leading part in the insurrection". This second amnesty decreed that all sentences of unconditional imprisonment for terms not exceeding six years should be commuted to conditional imprisonment; death sentences should be commuted to imprisonment for life, imprisonment exceeding six years should be shortened by one-third. It was further decreed that no new prosecutions should be instituted, except in the cases of seditious persons and leaders of the insurrection. The effects of these two amnesties was exceedingly far-reaching.

It need scarcely be remarked that the housing and care of this immense number of prisoners, for whose reception no preparations had been made, entailed almost unsurmountable difficulties. Within a very short time, when the means of communication had not yet been restored after the insurrection, tens of thousands of prisoners had to be housed, and warders and food found for them. All the large barracks, now emptied of the Russian soldiers who had been driven from the country, in so far as they were not needed for the Finnish soldiers, were made into prisons, but they were in an exceedingly bad sanitary condition.

Twelve prison camps were established in the south and west of the country. The largest of these was in Helsingfors, in the fortress of Sveaborg; others were at Tammerfors, Lahtis, Ekenäs and Riihimäki. Each camp contained about 8,000 to 9,000 prisoners. The first reliable estimate of the whole number of prisoners is that of June 27:th, 1918, when they numbered 73,915. In order to diminish their numbers still further, the government decreed on June 28:th that those who had at the preliminary hearings been found to be „less dangerous" should be released *until*

further notice, but be required to appear before the court of high treason when summoned. Meanwhile they are under police supervision, and required to submit to the orders of the authorities as to the work they shall perform. About 15,000 prisoners were released under these conditions. Gradually, as the work of the courts proceeded, all those sentenced to conditional punishment were released. The number of prisoners was thus diminished by about 31,000, and 10,000 more were released by virtue of the two amnesties mentioned above. The total number of prisoners was therefore considerable reduced, and by the beginning of March, 1919, there were only 6,070 prisoners charged with high treason.

The arrangements for the care of the prisoners were at first naturally not quite satisfactory. Food was at first insufficient. In reply to an interpellation about the condition of the prisoners, the Minister of War stated in the Diet on July 5:th, 1918 that the food given to the prisoners in the middle of June contained on an average 1,517 calories per head. By the beginning of July the daily ration had risen to an average of 1,717 calories, and for those who performed work 2,281 calories. In judging the state of the camps at this time, it must be remembered that the utmost scarcity of food prevailed throughout the country. A great part of the population were obliged to eat bark instead of bread, and were insufficiently fed. The government could not even procure sufficient food for the soldiers. Moreover it must be remembered that the scarcity of food was considerably increased by the fact that the insurrectionaries had deliberately destroyed large stores, which were collected at places from which they were forced to retreat. In the autumn, when the new crop came in, the food supply became sufficient.

This insufficiency of food could not but be injurious to the health of the prisoners, especially as they were already illnourished, and had consequently no power to resist disease. All over the country the state of health was bad. Spanish

influenza raged among the civil population, causing numerous deaths. Further, it must not be forgotten that the prisoners had been in intimate contact with the hordes who crossed the frontier from the east, and had introduced into the camps infectious diseases from Russia, which they had caught from their comrades in arms. The consequence was that the prisoners in certain camps were ravaged by infectious diseases such as smallpox and scarlatina. In the prison at Tavastehus, where disease was more rampant than anywhere else, 560 cases of smallpox were registered on July 1:st. Every prison included a hospital with special wards for infectious diseases, and in which also were nursed large numbers of prisoners who had been wounded during the insurrection. The difficulties were considerably aggravated by the scarcity of doctors and nurses.

Educational work among the prisoners was carried on by teachers and clergymen specially appointed for the purpose, who also supplied the prisoners with books.

The care of the insurrectionaries was subordinate to the Ministry of War, and was under the direction of the Prisoners of War Department. On September 15:th, 1918 these duties were transferred to the convict Prison Board, when the supreme authority became the Ministry of Justice.

The Supreme Power and the Administration.

The constitution in force in Swedish Finland at the time when Finland was separated from Sweden, was guaranteed to Finland when that country was united to Russia, in the year 1809. The essence of Finland's union with Russia lay in the fact that the Tsar of Russia was at the same time Grand Duke of Finland, and apart from certain rights which appertained to Russia in consequence of its suzerainty, the Tsar, who was absolute in Russia, had in Finland only the

authority appertaining to the monarch according to the constitution there in force. Finland was a non-sovereign state united to Russia, which bore from of old the name of a Grand Duchy.

When the revolution of March 1917 drove the Russian Imperial house from the throne, the union of Finland with Russia lost its most important condition, namely the common sovereign. The Russian interim government, which assumed the supreme power in the March revolution, also took upon itself the exercise of the rights appertaining to the Tsar as Grand Duke of Finland. When the interim Government was overthrown in November of the same year however, the Diet determined itself to exercise for the future that power which had appertained to the Tsar and Grand Duke, according to enactments previously in force. On December 6:th, 1917, the Diet affirmed Finlands independence in solemn form.

The decision of the Diet and the proclamations by which the union of Finland with Russia was annulled, and Finland declared itself to be a sovereign state, have an important bearing on the internal laws of Finland.

The constitution of Finland is derived from the time of that country's union with Sweden. The main documents which regulate the mutual relation of the two powers in the state, the government and the popular assembly, are the constitution of August 21:st, 1772 and the Acts of Union and Safety of February 21:st and April 3:rd, 1789. The composition of the popular assembly is determined by the enactment governing the Diet (Lantdagsordningen). The enactment governing the Diet now in force was made on July 20:th, 1906.

The above-mentioned fundamental laws are based upon monarchist principles, and according to them the monarch has a fairly extensive, but by no means unlimited, power. Finland has not yet had an opportunity of adopting a new constitution since the revolution, so that the old fundamental laws are still in force in so far as they apply,and with the various amendments which have been made in them.

The decision of the Diet of November 15:th, 1917, by which the Diet assumed for the time being the exercise of the Supreme power, has not been held to annul the contrast contained in the constitution between the power of the monarch and that of the popular assembly. That part of the constitution is considered still to be in force, although the Diet at present exercises both powers simultaneously. The distinction between the power which appertains to the popular assembly according to the fundamental law, and that formerly appertaining to the monarch which the Diet exercises in consequence of the said decision, has been maintained by the Diet with great consistency. Thus it has even happened that the Diet, in the exercise of the monarchical power, has refused to sanction laws which it had previously passed in its quality of popular assembly.

The proclamation whereby the Diet on December 6:th affirmed the independence of Finland also contains a statement as to the mode of government now in force in this country. The proclamation declares namely, that the Diet has determined to adopt the principle on which was based the Bill for a new constitution submitted by the government to the Diet, — that is to say, the principle that Finland is an independent republic.

Various opinions have been expressed as to the legal significance of the Diet's proclamation of December 6:th. In the autum of 1918 the Diet proceeded to elect a king, acting on the principle that the old fundamental laws of this country are uninterruptedly in force wherever they are applicable, and among them § 38 of the Constitution, which charges the Estates with the duty of electing a new king in case of the extinction of the royal house. A strong minority in the Diet however, held that the monarchist principle in the constitution of this country had been abolished by the Diet's proclamation of December 6:th, 1917, and that therefore the said § 38 of the Constitution was no longer applicable. It is well known that Prince Friedrich Karl of Hesse, who was elected king of this country, declined the invitation.

Meanwhile, after the insurrection of 1918 had been put down, the Diet had authorised the then leader of the Diet, Senator Pehr Evind Svinhufvud, to exercise the supreme power in so far as it had not already been conferred on the Senate. Subsequently, on December 12:th, 1918, after accepting Mr. Svinhufvud's resignation, the Diet authorised General Baron Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim to exercise that power as Regent of the country.

Whatever opinion may be adopted in the question whether the Finnish mode of government during the present transitionary period is to be regarded as monarchist or republican, it is quite certain that the rights formerly appertaining to the monarch are now partly exercised by the Regent, and partly by the Cabinet, on authority conferred by the Diet. While the Russian interim government still exercised the power of the Grand Duke of Finland, it found it expedient, as a concession to Finnish demands, to transfer a substantial portion of the said authority to the Finnish Senate, now called the Cabinet (statsrådet). Seeing that the supreme power was only conferred on the Regent in so far as it had not previously been transferred to the Cabinet, the Cabinet has come to adopt a comparatively independent position as against the Regent. According to law now in force, his formal cooperation in the government is only necessary in connection with the most important actions, such as the sanctioning of laws, confirmation of the budget, proclamation of a new election to the Diet, and the appointment of members of the Cabinet, or ministers. In the performance of the last mentioned duty, which is of considerable political importance, the Regent is now bound, in consequence of a new fundamental law adopted in 1917, by the provision that ministers must be chosen from among persons who enjoy the confidence of the Diet. A parliamentary form of government is thus legally established.

