THE MYTHS OF FINNISHNESS ON THE PAGES OF HISTORY

MA Thesis

Veronika Edelmann
6974848
History of Politics and Society
Utrecht University
Dr. Jacobson

June 20th, 2021
Word count: 12 989


MUISTOJEN
LEHTI
Uusi Kuvalehti N:o 6.
Maaliskuun 30 p. 1899.
Toimittajat:
Juhani Aho. Pekka Aho.
Lakiryhmä Aleksanteri II:sen muistopatsaasta.

The cover page of Uusi Kuvalehti from March 30th, 1899.
National Library of Finland

Abstract

This research is a contribution to the modern trend of deconstructing Finnish history's nationalistic elements, which has dominated Finnish historiography over the past decades. During the first period of Russification, from 1899 to 1905, the prevailing policy of cultural and political oppression implemented by the Tsarist government inspired vocal counter-reactions among the Finnish subjects. The dissatisfaction culminated in the mass mobilization of the population in the October 1905 week-long general strike, which brought the prior six years of Russification to an end. In the ninety years that preceded the implementation of the Russification policies in February 1899, a distinct Finnish national identity had developed rapidly, manifesting in for instance the arts, literature, and folklore. Among others, Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm theorize that printed press and cultural mediums, such as paintings, were integral enablers in the proliferation of nationalism. Deriving from a theoretical framework that focuses on cultural means of spreading nationalism, this thesis examines the contribution of two contemporary cultural publications, *Uusi Kuvalehti* and its successor *Helsingin Kaiku*, in disseminating nationalistic narratives in Finland during 1899-1905. Contemporary pieces of art are used as complimentary evidence. The narratives perpetuated in these representations of the contemporary media are analyzed through the methodological lens of four foundational myths as identified by historian Sirkka Ahonen. These myths are integral in the history of Finnish national identity and their influence carries over to this day. A quantitative assessment reveals that in the 161 issues studied, the four myths manifest a total of 121 times. The periodicals strongly perpetuated narratives of survivorship, anti-Russian sentiments, and emphasized the differences between the Finns and the Russians, in addition to promoting Finnish political autonomy and even independence. Qualitative analysis of the most significant manifestations reveals that the mythical narratives were propagated in a creative manner, as the publications utilized profiles of influential Finnish figures, poetry, and images. By consistently and concertedly disseminating such antagonizing content, the periodicals indirectly contributed to the mass mobilization of the Finns in the general strike of 1905. The aggravating content published by the periodicals, despite prevailing censorship, contributed in strengthening the Finnish nationalistic movement and contributed to the increased political consciousness of the Finns.

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Introduction

"Swedes we are no longer, Russians we do not want to become, let us therefore be Finns."[1]

Throughout the nineteenth century, nationalism gained momentum across Europe, as it transformed power structures between nations and propelled the continent into the next century of violent uncertainty. In addition to catalyzing such consequential developments as the unification of Germany and Italy, nationalism posed existential problems to the late nineteenth century's multiethnic empires, such as the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires. Nationalism spread through different channels: for example, cultural dissemination of nationalism contributed in its expansion to a "major ideological movement".[2] As this compelling ideology spread throughout the northernmost peripheries of Europe, it inspired a process that created, shaped, and fostered a distinct national identity in the Grand Duchy of Finland, as exemplified by the quote above.

In 1809, Russian Tsar Alexander I triumphed over Sweden in the Finnish war waged between 1808 and 1809. Consequently, Sweden lost its Eastern provinces, and Finland was, in Tsar Alexander I's words, from that moment onwards "raised to the rank of nations" as a Grand Duchy of Russia.[3] From 1809 to 1899, Finland enjoyed an autonomous position with its own administrative and military systems that developed after 1863. Simultaneously, the nationalistic movement gained prominence. The imperial policy of Russification – the suppression of ethnic nationalisms and streamlining of administrative and legislative procedures throughout the Empire – introduced by the last of the Tsars, Nicholas II, stripped Finland of its autonomy with the ratification of the February Manifesto of 1899. This initiated the first period of Russification in Finland, which culminated in a

[1] A Fennoman motto attributed to Adolf Ivar Arwidsson.
[2] John Hutchinson, "Cultural nationalism, elite mobility and nation-building: communitarian politics in modern Ireland", The British Journal of Sociology , Dec., 1987, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Dec., 1987), pp. 482-501, p. 482.
[3] Osmo Jussila, "The historical background of the February Manifesto of 1899." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 15, no. 2/3 (1984): 141-47, pp. 141-142.. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43211265.

week-long, nation-wide general strike in late October, 1905. The strike brought the activities in the Grand Duchy to a screeching halt, as striking expanded from the railway workers to shop clerks and even police officers.[4] As a consequence of the strike, Tsar Nicholas II restored aspects of Finland's autonomy, which in turn led to the 1906 Finnish Parliamentary Reform granting universal suffrage and political rights to all, including women.[5] The 1905 strike and its ramifications were momentous in Finland's development towards a nation-state, as October 1905 witnessed a mass mobilization of the population in demanding citizens' rights and an end to the arbitrary Tsarist policies that had begun in 1899.

During the ninety years of autonomy that preceded the February of 1899, the development of Finnish national identity accelerated. As historian Sirkka Ahonen has argued, the Finnish national identity was built upon foundational myths created and popularized by Yrjö Koskinen in his *Finnish people's history* (1881), which was swiftly adopted as the official national history. In his account of Finnish history, four central claims structure the nationalistically motivated narrative. The myths, presented here as statements for the sake of clarity, are:

1. A nation state is the destiny of Finland;
2. The Finns are a "survivor-people";
3. The Finnish society is egalitarian in character;
4. Historically and culturally, Finland is an integral part of the West, markedly distinct from Slavic cultures.[6]

In spite of referring to the aforementioned statements as "myths" throughout this research, some aspects of them materialized in the decades after the 1905 turmoil. In 1917, Finland gained

[4] Suojeluskunnat ja Lotta Svärd, "Suurlakko 1905". Accessed on June 10th, 2021. https://perinne.fi/suojeluskuntajaerjestoe/taustaa/suurlakko-1905/
[5] Arla Kanerva, "Suomessa oli suurlakko 110 vuotta sitten – ja se oli oikeustaistelija Tekla Hultinin elämän parasta aikaa", Helsingin Sanomat, December 5th, 2015. Accessed on June 10th, 2021. https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/art-2000002870781.html
[6] Sirkka Ahonen, "Suomalaisuuden monet myytit", p. 9.

independence, and successfully defended its sovereignty against the Soviet Union throughout the twentieth century. The Finno-Soviet clashes during the Second World War strengthened both the domestic and global perceptions of Finns as mythical survivors. Moreover, although violence against women remains alarmingly prevalent and wage disparities exist, Finland is a globally renowned pioneer in gender equality. In 1906, Finnish women were the first in the world to gain full political rights and today, all five of the coalition government leaders are young women. As for the myth of the Finnish "Western character", the 1995 EU membership decisively cemented Finland as a member of the Western community of nations. Despite these later developments, the aforementioned statements remained mythical in 1899-1905 and therefore, are referred to as such. The myths are further elaborated on in the Material and Method-section of this introductory chapter.

The purpose of this research is to examine the contributions of two contemporary cultural media outlets in the process of Finnish national identity building during the first period of Russification in 1899-1905, which eventually culminated in the nation-wide strike. Thus, the central research question is posed: How and why did two cultural periodicals, *Uusi Kuvalehti* and *Helsingin Kaiku*, contribute to the process of disseminating national identity in Finland between 1899 and 1905?

The following sub-questions that help answering the main question are addressed:

- How did Finnish nationalism develop prior to 1899?
- What are the main aspects of the February Manifesto?
- In what historical context did *Uusi Kuvalehti* and *Helsingin Kaiku* operate?
- How did the four myths of Ahonen manifest in the periodicals?
- How did the periodicals' fostering of national identity contribute to the 1905 general strike?

Theoretical framework

This section discusses relevant theories framing this research: Benedict Anderson's theory on imagined communities, Eric Hobsbawm's theory of invented traditions, and John Hutchinson's observations on cultural nationalism. Moreover, as the timeframe 1899-1905 consists of Finnish Romanticism's "Golden Age,"[7] Joep Leerssen's considerations on Romantic nationalism are relevant. Based on these theoretical observations, four hypotheses are composed to be tested in the analysis.

Both Anderson and Hobsbawm approach nationalism from the same basic premise: a nation is a construct, instead of being a naturally occurring social unit. Anderson perceives nations as imagined communities, arguing that even in the smallest nation it is impossible for the citizens to form intimate and personal relationships. Therefore, imagined interpersonal ties and a sense of belonging in a nation are formed by culture and emotion in such a substantial manner that the national community forms a "deep, horizontal comradeship" for which many are willing to, and indeed have, died for.[8] Anderson argues that the "profoundly self-sacrificing love" aroused by nationalism is derived from the cultural roots of the ideology, which in turn create the framework of comradeship for members of a nation through a shared language and history, a set of traits, beliefs and attitudes – all of which are expressions of culture.[9] Anderson emphasizes the importance of providing representations of the imagined community's characteristics: he argues that the printed press provided the platform for the dissemination of these certain national narratives and thus facilitated nationalism's expansion in nineteenth century Europe.[10] These cultural means of propagating national identity also extend to art; for instance, paintings can effectively convey a

[7] Marja Lahelma, "From Nostalgia to Where..? National Romanticism, Esotericism, and the 'Golden Age of Finnish Art'", *Department of Cultures*, 2020. Accessed on February 29, 2021. https://researchportal.helsinki.fi/en/publications/from-nostalgia-to-where-national-romanticism-esotericism-and-the-
[8] Benedict Anderson, "Imagined Communities", p. 7.
[9] Munro, A.. "Benedict Anderson." *Encyclopedia Britannic*, 2020. Accessed on May 18, 2021. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Benedict-Anderson.
[10] Anderson, "Imagined Communities", p. 25

nationalistically motivated narrative. Anderson's theory is particularly applicable in this research, as I focus on analyzing a large number of printed press publications and a selection of contemporary art.

In the formation of these national, imagined bonds of comradeship, invented traditions play a key role. These include national holidays, anthems and flags, consisting of elements that are considered expressions of a nation. Hobsbawm argues that these invented traditions are a requisite to nationalism, and defines the process of the invention of tradition essentially as the "formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by repetition."[11] Moreover, he considers the invention of constructed traditions as a set of fixed activities and values,[12] which "are not spontaneous group expressions but, rather, a calculated expression by one person or group to promote a desired set" of these values.[13] In short, the invention of tradition is a result of a concerted and conscious effort of a group of individuals promoting a certain nationalist-oriented narrative.

These actors who facilitate the spread of nationalism may include the nation's "historicist intelligentsia", who John Hutchinson considers crucial in the process of creating and propagating national identity.[14] He argues that the intellectuals' efforts of promoting national language, literature, arts, and educational activities are vital in creating mutual bonds of comradeship.[15] Criticizing the scholarly focus on political aspects of nationalism, Hutchinson centralizes culture in his approach, arguing that the intelligentsia's primary motive is not political (i.e. state-seeking) but the aim is rather to create a moral community.[16] Unlike Hutchinson, Joep Leerssen includes the consideration of the ideology's political ramifications when defining Romantic nationalism as "the

[11] Eric Hobsbawm, "The Invention of Tradition", p. 4.
[12] Cited in Paul Pillar, "The Age of Nationalism," p. 91.
[13] Cecily Morrison, "Culture at the Core: Invented Traditions and Imagined Communities. Part II: Community Formation", International Review of Scottish Studies 28, 2007, p. 5. DOI: 10.21083/irss.v29i0.162
[14] John Hutchinson, "Cultural nationalism", p. 482.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid

celebration of the nation (defined in its language, history and cultural character) as an inspiring ideal for artistic expression; and the instrumentalization of that expression in political consciousness-raising."[17] Nevertheless, as observed, all aforementioned theorists place considerable weight on the cultural dimensions of national identity building. The theories argue that the concrete means to build the imagined bonds of mass comradery are to be found in cultural expressions. Hence, they are applicable in this research, as I explore the burgeoning Finnish cultural sphere as represented by the two periodicals and the selection of contemporary pieces of art.

