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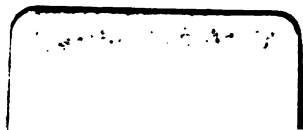
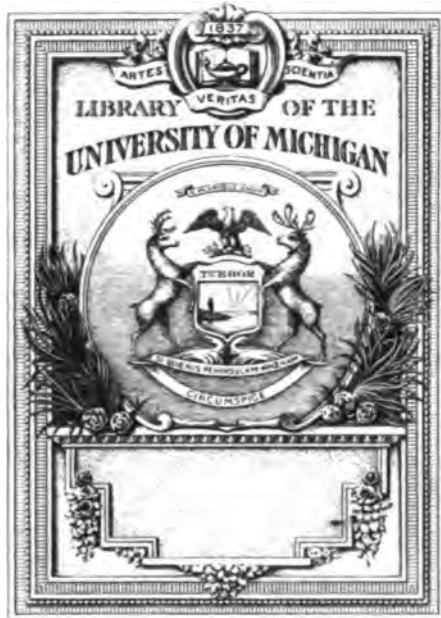
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VALFRID VASENIUS

HISTORY OF
PRINTING IN FINLAND

E. D. BUTLER.



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OUTLINES
OF THE
HISTORY OF PRINTING
IN FINLAND

BY
GUSTAF
VALFRID VASENIUS

Of Helsingfors University.



TRANSLATED FROM THE FINNISH

(WITH NOTES)

BY

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

As the History of the Art of Printing in Finland lies out of the ordinary course of bibliographical study, and is, consequently, little known in England, an English translation of Vasenius' *Piirteitä Suomen kirjapainon historiasta* (Outlines of the History of Printing in Finland) may perhaps not be without interest to bibliographers. The original of the work here translated was first delivered as a University oration on the 17th September, 1892, at Helsingfors, upon the occasion of the Commemoration of the 250th Anniversary of the founding of Printing in Finland, and was in the same year issued from the press of the "Finnish Literary Society," at Helsingfors. Dr. Valfrid Vasenius is the author of many useful works, bibliographical and literary-historical, both in Swedish and Finnish. Among his Finnish works stands pre-eminent, as a monument of patient industry,

his *Suomalainen Kirjallisuus 1544-1877* (Finnish Literature 1544-1877). This publication is a complete catalogue of Finnish books, arranged alphabetically under the names of their authors, and systematically under their subjects. He has also, from time to time, published successive supplements, of which the latest contains a list of Finnish books that appeared between 1892 and 1895.

E. D. B.



OUTLINES
OF THE
HISTORY OF PRINTING
IN
FINLAND.

IN any history, however short, of the rise and progress of the Art of Printing in Finland it is, first of all, necessary to point out its intimate relation to the history of the Finnish University, now at Helsingfors, but formerly at Åbo, and for the following reasons :—

The relationship dates from the very beginning of Printing in Finland; has been maintained, through weal and woe, all along; and is cherished even now, many of the finest productions of the modern press in Finland being written by those who are, or have been, members of the University.*

The history of Printing in Finland commences with the establishment, in 1642, by the University

* The Translator alone is responsible for these first two paragraphs and for the notes throughout.

of Åbo, of the earliest Finnish printing press, which, moreover, was for many years the only one in the country.

But, if the University of Finland may, on that account, claim for itself an important place in the history of the art of printing in that country, no less is it true that printing has strongly helped the University in the promotion of intellectual and mental culture. Soon after the founding of the University, in 1640, it was clearly stated in a sitting of the Consistory that printing would be necessary, not only for the sake of the disputations and programmes, but also "because, without the means of printing, our proceedings here will not be known in other places." So that it was perceived even at that time that it was only by the aid of printing that the ideas first formulated at the University could attain the wide circulation required, and thus have a beneficial influence upon the Finnish nation. As a mere external proof of the esteem in which the art of printing was held at the University, we may mention that the printer was regarded as an official of recognised rank, a place being appointed for him at church in the same pew as that in which the secretary and librarian "stood." His widow, like the bereaved wife of the minister of the church, was allowed a "year of grace," *i. e.*, a year's salary, and, what is more remarkable, the applicant, when first seeking office, would often promise, in conformity with an old custom among

the clergy, "to preserve the estate of the deceased," or, in other words, to marry the widow or daughter of his predecessor.