If the term „government" be used to cover the Regent and the Cabinet together, it may be stated shortly that according to the laws now in force, legislative power is exercised

by the popular assembly and the government jointly, except in certain matters or within the sphere of so-called economic legislation, in which the government alone can initiate legislation. The executive power, including directive governing power which is not regulated by law, appertains to the government, and this, in accordance with the parliamentary mode of government legally established, is dependent upon the opinions ruling in the popular assembly. The government represents the country in foreign affairs. The national revenue arises partly from permanent taxes, collected on the authority of laws passed by the popular assembly and the government jointly, and for the repeal of which a simultaneous decision by these two authorities is required, and partly from temporary taxes voted by the popular assembly, generally for one year at a time.

The popular assembly, the Diet, consists of 200 members, elected by universal and equal suffrage. Women have both the suffrage and the right to be elected. The qualifying age for the parliamentary suffrage is 24 years. The election is conducted on the proportional system, except in the Lappmark division, which elects one representative by a majority vote. For the purpose of parliamentary elections the country is divided into 15 constituencies, exclusive of Lappmark, and seats are allotted to the different constituencies in proportion to the number of their inhabitants. Members are elected from each constituency to a number varying between 9 and 25, and the minority parties have thus an opportunity of obtaining representation in the Diet in close proportion to their strength. The Diet is elected for a period of three years, but the Regent may declare a fresh election before the expiration of that period. The Diet consists of a single chamber, and appoints a number of committees for the discussion of different subjects, some of which committees are required by the fundamental law to be set up. Decisions are taken by a simple majority except in case of amending, interpreting or passing fundamental laws, voting taxes or raising a national loan. In these cases a

two-thirds majority is required. Questions of fundamental law have to be left in abeyance until the first meeting of the Diet after a fresh election, when they can be finally despatched. The Diet can however adopt a fundamental law without leaving it in abeyance, if the matter has been declared urgent in full session by a resolution supported by at least five-sixths of the votes cast.

The administration is carried on by the Cabinet. In the conduct of different departments the Cabinet is assisted by ministries (formerly offices of the Senate's Finance Department) which at present number ten. Each office has at its head a minister or member of the Cabinet. According to old tradition, the Cabinet generally conducts its discussions in board meeting; recently however, a large number of matters have been referred by the Cabinet to the ministries for decision. For special departments of administration there are a number of independent central offices, some organised on the board system, and others bureaucratically. These are subject to their appropriate ministries.

For general local administration, the country is divided into nine provinces (län), the provinces into shires (härad), and the shires into overseers' districts (kronolänsmandistrikt). Each province has a provincial government, under the direction of a provincial governor. Under the provincial governments come the bailiffs and county clerks (kronofogdarna och häradsskrivarne) with the shires, and the overseers with the overseers' districts, as their respective areas. These organs of local administration are in general subject to the Ministry of the Interior, but are also required to render any necessary assistance to other ministries and their subordinate central offices. There are in addition local administrative organs for certain special purposes, such as the management of water power, communications, etc.

The authority of the provincial government covers not only civil, but also judicial administration to a very considerable extent. The highest court of judicial administration is called the Highest Administrative Court (Högsta förvalt-

ningsdomstolen), and its members and officials are guaranteed the same independent position as other judges.

In the towns, civil and criminal justice is administered in the first instance by a magistrate's court (Rådstufvurätt) consisting of a chairman and two members, and in the country by a shire court (Häradsrätt) consisting of a shire judge (häradshöfding) and 7—12 jurymen. In the smaller towns only the chairman of the magistrate's court, the burgomaster, is required to have legal training, while in the larger towns the members of the court (rådmännen) must also have legal knowledge. In the shire courts the chairman is the only professional judge with legal training, and has the decisive voice, unless the jurymen are unanimously of the contrary opinion. The jurymen take part in the decision of questions both of evidence and of law. The courts of second instance are the Lower Courts of Appeal (Hofrätt), three in number. The court of final instance is the Highest Court (Högsta domstolen) and its competence extends to questions of evidence as well as to questions of law.

Religious freedom is from of old comparatively restricted, and the question of introducing complete religious freedom is under discussion. The Evangelist Lutheran Church is not an established church in the proper meaning of that term, but is a church corporation supported by the state. The representative organ of the Evangelist Lutheran Church is the church meeting, consisting of both clergy and lay representatives. This has the sole right of initiative in questions which affect the church alone, but alterations of eclesiastical law adopted by it require the sanction of the Diet and the government, who form the highest authority in the church. The country is divided for church administration into four dioceses. Each diocese has a cathedral chapter, which acts as a board, with the bishop as its chairman. The primary ecclesiastical corporations are the congregations. These generally follow territorial divisions, which coincide with the civil communes, and possess fairly extensive ecclesiastical self-government.

Local self-government is concentrated in the communes. Each territorial rural congregation forms a separate civil commune, the members of which have the right to conduct their common affairs with regard to local administration and the preservation of order, within the limits laid down by law, and in so far as these affairs do not, according to the laws in force, lie in the sphere of any public authority. Each town also forms a separate commune, and the towns' right of self-government is in some respects traditionally more extensive than that of the rural communes. Thus, the towns have the right to elect members of the magistrate's court, (rådmän), and also the right of making nominations for the appointment of the burgomaster. The highest communal authority in a town is the magistrate, who is entrusted with a number of purely governmental functions.

The duties falling within the sphere of the communes are partly those which the communes are legally required to perform, and partly ones as to which the communes may decide for themselves whether their activities shall extend to such matters or not. Duties of the former class include, for example, elementary education in rural areas and poor relief. A large proportion of the activity of the communes is however of the permissive kind. Such activities include measures for improving popular education other than those required by law, measures for improving occupational and trade training, measures for promoting morality, temperance and public order and security, the relief of unemployment, the establishment and acquirement of productive works suited to communal enterprise, housing measures, the promotion of colonisation, etc.

Communal administration is conducted in the towns by representatives elected on the proportional system for periods of three years. Every member of the commune who is registered as resident therein and is there liable to taxation, who has reached the age of 24 in the year previous to the election, has the right of voting and of being elected. Women possess the franchise on the same terms as men.

The executive authority in the country is the vestry (kommunalnämnd) and in towns the magistrate, with the financial department under his supervision. There are in addition other executive authorities, both in towns and in the country, which are either required by law or have been permissively established by the communes.

Communal expenses are chiefly defrayed from the income arising from fixed property belonging to the commune, moveable capital and remunerative rights, together with any contribution that may be made by the state. Any further sum needed to cover the communal expenses is raised by special rate. The grounds of liability to communal rates and the procedure for assessment are laid down by general legislation, but the assessment and collection of rates is conducted by the communes themselves.

Appeal against the legality of actions by the organs of communal self-government can in general be made to the national antholities, in final instance to the Highest Administrative Court, but the national authorities cannot on grounds of expediency alter or annul actions taken by the communal organs. Only in certain cases mentioned in the laws, among which may be noticed the raising of long term loans, can a communal decision be subjected to revision by the national authorities from the point of view of its expediency.

There are no communal corporations of a higher order, comprising several primary communes, but the question of establishing such self-governing corporations of wider extent has long been under discussion, and its decision in an affirmative sense seems only to be a question of time. The absence of such larger self-governing organisations has to some extent been supplied by statutes regulating modes of cooperation between several primary communes for the attainment of common ends.

Trade, Industry and Commerce.

The surface of Finland measures 377,426 sq. km. or 145,686 sq. miles, of which area 333,140 sq. km. or 128,592 sq. miles (88 %) consist of land, while 44,286 sq. km. or 17,094 sq. miles (12 %) are covered by water. The primitive rock is the so-called „rapakivi", a kind of granite characteristic of Finland, which extends over the whole of the Finnish mainland, and also over the islands as far as the Åland Sea. Åland therefore, which is connected with the Finnish mainland by a very large and continuous archipelago, is of exactly the same geological formation as the rest of Finland. The Swedish coast on the other hand, has quite a different geological formation, and is separated from Finland by an open sea whose width varies from 35 to 90 km. (22—56 miles).

Finland is populated by two races, Swedes and Finns. The Finns settled in this country during the first centuries of the Christian era, the Swedes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The population of Finland according to the parish registers, was at the close of the year 1917, 3,346,853 persons. Of late years, the annual increase of population has been about 30,000,000. From the language standpoint, Finland is a fairly coherent whole, the population being divided as follows; —

	Number.	Percentage of total population.
Finnish speaking	2,961,853	88.5
Swedish speaking	385,000	11.5

The Swedish population is chiefly setled on the coast, in the provinces of Nyland and Vasa. The Åland archipelago is also inhabited by Swedish speaking people, but its population only numbers 26,000.

In spite of the fact that Finland is situated in the far north, and has a barren soil, the vast majority of the popu-

lation are still agricultural. From the point of view of occupation, they could in 1910 be classified as follows; —

	Percentage of the total population.
Agriculture and allied industries	66.3
Manufactures	12.2
Transport and commerce	5.1
National and local administration, professions, etc.,	2.6
No occupation, (private means or pensions)	2.4
Unclassified workmen and day-labourers	6.0
Other occupations	3.3
Occupation unknown	2.1

A statistical enquiry made in 1910 showed that in that year there were 1,878, 233 ha, or 4,639,240 acres of arable land, and 959,407 ha. or 2,369,735 acres under pasture. During centuries of toil, the Finnish people have won this cultivated land from a wilderness of forests, hills and ridges, lakes and swamps. About 61 % of the surface of the country is still covered by forests, and about 30 % with swamps, sparsely wooded or totally bare, while only about 9 % is under cultivation. A further difficulty is that Finnish agriculture has to a great extent to be based on the meagre soil of the moraines. Only round the coast is there a predominant basis of clay soil. There are absolutely no vegetable moulds to be found in the country.