Drawing from these theoretical standpoints, the following hypotheses are composed:

- The four myths manifesting in the periodicals are the progenitors of the invented traditions of Finnishness, and contributed in the creation of the imagined community of Finland in 1899-1905 (H1)
- The two periodicals, as part of the Finnish printed press, contributed in the dissemination of nationalism (H2)
- The two periodicals exemplify the nation-building efforts by Finland's contemporary historicist intelligentsia (H3)
- The two periodicals instrumentalize the expressions of nationalism and thus contribute to increased political consciousness, as demonstrated by the 1905 general strike (H4)

These hypotheses are tested in the analysis of the primary sources in order to assess the main question of the periodicals' role in Finland's national awakening.

[17] Joep Leerssen, "When was Romantic nationalism? The onset, the long trail, the banal", Nine Essays 2, 2014, p. 5. Retrieved May 10, 2021. https://spinnet.eu/CMS/upload/WhenWasRomanticNationalism.pdf

Historiography

Finland's nineteenth-century nationalism has been of scholarly interest to domestic and foreign academics alike. In the 1970's and 1980's, international historians including Miroslav Hroch, Hugh Seton-Watson, and Andrew Orridge parallelized the nineteenth-century Finnish national movement with Central and Eastern European nationalistic developments of the era.[18] Additionally, both Hroch and Karl Deutsch perceive Finns as a "repressed people" i.e. in a culturally and politically disadvantageous position.[19] Nevertheless, Finnish scholars have nuanced the debate concerning the substance of Finnish nationalism by emphasizing the factors that differentiate the Finnish case from other Eastern European cases such as the Baltics and Poland. Risto Alapuro has shown that the circumstances in which Finnish nationalism emerged were unique due to the administrative autonomy of the Grand Duchy, therefore making the case of Finland markedly different.[20]

Over the past decades, however, a pervasive historiographical debate regarding the actual extent of the Grand Duchy's autonomy has dominated the Finnish academia. Among others, Osmo Jussila has questioned the juridical validity of the Tsarist Imperial Oath of 1809, when Alexander I established Finland among the "rank of nations". According to Jussila, the autonomy of Finland was a mere façade and a meaningless concept, as the autocratic ruler had *de facto* control over the Grand Duchy.[21] Nevertheless, the "myth of autonomy" has been integral in terms of Finland's history and historiography, as it has been the fundamental supporting narrative in Finland's nation-

[18] Miroslav Hroch, "Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Völkern Europas", *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philosophica et Historica*, no. 24, 1968; Hugh Seton-Watson, "Nations and States", *London: Methuen*, 1977; Andrew Orridge, "Varieties of Nationalism", in *The Nation-State*, edited by Leonard Tivey, 1981.
[19] Risto Alapuro, "State and revolution in Finland," *Brill*, 2019, p. 82.
[20] Ibid", p. 84. Note:
[21] Osmo Jussila, "Suomen historian monet myytit", *WSOY*, 2007.

state development from the early nineteenth century. This integral myth of autonomy has, in turn, shaped and supported other mythical elements of Finnish national identity.[22]

These other mythical elements of Finnishness have been studied by for instance Jussila, Sirkka Ahonen, and Miika Tervonen.[23] In their analyses, the importance of education in the construction of nationalism is emphasized. The symbols of nationalism – invented traditions – that shape historiography, history curricula, and national identity consist of discourses, ideas, pictures, narratives, and myths.[24] The three aforementioned authors approach the mythical elements in Finnish historiography from different standpoints, but all the authors agree that Finland's historicist intelligentsia skillfully exploited these constructed narratives in the nation-building process in the nineteenth century.

As Tervonen states, the paradigm of Finnish historiography has transformed from the early scholars crafting and formulating "nationalistic interpretations" to modern researchers deconstructing them.[25] The purpose of this thesis is to substantiate the analysis of the mythical elements that shaped the realities of Finns in the dawn of the twentieth century. By examining a large quantity of issues by contemporary cultural publications through the methodological lens of Ahonen's myths, the manner in which the national identity building process occurred in Finland between 1899 and 1905 is examined. The data is analyzed by detecting the manifestations of these myths, which allows for observations of how they were utilized in spreading nationalism. Although the mythical elements of the Finnish nationalistic story have been of academic interest, this research uniquely applies the foundational myths as the methodological tool through which the sources are interpreted. Thus, this research follows the paradigm of deconstruction of nationalistic narratives in

[22] Mirkka Lappalainen, "Maan menneisyys muurattiin myyteistä Osmo Jussila sotii nationalistista historiankirjoitusta vastaan, vaikka se ei ole rehottanut enää aikoihin", *Helsingin Sanomat*, 2007. Retrieved on May 19th, 2021. https://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/kirja-arvostelu/art-2000002591365.html

[23] Sirkka Ahonen, "Suomalaisuuden monet myytit", Gummerus?; Osmo Jussila, "Suomen historian monet myytit", *WSOY,* 2007; Miika Tervonen, "Historiankirjoitus ja myytti yhden kulttuurin Suomesta", Koneen Säätiö, 2014.

[24] Jussila, "Suomen historian monet myytit".

[25] Tervonen, "Historiankirjoitus", p. 139.

Finnish historiography with a twist: instead of analyzing the myths themselves, their manifestations and political utility are scrutinized.

Material and method

Ahonen's four myths, derived from Koskinen's interpretation of Finnish history from 1881, provide the methodological lens through which the primary sources are assessed in this thesis. As noted, theorists on nationalism centralize the role of printed press and culture in the proliferation of the ideology. Accordingly, a selection of Finnish printed press from 1899-1905 is analyzed, alongside a number of contemporary pieces of art. Between 1890 and 1905, the number of Finnish-language publications significantly expanded.[26] The majority of the printed press was controlled by influential elitist clubs and networks, who generally had a nationalistic political agenda.[27] Due to this research concentrating on the cultural dimensions of Finnish nationalism, a central cultural periodical of the era, *Uusi Kuvalehti*, (*The New Pictorial*) is analyzed. Numerous contemporary artists, authors, and patriotic figures were active in the publication of this periodical: the publishers, Brofeldt (later Aho) brothers, Pekka and Juhani, were both active in spheres of literature, journalism, and translation. Juhani Brofeldt was Finland's first professional author.[28] Their publication, *Uusi Kuvalehti*, has been described by Päiviö Tommila as "Finland's first actual cultural publication."[29] In addition to discussing culture by reviewing plays, publishing poems and novels, and commenting on literature, the publication regularly covered contemporary political issues in various forms, including articles, poetry, and images. Moreover, considering the context within which the periodical was published and the nationalistic agenda of its publishers – Pekka

[26] Päiviö Tommila et. al., "Suomen lehdistön historia 1: Sanomalehdistön vaiheet vuoteen 1905", *Kustannuskiila OY*, Kuopio, 1988, p. 443.
[27] Jukka Kortti, "Kulttuurista politiikkaan: Aho, Leino ja kulttuurilehdet estetiikan ja politiikan rajoilla", *Ennen ja nyt,* 13.12.2016, accessed on 26.11.2020.
[28] Juhani Ahon Seura ry., "Juhani Aho",
[29] Päiviö Tommila et. al., "Suomen lehdistön historia 1", p. 443.

Brofeldt vehemently and vocally opposed the Russification policies – the cultural commentaries of the periodical frequently included political undertones.

As a result of his political activism, Pekka Brofeldt was exiled by the Tsarist government and consequently, *Uusi Kuvalehti* was discontinued in May 1903.[30] However, in October 1903, *Helsingin Kaiku* (*The Echo of Helsinki*) published its first issue – Tommila considers this periodical as a replacement and a successor to *Uusi Kuvalehti*, as the subjects covered in the publications and the group of individuals active in them remained largely interchangeable.[31] Although I acknowledge that the forceful shut of the original periodical likely affected the content of the publication from October 1903 onward, analyzing *Helsingin Kaiku's* issues up until the 1905 strike presents valuable insights of the contemporary atmosphere, in addition to providing a possibility to assess the impact that tightening censorship had on the periodical's content. Additionally, examining *Helsingin Kaiku*'s content in the months leading up to the 1905 strike enables an analysis on the periodical's possible role in mobilizing Finns to strike.

Uusi Kuvalehti and its successor can be assumed to have carried prestige and influence due to their creators' status among the cultural elites, but surprisingly, the circulation of the publication averaged only 3000 per issue and was primarily ordered to Helsinki.[32] Information on *Helsingin Kaiku'*s circulation is not found, but it can be reasonably assumed that the successor publication's reach was similar to its predecessor. These low numbers indicate that the publications did not reach a wide audience, which may be a result of a plurality of reasons, including the cost, the small size of the target audience, the indifference of some social classes toward the publications' content, or simply poor marketing. In spite of this, the publications provide a window into the contemporary world and thus are valuable primary source material. As stated, the individuals active in the

[30] Päiviö Tommila et. al., "Suomen lehdistön historia 1", p. 443
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.

publications were influential members of Finland's cultural elite – therefore, the publications from 1899-1905 reflect the upper echelons' reaction to the policy of Russification.

Both periodicals appeared twice a month until January 1905, when *Helsingin Kaiku* began to publish four issues monthly. An analysis of the issues published by *Uusi Kuvalehti* from February 1899 to May 1903 is conducted, followed by an examination of the issues of *Helsingin Kaiku* from October 1903 to November 1905. In total, this consists of 161 issues.[33] The quantified findings are collected and condensed in Table 1 on page 43.

An assessment of the publications using the four myths as a methodological lens enables a systematic analysis of the means in which the two periodicals contributed to the process of Finnish national identity building from 1899 to 1905. A quantitative analysis allows for the assessment of the relative importance of each myth. By combining this with a qualitative analysis of the content of the significant manifestations, this research effectively deconstructs the nationalistic interpretations and reveals the methods utilized by contemporary nationalists in disseminating their ideology, in addition to determining which of the myths were most crucial in the narratives. The choice of using the myths as a methodological tool derives from the interest in examining the power these narratives hold. As discussed, the myths of Finnishness have become reality in many aspects: therefore, it is enlightening to analyze the manner in which the publishers of *Uusi Kuvalehti* and *Helsingin Kaiku* labored in perpetuating these cherished narratives of Finnishness and shaping the readers' conceptions of themselves and the surrounding community.

Furthermore, a selection of contemporary pieces of art, such as sculptures and paintings, is analyzed as complementary evidence. As discussed, Anderson considers art as an important medium for nationalism. Therefore, analyzing a selection of contemporary art provides further evidence of

[33] A large number enabled by the shortness of the individual issues, 12 pages per issue. Retrieved on May 15, 2021. Uusi KuvalehtI: https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/titles/1458-8668?display=THUMB&year=1899; Helsingin Kaiku: https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/titles/fk00458?display=THUMB&year=1903

Finland's nationalism manifesting through culture. Furthermore, as noted, the circulation of the publications was not extensive: this poses an additional crucial reason to include paintings and sculptures in the analysis, as they were likely to reach and affect a wider audience than the periodicals. The pieces of art are naturally affected by the circumstances within which they were born, and thus reflect the era's *Zeitgeist* to a degree: contemporary art provides one type of reflection of the surrounding world. Moreover, art follows trends: in the Finnish context, the prevailing trend was National Romanticism.[34] Hence, the contemporary art included nationalistic themes, and analyzing pieces of art as supporting material indicates the extent to which the myths were perpetuated in the broader cultural setting.