But not only in its more outward manifestations was printing closely associated with the labours of the representatives of intellectual effort. For if, on the one hand, the University has all along been the focus of enlightenment in Finland, so that the history of the University may be regarded as also the history of intellectual progress among the Finns, on the other hand, the vicissitudes of the art of printing mark no less the vicissitudes of mental culture in the country.

Two and a half centuries having passed since the introduction of printing into Finland, we may, by taking the year 1892 as our last point, divide the whole space of time (1642-1892) into three periods of almost equal length. The boundary-marks in this division, as in that of the history of Finland, are fixed by the Treaty of Nystad (1721)* and that of Fredrikshamn (1809).†

The earliest of these periods is generally accepted in history as that of the greatness of Sweden, for during that time the Swedish State was recognised as one of the great powers of Europe. But along with this outward display of

* This treaty marks the close of the so-called Great Northern War, which began in 1700.

† The year 1809 is the date of the incorporation of Finland, though as a separate state, with Russia.

strength there was in many respects a corresponding internal weakness, which was especially observable in Finland. Whilst abroad, on the battlefields of Germany, the soldiers of Finland attained European fame under the banners of Sweden, the Finns at home in their own country had still to carry on in silent misery the old weary struggle against hunger and want. Though Queen Christina bought at great expense rare books and manuscripts, which she afterwards gave away or took with her out of the realm, she could find no funds for maintaining the printing press of the Finnish University in good order. It is significant that although theology was the chief study of the time, yet for full fifty years the University press was without Hebrew type.

Under such conditions any brilliant achievements in the domain of intellectual culture could hardly be expected during this period. The general tendency of such efforts as were then made had a still more unfavourable effect than even the external difficulties. Let us take, for example, the following strange inconsistency.

In Germany the soldiers of Sweden and Finland had fought in defence of liberty of opinion in matters of religion; but at home a mental attitude the reverse of liberal had by degrees arrogated to itself a firm position. Every clause of the Confession of Faith, however unimportant, was held, with rigid tenacity, as sacred, and the slightest

deviation in belief therefrom was punished severely ; and yet there was often very little attention paid to the principles of religion in every-day life. Moreover, while the church sternly guarded doctrinal purity, the authority of the king was considered as almost illimitable. Thus a certain priest, wishing to show what was "the divine right of the king," took in all seriousness as the text for his discourse the words, "and ye shall be his servants,"* used by Samuel when he warned the children of Israel against the rule of a king.

There was yet another serious obstacle to intellectual progress. It was this: Latin alone was used as the language of the higher education, the advantages of which could, therefore, be enjoyed by only a very limited circle of readers.

The effect of the above-mentioned conditions on the history of the literature and of the art of printing is very clear.

The very objects for which the printing press was employed are characteristic of the age. The University press was, of course, used chiefly for printing Latin disputations and programmes. The second press, *i. e.*, that of Bishop Gezelius, was intended for the benefit of a much larger circle of readers than University teachers and students, and on that account printed a considerable number of school-books, which, however, were mostly in

* 1 Samuel viii. 17.

Latin. With a similar object a third printing press was also founded, namely, that of Bishop Bång, which was at the gymnasium of Viborg.

If we examine the contents of the literary productions that appeared, we shall find the results equally unsatisfactory. Among the scientific works there are very few which, viewed from a modern standpoint, can be regarded as of high merit, while some contain mere juggles of words. For example, long metrical Latin discourses were composed, in which every word began with the same letter of the alphabet.

The cause of this barren formalism may reasonably be ascribed to the general suppression of the right of private judgment. During the period we have now under consideration (1642-1721) no one in the University of Finland dared to teach otherwise than that the sun went round the earth. To give another illustration:—In the year 1693, Rudeen,* Professor of Poetry, complained in the Consistory that so much bad Swedish verse was printed; whereupon the Consistory imposed a heavy fine on the two printers of the town, should they dare to print a single Swedish or Latin poem

* Torsten Rudeen was born in 1661 in the parish of Lysvik in Vermland; in 1678 he entered the University of Upsala, where also, in 1691, he obtained the master's degree. In the following year he was appointed Professor of Poetry at the University of Åbo. In 1719 he became Bishop of Linköping, where he died in 1729. Cf. *Biografinen Nimikiria*, p. 589, Helsingissä, 1879-89.

which the said professor had not looked through and approved of. If poetry were so harshly dealt with, what might not other and more serious works expect?