The average annual product of Finnish agriculture during the years 1911—1915 was as follws; —

	Million Kg.	or Million lbb.
Wheat	4.8	10.6
Rye	267.0	588.5
Barley	102.6	266.0
Oats	371.8	819.0
Mixed grain	13.9	30.6
Beans and peas	7.5	16.5
Potatoes and other roots	641.2	1,412.3

Including the value of the straw and hay, the total produce before the war was estimated to average a value of 300 million Finnish marks, or 58 million dollars.

Cattle-breeding and dairy farming have also developed rapidly in Finland during the last few decades. The butter from Finnish dairies has won a reputation as a first class article in the foreign market. In the last years before the war, the annual export of butter was about 12 million kg. or 26.4 million lbs, with a value of about 35 million marks, or 6.3 million dollars.

Recent years have seen a considerable improvement in Finnish agriculture, scientific farming becoming more and more general, and the use of agricultural machinery, fertilisers and modern methods of bog-cultivation steadily gaining ground. This progress has been much furthered by the formation of jointstock companies, the activity of which has developed very rapidly. There are also great possibilities for a further development of Finnish agriculture. If scientific farming becomes still more general, and the area of arable land is increased by bringing under cultivation more pastures, swamps and suitable forest land, the produce of Finnish agriculture may yet be multiplied many times. Progress has hitherto been much impeded by lack of capital.

The forests of Finland are of supreme importance to the wealth of the country. Their total area is 20 million ha. or 49.4 million acres. The commonest trees are the fir, the pine and the birch. The Finnish fir is an especially valuable tree, growing everywhere, in bad as in good soil, straight and without knots. There is therefore a steady demand for it in the world market.

No exact statements are as yet available as to the productiveness of the Finnish forests. On a rough calculation however, supposing an average of 55 cubic metres of wood or 1,942 ½ cubic feet on 1 ha., and rating the annual growth at only 15, it may be estimated at about 10 million cubic metres, or 353 million cubic feet per annum. The extraordinary importance of the forests to the welfare of the Finnish

people is evident, when it is considered that they supply the whole country with its chief building material, as well as with fencing and fuel, and are also the main support of industry and export trade. During the three years preceding the war (1911—1913) more than 72 % of the total exports were products of forestry, i. e. the timber and paper trades. The importance of forestry is also bound to increase in the future, as scientific methods have developed considerably during recent decades, and are steadily becoming more general.

The greater part of the Finnish forests belongs to the state. These national forests had at the end of the year 1916 a total area of 12 million ha. or 30.7 million acres, including the swamps, nearly half this total area being real, „cultivable" woodland. Thus we see that more than a quarter of all the forests in the country belong to the state.

Not only agriculture and forestry, but industry also has made remarkable progress in Finland. Home industries and handicrafts were common in this country from of old, and reached a high standard. By the close of the Middle Ages, Finland had already a considerable export trade. Manufactures have however only begun to develop comparatively lately, as recently as 30—50 years ago. In the years 1885—1887 the average annual value of the export trade was only 116.3 million marks, or 22.5 million dollars. During recent years however, manufacturing industry has increased as is shown in the following table: —

Year.	Number of Employees.	Gross Value of Exports. Finnish Marks	or	Dollars.
1910	98,312	612.5 million		118.2 million.
1911	102,874	615.1 „		118.7 „
1912	108,948	684.4 „		132.1 „
1913	115,795	750.0 „		144.8 „
1914	112,835	702.1 „		135.5 „
1915	108,005	884.0 „		170.7 „
1916	117,533	1,325.5 „		255.9 „

If the value of the raw and half manufactured materials employed be deducted from the gross value of the product, the gross profit of manufacturing industries for the years 1911—1913 averages 279.4 million marks, or 53.9 million dollars per annum, while the gross profit for the year 1916 is 671.5 million marks or 129,6 million dollars.

The most important branches of manufacture in Finland are wood products and the leather trade. The value of the gross product of manufacture in these and other trades for the years 1913 and 1916 is shown in the following table.

	Million Finnish Marks.		Million Dollars.	
	1913	1916	1913	1916
Wooden goods	171.2	147.5	33.1	28.5
Paper trade	101.4	283.0	19.6	54.6
Textiles	94.2	168.8	18.2	32.6
Metal goods	75.7	301.5	14.6	58.2
Leather trade	30.6	84.4	5.9	16.3

The young manufacturing industry of Finland tends to be concentrated in modern enterprises on a large scale. Thus, by 1913 rather more than half the total number of factory workers were employed in factories the annual gross profit of which exceeded one million marks. In several branches of industry, Finland possesses the largest factory in the north. Thus, in 1913 it had the largest paper mill, cotton mill, linen mill, tobacco factory and leather working factory of any northern country.

It is further noteworthy that several industrial concerns have passed from foreign hands into the possession of Finns. It is for instance very remarkable indeed that the shares in the Halla timber company have passed from the hands of Norwegian merchants to the Kymmene company, and that the greater number of the shares in the largest company in the country, Gutzeit and Co., have been purchased by the Finnish state. The net value of this last property has been estimated at 287,861,000 Finnish marks, or 55,571,620 dollars.

The rapid rise of Finnish industry in recent years is so much the more remarkable as it has been allowed to develop entirely by its own strength, without any direct support whatever from the government. The measures taken by the government for the assistance of industry have been almost entirely confined to the support of the Technical High School and a few lower technical schools, and the loan of a few million marks for industrial purposes. On the other hand, as long as Finland was connected with Russia, manufacturing industry had to contend with impracticable tariffs, which were imposed for purely administrative objects, and could not be altered owing to the Russian suzerainty. Moreover, Russia protected its own industry against Finland, and favoured the sale of Russian products as far as possible, the Finnish government, being forced to lower or abolish its duties on Russian goods. It must further be noted that during the connection with Russia, Finnish industry was in the same position as that of foreign countries with regard to the Russian regulations, but had not the support offered to industrial undertakings by other countries through their consulates and officials abroad.

The fact that industry in Finland has been capable of such rapid growth as recent decades have shown, in spite of all adversities, proves that favourable conditions exist for its extension. The progress of industry in this country is sure to increase as soon as international trade becomes free and the economic possibilities of the country have full play. In the first place, there are great possibilies for a development of the paper trade. Moreover, many industries in the country have just got a start, and contain the seeds of future growth. This is the case for example with the drainage, the turf-cutting and the stone-cutting industries. Mining also has just made a fresh start, and is likely to make fair progress in this country.

During the war, more and more attention has been paid to these new branches of industry. A special central office has been opened for the promotion of industry in this coun-

try, the „Finnish Industrial Bureau", whose object is to promote the foundation of new branches of industry. There have also been opened during the war a Central Industrial Laboratory, for purposes of scientific chemical investigation, and the Finnish Turf Bureau, to promote the utilisation of the wealth hidden in the swamps. The war has also given fresh impulse to mining and the dyeing trade. It is also to be noted that a large company was recently formed to promote the production of raw sugar in Finland. Several old industries have also revived during the war. Great improvements and enlargements have taken place in the cellulose industry in particular, which make it possible to augment the annual produce of the industry by 100,000 tons.

Industry will also be assisted by the mineral wealth of the country. The copper mine of Outokumpu, discovered a few years ago, has already given a good yield, and a continuation of this copper field has recently been discovered, and found to be very valuable indeed. Recent researches in northern Finland have given good evidence of iron fields lying hidden under the swamps. Among less important discoveries may be mentioned a metalliferous deposit containing molybdens, situated at Pielis in the east of Finland, and another containing sulphuric acid, also in the east, at Kipasjärvi.

In addition to the abundance of raw material which can be procured from the immense forests and swamps, and the valuable fields of ore that are supposed to lie hidden beneath them, industry will obtain its motive power from the innumerable water-falls of the country. According to calculations that have been made, the water power of the rapids in Finland, at the average height of water, represents three million horse power. Up to the present time industry has utilized merely a small fraction of this amount.

Like Finnish industry, the foreign trade of the country has made very great progress during recent years. Its development since 1911 is shown in the following table.

Year.	Millions of Finnish Marks.			Millions of Dollars		
	Imports	Exports	Total exchange	Imports	Exports	Total exchange.
1911—13 ..	470.0	354.8	824.8	90.7	68.5	159.2
1914	308.2	282.2	662.4	73.4	54.5	127.9
1915	577.8	401.9	979.7	111.5	77.6	189.1
1916	961.8	797.2	1,759.0	185.7	153.9	339.6
1917	1,231.9	444.9	1,676.8	237.8	85.9	323.7
1918	500.9	224.0	724.0	96.7	43.2	139.9

The foreign trade of Finland therefore, both previous to and during the war, shows a balance of imports. Closer investigation reveals that this balance is essentially due to importation for productive purposes. If the imports are grouped according to their uses (a) raw and half manufactured materials, (b) machinery and vehicles, (c) other finished products of industry, (d) food (aliments and delicacies), we get the following table.