The sub questions posed earlier are addressed in the upcoming chapters. In Chapter 1, the historical context of the research is discussed by firstly examining the development of Finnish nationalism prior to 1899 and secondly by discussing the content and ramifications of the 1899 February Manifesto. The first chapter provides the contextual background of the circumstances in which *Uusi Kuvalehti* and *Helsingin Kaiku* operated and details the main aspects of the Russification policy. In Chapter 2, an analysis of the four myths manifesting in the two periodicals and selected pieces of art is conducted. The chapter progresses by qualitatively elaborating the crucial manifestations of each myth and presents the quantitative findings in Table 1. Chapter 3 briefly discusses the relationship between the publications and the 1905 general strike. In the last chapter, a final conclusion and reflection of the periodicals' role in shaping Finland's nationalism is presented.

[34] Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, "Kalevala: Suomen taiteen kultakausi", n.d. Accessed on June 11th, 2021. http://nebu.finlit.fi/kalevala/index.php?s=82&m=81&l=1

Chapter 1: The historical context

This chapter discusses the historical context by giving an overview of the development of Finnish nationalism prior to 1899. Moreover, the main aspects of the February Manifesto are discussed in order to establish the context within which *Uusi Kuvalehti* and *Helsingin Kaiku* operated.

Finnish nationalism prior to 1899

When Tsar Alexander I annexed Finland from Sweden in 1809, he promised to guarantee "the privileges of the Finnish estates together with other rights, 'constitutional laws', and religious freedom."[35] This Imperial Oath followed the 1809 Treaty of Hamina, which concluded the 1808-1809 Swedish-Russian conflict over Finland. As Finland became Russia's Grand Duchy, the Tsar agreed to uphold and respect the institutions, religion, and constitution that had been established in Finland under the Swedish rule. Although the Tsar's intentions were later contested, the 1809 Imperial Oath and the declaration of Finland rising "to the rank of nations" resulted in the birth of the conception of autonomous Finland for the first time in history.[36] Henceforward, the Imperial Grand Duchy developed a distinct national identity throughout the nineteenth century. Linguistically and culturally, Finland differed from the Russian metropole and other parts of the Russian Empire. Belonging in the minuscule Finno-Ugric language family, Finnish differs philologically not only from Slavic languages, but also from all Germanic and Indo-European languages. Moreover, Protestantism has been Finland's dominant religion from the twelfth century,

[35] Petri Karonen, "The Peace Treaty of Fredrickshamn and its Aftermath in Sweden and Finland", *Sjuttonhundratal*, 168-183, 2010, p. 174, from: https://septentrio.uit.no/index.php/1700/article/view/2425/2250

[36] Original: "*place désormais au rang des nations*". Karonen, "The Peace Treaty", p. 168; Jussi Kurunmäki and Ilkka Liikanen, "The Formation of the Finnish Polity within the Russian Empire: Language, Representation, and the Construction of Popular Political Platforms, 1863-1906", Harvard Ukrainian Studies , 2017-2018, Vol. 35, No. 1/4, THE BATTLE FOR UKRAINIAN: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (2017-2018), pp. 399-416, p. 401.

in contrast with the Russian Orthodoxy.[37] The expressions of this unique Finnish identity, deriving from the region's linguistic and historical context, increased throughout the nineteenth century and manifested in for instance arts and folklore.

These nationalistic expressions were facilitated by a top-down project of national awakening launched in the mid-nineteenth century.[38] Johan Snellman, Johan Runeberg, Fredrik Cygnaeus, Elias Lönnrot and Sakari Topelius, all influential members of the elite and major cultural figures of the era, formed the core group advancing Finland's nationalistic cause in mid-nineteenth century.[39] These figures, of whom the above is not an exhaustive list, established cultural clubs with a so-called Fennoman-agenda and formed a vanguard of the nationalistic movement.[40] Fennomans were known as partisans of the nationalist movement advocating the use and cultivation of Finnish language.[41] For instance, Snellman was a leading figure in the Fennoman movement due to promoting Finnish national interests through language and culture, in addition to being influential in the political, economic, and administrative spheres.[42] Heavily influenced by Hegel's thoughts on nations and *Bildung*, Snellman embarked on a "civilizing project" aimed at educating the rural Finnish *Volk* by awakening their nationalistic spirits.[43] He considered *Bildung* as a process of transmission of traditions "materially through books, works of art, memorials, and orally."[44] Snellman, similarly to Anderson and Hobsbawm, considered cultural means of spreading nationalism fundamental, and actively utilized and advocated the use of cultural means in disseminating Finnish nationalism.

[37] Kurunmäki and Liikanen, "The formation of the Finnish polity", p 403.
[38] Richmond, W. Edson. "The Study of Folklore in Finland." *The Journal of American Folklore* 74, no. 294 (1961): 325-35. Accessed May 18, 2021. doi:10.2307/538255.
[39] Risto Volanen, "Suomen synty ja kuohuva Eurooppa", *Otava*, 2017, p. 138.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. "Fennoman,", n.d. Accessed May 31, 2021, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Fennoman.
[42] Singleton & Upton, "Short History of Finland", p. 77.
[43] Risto Volanen, "Suomen synty ja kuohuva Eurooppa", *Otava*, 2017, p. 147.
[44] Visa Immonen, "Bildung as the process of cultural heritage: two traditions under a single name", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 27:4, 344-355, p. 349, DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2020.1795906.

Another core member of the Fennoman circles, Elias Lönnrot, published the first version of *Kalevala*, a collection of Finnish oral traditions and mythology, in 1835. Lönnrot was an educated man, who lived "in an age which was highly romantic and in part of the world which had a strong desire for national identity" and traveled across Finnish hinterlands, collecting and transforming ancient oral folktales into poetry.[45] His monumental influence in accelerating Finnish nationalism in the nineteenth century cannot be overstated, and *Kalevala's* influence in inspiring Finnish culture, especially in the nineteenth century, is substantial.[46] It is estimated that the tales of *Kalevala* date back 3000 years and contain traditions, poems, practical instructions, ancient myths, sagas, and Finnish folklore that have been passed down orally over generations.[47] These myths and poems enhanced the contemporaries' understanding that Finland was markedly different from the Russians *and* the Swedes, and had its own mythical past to refer to in the process of crafting national identity.

Finnish nationalism gained momentum and began to manifest in various forms over the nineteenth century largely without imperial interference. The increasingly nationalistic expressions, such as *Kalevala*, were accommodated by Alexander II (reigning 1855-1881), a famously liberal and reformist Tsar whose regime acknowledged the positive societal potential of Snellman's civilizing project.[48] Under Alexander II's reign, a large number of reforms favoring the Finnish cause were implemented. For instance, the Finnish language gained an official status in 1863, achieving an equal standing with Swedish, which had previously been Finland's only official language. This momentous step advanced the Fennoman's cause – as *inter alia* Anderson and Weeks argue, language is an essential factor in building national identity.[49] Alexander II's official imperial recognition and conscious strengthening of Finnish language's position was motivated by the

[45] Richmond, W. Edson. "The Study of Folklore in Finland p. 327.
[46] Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, "Kalevala: Suomen taiteen kultakausi", n.d. Accessed on June 11th, 2021. http://nebu.finlit.fi/kalevala/index.php?s=82&m=81&l=1
[47] Christopher Costanzo, "The Kalevala – The Beauty of Finland's Great Epic", *Our Herald,* 2018. Retrieved on April 20th, 2021: https://www.ourherald.com/articles/the-kalevala-the-beauty-of-finlands-great-epic/.
[48] Volanen, "Suomen synty", p. 172.
[49] Anderson, "Imagined Communities", Theodore E. Weeks, "Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier 1863-1914", Northern Illinois University Press, 1996, p. 6.

government's fear of Swedish liberal ideas spreading and gaining foothold in Finland via the Swedish-speaking elites.[50] Thus, by attempting to suppress ideas of political representation and democracy spreading from the West, the language reforms of Alexander II indirectly contributed to the strengthening position of Finnish nationalism.

As a result of his policies often favoring Finland, Alexander II was an immensely popular Tsar among his Finnish subjects. Hobsbawm, whose theory on invented traditions is applied in this research, considers the Finnish loyalty to the Tsar as "an extreme example of the potential effectiveness of pure state-patriotism", since the Finns remained steadfast "to the Tsarist Empire for so much of the nineteenth century, indeed until the policy of Russification after the 1880s produced an anti-Russian reaction."[51] Hobsbawm points at the statue of Alexander II, the "liberator", which still stands proudly in the main square of Helsinki, and argues that the statue embodies the rapid change in Finnish attitudes towards the Tsarist rule.[52] After being erected in 1894, the statue became a central gathering spot for the bourgeoisie and higher-class groups. In less than a decade, the meetings by the statue transformed from devoted commemoratory events dedicated to Alexander II's memory to civic demonstrations against his grandson's, Nicholas II's, Russification measures.[53] Anecdotally, when the General Governor Nikolay Bobrikov – considered the embodiment of the Russification policies[54] – was murdered in 1904 by Eugen Schauman, a

[50] Volanen, "Suomen synty", p. 138.

[51] Erik Hobsbawm, "Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality", *Cambridge University Press,* 2012, pp. 86-87.

[52] This remarkable admiration of Finns or Alexander II is perhaps best illustrated when contrasted with his memory in other corners of the old Empire: in Poland, he is remembered as the cruel suppressor of the 1863-64 uprising. Helsingin suomalainen klubi, "Aleksanteri II".

[53] Ibid, p. 87; Juha Roiha, "Venäjän keisarin patsas herättää yhä turisteissa ihmetystä: Miksi se on yhä keskellä Helsinkiä?", *YLE*, September 26, 2019. Accessed February 16, 2021 from: https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-10984227

[54] Bobrikov was appointed in 1898 and immediately began the process of Russification: he "created a new army bill that increased the traditional term of military service from ninety days to five years, placed Finns in Russian units under the control of Russian officers, and changed the aspects of service from domestic protection of specifically Finland to military service anywhere throughout the Russian Empire." This bill was blocked by the Finnish Diet. Consequently, Nicholas II issued the February Manifesto thus granting Bobrikov the ability to circumvent the Finnish institutions. Global Nonviolent Action Database, "Finns resist Russification, end conscription, regain elections, 1898-1905", n.d. Retrieved April 20th, 2021: https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/finns-resist-russification-end-conscription-regain-elections-1898-1905

nationalist, the Finns covered the statue of Alexander II in flowers, signaling to Nicholas II: "At least Alexander was a good Tsar."[55]

The February Manifesto

> *"We, NICHOLAS The Second, by the grace of God, Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, Tsar of Poland, Grand Duke of Finland etc. etc. do hereby proclaim to all Our faithful subjects that: The Grand-Duchy of Finland, which, since the beginning of the present century, has been included in the Russian Empire, possesses, by the gracious consent of Tsar Alexander I, of blessed memory, and of His August Heirs, special institutions with respect to interior administration and legislation, which are suited to the conditions of life in that country."*
>
> Tsar Nicholas II in the February Manifesto of 1899.[56]

Although this research's main focus is on the cultural means of disseminating national identity, in order to comprehend the historical context of 1899-1905, a brief overview of the political and legislative dimensions and developments of nineteenth-century Finland is necessary. These dimensions are intertwined with Finland's "special institutions" mentioned by Tsar Nicholas II above, and they were at the core of the February Manifesto.