Under such conditions the printing presses of the country had naturally little to offer to the general public except devotional books. Religious or ecclesiastical studies predominated during this period, and in this field there was sedulous activity. Among other works there were brought out both a new Swedish and a new Finnish Hymn-Book, and these remained in use in Finland up to our times. (Cf. p. 13, footnote.)

But the repression of liberty of opinion was stringently carried out even in the publication of religious works. As a notable example we may mention that the circulation of the Catechisms written by Terserus and Bång,* two bishops of Finland was entirely prohibited, on account of some slight unorthodoxy.

The well-known Primer and Catechism, *Lasten paras tavara* (The Child's Best Possession), published in 1666 by Bishop Gezelius, met with much better success than the Catechisms of Terserus and Bång. Next to the Hymn-Book, this Finnish work is the one that has gone through the greatest number of editions—about ninety in all.

* They were Bishops of Abo and of Viborg, respectively; but in 1664 Terserus was removed from the Bishopric of Abo and was succeeded by Gezelius. Later, in 1674, Terserus became Bishop of Linköping.

The Catechisms cited are the fruits of the enthusiasm with which at that time reading and popular instruction in church doctrine were extended in Finland. What was done in this field was the most noteworthy feature of the age, and had a great influence afterwards on many other branches of literature.

In other ways religious literature extended its influence beyond its proper province. So many secular topics were often incorporated into sermons, that, for this reason, they served a purpose somewhat analogous to that of modern newspapers. If we carry this comparison further, it will be found to still hold good. Sermons were often preached on the occasion of special historical events, such as victories, defeats, or treaties of peace, and then gave expression to the sentiments of the nation, as at the present time is the case with our public journals.

But, even though the Finnish and Swedish literature of the country was almost entirely of a religious character, yet the printing presses of Finland were inadequate alone to supply all the requirements of the nation, even in this field. As is well known, a translation of the whole Bible in Finnish appeared for the first time in 1642,* the very year when the first printing press was set

* This translation of the Scriptures was issued by a Committee under the presidency of Eskil or Æschillus Petræus, Professor of Divinity in the Finnish University. It was in reality a final revision of an earlier version made by a Committee appointed in 1602, the foremost member of which was

up in Finland; but this Bible was printed in Stockholm. And, in like manner, we find that during all this time Finnish Hymn-Books and Catechisms were being printed in Stockholm.

But the Finnish printers were very soon roused to rivalry with those of Stockholm. As early as 1647 Petrus Wald† printed a Hymn-Book, and in 1668, Gezelius prepared a new Hymn-Book, which was printed at Åbo. Moreover, in the year 1685, appeared for the first time an edition of the Finnish translation of the Bible printed in Finland.‡ And after the new Hymn-Book had been duly authorized, the first edition was published at Åbo in 1701.§ It was afterwards, as is well known, continually reprinted in Finland.

Bishop Erik Sorolainen, or Ericus Eri. There is a copy of this Bible, which is in folio, in the British Museum Library. Cf. Godenhjelm's *Handbook of the History of Finnish Literature*. 2nd edit. pp. 36 and 40. London, 1896.

† Petrus Wald, the earliest printer in Finland, was born near Upsala in 1602, came to Åbo in 1642, and there had charge of the University printing press. He died at Åbo in 1653. Cf. *Biografinen Nimikirja*, p. 724.

‡ This edition, a quarto, corrected by Henrik Florinus, Pastor of Paimio, was printed at Åbo, and was the result of a comparison with the Hebrew and Greek. There is a copy in the British Museum. Cf. Godenhjelm's *History of Finnish Literature*, p. 40.

§ This Hymn-Book was only in 1886 superseded by a new one, by order of the Synod. The Hymn-Book of 1701 is supposed to have been prepared by Erik Cajanus, Co-Rector of Åbo School, and afterwards Pastor of Kronoby. Cf. Godenhjelm's *History of Finnish Literature*, p. 42.

Looking at all the special conditions of this earliest period (1642-1721), we may say that printing was in much the same position as that of a newly-settled colony. The implements of labour were both deficient in number and poor in quality, and only the rough undergrowth of ages was cut down to clear the soil for intellectual culture. And alas! even then, when at length the season of harvest seemed to be near, there came a withering frost in the shape of the Great Northern War.