	Millions of Finnish Marks.				Millions of Dollars.			
	1911—13	1914	1915	1916	1911—13	1914	1915	1916
Raw materials etc.	150.7	111.5	199.3	374.6	29.1	21.5	38.5	72.3
Machinery and vehicles ..	43.8	41.6	31.5	73.5	8.5	8.0	6.1	14.2
Other finished products ..	88.3	65.2	65.7	140.2	17.0	12.6	12.7	27.1
Food	187.2	161.9	281.9	374.5	36.1	31.3	54.4	72.3

Calculated in percentages of the total value, the importation of raw materials, machinery and vehicles has risen from 41.4 in the years 1911—13 to 46.5 in the year 1916. During the years 1887—1889 the corresponding percentage was only 32.3. It is consequently to be noted that import for productive purposes is tending to become an ever greater part of the whole import trade.

With respect to the present condition of foreign trade, it must be remarked that during 1918, hardly any important raw materials or necessities for manufacture, such as textile goods, oils, india rubber or metals, could be imported. Food shortage was also very great. The concealment of goods was prohibited by regulation, but prices reached their highest point about the beginning of 1918. The consequence is now a very great keenness in buying, as commercial relations with the west are re-established. The level of prices in Finland is about two or three times higher than in England or America, allowing for the rate of exchange, which is against Finland. If exports could have been resumed simultaneosly with imports, large numbers of different articles might have been brought in to the country without any loss due to the low rate of exchange, for there were about 800.000 stds. of sawn timber, worth £ 16—18 per std., laid up in the country, besides large stores of the rougher wooden goods, while the cellulose, pulp and paper industries could augment their exports by at least 200 million marks within the present year. The difficulties of export are still so great however. partly owing to legal restrictions and partly owing to lack of means of transport and hindrances to import, that the export trade has not yet been able to revive. Imports are therefore still strictly controlled, and will be so until the value of Finnish money in the foreign market is re-established. The most important imports before the war are shown in the following table.

	Millions of Finnish Marks.			Millions of Dollars.		
	1911	1912	1913	1911	1912	1913
Grain	101.0	87.3	99.0	19.5	16.9	19.1
Groceries	53.7	57.9	55.3	10.4	11.2	10.7
Hides and leather	14.3	18.9	22.1	2.8	3.6	4.3
Plants and seeds	21.7	20.6	22.9	4.2	4.0	4.4
Spinning materials	22.9	24.7	27.5	4.4	4.8	5.3
Textiles	24.8	26.3	25.8	4.8	5.1	5.0
Minerals	20.8	26.0	29.5	4.0	5.0	5.7
Metals and hardware	41.5	44.4	37.2	8.0	8.6	7.2
Machinery	23.7	28.0	33.1	4.6	5.4	6.4

The most important exports before the war were: —

	Millions of Finnish Marks.			Millions of Dollars.		
	1911	1912	1913	1911	1912	1913
Cattle and dairy produce	39.9	40.9	43.6	7.7	7.9	8.4
Fish	5.3	5.5	6.2	1.0	1.1	1.2
Hides and leather	13.1	13.9	12.6	2.5	2.7	2.4
Wooden goods	167.0	173.4	227.3	32.2	33.5	43.9
Pulp and paper	58.2	65.0	71.3	11.2	12.5	13.8
Textiles	6.0	6.6	6.9	1.2	1.3	1.3
Minerals and mineral products	4.2	5.6	6.2	0.8	1.1	1.2

Not only foreign trade, but home trade also has made great progress in recent years. The number of commercial joint stock companies with a capital of 100,000 marks (19,305 dollars) or more has more than doubled during the last ten years. In 1907 there were in Finland 108 such companies, and by 1917 their number had increased to 225. The number of companies with a capital of at least half a million marks (96,525 dollars) increased in a much higher proportion, from 10 in 1907 to 40 in 1917. These companies have also made rapid progress during this period. Their sales in 1918 amounted to about 480 million marks, or nearly 93 million dollars. The large amalgamated companies have been particularly flourishing. Thus the sales of the Central Amalgamated Company of Finland amounted in 1918 to nearly 108 million marks, or nearly 21 million dollars, the sale of the Hankkija Amalgamated Company to 78 million marks (15 million dollars) and the sales of the Wholesale Company of Finland to 14 $^1/_2$ million marks, or nearly 3 million dollars. Among the private joint stock companies may be noted „Elanto", whose sales amounted in 1918 to 34 million marks or 6 $^1/_2$ million dollars. This company possesses the largest popular eating house in any northern country.

The economic progress of the country is also shown by the development of the means of communication and of banking. At the end of 1915 there were 4,336 kilometres (2,694 miles) of railways, nearly the whole of which belonged to the state, only 302 km. (188 miles) being in private hands. The goods traffic on the state railways amounted to 5,167,009 tons. There are 24 canals, with 70 locks. The largest canal in Finland, the Saima Canal, has 28 locks.

The mercantile marine of Finland at the end of 1915 consisted of 4,780 vessels, with a registered tonnage of 466,948 tons. There were 946 steamers, with a tonnage of 81,264. In spite of the war, the large steamship companies are still in a good position. The largest, the Finland Steamship Company, has certainly lost a considerable part of its tonnage, but on the other hand it has been able to consolidate on a permanent basis. It now has a capital of 20 million marks, or nearly 4 million dollars, while its special funds amount to several millions. Among other large steamship companies are to be noted the Finland—America Line, and the Transoceanic, both founded during the war for the purpose of establishing a direct traffic route between Finland and America.

With regard to banking, the commercial banks, savings banks and insurance companies deserve the first notice. The development of commercial banks since 1913 is shown by the following table; —

	Millions of Finnish Marks.		Millions of Dollars.	
Year	Capital.	Deposits.	Capital.	Deposits.
1913	159.9	656.2	30.9	126.7
1914	170.4	687.1	32.9	132.8
1915	166.4	825.1	32.1	159.3
1916	191.5	1,079.9	37.0	208.5
1917	325.4	1,812.4	62.8	349.9
1918	543.1	2,662.4	104.8	514.0

The above figures must of course be regarded in the light of the inflation caused by the war , but they show

how our commercial banks have prepared to meet the new conditions that will follow the war.

The development of the savings banks has been as follows; —

Year.	Number of Savings Banks.	Number of Depositor's Books.	Deposits Million Marks.	Million Dollars.
1913	404	348,606	301.5	58.2
1914	415	361,662	315.3	60.9
1915	421	383,164	359.8	69.5
1916	432	417,675	453.4	87.5
1917	437	462,771	604.0	116.6

The most notable insurance concerns in the country are the life insurance and fire insurance companies. The funds of the native life- insurance companies amounted in 1915 to nearly 195 millions marks, or 37 $^1/_2$ million dollars, and those of the fire insurance companies to over 63 million marks (over 12 million dollars). The life insurance companies in particular have made very rapid progress in recent years. An instance of this is seen in the fact that the „Mutual Life Insurance Company of Finland" has grown up in about thirty years. It is now the largest concern of its kind, not only in Finland, but in any northern country.

The commerce of the country has been subjected to much state control during the war. The „Finnish Food Importation Commission", a company standing under state control, was founded right at the beginning of the war for the purpose of importing food, and it received from the state the monopoly of various imports. It has also been entrusted with the direction of financial questions connected with the import trade. A special Food Board was set up at the end of 1917 to control food, out of which the present Food Department developed.

The so-called „Commission of Trade and Industry" was appointed in 1918 for the control of other branches of com-

merce. Its task was to take an inventory of home supplies, and organise the control of their consumption. It had also to supervise imports and exports. A special Board of Finance cooperates with this Commission.

The course of party politics in the Diet has also had considerable influence on the economic life of Finland. As the political influence of the Social Democrats increased, legislation tended more and more to go in the direction of their desires. The votes given at recent general elections were divided between the Social Democrats and the non-socialist parties as shown in the following table.

	1907	1911	1916	1917	1919
Non-socialists .	561,044	481,186	419,179	588,092	592,074
Social Democrats	329,946	321,201	376,030	444,670	360,814

Owing to the provisions of the Elections Act, the representation of these two groups in the Diet was as follows:-

	1907	1911	1916	1917	1919
Non-Socialists	120	114	97	108	120
Social Democrats	80	86	103	92	80

The Social Democratic Party has used its great political influence exclusively for party objects, which has not been advantageous to the economic development of the country. In 1917, after the general election of 1916, this party had an absolute majority in the Diet. It is to be noted that the Red insurrection in this country broke out in the beginning of 1918.