In 1809, Alexander I summoned the Finnish Diet (the legislative assembly of the Grand Duchy). After the exchange of Alexander's Imperial Oath and the new Finnish subjects' Oath of Allegiance in 1809, the Diet did not convene for the following half century[57] – Alexander II summoned the next Diet only in 1863.[58] Between 1809 and 1863, however, parliaments across the European

[55] Juha Roiha. Unfortunately, there is no record of Nicholas II's reaction; it can however be assumed that this frustrated him to an extent.
[56] February Manifesto. Accessed on March 15, 2021. http://www.netbooks.fi/history/keisarik.html
[57] Onni Pekonen, "Parliamentarizing the Estate Diet: The debate on plenum plenorum in late 19th century Finland", *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 42:3, 245-272, p. 248, DOI: 10.1080/03468755.2017.1315168.
[58] In the aftermath of the costly Crimean war, Alexander II needed to raise taxes in the Grand Duchy and thus had to summon the Diet. Timo Turja, "Vuoden 1863 valtiopäivien 150-vuotisjuhla vuonna 2013", *The Finnish Parliament,*

continent had undergone fundamental transformations, emerging as "*the* forums for national politics."[59] As well as nationalism, parliamentarism reached Finland: after 1863, the legislative assembly convened regularly as the interpretation of the Diet's functioning changed. In 1809, the Diet was perceived as an advisory body to the Tsar, whereas from 1863 onwards it adopted modern constitutional thinking. Post-1863, the Tsar held executive power, but the Diet shared the legislative powers with him.[60] Consequently, by 1886, the Finnish general assembly had progressively gained the ability to introduce legislation on its own initiative.[61] The 1863 reactivation of the Diet was perceived as a significant point on Finland's path towards statehood, as a turning point in the nation's political history, and as a culmination of the previous fifty years of national awakening.[62] For example, Yrjö Koskinen, whose myths are integral for this research, described his excitement of the events of 1863 by stating that "[our] state night, over half-century long, had come to its end."[63]

Moreover, the 1863 reactivation of the Diet acted as a catalyst for the massive political mobilization of the Finnish population. The increasing political awareness was accelerated by the simultaneous increase in Finnish-language press, which enthusiastically followed the political processes of the era.[64] The representatives of the estates in the Diet were elected (with the exception of nobility), and the electoral processes were carefully observed by the press, to the extent that political issues came to dominate the content of the publications.[65] This trend is observable from the content of *Helsingin Kaiku*, as the periodical features portraits of dozens of Diet representatives in consecutive issues in late 1904, as further discussed in Chapter 2. The coverage exemplifies the Finnish media's deep interest in the political sphere and civic developments.

2013, p. 1. Accessed on May 15th, 2021. https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/NuortenEduskunta/Alla-armahan-lakimme-valtiopaivat-1863-1864/Documents/turja-vuoden1863valtiopaivat.pdf.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Turja, "1863 valtiopäivät", p. 2.

[61] Toivo U. Raun, "The Revolution of 1905 in the Baltic Provinces and Finland", *Slavic Review*, Autumn, 1984, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Autumn, 1984), pp. 453-467, p. 458.

[62] Volanen, "Suomen synty", p. 185.

[63] Koskinen quoted in Kurunmäki and Liikanen, "The Formation of the Finnish Polity", p. 400.

[64] Swedish remained the first language among the Finnish elites, and continues to be the second official language of Finland to this date.

[65] Turja, "1863 valtiopäivät", p. 3.

Finnish historian Henrik Stenius has argued that in the 1860's ideas of free and independent citizens in possession of rights and duties vis-à-vis the state gained prominence: in short, ideas of political representation developed.[66] Simultaneously, the Diet acquired a (perceived) position as the defender of Finland's autonomy, becoming the key institute protecting "what were perceived as irrevocably acquired constitutional guarantees for Finnish rights. … The Diet was considered to be a cornerstone of [Finland's] separate status. It tended to be seen as a symbol and manifestation of this status and of Finnish unity."[67] Indeed, it can be argued that the Finnish Diet constituted as the exact "special institutions with respect to interior administration and legislation, which are suited to the conditions of life in that country", as Tsar Nicholas II himself declared in the February Manifesto.[68]

The Manifesto effectively stripped Finland from its autonomy by removing the powers of the Diet, which initiated the first period of Russification. Implementing a policy of centralization and suppression of local ideas of statehood was vital for the Tsarist regime, which suffered from structural problems resulting from the pressures of industrialization and modernization. Finland's autonomy posed numerous problems for the Russians, as the evidently increasing local nationalism raised suspicions of Finnish separatism.[69] Furthermore, the Tsarist government was concerned with the possibility of the recently unified and strengthened Germany exploiting its influence in Sweden in order to stage an invasion of Russia through Finland. This scenario posed an imminent threat to the Russian capital of St. Petersburg, located in close proximity to the Finnish border. Related to the security of the capital, the question of the Finnish military's special status emerged among the Russian government, as they perceived that the Finns, who enjoyed imperial protection, should

[66] Turja, "1863 valtiopäivät", p. 3.
[67] Risto Alapuro, "The Construction of the Voter in Finland, c. 1860-1907", Redescriptions Political Thought Conceptual History and Feminist Theory, 10, p. 44. DOI: 10.7227/R.10.1.4
[68] February Manifesto, http://www.netbooks.fi/history/keisarik.html
[69] As other parts of the Russian Empire, such as the Baltic Provinces and Poland began to express nationalistic and separatist sentiments, the Finnish developments were worrisome to the officials.

therefore contribute to the military efforts of the Empire.[70] However, from the 1878 Conscription Act on, Finland had – remarkably – upheld a national, independent army, whose sole mission was the protection of Finland.[71] Hence, Finns were not subject to conscription in the Russian army. To amend the military legislation, the consent of the Finnish Diet was needed, and the Tsarist government was aware of the Diet's unwillingness to pass such laws. The security of his capital was of foremost concern for Nicholas II, and the "military considerations were decisive in leading the Tsarist government to implement Russification" policies in Finland.[72] Thus, it can be argued that the 1899 February Manifesto, which nullified the Finnish Diet, was issued primarily due to the need to create a legislative basis for the conscription of Finns into the Russian army.

In the February Manifesto itself, Nicholas II acknowledged the special status of Finland deriving from the "characteristics of the social structure of the land", and stated that the previous institutions of the Grand Duchy were no longer compatible with those of the rest of the Empire. Thus, the position of the Finnish Diet was reduced from a *de facto* legislator to an advisory body in order to ensure the centralization and streamlining of the Empire's legislation.[73] The Manifesto laid "the basis and framework for all subsequent measures of Russification. It was the beginning and foundation of the years of Tsarist oppression, the breach of the Imperial Oath, a *coup d'état*, a sudden bombshell from St. Petersburg destroying the harmonious relationship between the Tsar and the Finnish people."[74] As Hobsbawm observes, the Finns had constituted the most loyal and devoted subjects of the Russian Tsars for a majority of the nineteenth century; however, this dedication vanished as a result of Nicholas II's overreaching policies.

[70] Eric Solsten and Sandra W. Meditz, "Finland: A Country Study", US Library of Congress, 1988. Accessed on May 18th, 2021. http://countrystudies.us/finland/13.htm
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Osmo Jussila, "The Historical Background of the February Manifesto of 1899", *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Summer-Fall 1984, Vol. 15, No. 2/3, SPECIAL ISSUE: FINLAND AND THE BALTIC PROVINCES IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE (Summer-Fall 1984), pp. 141-147, (Taylor & Francis), p. 142.
[74] Ibid, p. 141.

The Finns openly expressed their dissatisfaction with the Manifesto. As mentioned, Alapuro highlights the significance of Finland's autonomous administrative apparatus in the development of Finnish nationalism.[75] He argues that due to this apparatus, Finnish nationalism was atypical of the era in which a majority of national minorities struggled to achieve political existence.[76] The Finnish "special institutions" had been in place since 1809, and Nicholas II's decision to effectively annul the Grand Duchy's political existence sparked a strong reaction among the Finns. By now, the existence of the Diet had become a defining factor of the Finnish identity. Concrete action in response to the Manifesto was taken, as a citizen's address to the Tsar (also known as the Great Address) gained over half a million signatures in eleven days.[77] The address, signed by a fifth of the Finnish population, expressed the Finns' widespread dissatisfaction with Nicholas II's policy, but the Tsar refused to even receive the delegation that delivered the address to St. Petersburg.[78] The address embodies the Finns' deep disturbance of the autocratic decision to restrict rights that were perceived as constitutional. The appeals to the Tsar were however in vain, as further Russification measures followed.

In 1900, an imperial decree introduced Russian as the administrative language of Finland. The Military Service Law of 1901 "disbanded the Finnish army and required Finnish recruits to serve outside Finland", and thus arguably fulfilled the ultimate purpose of the February Manifesto.[79] In 1903, as a consequence of the "dictatorship decree", Finland's General Governor Nikolay Bobrikov gained extensive powers to further advance the Russification process. He energetically advanced the Tsar's cause by, among other things, revoking the right to freedom of speech and assembly,

[75] Risto Alapuro, "Chapter 5: Finnish Nationalism", *State and Revolution in Finland*, 79-93. Retrieved on May 19, 2021. DOI: https://doi-org.proxy.library.uu.nl/10.1163/9789004386174_006
[76] Ibid.
[77] Rautalin Sesse, "Helmikuun manifesti järkytti syvästi suomalaisia", *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1999.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Toivo Raun, "1905 in Finland and Baltic Provinces", p. 459.

removing uncooperative judges, and dismissing Finnish civil servants, mayors, provincial leaders, and police force, and replacing them with Russians.[80]

Between 1899 and 1905, the two periodicals I examine in this research, *Uusi Kuvalehti* and *Helsingin Kaiku* operated in this environment of imperial oppression, characterized by concerted efforts to halt Finnish nationalism by censorship, exiles, and other arbitrary measures. The prevailing circumstances provoked a reaction in the Finnish cultural sphere, represented here by the two publications. The following chapter explores the manifestations of Ahonen's four myths in the periodicals and thus sheds light on the manner in which central features of Finnish national identity became widespread and eventually culminated in the general strike of 1905.

[80] Global Nonviolent Action Database, "Finns resist Russification, end conscription, regain elections, 1898-1905", n.d. Retrieved April 20th, 2021: https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/finns-resist-russification-end-conscription-regain-elections-1898-1905

Chapter 2: The myths of Finnishness in Uusi Kuvalehti and Helsingin Kaiku

As established in the introduction, the myths identified by Ahonen are largely a creation of the historian and politician Yrjö Koskinen (1830-1903), whose interpretation of history shaped the pre-independent national identity of Finland. As Koskinen's romanticized interpretation of history was adopted as the narrative in Finland's national history curricula, these myths were effectively disseminated throughout the population, forming a core element of Finland's national canon, i.e. the collection of historical stories and fundamental building blocks of national identity.[81] Koskinen's influence in advancing the nationalistic cause was understood by his contemporaries, as exemplified by articles in both *Uusi Kuvalehti* (henceforth *UK*) and *Helsingin Kaiku* (henceforth *HK*). In 1899, *UK* stated that Koskinen's fifty years of service to develop Finland makes him "perhaps the most significant name of the era."[82] Similarly, *HK* published a cover-page obituary of Koskinen in 1903, which signifies that both publications admired the professor for his efforts in advancing the Finnish cause.[83] As the analysis below reveals, the admiration did not stop there, as both periodicals actively propagated the myths Koskinen had created.

The first myth, shared by many nationalistic movements of the era, is the inevitable destiny of a nation-state.[84] This Romantic nationalistic interpretation of a nation's organic and inevitable development towards statehood was common among the nineteenth-century Fennomans, who perceived Finland's autonomy as a stepping stone on the path to full independence.[85] The second myth of perseverance portrays Finns as a mythical "survivor-people", whose steadfastness,

[81] Ahonen defines canon as the "signifiers of Finnishness referring to the past"; in other words, the building blocks of a national identity form the nation's canon. Ahonen also considers the myths of Finnishness as canonized: they have endured throughout time and still shape the Finnish population's perceptions of their nation. The American myth of freedom can be considered as an example of a canonized national myth, which has formed a core component to the country's national identity.
[82] Uusi Kuvalehti, April 15th, 1899, p. 9. Accessed on May 15th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/895342?page=9
[83] Helsingin Kaiku, November 21st, 1903, p. 1. Accessed on May 15th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/871578?page=1
[84] Ahonen, p. 9.
[85] Ibid.

resilience, and patience define them.[86] The third myth of egalitarianism is two-fold: historically, Finns have never suffered from serfdom, and traditionally, women have been – theoretically – treated equally to men. In Ahonen's words, strong women form a fundamental part of the Finnish society.[87] The fourth myth portrays Finland as an integral part of the "West", emphasizing the historical ties with Sweden and the consequently inherited culture, institutions, and ideas.