During this disastrous visitation the press at Viborg was destroyed, and the two at Åbo were removed to Sweden, so that for nine years Finland was without a single printing press. There were not even any reading-primers obtainable for the children. But, even as the poor Finn had accustomed himself to bread made from the bark of a tree, so now did he obtain from the wood of a tree the necessary means for his mental sustenance. Daniel Medelplaan, who had formerly superintended the printing press at Viborg, employed himself, when at Pälkäne, in 1719, in cutting out the letters and words upon wood-blocks, by the aid of which he succeeded in printing an ABC-Book, or Primer.

Soon after this, in 1722, the University press was brought back to Åbo, and four years later a second one followed, *i. e.*, that which formerly belonged to Bishop Gezelius, but had now passed into the possession of Henrik Christofer Merckell.

The new period (1721-1809), which had now commenced, is remarkable in the history of printing because of the almost incessant contentions, or at least rivalries, of those who coveted the advantages that would or might accrue from the privileges of printing at the University. At first Merckell, a printer at Stockholm who, as we have already stated, had become the possessor of Finland's second printing press, for a long time tried to obtain the printership of the University; but the Consistory seem to have viewed him with feelings of apprehension, and more especially feared lest he should apply to the Stockholm authorities in order to obtain what he wanted. The result of this fear was that, in 1722, the Consistory, in order to preserve to itself the right of choosing the chief superintendent of the press, hurriedly accepted for the post a man who was afterwards found to be very unsuitable. The end of the matter was that the University, in 1750, sold its press to Merckell's son Jakob. As a few years previously (1742) the other press had been removed to Sweden, that of the University was now the only one in Finland until 1776, when Londicer's press was founded at Wasa.

In the year 1756 Johan Christofer Frenckell became part owner of Merckell's press,* and, upon the death of the latter, seven years later, he, conjointly with the merchant Jakob Bremer, came into

* *i.e.*, the one at the University.

the possession of the same. But soon a long contention arose between the partners as to their respective rights, and this disagreement was not settled until between twenty and thirty years later (1788). Frenckell had meanwhile died (1779), but his son, whose name was identical with that of his father, became, in 1785, sole owner of the press, and for twenty years enjoyed the privileges connected with the University.

But, in addition to this, there were for a long time carried on many controversies in writing and other conflicting struggles for the exclusive right of printing the Finnish Hymn-Books and Catechisms. The Consistory wished to secure this right for the University press, but there were some Stockholm printers who strenuously opposed its petition. In urging this claim the Consistory had in view the advantage of the general public no less than that of the University. The devotional books printed in Finnish at Stockholm were often very faulty; for example, a man, if he followed the actual text of one Hymn and Prayer Book, would promise to take his bride as the "plague" of his "married state," instead of as his "wife"; and the bride took her espoused as her "man of brains," instead of as her "husband."* Nevertheless the said sole right of printing, if obtained, would also be to the

* In the one case the word *vaimo* (wife) was printed *vaiva* (plague) and in the other the word *avio* (marriage) was printed *aivo* (brains).

advantage of the University. A small yearly grant was allotted by the authorities for the purposes of both the library of the University and the printing press ; but, whenever the latter happened to get into a bad condition, the whole amount of the grant was required for repairs, and nothing in that case was left for the library. This state of things was the subject of a complaint made in 1737, when it was also stated that, at the printing office, it was a difficult matter to set up even one sheet at a time. But, if the above privilege were again secured, the printer would be at least the gainer to this extent, that the University could demand that the press should be kept in good order.

The said right of preference which had been petitioned for was obtained for the University in 1741 ; but the Stockholm printers for a long time after this so far succeeded by their intrigues as to print the Hymn-Books, and moreover with the royal privilege. And, as such a right was granted only for a specified time, a certain printer of Stockholm, named Carlbohm, when the said time had run out, secretly printed new copies, retaining in them the date of the preceding licensed edition. At last, however, Frenckell (the second of that name) made a contract with him for such copies as he had left, and thus the right of Frenckell remained undisputed.