It must be admitted that, seen as a whole, the economic life of Finland has made remarkably rapid progress during the last few decades. It has been put to a very severe test by the great war that is now ending, but generally speaking, it has withstood this test. In spite of the fact that export to the most important countries was stop-

ped, Finland has been able to continue importing, without running into debt, notwithstanding the enormous increase of prices owing to the war. Since the expulsion of the Bolshevist hordes and the Russian soldiers that supported them, after a terrible civil war, peace has returned, and work can once more thrive in Finland. Moreover, Finland has recruited and maintained a Finnish auxiliary expedition to Esthonia, consisting of thousands of volunteers, and thus saved that country from being utterly destroyed by Bolshevism. This she did at a time when the other northern countries refused help, because the government of Esthonia could not guarantee the finance of the auxiliary expeditions.

In addition to military succour, Finland also gave Esthonia direct financial assistance. The Finnish government has namely guaranteed the government of Esthonia a loan of 20 million marks or nearly 4 million dollars.

Finnish Culture.

Education. In Finland, as in other protestant countries, the power of reading became general several centuries ago. Care was also taken that every citizen should receive instruction in the fundamentals of the protestant religion. By the end of the seventeenth century, the church authorities had passed ordinances requiring the first rudiments of education to be taught to every member of the congregation.

This first beginning of public national education was for a long time confined within the limits of a very moderate standard of efficiency. Here and there however, it awakened a liking for reading and a desire for further learning. During the nineteenth century there have been ardent efforts to raise public instruction to a higher level, and to organise an elementary school system in accordance with modern requirements, but the vast and thinly populated areas of this country have presented enormous difficulties. We have therefore not achieved as much in this respect as the countries

of central and western Europe.

The present elementary school system was established in 1866, under the direction of *Uno Cygnaeus,* „the father of the Finnish folk-schools". According to this system, children receive the first elements of education in their homes, or through a two years course at an infant school, and then attend an ordinary elementary school for four years. During recent years, and especially since 1890, there have been great efforts to make attendance compulsory. This end has however not yet been reached.

In the school year 1915—1916 there were in rural areas 3,305 elementary schools, (2,858 Finnish, 436 Swedish, and 11 Finno-Swedish), attended by 152, 643 pupils, 78,133 boys and 74,510 girls, divided into four classes. In the town elementary schools there were in the same year 43,316 pupils, divided into six classes (21,653 boys and 21,663 girls; 34,797 in Finnish schools, and 8,519 in Swedish schools). There are in Finland altogether nearly 300,000 children of elementary school age (9—13, not including infants); only rather more than half the number actually attend school. A great many children attend school for a couple of years only, and leave the course unfinished. In the towns a far greater percentage of the children go through the complete course.

The elementary school teachers are trained in training colleges established for the purpose. The training course till lately lasted four years, but was some time ago changed to a five years' course.

Finland has quite a considerable number of secondary schools. The state has long supported boys' schools with eight classes, leading up to the University, as well as middle schools, generally with a five years' course. The first state girls' schoools were established in 1844. In addition to the state schools for boys and girls, private mixed schools were established in the eighth decade of the nineteenth century, which subsequently received financial support from the state. There are now mixed schools not only in the towns, but also in the larger, wealthier villages. Several towns have recently

also established municipal secondary and middle schools, which are likewise mixed.

Finland possesses at the present day 53 state secondary schools in all,- viz. boys' lycea, middle schools and girls' schools (37 Finnish and 16 Swedish); 26 of the boys' schools lead up to the University. There are also 102 private or municipal schools (72 Finnish and 30 Swedish). These are nearly all mixed, and 50 of them have complete courses leading up to the University, (32 Finnish and 18 Swedish).

Till recently there were comparatively few schools of other types, trade schools, industrial and handicraft schools, commercial and technical schools, etc. Now however, a considerable number of such have been established.

There is one state University. It was founded in Åbo in 1640, but after the great fire in that city, it was removed to Helsingfors. Under the Tsarist régime it bore the name of the „Imperial Alexander University". It includes faculties of Theology, Law, Medicine and Philosophy, the last of which is divided into three sections, Historo-philological, Physico-mathematical and Agriculturo-economic. The University has always been the centre of the scientific life of the country. For a long period it was the only resort of all scientific pursuits, and almost the sole representative of spiritual and literary interests. Every important spiritual awanening or educational enterprise originated with its teaching staff. Of late years the number of students has been about 3,000.

The Technical High School arose by the side of the University, as the representative of scientific teaching and research. It was founded as a small technical school, in the fifth decade of the eighteenth century. It was subsequently enlarged, and in 1879 received the name of „Polytechnic Institute". Since the year 1908, when it was formed into a Technical High School, it has developed into a purely academic institution, adequate to the scientific requirements of the present day.

Quite recently private high schools and universities have been established. Considerable funds were collected by pri-

vate subscription for the foundation of a Swedish private academy, which has been opened in Åbo with sections for the humanities and for natural science. A Finnish private academy is to be opened in the same city in the immediate future.

Literature. When Finland was politically separated from Sweden in 1809, the Swedish language dominated the literature of the country, and the social life of the educated classes. During the period immediately following, intellectual interests were at a standstill, and literature only faintly echoed the literary currents of Sweden.

Shortly after 1820 however, a group of ardent young writers gave publicity to the idea of Finnish nationalism. The first among this group was Adolf Ivar Arvidsson (1791—1858), a lecturer at the university. He urged that the educated classes ought to adopt the Finnish language, and thus amalgamate with the vast majority of the people. „Swedish we are not, Russians we do not want to become, therefore we must be Finnish." His rousing pamplets were considered to be politically dangerous, and he was therefore compelled in 1823 to take refuge in Sweden, where he spent the rest of his life.

Somewhat later, the mental life of Finland received a powerful awakening through the great national poet *Johan Ludvig Runeberg* (1804—1877), whose works appeared between 1830 and 1863. His magnificent lyric and epic poems aroused new life and spiritual vitality, through their idealism and elevation, with which were combined a sound realism and great literary and poetical merits. His best known works are „The Tales of Ensign Stål", two collections of short epic poems published in 1848 and 1860, the theme of which was taken from the Finnish war of 1808, and „The Elk Hunters" (1832) and some other poems depicting the life of the Finnish country people. These works awakened among educated people an interest in national traditions, national consciousness and a feeling of solidarity.

The chief poet writing in Swedish during the following decades was the productive *Zachris Topelius*, (1808—1898),

the author of charming lyrics and historical novels, as well as excellent fairy tales for children. Among the writers of the next generation, the highest artistic level was reached by *Josef Julius Wecksell* (born 1838, became insane 1862, died 1907), a lyric poet and writer of historic dramas.

During the time when Runeberg was writing, *Elias Lönnrot*, (1802—1884) first a physician and afterwards professor of the Finnish language, was energetically and zealously collecting old rhymes from the lips of the people. His amplest and most valuable material he obtained from the Finns in the barren districts in the north of Russian Carelia, who were still living in the most primitive conditions. From the epic cantos thus collected he formed one whole, the great national epic poem named „Kalevala". He published the old lyric poems as a separate collection, called „Kanteletar", and in addition a large number of spells, proverbs, etc. The wonderful, poetic beauty of these productions of the spirit of a primitive people, and their deep insight into the peculiarities of the Finnish character, show that the Finns have a valuable and unique contribution to add to the literature of the world and the spiritual life of humanity. They therefore aroused enthusiasm in the hearts of the advocates of the Finnish cause, and confidence in the future of Finnish culture.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century other writers also (Juteini, 1781—1855, Gottlund, 1796—1875, etc.) had attempted to produce literature in the Finnish language, which during previous centuries had been almost entirely confined to religious books and books written for the elementary instruction of the people. By degrees the language was developed and bent to meet the requirements of a more many-sided literature, and of poetry. Lönnrot did much to form and establish the literary language, which he enriched by carefully selecting and combining elements from different dialects.

The thinker, statesman and social writer *Johan Vilhelm Snellman* (1806—1881), working on this foundation, pro-

duced a profound national revival, with very far-reaching consequences. In his literary activity, which began in 1844, he fought for the same ideas as had been expressed by Arvidsson. He taught that for the maintenance of the Finnish civilisation and for the preservation of the unity of the Finnish people, it was necessary that the whole nation should adopt a mainly Finnish apparel, and thus create a truly national culture.

Snellman's ideas and demands were received with sympathy by a considerable part of the cultivated classes in Finland. His successors *(Fredrik Cygnaeus, M. A. Castrén, Yrjö-Koskinen and* many others), though themselves from cultivated homes and educated in Swedish surroundings, thought it their duty to work for the benefit and elevation of the great majority, the Finnish speaking people. A considerable portion of the educated class began to adopt the Finnish language — first in theory and then in practice as well and thus to amalgamate with the Finnish speaking elements.

It was only after fierce struggles, especially in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, that the Finnish language was given a place beside Swedish in public life and in the government of the country, that a sufficient number of Finnish higher educational institutions were founded, and that Finnish was admitted, alongside Swedish, at the University. At the present day, half the tuition at the University, and in some faculties the greater part, is in Swedish. Not till the quarter of the nineteenth century did the Finnish language attain full equality with Swedish, and only in the beginning of the twentieth century did it actually take the first place in most departments of public life. In some respects Swedish still predominates, as it is still the language of the great part of the well-to-do, educated class.