In this chapter, next to the periodical issues mentioned, a selection of art pieces from 1899 to 1905 are analyzed, using the same method of detection and analysis of the expressions of Ahonen's four myths.

Myth 1: Nation-state as a destiny

The myth of statehood and nation-state being Finland's destiny from time immemorial was a theoretical necessity in Koskinen's narrative. Despite the contextual fact that during Koskinen's writing process, there was no sight of an independent Finland, his narrative relies on this conception of eventual statehood. In his account, already the first Iron Age settlers of Finland were ripe for a "nation-state"; due to unfortunate circumstances, however, centuries-long foreign oppression prevented this natural development from becoming reality.[88] In spite of the oppression, he argues that a distinct Finnishness endured over time, exemplified by the numerous mutinies of Finns under the Swedish rule.[89] Alexander I's proclamation of Finland rising among the rank of nations was the next, organic step on Finland's path of the "natural development towards the nation of Finland",

[86] Ahonen, p. 9.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ahonen, p. 17.
[89] Ibid.

and the era of autonomy would, in Koskinen's contemporary interpretation, lead to full independence.[90]

This perception of the natural and inevitable development of Finland towards a nation-state can be detected from *UK* and *HK* a total of thirteen times. When analyzing the issues of *UK* that followed the February Manifesto, indications of Finland as a sovereign entity in its own right are prominent. In a March 1899 issue, dedicated to the memory of Alexander II, *UK*'s shock of the February Manifesto, issued a month prior, is tangible. An article entitled "The rebirth of Finland" discusses the "cornerstones of Finnish independence", including the Treaty of Hamina, Alexander I raising Finland among the rank of nations, and other Nicholas II's predecessors' decisions that benefited Finland's autonomous position. These "cornerstones" are reviewed in juxtaposition with contemporary Tsarist policies, and a tone of disbelief is detectable: "As is obvious from the numerous Tsarist promises quoted above, Alexander I wanted to create such strong and clear cornerstones for Finnish independence for '*forever'* that they could never be misinterpreted by his successors."[91] The article highlights the editors' perception of Finland as a sovereign, even independent entity, and their regard of the Manifesto as a gross violation of the constitutional existence of such entity. Underlining Alexander I and II's Fennophile[92] policies is a recurring theme throughout both *UK* and *HK*, and the numerous references to these Tsars are considered manifestations of Myth 1, as they perpetuate the narrative of an administratively separate, autonomous, and thus, to an extent, independent Finland.

In an issue from March 1900, *UK* exhibits a number of "Crumbs of gold", i.e. Fredrik Cygnaeus' thoughts. These fragments of Cygnaeus – a teacher of history and an influential Fennoman – reveal that his perception of the Finnish nation's organic development aligns with Myth 1. The article

[90] Ahonen, p. 17.
[91] Uusi Kuvalehti, March 30th, 1899, p. 13. Accessed on May 15th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/895343?page=13
[92] Policies that favored Finland's nationalistic causes, such as Alexander II granting official status to the Finnish language.

opens with the quote: "The people of Finland shall outgrow the guardianship that has restricted them for centuries."[93] The quote, dated to 1865, exemplifies the existence of the concept of an independent Finland already then; and by promptly opening the article with such quote, *UK* effectively propagates the narrative of independent Finland – or a nation-state as Finland's destiny. In places, *UK* suggests that Finland has reached the maturity for statehood, writing in 1900: "Our people rose from the state of submission mostly due to our own virtues. We then reached self-consciousness: first spiritually, and then by the means of statehood."[94] These fragments exemplify that *UK* shared and perpetuated the narrative of Myth 1.

Perhaps the most radical of *UK's* commentary on the nation-state development can be found in the last issue before its cessation, on May 15th, 1903. In an article entitled "A tale of the children of Truth", the personifications of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity appeal to the audience in a revolutionary manner. Liberty states: "Your freedom is still swaddled, its opportunity to develop has been restricted. You are still adolescents, to whom no power is given; you are herded by the government's laws like cattle are herded on the field. Hear, the children of people! Begin to grow towards freedom."[95] Similarly, the personifications of Equality and Fraternity enlighten the readers from their respective points of view. Appealing to the values of the French Revolution, this article can be interpreted as a call to action against the imperial violations of freedom, exemplified by the forceful shut of *UK*.

[93] Uusi Kuvalehti, March 31st, 1899, p. 12. Accessed on May 15th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/889127?page=12
[94] Uusi Kuvalehti, February 28th, 1901, p. 5. Accessed on May 15th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/889148?page=5
[95] Uusi Kuvalehti, May 15th, 1900, p. 4. Accessed on May 15th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/879693?page=4

Myth 2: The survivors

Among the cornerstones of Koskinen's narrative is the positioning of Finns as mythical victims, heroes, or resilient survivors. According to his interpretation, the Finns have been tormented by barren lands and cruel climate throughout history whilst being subject to maltreatment by their powerful neighbors. Nevertheless, decries Koskinen, the Finns have endured. Thus, the Finns are simultaneously victims and heroes: despite hardship inflicted by external actors, the Finns admirably persist.[96] This myth, manifesting forty-three times in *UK* and *HK*, is the most prevalent of the four, as this sub-chapter shows.

In the March 1899 issue, *UK*'s reaction to the February Manifesto is intertwined with perpetuating the myth of survivorship and characterized by references to Alexander II. It can be argued that *UK'*s and *HK'*s recurring coverage on issues related to the statue of Alexander II (exemplified in Image 1) constitutes an invented tradition of the contemporaries, and confirms the earlier mentioned Hobsbawm's note of the peculiar position the statue has in Finnish nationalism. The periodicals' discussion of the variety of issues connected to the statue is characterized by constant references to the past, and the repeated ritual of gathering around the monument to protest the oppressive policy is discussed in the periodicals numerous times. The statue, its significance, and the manner in which it is discussed in the periodicals is an example of Hobsbawm's invention of tradition.

Image 1: Picture of Tsar Alexander II's statue as depicted in Uusi Kuvalehti on March 30th, 1899. National Library of Finland

[96] Ahonen, p. 28.

Despite the March 1899 "magazine of memories" issue being entirely dedicated to Alexander II, the periodical's main focus is on highlighting Nicholas II's violation of his predecessors' policies. For instance, the 1894 unveiling of Alexander II's statue in Helsinki is discussed in a manner clearly contrasting him to his successor Nicholas II:

> *"For five years, this statue has stood in Finland's capital. Already many times the people in their thousands have gathered around it. These celebratory, memorable and dear moments will become more frequent in the future because when times change, when the good days vanish, the reason why the Finnish people love Alexander II so dearly becomes increasingly clear."*[97]

The article continues implicitly and metaphorically condemning Nicholas II: "The cold winds have arisen, threatening Finland's soil, threatening the noble actions of Alexander. But even though the frosty nights have always depressed the mind of the farmer, the Finnish man shall never despond."[98] The theme of "frost hamstringing Finland" is prevalent throughout the March 1899 issue. Drawing from the natural scenery of the Nordic climate, the periodical describes the surrounding circumstances of the spring of 1899 with imagery related to snow and ice. The underlying message, however, is that the Finns' spirits cannot be crushed. For instance, an article anecdotally compares the endurance of the flowers surrounding Alexander II's statue "in the middle of the coldest winter, under the piles of snow" to the strength of the Finnish spirit.[99] The following article continues with the same theme, as it depicts the "Flowers of blessing" by the II's statue covered in snow, which does not dishearten the people: "Thrive, Finnish *Volk*! A storm is rising. With all its might, it is trying to steal the book of freedom, but unsuccessfully – the hand of a hero holds onto it steadfastly."[100]

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[97] Uusi Kuvalehti, March 30th, 1899, p. 5. Accessed on May 15th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/895343?page=5
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid, p. 7.
[100] Uusi Kuvalehti, March 30th, 1899, p. 17. Accessed on May 15th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/895343?page=17

Image 2: Edvart Isto – *Hyökkäys (Attack)*, 1899. Wikimedia Commons

Coincidentally, these words describe what is generally considered the artistic embodiment of the sentiments of independence during the era of Russification. The work that is described is the famous Edvart Isto's *Attack* (1899). As illustrated in Image 2, the painting depicts the Finnish Maiden defending Finland's constitution against the double-headed eagle of Russia. The Finnish Maiden, the country's national personification, is comparable to the symbol of the French Revolution: Marianne. The impact of Isto's painting is cross-generational, as Jussila phrases: "In Finnish popular consciousness images of the February Manifesto remain powerful and dramatic. They have been colored, above all, by Edvart Isto's celebrated painting *Attack*, a copy of which found its way into almost every home."[101] Confirming this, *HK* stated in its commemorative piece to Isto in October 1905: "One of his paintings is generally better known than any of our masters' creations."[102]

Unsurprisingly for a publication characterized as "the first real cultural publication of Finland", *UK* and its successor *HK* addressed the contemporary cultural scene regularly, as demonstrated in the connection between *UK*'s verbal imagery and Isto's painting. Similar themes recur in these two distinct sections of the cultural sphere, i.e. the publications and the actual products of art. As established, *Kalevala* influenced Finnish art to an extraordinary extent in the late nineteenth century, and themes from the national epos recurred both in the periodicals and in paintings of the

[101] Osmo Jussila, Seppo Hentilä, Jukka Nevakivi; "From Grand Duchy to a Modern State: A Political History of Finland Since 1809", C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 1999, p. 72.
[102] Helsingin Kaiku, October 21st, 1905, p. 11. Accessed on May 16th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/872422?page=11

era. Take Kullervo, a central figure in *Kalevala*, whose tragic character falls victim to violence and injustice, winds up perpetrating horrific crimes, and eventually commits suicide.[103] The artistic depictions of this character proliferated during 1899-1905 across the cultural sphere, as he was associated with the Finnish struggle under the tightening oppression.[104] The political art of the era depicts a character symbolizing a "Finnish man, whose anger toward those who killed his family and tribe is justified; the urge for revenge is understandable and feels inevitable."[105] His figure is referred to numerous times in *UK*, *HK*, and throughout the contemporary art.

Image 3 depicts an example of the numerous Kullervo-themed paintings of the era. This Akseli Gallen-Kallela's *The Curse of Kullervo* portrays a furious character seeking revenge. Considering the prevailing circumstances, this painting, completed in 1899, can be argued to reflect the Finns' disbelief and outrage with regard to the recent Russification measures. As *UK* had firmly established, the conception of the measures was that they were unconstitutional, illegal, and unjust: therefore, Kullervo's story of justified revenge can be assumed to have resonated with the disillusioned population. *UK* featured numerous exemplars of different Kullervo paintings, and the character is commonly referred to in the periodicals.[106] For example, in an issue from March 1900,

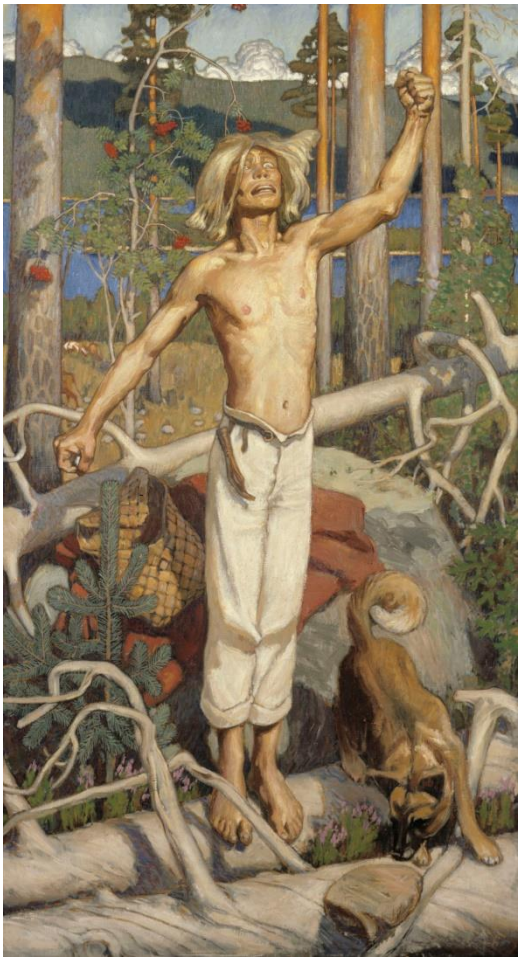

Image 3: Akseli Gallen-Kallela – Kullervon Kirous (The Curse of Kullervo), 1899. Wikimedia Commons

[103] Helsingin Kaiku, October 21st, 1905, p. 11. Accessed on May 16th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/872422?page=11

[104] Ibid. For an elaboration on Kullervo's story, please see Glenda Dawn Goss.,"A Backdrop for Young Sibelius: The Intellectual Genesis of the Kullervo Symphony." *19th-Century Music 27*, no. 1 (2003): 48-73, pp. 49-50, doi:10.1525/ncm.2003.27.1.48.