From this point we find that great progress was made in printing. The strife between Frenckell



and Bremer had had such a detrimental effect, that even as late as 1765 the press still remained in very evil plight, and is said to have been again so badly equipped that there was not type enough to compose one sheet at a time. But, during the latter half of the century there were so many and such large books produced, that printing had evidently made great strides. Of course by degrees the reading public increased in Finland; and, when one considers that the printer was generally at the same time the publisher, the progress made seems only natural. The demands on the part of the Consistory were always raised every time a new contract was made with a printer. Nothing indeed had to be paid by him for rent, but he was obliged to strike off the disputations at an increasingly cheaper rate. The progress of printing, therefore, greatly benefited poor students, in the matter of payment for the printing of their disputations.

Considering the general character of the period, the repeated troubles that arose are in many respects worthy of note. The half-century 1721-1772 has been styled "the Time of Liberty." As early as 1761 a sermon was printed at Åbo, with the title "Friheten hvar til vi kallade äre, såsom den förnämsta orsak, hvarföre vi böre tacka och lofva Gud" ("The Liberty to which we are called our highest reason for gratitude and praise to God"). And especially among the Finns did the cause of liberty find an heroic champion in Anders Chy-



denius, "Chaplain" (*i.e.*, "Vicar") of Nedervetil and afterwards Pastor of Gamla-Karleby, who strenuously advocated the urgent need of mercantile and industrial freedom, as well as that of religious liberty and the independence of the press. In 1766 the Swedish State passed its earliest enactment conceding the last-mentioned.

And still there was a continual contention about privileges! This shows that the principles of liberty had not yet been properly planted in the popular mind, except as regards politics. Thus there was again the same conflict between theory and practice as was noticeable in the preceding period.

But, on the other hand, the above-mentioned contention about privileges was very natural. The demands of Chydenius had been based on the state of oppression in which the merchant of Österbotten found himself in comparison with the native of Stockholm. And, just as the aim of Chydenius was to free the Finnish merchant from the domination of the merchant at Stockholm, so also that of the Consistory was to acquire for Finland the liberty of the press. "Finland for the Finns" was the true sentiment of the heart, even though it might not be clearly given as a watchword; and this sentiment gradually, but all the more surely, implanted itself in the mind of the people.

Indications of this are observable in the litera-

ture. The University disputations no longer touched almost exclusively upon topics connected with theology, philosophy, and other such general subjects in the world of science, but sought their materials in the history of the fatherland, or in its geography, agriculture, and domestic economy. Gradually Latin began to be supplanted by Swedish, at least in some subjects, while the Finnish language became an object of scientific investigation. It was "in honour of" this language that Daniel Juslenius compiled a copious Dictionary; * furthermore, the Finnish Grammar of Bartholdus Vhael † was published, and Porthan ‡ and others

* This work, entitled *Suomalaisen sana-lugun coetus* (Attempt at a Finnish Dictionary), was printed at Stockholm in 1745. The Finnish words are translated into Latin and Swedish, and there is, in addition, a list of Swedish words with references to their Finnish equivalents. Daniel Juslenius, the author, was successively Bishop of Borgå, in Finland (1734), and of Skara, in Sweden (1744). He died in 1752. There is a copy of his Dictionary in the British Museum library.

† The *Grammatica Fennica* of Bartholdus Vhael was published by his widow in 1733. It shows a more correct conception than the earlier grammars of the nature of the Finnish language. There are two copies of this book in the British Museum.

‡ Henrik Gabriel Porthan, the so-called "father of Finnish history," was the first to introduce scientific and critical methods of investigation at the University, where, in 1777, he became Professor of Roman Literature. He was born in 1739, and died in 1804. His most important work is *M. Pauli Juusten . . . Chronicon Episcoporum Finlandensium, annotationibus . . . illustratum*. Aboae, 1799. His *De Poesi Fennica*, Aboae (1766—1778) treats of both ancient and modern Finnish

afterwards made known the treasures of Finnish poetry. Books were now produced for the Finns on subjects other than those of a devotional character. The "Sveriges rikes lag," or Swedish code of 1734, appeared in a Finnish version in 1759, and the "Acta publica hörande til Sveriges rikes fundamental-lag" in 1765. Public decrees also were now regularly translated into Finnish. Henceforward, a Finn, though ignorant of any other language than his own, was able through that medium to learn what rights and what duties devolved on him as a citizen. The general interest in national and domestic economy led to the development of a specific literature relative thereto, more particularly after the establishment of the Finnish Economic Society at the close of the eighteenth century.