The literature in the Finnish language has continued to develop on the foundation laid by Lönnrot and others. The highly gifted poet *Aleksis Kivi* (1834—1872), writing under peculiarly unfavourable circumstances, produced seve-

ral plays and a very fine humorous novel, called „Seven Brothers". His works reveal that true genius and originality which give a poem a lasting significance, and make it a real treasure of national literature.

Kivi's plays suggested the idea of a Finnish Theatre, and one was founded in 1872. The founder and first, enthusiastic, director of this theatre was *Dr. Kaarlo Bergbom* (1843—1906), who raised it to a high artistic level, in face of great difficulties. His advice and suggestions greatly helped the development of dramatic literature. (See *Minna Canth* and *Gustaf Adolf von Numers).*

From about the year 1880, polite literature in the Finnish language begins strongly to reflect the different literary currents of the other countries of Europe. First there was a strong realist and naturalistic current, which produced a large number of interesting works depicting and analysing the life and character of the people. These authors include several who arose from among the peasantry, self-taught writers such as *P. Päivärinta, Kauppis-Heikki*, and others. Subsequently romantic and symbolist currents, and other more modern literary tendencies appear.

The realistic school is represented by Fru *Minna Canth* (1844—1897), who began her remarkable literary career as late as 1882, and then produced very powerful plays, and novels dealing with social and psychological problems.

The most representative author of the present generation is *Juhani Aho* (born 1861), who has published descriptions of the life of the people, at first realistic and later also half romantic, a couple of historical novels, and some excellent short stories („Lastuja"). Other notable prose writers are the Tolstoyan novelist and playwright, *Arvid Järnefelt*, (born 1861), the historical novelist *Santeri Ivalo* (born 1866), and *Maila Talvio* (Fru Mikkola, born 1871), a productive writer of modern novels. *Johannes Linnankoski* (1869—1913) wrote idealistic dramas and romantic narratives which reveal a powerful personal touch and serious moral aims. Among the younger prose writers may be men-

tioned *Volter Kilpi, Ilmari Kianto, Maria Jotuni, Joel Lehtonen, Jalmari Finne,* and *L. Onerva.*

Among lyric poets may be mentioned *A. Oksanen* (Prof. Aug. Ahlquist, the philologist, 1829—1889), *Suonio* (Julius Krohn, a many sided writer and scientist, and folklorist, 1835—1888), *Arvid Jännes* (A. Genetz, professor of the Finnish language and literature, 1848—1915) *Paavo Cajander* (1846—1913, known as the translator of Shakspeare), *J. H. Erkko* (1849—1906, a productive lyric and dramatic poet), *Kasimir Leino* (1866—1919), and many others. These carried on the work of shaping the Finnish language into an elastic medium suited to modern poetry. The present generation has produced some poets of very high level. The numerous writings of *Eino Leino* (born 1878) for example, show a rich poetical imagination. He is developing a style peculiarly his own, especially marked in his „Helkavirsiä", in which the popular, ancient Finnish form is successfully combined with a modern cultivated spirit. Among other poets of the present generation may be mentioned *Larin Kyösti, O. Manninen,* and *V. A. Koskenniemi.*

Side by side with Finnish literature, Swedish literature is also still flourishing and abundant. The most notable writers are *Karl August Tavaststjerna* (1860—1898, an author of charming lyric poetry and fascinating novels), *Mikael Lybeck* (lyric poet, novelist and playwright) and among other lyric poets *Hjalmar Procopé, Arvid Mörne* and *Bertil Gripenberg.*

Scientific Literature and Research. As the languages of this country are so little generally known, the results of scientific research carried out in Finland have to be published in the foreign languages used by the great civilised nations, before they can become known to the scientific world and the property of international science.

Several scientific societies issue publications with this object. The Finnish Scientific Society („Suomen Taideseura", „Societas Scientiarum Fennica") founded in 1838, has issued a number of series of publications, called „Acta".

which include the results of extensive research. The Finnish Scientific Academy („Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia", Academia Scientium Fennica") has been at work since 1908 and publishes its „Annales" in the language of the great civilised nations. It has also issued a special series called „Communications from Folklorists".

The Finnish Literary Society („Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura", founded in 1831) assisted Lönnrot on his journeys for the collection of runes, and has been, since the middle of last century, the centre of all work for the development of Finnish literature. It publishes the periodical „Suomi", and has also issued numerous other publications of different kinds.

The Finno-Ugrian Society („Suomalais Ugrilainen Seura", founded in 1883), has issued several series giving the results of research into languages cognate to Finnish and peoples related to the Finns, for example, in its Annual „Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne". The Swedish Literary Society of Finland (Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland", founded 1885) has published a large number of important works of Finnish historical research, as well as papers on the folklore of the Swedish population in Finland.

Finnish scientists have made valuable contributions to international science by their work on the peoples and languages connected with the Finns and Finnish, as well as on the tribes and history of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia generally.

The zealous explorer *Mattias Aleksander Castrén* (1813—1853) devoted his life to many years' ardous exploration in Russia and Siberia (where he contracted a fatal disease), in order to investigate the languages and connections of the tribes there related to the Finns. He collected very valuable material on the Finno-Ugrian, Samoyedic and Altaic languages and peoples, and thus opened up a new wide field of exploration for the benefit of international science.

On the foundation laid by Castrén, the investigation of the languages cognate to Finnish has been pursued energetically and with success. *Ahlqvist*, *Genetz*, and many others carried on research into the Finno-Ugrian peoples living in Russia. The Finno-Ugrian Society, founded on the initiative of *O. Donner*, obtained the disposal of ample pecuniary means, according to Finnish standads, and has therefore been in a position to assist several of the younger men on journeys of exploration. During recent years the languages and conditions of the peoples living in Eastern Russia and Siberia have been investigated by *H. Paasonen*, *Y. Wichman*, *K. F. Karjalainen*, *K. Donner* and others. From the material thus collected, and by the application of modern philological principles, it has been possible to elucidate the main features of the historical development of the Finno-Ugrian languages. Research in this direction has been carried on by E. N. Setälä (born 1864) and others. At the present time, the problem of the connection between these languages and their distant relation, the language of the Samoyeds, seems to be nearing its scientific solution.

The work of Lönnrot has been carried on after him, and abundant material collected in the form of folk-songs, tales, riddles, and other products of the spirit of the nation, originated among the people and handed down by tradition. More primitive folk songs have been methodically collected from the territory inhabited by the Finnish peoples round the Baltic, particularly the Finns and Esthonians, than from among any other people in the world. This material offered a profitable basis for further folk-lore research, and very valuable results have been achieved. *Julius Krohn* (1835—1888) and his son *Kaarle Krohn* (born 1863) have applied to this material an exact geographico-historical method of investigation, which carefully follows the circulation of every folk song or tale. Their method of research has gained great significance in international folklore science.

The work of Finnish scientists has been of far reaching importance in history also. Representative Finnish histo-

rians, who did much to cultivate a national spirit and the idea of independence, include *Gabriel Rein* (1800—1867), *Yrjö-Koskinen* (1830—1903) and *J. R. Danielson-Kalmari* (born 1854). *Joh. Reinh. Aspelin* (1842—1915) took up the quest of archaeological research in Finland, and investigated the relics of antiquity all over the territory inhabited by Finnish peoples. He published the results of his explorations in a work entitled „Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien", which is the basis for all Eastern European archaeological research. It was also Finnish scientists who first effectively called the attention of the scientific world to the ancient Turkish lapidary writings found in Siberia and Mongolia, the so-called Jenisei and Orkhon writings. These finds also opened up important fields of research, when the key to the writings had been discovered by the ingenious Dane, V. Thomsen, in 1893.

The name of *Georg August Wallin* (1811—1852) is known all over Europe as an Orientalist and Arabian explorer.

Within the sphere of *natural science* may be mentioned *Johan Gadolin* (died 1852), *Gustaf Gabriel Hällström* (the physicist, died 1844), *Johan Jakob Nervander* (died 1848), *William Nylander* (the botanist, died 1899), *S. O. Lindberg* (died 1889), and last but not least, the world-renowned explorer *Nils Adolf Erik Nordenskjöld* (1832—1901), who was Finnish by birth though compelled for political reasons to live in Sweden.

Art. The practice of imitative art is of recent development in Finland. The efforts at artistic production, especially painting, made at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries are poor, and inadequate to higher artistic demands.

Robert Vilhelm Ekman (1808—1873) who had studied abroad for a considerable time, worked zealously as a teacher of painting from about the middle of the nineteenth century, and awakened public interest in art. He made great use of patriotic themes from the „Kalevala", Runeberg's poetry,

and the life of the people, and his treatment of them was romantic and idealist.

The Finnish Art Society („Suomen Taideyhdistys") was founded in 1846, and from that time a keen interest in art began to be felt. Young painters went to study abroad, chiefly to Düsseldorf in Germany. The most important Finnish painter of that period was the landscape painter *Werner Holmberg* (1830—1860), who by his charming and poetic nature pictures was the first to raise Finnish landscape painting to the level of true art. *Hjalmar Munsterhjelm* (1840—1905), *Berndt Lindholm* (1847—1914), and *Kaarlo Emaynuel Jansson* (1846—1874) may also be mentioned. The last-named gloriously represents the artistic ideas of the so-called Düsseldorf school, as a painter of home and national life and of genre paintings.