[105] Tuula Karjalainen, "Kantakuvat: yhteinen muistimme", *Maahenki*, 2009.

[106] *The Curse of Kullervo*, for instance, was published in the December 15th, 1900, issue of *Uusi Kuvalehti*.

Cygnaeus refers to the well-known character:

> *"Kullervo rejoices with most pride when he is simultaneously torn apart by the cruelest despair: he has a proud mind, and he does not want the world's pity to salvage the pain of his heart's wounds. This, as a whole, is archaic heroism."*[107]

In multiple issues of *UK*, distinguished contemporary nationalistic artists are discussed and their works exhibited. Their Finnish art's significance in advancing the nationalistic cause was understood by the periodicals at the time. For example, an exhibition by Järnefelt, Gallen-Kallela and Halonen – prominent artists – is discussed from the standpoint of how their "purely Finnish" art is a means to arouse national spirits.[108] Pekka Halonen's *Trailblazers in Karelia* (Image 4, 1900), featured in *UK*'s December 1900 issue, portrays a group of Finns pioneering their way in the wilderness. In this painting, a spirit of togetherness, unity and belonging is emphasized, and the myth of survivorship is approached from a different angle than in the Kullervo-themed paintings: Halonen's trailblazers act as a unified entity and their success depends on cooperation. The spirit of the painting is captured in a short quote in the *UK*: "The lack of vigor and feebleness leads the people to a disaster; concerted efforts ensure its strength."[109] This unity is later underlined in *HK* in July, 1905: "The Fatherland is a memory of grand, common efforts."[110]

Image 4: Pekka Halonen – Tienraivaajia Karjalassa (Trailblazers in Karelia), 1900. Wikiart

[107] Uusi Kuvalehti, March 31st, 1900, p. 13. Accessed on May 16th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/889127?page=13
[108] Uusi Kuvalehti, December 1st, 1900, p. 10. Accessed on May 15th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/889145?page=10
[109] Uusi Kuvalehti, August 31st, 1901, p. 10. Accessed on May 14th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/889160?page=10

"The history of a *Volk* equals the history of its great men", *HK* states on its cover page of March 1904.[111] The two periodicals internalized this claim and consistently published articles praising numerous individuals of importance, who labored for the "benefit and development of the Fatherland" in various fields, including political, literary, scientific as well as industrial. In approximately two-thirds of the issues studied, these praising profiles of Finnish persons are published. I argue there is a three-fold reason for the pervasiveness of the nationalistic profiles: firstly, they passed the Tsar's censorship (demonstrated by the consistency of the number of such profiles remaining the same despite the transition between *UK* and *HK*). Secondly, such profiles aroused the nationalistic feelings among the publications' readership, as they perpetuated Myth 2 by disseminating tales of heroism and survivorship of these men in their work on behalf of the imagined community of Finland. Lastly, the profiles were a convenient medium for broadcasting the thoughts of the individuals featured: more often than not, they were key Fennomans, and the profiles offered a way to disseminate their nationalistic thoughts in implicit ways.

Remarkably, out of the total of forty-three manifestations of Myth 2, twelve appeared in 1899 alone. The number is markedly higher than in any following year, signifying that the publishers reacted to the "sudden bombshell from St. Petersburgh" by attempting to arouse spirits of perseverance amidst the worsening political situation.[112] The myth consistently reappeared in the years following 1899, indicating that as the Russification measures intensified, the publishers' perceived continuing the propagation of such motivating content necessary. The periodicals, as well as the paintings discussed, criticize the Russian oppression whilst appealing to the audience's moral and spiritual strength and unity. Moreover, considering the regularity with which the publications continued to perpetuate these narratives of mythical survivorship and circumvent the censorship by imbedding

[110] Helsingin Kaiku, July 22nd, 1905, p. 13. Accessed on May 14th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/872412?page=13
[111] Helsingin Kaiku, March 19th, 1904, p. 1. Accessed on May 15th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/871585?page=1
[112] Osmo Jussila, "The Historical Background of the February Manifesto of 1899", p. 141.

the myths in images, poetry, and profiles, the forty-three manifestations can be considered an expression of the mythical perseverance in itself.

Myth 3: The egalitarian society

To an extent, the myth of Finland as a haven of equality can be attributed to Koskinen. This two-fold myth emphasizes firstly the historic freedom of the Finnish peasants (as previously mentioned, serfdom was never implemented in Finland) and secondly, the strong position of women at the heart of the agrarian society.[113] In Koskinen's retelling of history, the rural women of Finland had meritoriously upheld the nation while the men were waging wars: "the Finnish women are mythical Marttas, next to whom the etheric Marias of cultural history pale."[114] Ahonen rightfully notes that these two perceptions of equality are an exaggeration considering the historical factual context.[115] Nevertheless, this myth appears twenty-six times in the publications.

In some *UK*'s and *HK*'s issues, the myth of Finland as an egalitarian society is perpetuated. For instance, in a section listing numerous legal reforms that were implemented by Alexander II, the rights granted to women are discussed. The article gives the example of the 1864 reform, which granted Finnish women equal rights to inheritance as men.[116] Moreover, in an issue from August 1902, an article encourages fathers to take a more active role in caring for the children. This is remarkable, considering the prevailing gender roles of the era.[117]

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[113] Ahonen, p. 30.
[114] Martta is a common, old-fashioned Finnish woman's name. Generally, the name Martta is associated with stereotypically Finnish matriarchs of the domestic sphere. Ahonen, p. 30.
[115] Ahonen, p. 30.
[116] Uusi Kuvalehti, March 30th, 1899, p. 14. Accessed on May 17th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/895343?page=14
[117] Uusi Kuvalehti, August 15th, 1902, p. 9. Accessed on May 16th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/889181?page=9

The imagery of the Finnish Maiden, familiar from Isto's painting, recurs in the publications. A first reference to her can be found in the June 1899 issue, as an article "The Grieving Finland" chronicles *UK*'s editor's trip to France. The author, upon receiving the news of the February Manifesto, rushed to Paris to meet his "old acquaintance Ville Valgrén", a Finnish sculptor. Upon the exchange of news between the journalist and the artist, "The Grieving Finland" sculpture was born and was featured in the 1900 Paris World Exhibition.[118] As shown in Image 5, the sculpture depicts a grieving woman – the Finnish Maiden – in front of the Finnish coat of arms and under the protective, fatherlike bust of Alexander II. The coat of arms is one of the invented traditions of Finnishness in Hobsbawm's terms – and as established, so is the consistent referring to Alexander II. In the article of *UK* that depicts the painting, the author elaborates on the symbolism of the sculpture: "It is not only an expression of sorrow, it is an objection making clear to everyone that we have not given up, we have not agreed to this."[119] The Finnish Maiden, although saddened by the circumstances, stands

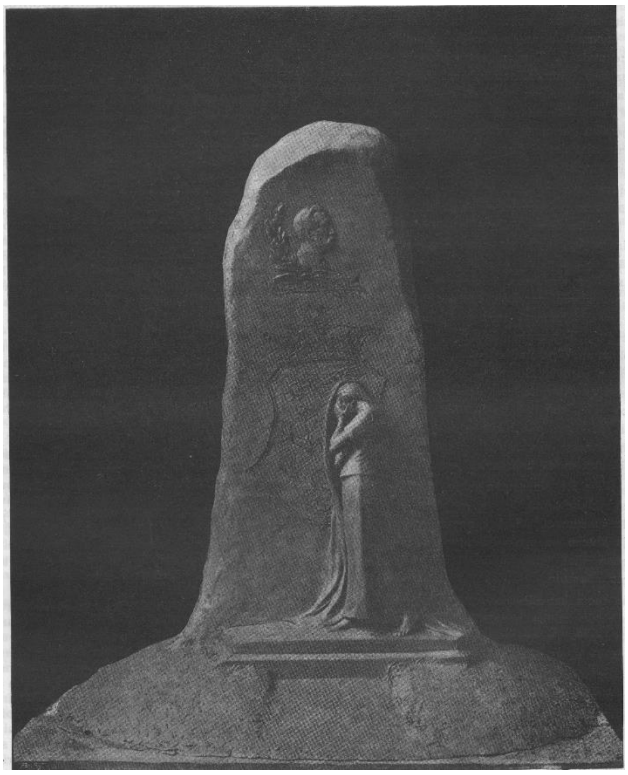

Image 5: Ville Valgrén – Sureva Suomi, 1899. Picture published in Uusi Kuvalehti on June 15th, 1899, p. 135. National Library of Finland

[118] Interestingly, the Paris World Exhibition is an example of the autonomy enjoyed by Finland even during the 1899-1905 period. In these international events, Finland had its own individual pavilions, which provided the opportunity to promote specifically Finnish art and culture abroad – over a decade before independence. Arguably, Finland and certain Finnishness was promoted successfully: In my BA-thesis, I examined the British and American media's portrayal of the Winter War in 1939, and found the coverage overwhelmingly positive. In fact, the myths I have studied here were abundant in the coverage of The Times and The New York Times. The international recognition Finland was able to gain even prior to its independence undoubtedly contributed to this perception of Finland in the Western world.

[119] Uusi Kuvalehti, June 15th, 1899, p. 4. Accessed on May 16th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/895347?page=4

straight and proud, thus arguably embodying the strength of Finnish women and perpetuating Myths 2 and 3.

The Finnish Maiden is a recurring character in the publications. For instance, with the turn of the century, the periodical congratulates its readers with the New Year in a tone of cautious optimism, as depicted in Image 6. The Maiden resembles archetypical French Marianne, leading people to liberty – the picture is easy to interpret as the Finnish Maiden leading her people to freedom in the dawn of the twentieth century.

Image 6: Uusi Kuvalehti, December 31st, 1899. Accessed on May 15th, 2021. National Library of Finland

The Maiden also appears in a story published in the December 1900 edition of the *UK*. The tale depicts her as the Mother of Finns, who tells her children: "You are the hope of a greater Finland, who will not be enslaved, not even when threatened with violence."[120] In the story, the Maiden's last piece of advice to the children refers to the Russification measures: "Do not give up justice, trust in law, and defend your rights."[121] In this story, the Maiden instructs a boy and a girl in an equal manner, which can be interpreted as an indication of Myth 3: the responsibility to work for the Fatherland lies on both genders' shoulders. Similarly to Image 6, this patriotic story portrays the Finnish Maiden in a manner that greatly resembles her well-known sister, the French Marianne.

[120] Uusi Kuvalehti, December 1st, 1900, p. 16. Accessed on May 18th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/889145?page=16
[121] Ibid, p. 17.