But if we take a general survey of the literature of Finland, we shall find it, in some respects, less independent than before. The press itself bears witness to this. The works of Frese* and Creutz,†

poetry, and is a work of great merit and interest, as hitherto, outside Finland, hardly anything had been known about Finnish national poetry. Both of the above-mentioned works are in the British Museum. Cf. Godenhjelm's *History of Finnish Literature*, p. 51.

* Jakob Frese, born at Viborg, 1691, died 1729, was a writer of plaintive lyrical verse.

† Gustaf Philip Creutz, born in 1731, is known especially as the author of "Atis och Camilla," one of the most admired poems in the Swedish language. In 1763 he was sent as

two of the best poets of Finland, were printed in Sweden, where appeared also the Dictionary of Juslenius, and even all the works of Chydenius on national economy. This preference for Sweden was owing to the circumstance that, during "the Time of Liberty," the diets, and afterwards, in the reign of Gustavus III., the brilliant court and the Swedish Academy formed the centre of attraction, and influenced all the educated classes.

All the more important was it, therefore, that a new point of centralization was formed in Finland, so that the collective talent of that country could be brought to it as a focus. And such a focus, or common rallying point, was afforded by the first newspaper published (1771) in Finland, the *Tidningar utgifna af ett sällskap i Åbo*.*

This organ of the Aurora-Sällskapet, whose utterances were encouraged and directed by Porthan, appealed in its first number, issued 1771, to the youth of Finland to combine in their efforts for the mental culture of their fatherland. Nor did its appeal fall upon deaf ears. The poets, foremost

Swedish ambassador to Spain, and afterwards, in 1766, to France. In 1783 he was recalled from Paris by Gustavus III., and made President of the Swedish Chancellery. He died in 1785.

* This periodical was published weekly; the contents were mostly of a scientific character. The Aurora-Sällskapet, a literary society with patriotic aims, was founded in 1770.

among whom was Franzén,* as well as the scientists, co-operated in writing articles for the "Tidningar" on subjects relating to the homeland. Here then was a literary production whose definite domicile was in Finland, and which could not be equally well published out of that country, and which, moreover, strongly advocated the sentiment that the Finns had still a fatherland of their own, and their own needs and aspirations. The "Tidningar" was followed soon afterwards (1776) by a similar venture in Finnish, entitled *Suomalaiset tietosanomat* (Finnish News),† but this periodical did not live for more than one year.

Shortly after the founding of the Finnish Economic Society, Franzén, pleased at the exertions made on behalf of intellectual progress and domestic economy, wrote (in 1800) his poem, "Finlands

* Frans Mikael Franzén was born at Uleaborg in 1772. At a very early age he entered the University of Åbo, and in 1796 he became librarian there. For his *Sång öfver Grefve Gustaf Philip Creutz*, Franzén, in 1797, gained the prize of the Swedish Academy, of which also, in 1808, he was elected a member. Upon his removal to Sweden he was appointed Pastor of Kumla, in Nerike, in the diocese of Strengnäs, but ultimately (1831) he became Bishop of Hernösand. He died in 1847. He was a true lyric and epic poet, but especially excels in his shorter pieces. Cf. Cygnaeus, *Teckningar ur F. M. Franzéns lefnad*. Helsingfors, 1872; and *Biografien Nimikirja*, pp. 223-226.

† This publication soon altered its original title to that of *Suomenkieliset tietosanomat*, and was edited by Antti Lizelius, Provost of Mynämäki. Cf. Godenhjelm's *History of Finnish Literature*, pp. 52, 53.

Uppodling" ("Finland's Culture"),* at the end of which he sees a bright vision of the future of his country:—

"The Arts' high vault our sons attain, and lo!
Their genius, like some granite spur aglow,
Nigh Sweden's sister peak, in dawn's swift fires,
Freed from oblivion's mists, a world admires."

This exaltation of Finland as a nation by the side of Sweden did not, however, happen in the way that the poet anticipated. As is well known, Franzén, after the incorporation of Finland with Russia, withdrew from Finland to Sweden, though he suffered bitterly when he had to choose between these two countries. Prior to his departure he made a collection of his poems, and, in 1810, had them published at Åbo, as a parting gift to Finland.† He left Finland, it is true; but it may be said of him, as of Väinämöinen: ‡

"He has left his harp behind him,
Lasting joy to all his people." §

In giving his opinion of this collection of poems

* Cf. *F. M. Franzén's Samlade Dikter*, II., pp. 42—48. Örebro, 1867—69.