The eighteen-seventies saw a remarkable change in the course of Finnish painting. The principles of French outdoor painting (pleinarism) became known, as well as the modern realist representations of the life of the people, and these tendencies were soon adopted in this country. This change is chiefly due to a single man, *Albert Edelfelt* (1854—1905). The superb technical skill and noble taste of his paintings raised Finnish art to the level of the best achievements of the great civilised nations, and gained recognition outside our own country. He began his splendid career with paintings of historical subjects, passed on to modern landscape painting and representations of popular life, won fame as an excellent portrait painter, and in his last years returned to the production of monumental historic works.

More powerful in temperament than Edelfelt, and more independent and original in his artistic views, is *Akseli Gallen-Kallela* (born 1865), a brave pioneer and representative of undaunted genius in the young art of Finland. He has given artistic expression to the Finnish national spirit with more success than any other painter. This is especially the case in his many and admirably composed pictures with Kalevala motives, but his landscapes and pictures of popular life also breathe a strongly Finnish spirit.

Kindred to the refined art of Edelfelt are *Gunnar Berndtson's* (1854—1895) genre pictures, which almost resemble miniatures. *Eero Järnefelt* (born 1863), a contemporary of Gallen-Kallela, represents a milder, more lyric apprehension in Finnish landscape painting, and he avoids excessive naturalistic vividness in his pictures dealing with the life of country people. Other much admired landscape painters are *Pekka Halonen* (born 1865) and *Victor Westerholm* (born 1860). The most gifted of the younger generation of painters are *Magnus Enkell* (born 1870) and *Juho Rissanen* (born 1873), who with others represent the varying schools and tendencies of modern times.

Finnish *sculpture* was practically founded by *Carl Eneas Sjöstrand* (1828—1906), a Swede who removed to Finland in 1856. His works, and his activity as a teacher, did much to till the almost unbroken ground of this form of art. His sculptures are in Thorwaldsen's neo-classic school, and many of the most remarkable of them represent heroic figures from the Kalevala.

His pupil *Valter Runeberg* (born 1838) was also a neo classic in his earliest works, but after the year 1878, when he went to study in Paris, a more spontaneous and sensitive conception became manifest. Johannes Takanen (1849—1885), who studied and lived in Rome, was also free from the neo-classic influence. The works of *Ville Wallgren* (born 1855) display sensitive French grace. He has lived long in Paris, and is world-renowned for his original miniature sculptures. A healthy, realistic conception is represented by *Emil Wikström* (born 1864).

Modern *architecture* has older traditions in Finland than other branches of art. When Helsingfors was made the capital of Finland, in 1819, the German, *Johan Karl Ludwig Engel* (1778—1840), was entrusted with the designing of a large number of public buildings for the city. His modern classical style dominated the architecture of the city until the neo-renaissance style became popular, in the latter half of the last century. The most notable representatives of this

school in Finland are *F. A. Sjöström* (1880—1885) and *C. G. Nyström* (1856—1917).

At the beginning of the twentieth century new architectural principles, those of simplicity, sincerity and practicality, began to gain favour in Finland as in other parts of Europe. A kind of national romanticism formed the basis of this tendency, which has gradually developed into a more universal style. The creator and most original representative of this new school is *Eliel Saarinen* (born 1873), who has made his name widely known both as an architect and as a designer of interiors. His great talents have had a strong influence on the most recent developments of Finnish architecture.

Finnish *music* also owes much to a foreigner, the German *Fredrich Pacius* (1809—1891), who moved to Helsingfors in 1834. He composed several operas, setting to music Finnish librettos. He also arranged important symphonic concerts, whereby the Finnish public became acquainted with the great musical masterpieces of foreign countries. His work was continued by *Richard Faltin* (1835—1918), also a German by birth.

There soon arose also talented musicians and composers of Finnish birth. A musical institute or conservatorium was founded in 1882, under the superintendence of *Martin Wegelius* (1846—1906). Here many native musicians have received their musical training. Recent decades have been very prolific in musical works. The Finnish national spirit found its first expression in the compositions of *Robert Kajanus* (born 1856). The highly gifted *Jean Sibelius* has produced a large number of powerful and profoundly original compositions, which at present form the highest achievements of original Finnish music. Other gifted composers are *Armas Järnefelt,* (born 1869). *Oskari Merikanto* (born 1868), *Erkki Melartin* (born 1875), *Selim Palmgren* (born 1878) and *Toivo Kuula* (1883—1918). *Ilmari Krohn* (born 1867) and *Heikki Klementti* (born 1876) are also well- known, both as composers and as students of musical science.

Finnish Questions of the Day.

(a) The Åland question.

Åland is the outermost and largest island of the extensive archipelago which stretches from the south west corner of Finland. The part of this archipelago which lies close to the Finnish coast is named the Åbo archipelago. Further from the coast, the islands lie farther apart, the sea between them in some places opening out into sounds. The largest sound, the Skiftet, separates the Åbo and Åland archipelagoes, which are however connected with each other by thousends of small islands and rocks. Further to the west, the deep and open Åland sea separates Åland from Sweden.

Åland has 25.000 inhabitants, who are almost all Swedish speaking. They are therefore only a small portion of the Swedish population of Finland, who number in all about 400,000. All the schools are Swedish; in the elementary schools Finnish is not taught at all. Swedish is the language of the administration, the law-courts and the church. There is hardly any country where the minority enjoys such great linguistic rights as in Finland. Since the end of 1918 Åland has been detached from the county of Åbo and Björneborg, and formed into a separate county.

Åland has been a part of Finland throughout historical times, in government, church and legal jurisdiction. There is no certain historical proof that it ever belonged to Sweden, though certain facts indicate that it obeyed Swedish rulers for a short period during heathen times. Ever since the time when Sweden conquered Finland, Åland has always been considered a part of that province. The bishops of Åbo collected taxes there, the Finnish judges pronounced their judgments there, the lords of Åbo castle reigned there, except when the island was governed by the bailiffs of the Castle of Kastelholm. Wherever Åland occurs in ancient documents, it is mentioned as belonging to Finland. Moreover, Åland is one of the counties of which the Duchy of Finland consisted, when in 1556, it was given as a fief to Duke

Johan, son of Gustavus I. The ancient fact that Åland (or the province of Kastelholm) administratively belonged to Finland, was explicitly confirmed by legislation in the constitution of 1634, in which Åland was declared to belong to Finland.

In later times, Åland has so indisputably and naturally been regarded as Finnish, that at the Peace of Fredrikshamn in 1909, when Sweden ceded Finland to Russia, the Swedes only made a very feeble attempt to retain Åland, or at least to obtain from Russia an engagement not to fortify the island. Russia would not hear of such a dismemberment of Finnish territory. Count Rumjantsov, the Russian representative at the Peace of Fredrikshamn, replied to the Swedish proposal with the appropriate words „To keep Finland and cede Åland would be to keep the trunk and throw away the keys".

In 1855, during the Crimean War, a fresh opportunity of trying to obtain possession of Åland presented itself to Sweden, when the western powers attempted to make Sweden join their union against Russia. Sweden hesitated however, although the Anglo-French fleet commanded the Baltic, and though the fortress of Bomarsund, built by the Russians in Åland, had been destroyed. Oscar I., king of Sweden, was of opinion that Åland without the rest of Finland was of no use to Sweden, as a defence of Åland would be impossible if the rest of Finland was in the hands of a hostile power.

For the same reason, Baron Manderström, Sweden's special representative at the Paris congress in 1856, was charged only to demand that Åland should not be fortified, though Sweden might have been supported by the western powers in much more extensive demands, such as for the annexation of Åland to Sweden, or the complete neutralisation of the island. When Orlov, the Russian ambassador, refused to agree to the last proposal, the negotiations only resulted in the so-called *Åland-servitute*, i. e. the prohibition of building or maintaining fortifications, or other military buildings and establishments, on the island.

When Russia, during the world war, began to build extensive fortifications in Åland, Sweden made no emphatic protest, although this action was contrary to the agreement made by Russia. A question was asked in the Swedish parliament in May, 1916, but it did not lead to any action being taken. Sweden dared not oppose the powerful Russian empire.

When Finland declared its independence, after the Russian revolution, Sweden's desire to possess Åland reawakened. The Russian danger was past as soon as Russia had been forced back behind Lake Ladoga. It might have been expected that Sweden would give political support to the first feeble steps of an independent Finland, affording help in its defence against Russia, but during the Bolshevist insurrection of 1918 Sweden refused to give the legal government of Finland any active assistance. On the contrary, Sweden occupied Åland and entered into negotiations with the Bolsheviks.

This action on the part of Sweden deeply disappointed the people of Finland.