Myth 4: Finland as Western, not Slavic

The Great Address, which followed Tsar Nicholas' February Manifesto, is discussed in *UK*'s March 1899 issue. The article's emotional description of the Finns perpetuates Myth 2, as it describes them as persevering yet again through unimaginable hardships brought onto them by the Russians. However, the article concludes with a tone of hope: "As our comfort we have the knowledge that the European *civilized* opinion favors us" (italics added).[122] This aligns Finland with the West, among the "more sophisticated" civilizations in contrast to the barbarous, oppressive Russians. This is the first occurrence of the thirty-nine instances in which *UK* and *HK* perpetuate Myth 4. Manifesting a mere four instances less than the most prevalent Myth 2, Myth 4 plays a crucial role in the narratives of the periodicals.

In that same March 1899 issue, a long article of different European heads of states' incomes reveals that if the Russian Tsar's annual income was piled in gold, the resulting tower would "not be less than 3,952 meters tall, thirteen times taller than the world's tallest building, the Eiffel Tower."[123] According to the article, the Swedish King's subjects are in a more fortunate position, as his yearly pile would only mount to "174 meters."[124] By juxtaposing the Tsar's income, derived from "exploiting his subjects", with the Swedish monarch's more modest income, the periodical suggests that the Western monarch is morally superior to the Eastern one.[125] *UK*'s admiration of the Swedish head of state is also detectable in later issues, such as on January 15th, 1901: "This man embodies an ideal ruler and we are glad to publish his image for everyone to see."[126]

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[122] Uusi Kuvalehti, March 30th, 1899, p. 14. Accessed on May 17th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/895343?page=14
[123] Uusi Kuvalehti, May 31st, 1900, p. 5. Accessed on May 18th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/895346?page=5
[124] Ibid.
[125] Uusi Kuvalehti, May 31st, 1900, p. 5. Accessed on May 18th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/895346?page=5
[126] Uusi Kuvalehti, January 15th, 1901, p. 17. Accessed on May 17th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/889146?page=17

The theme of emphasizing Finland's ties with Sweden recurs in various manners throughout the publications. In an issue from June 1899, an article depicts the travels of a Finn throughout Europe. The traveler responds to the questions of a curious German: "Finland is large, very cold, not a part of Russia, no, we do not even know how to speak Russian."[127] His answers encapsulate the Finnish self-perception of the time whilst perpetuating Myth 4. Furthermore, Finland's ties to the West are stressed in articles discussing religion. For instance, in a cross-issue article series discussing Lutheranism, the fundamentally different values of Lutheran Finns and Orthodox Russians are underscored.[128] This religious divide is also highlighted in an issue from May 1901, when the history of Viborg (an Eastern Finnish city) is chronicled with a continuous emphasis on the Swedish influence in the area.[129] Similarly, in the first issue of *HK*, an article celebrating Viborg's 500th anniversary emphasizes the Swedish and Germanic cultural influences that have shaped the city.[130] Additionally, various issues of both periodicals deliberately focus their readers' attention on the art exhibited in Finnish Protestant churches; the complete lack of coverage of Russian Orthodox art underlines the religious divide between Finland and Russia.

In terms of invented traditions, *UK* discusses the tradition of engagement in its August 1901 issue. The article chronicles the evolution of engagement and marriage in Finland, and emphatically reiterates that these Finnish traditions have been modeled after Western European, i.e. German, influences.[131] Juxtaposing Finnish marital traditions with Russian ones, a story describing a visit beyond the Russian border discusses the observable cultural differences: for instance, the Russians marry younger. Moreover, the protagonist notes differences in hygiene, describing the Easterner's

[127] Uusi Kuvalehti, June 15th, 1899, p. 6. Accessed on May 18th, 2021.
https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/895347?page=6
[128] Uusi Kuvalehti, September 30th, 1899, p. 5. Accessed on May 15th, 2021.
https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/895354?page=5
[129] Uusi Kuvalehti, May 15th, 1901, p. 8. Accessed May 15th, 2021.
https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/889154?page=8
[130] Helsingin Kaiku, October 10th, 1903. Accessed on May 16th, 2021.
https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/871576?page=13
[131] Uusi Kuvalehti, August 31st, 1901, p. 9. Accessed on May 17th, 2021.
https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/889160?page=9

food preservation efforts as "questionable."[132] This illustrates the periodicals' efforts to allude to the cultural mismatch between the two nations, oftentimes taking a condescending tone. Similarly, in an issue of *UK* from October 1902, Elias Lönnröt's (the author of *Kalevala*) visits to Karelian Russians are described with a constant emphasis on the differences in religion and customs.[133]

Because they are essentially cultural publications, in the vast majority of the issues the periodicals feature articles on contemporary art, artists, and prominent cultural figures. Almost without exception, the people depicted at the covers represent the Western cultural, political, and ideological orientations. In one of the rare issues where a Russian cultural figure is featured, Anton Chekhov's observations of the Russian people's character are listed: "Vanity, petty selfishness, short-sighted ambition, obstinate suspicion, and prejudiced wishes" define the Russians, according to the article's interpretation of Chekhov's work.[134] In the numerous other articles discussing the artists of, for instance, Germany or Sweden, no such derogatory language is used in describing members of any other nationality. The direct slander, veiled as a commemoratory article to a Russian author, positions the Finnish culture and people superior to the Russians, of whom there is nothing positive to say. Virtually, the only Russians of whom the periodicals write in an admiring manner are the Tsars Alexander I and II.

Similarly, the bulk of the foreign art exhibited in the periodicals is Western; in addition to Chekhov, Leo Tolstoy is the only Russian who is mentioned (largely due to his pacifism, which was aligned with the periodicals' pacifistic stance). In one of the few articles dedicated to Russian art, the periodicals' patronizing attitude is palpable: "The sparse Russian population was slow to gain possession of even the basics of national art, in addition to displaying total disregard of

[132] Uusi Kuvalehti, July 15th, 1902, p. 4. Accessed on May 17th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/889179?page=4
[133] Uusi Kuvalehti, October 31st, 1902, p. 4. Accessed on May 18th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/889185?page=4
[134] Helsingin Kaiku, July 23rd, 1904. Accessed on June 3rd, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/871594?page=14

aesthetics."[135] This suggests that the periodicals consider Western artists more skilled, important, and perhaps more appealing to the Finnish audience. Compensating for the periodicals' silence on any positive Russian developments, an abundance of articles chronicling the new American inventions, infrastructure initiatives, and progress are featured throughout 1899-1905.

Most importantly, however, the Swedish inheritance is highlighted when discussing the political position of Finland. These inherited Swedish political institutions formed the core of the national identity of nineteenth-century Finns, as they guaranteed the Grand Duchy's autonomous position. This continuation with Sweden, and the gap between the Finnish and Russian institutions, was of foremost concern to the publishers, and is therefore often emphasized in the content of the periodicals.

[135] Helsingin Kaiku, April 18th, 1905, p. 3. Accessed on May 17th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/872403?page=3, Unsurprisingly, the article progresses by stating that only due to the actions of the Great Liberator Tsar Alexander II, the Russians were able to experience spiritual and societal awakening.

Quantitative findings

	Myth 1: Nation-state	Myth 2: Survivorship	Myth 3: Egalitarianism	Myth 4: Western, not Slavic
1899	2	12	8	8
1900	2	8	4	6
1901	1	7	2	7
1902	3	4	3	6
1903[136]	2	1	1	2
1904	1	6	3	4
1905	2	5	5	6
Total = **121**	**13**	**43**	**26**	**39**

Table 1: The quantified findings of the manifestations of the four myths in Uusi Kuvalehti and Helsingin Kaiku, 1899-1905

As demonstrated in the above table, a total of 121 instances of the four myths manifesting in *UK* and *HK* are detected. The myth of survivorship is perpetuated the most, forty-three times. As the Russification measures began in 1899, Myth 2 appeared in *UK* twelve times, which is comparatively a significant number. This can be interpreted as an attempt by *UK* to motivate the readership by appealing to their mental perseverance as the Russification measures were launched.

The nation-state myth emerges a mere thirteen times throughout the seven-year time period, often manifesting in metaphors of Finland maturing, reaching adulthood and shaking off the shackles of oppression. These manifestations of Myth 1 are primarily responses to the Russification measures, as they directly and negatively impacted the nation-state development of Finland. The "myth of autonomy" (a later contested concept, as discussed in the historiography section) is intimately intertwined with Myth 1, as they both rely on the notion of Tsar Alexander I granting sovereignty to Finland in 1809. In the periodicals, Myth 1 manifests virtually always in tandem with references to the autonomy. However, the comparatively low number of Myth 1's manifestations suggests that the Tsarist censorship prevented most explicit references to Finland's independence.

[136] Note the comparatively low number of manifestations of all myths in 1903, indicating the effect of the 1903 "dictatorship decree" and the consequent restriction of freedoms initiated by Bobrikov.

The quantitative analysis reveals that Myths 2 and 4 are most prevalent in the publications. Being cultural publications, both *UK* and *HK* extensively cover and discuss art, and in doing so, unambiguously position Finnish culture in the Western sphere. Western European art is continuously discussed in an admiring tone and in a positive light, whereas the virtual lack of mention of Russian culture signals the publications' lack of interest toward the metropole. The few mentions of Russian figures that do appear in the periodicals contain an undertone of arrogance and a sense of superiority; direct slander of the Russian culture is common. The language and tone used in the periodicals is remarkably condescending, as the publishers waste no effort in disguising their contempt of the Russian culture. This patronizing attitude is in stark contrast with the periodicals' general pacifistic attitude, as they often idealistically call for universal peace and friendship among nationalities. This perpetuation of Myth 4 is intertwined with Myth 2 of survivorship, as the two reinforce one another throughout the issues. By default, Myth 2 necessitates juxtaposition: a victim cannot exist without an aggressor. Thus, Myth 4 provides abundant material for the "us-versus-them" narrative, upon which Myth 2 heavily relies. Myth 2 portrays the Finns as stoic and heroic characters, whereas Myth 4 constructs a profoundly negative image of the Russians.

Myth 3 appears a total of twenty-six times. Although not as prevalent as either Myths 2 or 4, the periodicals do have an openly egalitarian approach. By featuring prominent women, exhibiting their work, and advocating for equal rights, the publications contribute to the dissemination of the myth of equality. Nevertheless, the profiles of "fathers of Finland" numerically eclipse the coverage of women's achievements, although the periodicals enthusiastically follow the careers of Finnish female singers and dancers in Paris and other European metropoles. Advocating for women's rights was not a priority for the publications, as they were mainly concerned with disseminating tales of Finnish determination and anti-Slavic propaganda using Myths 2 and 4. Nevertheless, the presence of Myth 3 indicates that the publications found seeking equality important. Pursuing an egalitarian society, however, remained a secondary concern in the context of Tsarist oppression and systematic

suppression of the Finnish culture. Thus, the publications prioritized advocating for autonomy, highlighting the differences between Russia and Finland, and perpetuating Romantic nationalistic content.

It is important to note that all the myths interact and support one another throughout the publications, as exemplified by the intertwined character of Myths 2 and 4. Another example of this is the relationship between Myth 1 of statehood and the myth of autonomy, as they are inseparable. Moreover, the periodicals' utilization of the symbolism of the French Revolution in relation to Myth 1 indicates how closely the myths are related, as the revolutionary symbols in turn contain elements of equality (Myth 3) and, being French, highlight the Western mindset of the publishers (Myth 4). The general ideas that the myths embody are related, which allows for the synergy between them.

Chapter 3: The periodicals' content as a as contributing factor of the 1905 general strike

In this chapter, the relationship between the October 1905 general strike and the periodicals' content in mobilizing people to partake in the strike is briefly analyzed. Although no direct innuendos of the general strike can be detected from the periodicals, there are aspects which can be interpreted as indirect contributing factors to the mass mobilization of late October, 1905.