† *Skaldestycken. Första bandet.*

‡ Väinämöinen, "old and steadfast," is the name of the principal hero in the *Kalevala*.

§ "Jätti kantelen jälille,
Kansalle ilon ikuisen."
Kalevala. Rune L., lines 509 and 511.

by Franzén, Cygnaeus* says that, if we except devotional works, it is the most valuable book which up to that date had been published in Finland.

The superiority of this book is the more marked, in that for ten years after its appearance the printing presses of Finland did not produce any specially meritorious work. The great political change had at first a depressing effect on the mind of the nation.

But the presses were not on that account idle. The new period, which began in 1809, brought with it new circumstances and needs. Many kinds of publications formerly printed in Sweden were now necessarily printed in Finland, from almanacs and state calendars to collections of statutes. Moreover the new condition of things gradually aroused new aspirations, which required the aid of printing to further their aims. For example, in the year 1820 was started a fresh newspaper in Finnish, *Turun viikkosanomat* (Åbo Weekly News), and in this instance the venture proved successful.†

* Fredrik Cygnaeus, poet, historian, and critic, was born in 1807, became Professor of Æsthetics and Modern Literature at the University of Åbo, and died in 1881. Cf. Godenhjelm's *History of Finnish Literature*, p. 73.

† The popularity of this periodical was due chiefly to its clear and simple style, and the interesting and varied nature of its articles. Cf. Godenhjelm's *History of Finnish Literature*, p. 56.

The number of printing presses begins now gradually to increase, and this in a manner which shows a noteworthy accordance with the historical developments of the period. Let us take a hasty survey of the chief data connected with this change. It may be mentioned, in passing, that in the following computation the lithographic presses are reckoned only when they have not had the same owner as any given printing press.

Between the years 1776 and 1815 there were in Finland only two printing presses, *i.e.*, those of Frenckell and Londicer. In 1815 a third was added, *i.e.*, that of Cedervaller in Viborg, and, in 1818, those of Simelius at Helsingfors, and of the Bible Society at Åbo. In four years, therefore, the number had more than doubled itself. But then came seven lean years, during which the number remained stationary. In 1826 Uleåborg and in 1829 Borgå acquired each its first printing press; but three new presses had meanwhile been founded at Helsingfors, *i.e.*, that of the Russian Staff and those of Frenckell and of Wasenius.* So that again the number had doubled itself in the space of four years, having risen from five to ten. The increase in the number of presses at Helsingfors was chiefly owing to the removal of the University to that city after the fire at Åbo (in 1827); furthermore, from 1829, the presses of

* The father of the author.

Frenckell and of Wasenius issued also each a newspaper. Similarly at Uleåborg was started in that year the *Oulun Viikkosanomia* (Uleåborg Weekly News). It is evident that the increase in the number of printing presses was almost entirely owing to greater mental activity.

After this there came again—not seven, but eleven lean years, during which not a single press was founded. But those were hard times: the Emperor Nicholas ruled then, and, as is well known, he was not exactly friendly to free expression of opinion.

In the year 1840 the University commemorated the two-hundredth anniversary of its first establishment. New impetus was thus given to patriotic exertions; the amount of literature produced in that year was exceptionally large; and indications of the growing literary assiduity are plainly shown in the development of the press. From the year 1841 the number of printing presses shows a gradual increase, so that fourteen years later, in 1854, it has risen from ten to twenty. During this time Kuopio, St. Michel and Tavastehus acquired each a press, as did also, for a few years, Sortavala and Björneborg. Soon after the founding of the press at Kuopio, Snellman's famous newspapers, *Saima* and *Maamiehen ystävä* (The Countryman's Friend)* appeared there. The Finnish Literary

* Both periodicals were started at Kuopio, in 1844, by Johan Vilhelm Snellman, rector of the high school there. Snellman,

Society † established its press at Helsingfors in 1849, and soon began to print the *Suometar* (Finlandia), which periodical dates back from 1847.

But after 1854 there is again a check, for we find that in the year 1860 the number of presses still remains twenty, in fact, it had once sunk to eighteen. It is not difficult to trace the cause for this cessation of progress. The war against France and England (1853—56), the famine of 1856, and the "interdict" of 1850 (prohibiting the use of Finnish, except for economic and religious purposes) are sufficient to account for it.