Owing to the uncertainty prevailing in Finland after the Russian revolution, and especially owing to the arbitrary behaviour of the Russian soldiers and workmen on the fortifications, the inhabitants of Åland began to desire union with Sweden. They hoped thus to escape the disturbed conditions resulting from the Russian revolution, by joining Sweden, where order reigned. Circumstances have however changed entirely since the Red insurrection was quelled in Finland, but the difficulties in Åland were afterwards exaggerated, and used for political objects. Let us see what reasons the people of Åland have to complain of their present situation.

There has never been the least sign of linguistic oppression. The Åland population is not a separate people, but it is independent, and can build up its own national culture. It forms the connecting link between the Swedes in Sweden and those in Finland, a little group of Swedish people, whose national existence is the more safeguarded as they lie mid-

way between Sweden and Finland, and are thus protected on all sides.

Further, Finland appears to be willing to make such arrangements in Åland that the language and economic and other interests of the population may be duly safeguarded.

From the Finnish point of view, it is impossible to cede Åland, because there is no natural boundary between the archipelagoes of Åland and Finland. The Skiftet is not suitable, as it is full of islands, and does not run in a straight line. If for instance, the *customs frontier* of Finland were drawn along the Skiftet, many difficulties would arise, for the extensive rocky archipelago would be the very place for smuggling. It is evident too, that by losing Åland, Finland would very largely lose the possibility of defending itself against any future naval attack. The ceding of Åland by an independent Finland would almost be like undertaking to be master in one's own house but giving the keys to the neighbours.

For the sake of peace between the northern countries, and for the maintenance of good relations round the Baltic, it is essential that these geographic, historic and national considerations should prevail in the Åland question. Åland should therefore be retained by Finland, to which it naturally belongs.

Åland in Finnish hands also a great safeguard for Sweden. In Russian hands it menaced Sweden. Under present circumstances it is much to the advantage of Sweden to strengthen and generally support Finland, so that Russia may not again have an opportunity of reaching the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia. Thus Sweden's advantage goes hand in hand with that of Finland. This is the only durable foundation on which good relations between Sweden and Finland can be based.

(b) The East-Carelian Question.

In olden times the Finnish people settled all over the territory lying between the White Sea and the Baltic, the

Arctic Ocean and the Gulf of Finland, the Gulf of Bothnia and Lake Ladoga. [1]) This great territory, surrounded by seas and lakes, forms a geographic and economic whole. A curious historic evolution has however divided the area, separating from Finland the part east of the so-called Maanselkä and south of the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga, though the population remained Finns.

The districts beyond the Maanselkä, namely Eastern Carelia, Kola and Olonets, are sparsely populated, distant and primitive areas, which were for a long time without any government to speak of. Nominally they belonged to Russia. When persecuted for their religious opinions, the inhabitants often took refuge in the extensive forests of Finnish Carelia. Forgotten and uncaredfor, these districts formed until lately a totally insignificant hinterland of the Russian empire.

The population was almost entirely Finnish until the end of last century, when the Russians began to move up to the shores of the White Sea, and the Kola peninsula. In northern Carelia, in the great central settlements of Uhtua and Vuokkinimei, there developed a Finnish culture, which received expression in the famous Kalevala and Kanteletar songs. It was from these regions that the world-renowned national epic of Finland, the Kalevala, was collected.

The Finnish settlements still extend to the neighbourhood of the White Sea. According to the census of 1915 there were 260 Finnish families on the Kola peninsula (59 % of the total population), and 119 Russian families (27 %). Other nationalities included 60 families of Lapps, and a few Norwegians, Syrjanians, etc. There is thus a great majority of Finns on the Kola peninsula. The greater part of Eastern Carelia and Olonets is also inhabited by a Finnish population. Russians are only to be found along the shores of the White Sea, and in Olonets. Unfortunately there are no reliable statistics as to the nationalities of the

[1]) Finns also settled on the southern shores of the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga, in Ingria.

population, which amounts in all to about 200,000. Many of the Finns in Carelia know Russian, which leads to errors as to their nationality. Of Russians proper there are much fewer than the statistics indicate, at most about 20,000.

The language frontier between the Finnish and Russian settlements is fairly well defined. There is no mixed population except on the shores of the White Sea and in the towns.

The people in Eastern Carelia and Olonets have for decades keenly desired to be united to Finland. During the world-war the Carelians manifested this desire more clearly than ever, but the fact that Finland could not supply these distant regions with food turned the eyes of many a Carelian to a direction from which, in these hard times, bread could more easily be obtained.

For many reasons, Finns have been sympatetic to this desire of the Carelians to be united to Finland. Their attitude has been influenced by national and geographical as well as political considerations.

Finland desires to reach the Arctic Ocean and the White Sea, so as to obtain direct communication with the Atlantic, and thereby with England and America. It hopes thus to surmount the difficulties arising from its being shut in in the Baltic. Finland is as it were in a bag, and can communicate with the western powers only through Scandinavia. If Finland obtained ports on the Arctic Ocean, traffic thence could be extended over all the oceans. If Finns are asked why they want to reach the Arctic Ocean the answer often is, — „We want direct communication with America".

A lasting political state can only be based on natural, i. e. national and geographic foundations. A keen desire for activity is now awakening among the Finns. If the western powers would, through Murman, stretch out the hand of friendship to Finnish enterprise, and Kola, Carelia and Olonets, — in view of their common nationality and natural geographical position — were united with Finland, a flourishing and fruitful cooperation would certainly result, and a permanent, stable, political state would be established in the most northern corner of Europe.

(c) The Esthonian Question.

Esthonia is inhabited by a people closely related to the Finns, who number over 1,200,000. The history of Esthonia up to the present day is a chronicle of the greatest suffering and oppression.

About the year 1227 the Esthonias were subdued by the German Knights of the Sword and the Danes, after long and bloody feuds. The descendants of the German knights treated the Esthonians harshly for centuries, and it was only under Swedish rule (1561—1708) that the conditions of life became easier. The free and ancient laws of Sweden and Finland made life bearable also for the suffering Esthonians.

Serfdom was abolished in Esthonia in 1819, but this did not ameliorate conditions, as the German estate-owners turned the benevolence of Alexander I. into evil, by annexing the land which had belonged to the peasants before they were released from serfdom. When the peasants were no longer the property of their masters, the land cultivated by them remained in the possesion of the landlords. Tens of thousands of ejections then followed, and the roads were crowded with beggars. The beggars were forced to enter into the service of the German barons, for the lowest possible wages. This misery lasted until 1860, when at last a law was passed giving the peasants the right to obtain land on a long lease, or even to buy the lease. On the other hand, the right of the nobility to buy land in the possession of the peasants, was also restricted.

A happier period then began for the Esthonians. The national awakening was accompanied by a notable educational movement. Esthonian schools were founded, newspapers were started, Esthonian literature grew as if by magic. Esthonian theatres were opened in Reval and Dorpat. But then came an attempt to kill this growth in the germ. The Esthonians still met with many difficulties in their struggle for existence against the Russian power. From 1890 schools founded by the Esthonians were Russified. All work for

the Esthonian cause demanded great personal sacrifices. The Russian and German spirit still reigned in Esthonia.

A new era of hope began however after the Russian revolution of 1917. At first Esthonia only claimed autonomy within the Russian empire, but when Bolshevism assumed control in Russia, Esthonia declared its independence, on February 24th, 1918, basing its claim on the national right of self-determination.

Scarcely had this taken place when the German troops occupied Esthonia (March, 1918). A new period of oppression then began. Esthonian newspapers were not allowed to appear. German became the only official language. There was also an attempt to introduce German instead of Esthonian into the schools. The old hatred of the Esthonians for the Germans reached its height in the summer of 1918, when the Germans, having been defeated on the western front, were forced, under pressure from the Allies, and owing to revolts in Germany, to quit Esthonia. Before leaving however, they removed great quantities of corn, sunk the Esthonians' weapons in the sea outside Reval, carried off their money, etc., thus leaving the Esthonians almost empty handed to defend themsleves against the Bolsheviks, who attacked them from the east, murdering, burning and plundering on their way.

The situation was exceedingly difficult, but the Esthonian leaders did not despair. The government of independent Esthonia, under the leadership of Konstantin Päts, began bold and energetic work for the salvation of the country. It was clear that immediate success could not be expected, as there was no money, no food, no troops, and no weapons. A kind of voluntary militia was raised however, and the advance of the Bolsheviks was stopped. At the same time a detachment of the English fleet arrived in Reval, and ammunition was sent from England.

A decided improvement in the situation took place in January 1919, when a couple of regiments of Finnish volunteers arrived in Esthonia. Encouraged by their arrival,

the Esthonian army assumed the offensive, and achieved several brilliant victories. Subsequently the Finns and Esthonians together took the important cities of Narva and Valk, whereby Esthonia proper was freed from the Bolsheviks, and the work for the welfare of the country could begin.

It is a certain fact that the Finnish and Esthonian Wars of Independence prevented the spreading of Bolshevism to Scandinavia and the rest of Europe. The independence of both Esthonia and of Finland is consequently of European importance. The history of Esthonia during recent years presents a people capable of cultural development, and fully determined to obtain the right to lead a politically independent life. In this struggle it deserves the powerful support of the civilised nations, and it has indeed the right to form an independent state, being itself a civilised nation.