In 1861, two years prior to the restoration of constitutional life by the Convocation of the Diet, a better time begins for printing. Progress, however, is still somewhat slow, a new printing press being founded about every second year; in 1867 and 1868, years of famine and distress, there is no new press started. Two fresh provincial towns now acquire printing presses, namely, Jyväskylä

after the accession of Alexander II., obtained great fame in Finland as a statesman. In 1863 he became Senator and President of the Bureau of Finance. He died in 1881.

† This society, first established at Helsingfors in 1831, is the leading representative of literary culture in Finnish. During its whole career it has diligently furthered the cause of Finnish Literature, by publishing a great number of useful popular, ethnographical, and scientific works in that language, besides several large dictionaries, and volumes of translations from the works of the best foreign authors, among others of many of Shakespeare's dramas.

and Tammerfors. One of these, the first press established at Jyväskylä, made a strange journey. The well-known author Gottlund* founded in 1845 a printing press at Helsingfors; this was afterwards sold to Ekenäs and then resold to Jyväskylä, from which place it ultimately returned much enlarged to Helsingfors as the property of Weilin and Göös.

Thus, in the course of fifteen years the number of printing presses had increased by nine, and in 1875 there were twenty-nine. After this, four years only were required for a like increase, the total in 1879 being thirty-eight, or nearly twice that attained in 1860. And again a plain reason is perceptible for the quick progress made. During these years prosperity was more general, and money was plentiful; but, on the other hand, there was a considerable amount of discord. The rivalry of languages was more keen, and many new periodicals were started, especially in Finnish.

The year 1880 was the last in which no new printing press was founded in Finland. From 1881 the progress in the number of presses became

* Carl Axel Gottlund, born 1796, died 1875, was an indefatigable, but singular author, who persisted in using the Savonian dialect for literary purposes in Finnish. His *Otava* (Great Bear), 1828—1832, a literary and scientific magazine, with illustrations, was, considering the circumstances of the time, a very creditable production. Gottlund edited also the periodicals *Suomalainen* (The Finn), 1846, and *Suomi* (Finland), 1847—49. There is a copy of the *Otava* in the British Museum Library.

more rapid, so that in 1889 it was already double that of 1880, the total being eighty. And in 1891, by a curious coincidence, the number of printing presses was identical with that of the number of years of the century, *i.e.*, ninety-one.*

But not only does the increase in the number of printing presses show how times have altered. The business also in some printing establishments has, as is well known, been considerably extended. New inventions economising labour and additional demands imposed upon the press by altered conditions have, in some respects, altered also the methods of work. The printing of the large daily newspapers and of the proceedings of the Diet requires despatch; and, speaking generally, there is, in these days of steam and electricity, greater haste than formerly. For these reasons a considerable change has taken place, especially during the last quarter of a century. If any one of the old printers were still alive, he would regard as a fable an account of the present quick issue of books. Without doubt the keener competition which has sprung up among some of the printing establishments has brought about this acceleration of speed; but greater method in the work of those employed has also effected much.

* In 1897, the number of printing presses was ninety-five, distributed among thirty-three towns. In four towns there was no press, *viz.*, in Kajana, Torneå (pop. about 1,200 each), Kaskö and Nådendal (pop. about 700 each).—*Note by the Author.*



It is, however, true that the greater speed now attained, looking at it from every point of view, is not altogether advantageous. Work swiftly done is not always well done ; and, without intending to depreciate the newspapers, it must be admitted that in their sheets a number of inaccuracies occur that no conscientious typographer would permit in a book. The case of the typographer is in this particular like that of a newspaper writer, who may often, by a slip of the pen, write a phrase that he himself would strongly object to, if he met with it in a book.

Here, undoubtedly, lurks a danger to the art of printing, and one that was unknown in its former stages, when there was ample time for the proper execution of all work. It is, therefore, the duty of all true friends of this art to strive to ward off this danger by restricting these irregularities to the limits within which they are unavoidable. And especially now, when we are taking a retrospect of former times, ought we to keep in lively remembrance that the banner of a noble art should be borne aloft, and that we ought also to perform our work, not only to satisfy the needs of the passing hour, but to make provision for centuries. Indeed, this feeling is so general with the Finns, that when a festival commemorative of the art of printing shall again be held in Finland, the work accomplished in our day will not fail creditably to fill its page in the history of the art of printing in their country.