The Empire-wide wave of striking and mass protests against the Tsarist rule was sparked by the Bloody Sunday of January 22nd 1905, when the Tsarist troops aggressively responded to a peaceful and unarmed demonstration in St. Petersburg, killing 130 and wounding hundreds. The demonstrators had gathered to deliver a petition to the Tsar in his Winter Palace. The petition called for improved working conditions and was signed by 150 thousand people.[137] For the Tsar's subjects, the massacre painfully demonstrated the discrepancy between the people's demands for rights and justice and the Russian government's attitude

Images 7-9: "Restlessness in St. Petersburg", Helsingin Kaiku, February 4th, 1905. National Library of Finland

[137] BBC, "Causes of the 1905 revolution", Bitesize, n.d. Accessed on March 22, 2021. https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/zwxv34j/revision/6#:~:text=Instead%20they%20blamed%20the%20Tsarist,causes%20of%20the%201905%20Revolution.

towards its own citizens.[138] As the news of the Bloody Sunday spread, so did the strikes, which were accompanied by student demonstrations, peasant insurrections, and mutinies in the army and the navy.[139]

The Russian catastrophic performance in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905 contributed to the increasing civic unrest across the Empire.[140] By late October, the mass strike had spread to the entire Empire, including Poland, the Baltic provinces, and Finland. In Finland, the general strike was announced on October 30th and came to conclusion with the "His Imperial Majesty's Gracious Manifesto of Restoring Licit Order in the Land" of Finland issued by Tsar Nicholas II on November 3rd, 1905. This document, also known as the November Manifesto, summoned the Finnish Diet to assemble and reform the representational system, in addition to restoring civic freedoms.[141] The November Manifesto, which concluded the first period of Russification, was drafted by a Fennoman Leo Mechelin, whose profile and achievements as a statesman were discussed in multiple issues of both *UK* and *HK*.

Image 10: "The constitutionalists' demonstration in Turku, in the park of Kupittaa", Helsingin Kaiku, April 1st, 1905. National Library of Finland

The news of Bloody Sunday, which sparked the Empire-wide strikes and demonstrations, traveled rapidly throughout the Empire, as demonstrated in Images 7-9 on page 46, published on February 4th, 1905. In addition to this highly limited and neutrally presented coverage on the aggression of the Tsarist government – a consequence of the prevailing censorship – *HK* covers numerous demonstrations in Finland over the spring and summer of 1905. These images depict mass

[138] Marko Tikka, "Mitä tapahtui?", *Kansa kaikkivaltias: Suurlakko Suomessa 1905*, 2008, p. 15.
[139] Tikka, "Mitä tapahtui?", p. 15.
[140] Jonathan Clements, "Mannerheim: President, Soldier, Spy", Haus Publishng, London, 2009, p. 84.
[141] Tikka, "Mitä tapahtui?", p. 37.

gatherings of different groups, for instance the workers and the constitutionalists, and are only accompanied with short and neutral captions, as demonstrated in Image 10. *HK* does not elaborate on the current domestic political events further, except for in an April 1905 issue, which shortly observes: "Demonstrations are a frequent occurrence nowadays."[142] The publication's silence on events related to the domestic political and civic unrest results from the prevailing censorship.

Although *HK*'s commentary on domestic political issues is limited, the periodical extensively covers the Russo-Japanese war as it was waged from February 1904 to September 1905. The war constituted a series of humiliations for the Russian Tsar, and his subjects perceived the war as senseless and wasteful.[143] These sentiments extended to Finland, as Finnish men were now, due to conscription, forced to participate in Russian wars in the Far East. Thus, the coverage on the Russian defeat in September 1905 is likely to have contributed to the growing civic unrest that paved way for the mass mobilization on October 30th, 1905.

Albeit there not being elaborate commentary on the domestic political issues of the day in the publications, the advertisements in *HK* refer to central themes of the strike. For example, in the October 21st, 1905 issue, an advertisement for Dr. Väinö Wallin's booklet on the workers' movement's history was published as depicted in Image 11. The advertisement states: "Each who ponders the contemporary questions of our time will undoubtedly rush to order the following masterpiece: The


Jokainen

aikamme kysymyksiä punnitseva henkilö epäilemättä rientää tilaamaan itsellensä seuraavan merkkiteoksen:

SOSIALIDEMOKRATIAN VUOSISATA

työväenliikkeen historia Ranskan vallankumouksesta meidän päiviimme.

Sisällykseltään ja asultaan mieltäkiinnittävänä tarjoutuu tämä teos kaikille niille, jotka haluavat tarkempia ja syvempiä tietoja **aikamme suurimmasta yhteiskunnallisesta liikkeestä.**

Teoksen toimittaa tohtori **VÄINÖ WALLIN.** Lähteinään hän käyttää koko uudempaa sosialismin historiaa esittävää kirjallisuutta. Suunnitelma on sama kuin Jensenin ja Brantingin saman nimisissä teoksissa. Erityisen arvon suomalaiselle lukijalle teos saa **Suomen työväen historiaa** esittävän liitteen kautta.

Teos tulee kuvitettavaksi useilla sadoilla tekstiin liittyvillä kuvilla (muoto-, tapaus-, pila- ja taidekuvilla), joista suurin osa Suomessa ennen julkaisemattomia.

Teos ilmestyy nopeasti 50 kookkaassa vihossa **à 25 penniä.**

Ensi vihko on ilmestynyt.

VERNER SÖDERSTRÖM OSAKEYHTIÖ.

PORVOO.

Senssuurin hyväksymä, Helsingissä 21 p. lokak. 1905.

John

Tehdas

kalustamista

Valmistaa taidemosait

hia. Cehee alkuperäisi

piirustuksia.

Vilustumista

SANI

rinta

mieluisa ja tehoka

Löytyy ka

Lääkärintodistus. Osa

minulle „Sanitas" nimiselle

voin minä täten todistaa, et

paljon käytettyjä aineita, jo

yskänärrytystä helpottavat j

suudet, jonka vuoksi mai

suositella. Helsingissä, hu

Osakeyhtiö

Image 11: An advertisement, Helsingin Kaiku, October 21st, 1905. National Library of Finland. Note the text in the footer, stating "Approved by censorship in Helsinki, 21st October, 1905."

[142] Helsingin Kaiku, April 29th, 1905, p. 11.
Accessed on May 20th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/872405?page=11
[143] Clements, "Mannerheim", p. 75.

Century of Social Democracy."[144] The attention-grabbing advertisement, published a mere week before Finland went on strike, indicates that the periodical was able to circumvent the censorship and publish content related to the civic unrest in the form of advertisements: the questions of socialism, democracy, and the worker's rights were all integral in the mass mobilization of 1905, and by advertising content discussing these matters, *HK* directs its readers to the subject. Moreover, in the issue from 28th October 1905, Juhani Aho's (*UK*'s exiled publisher Juhani Brofeldt's) new book is advertised, which signals the continuity between the two periodicals. In addition, these two aforementioned ads exemplify that despite not being able to provide active commentary in the periodical itself, in the advertisements the publishers guided their readers to content that elaborated on the central political issues of the day.

These findings do not indicate that the periodicals in question played a decisive role in directly mobilizing people to strike in 1905. It can, however, be argued that as the periodicals extensively disseminated the narratives explored in Chapter 2, they indirectly contributed to the articulation of long-term grievances of Finns. By publishing heavily loaded commentary and imagery, the periodicals contributed to the increased political consciousness of their readers and aggravated negative sentiments toward Nicholas II and his policies. By perpetuating Myths 2 and 4, the periodicals motivated the readers to react to the oppression, and portrayed the Russians and the prevailing policies in an extremely negative light. For instance, the usage of Kullervo-imagery can be considered as an indirect mobilizing factor, as the character embodies the pursuing of justified revenge and was bound to resonate with the audience in the context of imperial oppression.

By perpetuating the myths and providing implicitly political commentary, the periodicals contributed in the long-term increasing nationalistic and political awareness over the 1899-1905 timeframe and thus indirectly affected the mobilization process in 1905. An example of this is the

[144] Helsingin Kaiku, October 21st, 1905, p. 2.
Accessed on June 11th, 2021. https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/872422?page=2

glorification of Tsar Alexander II and the symbolism related to him: Image 12 depicts the striking Finns surrounding his statue in October 1905, once more exemplifying the centrality of his character in the political questions of the day. Additionally, *HK*'s coverage on the Russian defeat in the Russo-Japanese war can be considered as indirect, short-term mobilizing factor of the strike.

Both periodicals thus indirectly motivated the Finns to demonstrate against the Tsarist regime by aggravating their nationalistic and anti-regime sentiments over an extended period of time. Moreover, *HK*'s reporting on the disastrous performance of the Russian army which culminated in the defeat against the Japanese in September 1905 can be argued to have encouraged the Finns to exploit the evidently weak state of the Tsarist regime and mobilize by striking.

Image 12: Tsar Alexander II's statue in Helsinki in October 1905 surrounded by striking Finns. The Labor Archives

Conclusion

The issues of *Uusi Kuvalehti* and *Helsingin Kaiku* fantastically portray and exemplify the process of national identity building in Finland between 1899 and 1905. In addition to perpetuating all four myths to a significant degree, the periodicals propagate the nationalistic cause in other ways, such as publishing profiles of Fennomans and disseminating their ideas of Finnishness. Having answered the "how" aspect of the central research question in Chapter 2, let us examine the reasons why these periodicals contributed in the dissemination of Finland's national identity between 1899 and 1905.

Taking into consideration the changing political circumstances that were ignited by the February Manifesto, the periodicals' persistent efforts in spreading the mythical narratives of Ahonen – demonstrated by the total 121 manifestations of the myths in 161 issues – can be considered as quite an articulated cultural reaction to political turmoil. The prevalence of Myths 2 and 4 demonstrates that the periodicals responded to the circumstances by motivating the audience with tales of survivorship and by demonizing and ridiculing the Russians. Thus, they disseminated material that substantiated the division between the Finns and the Russians. This argument is supported by the periodicals' worship of the Tsars Alexander I and II: by constantly referring to the past using the previous Tsars as a point of comparison, the periodicals implicitly criticized Nicholas II's policies and in doing so, shaped their readers opinions on the political situation and further alienated the current regime from the Finns. The Tsarist censorship restricted the publications' freedom of expression, thus narrowing down the means with which the publications were able to disseminate openly nationalistic and political content. Nevertheless, as the prevalence of the myths indicates, the publications were vigorously perpetuating the patriotic narratives in both implicit and explicit ways, and contributed to the increased political consciousness of their readers.

This research has focused on the content of the publications by detecting and deconstructing the mythical elements that the narratives perpetuate. It has been established that the individuals active

in the publications and the persons featured in the content were primarily Fennomans and members of the cultural and political elites, who openly had an agenda of advancing the cause of the Finnish language; the content of the periodicals further indicates that they were extremely concerned about Finland's political and cultural sovereignty. Thus, it is argued that the periodicals exemplify the efforts of Finland's contemporary historicist intelligentsia in nation-building, hence confirming the third hypothesis. According to Hutchinson's theory, the historicist intelligentsia was principally motivated by the desire to build a moral community, instead of primarily having political and state-seeking motives. The periodicals analyzed here reveal that in this case, the intelligentsia considered both essential: they published content that strongly advocated for Finland's sovereignty in administrative, cultural, and political spheres, whilst fostering a certain set of moral values. Ahonen's myths rely on notions of unity, equality, and liberty, and by propagating these characteristics of Finnishness, the periodicals upheld and perpetuated a certain moral understanding of the nation's identity.

In addition, the choice of medium of the historicist intelligentsia confirms the second hypothesis: printed press played a significant role in the proliferation of nationalism in Finland. Moreover, the analysis of the selection of art pieces indicates the extent of the ubiquitousness of these myths, as they recur through different symbols throughout the sources, the most notable example being the frequently depicted Finnish Maiden and Kullervo. The pervasiveness of these symbols, metaphors, and embodiments of the myths indicates that these narratives framed the contemporary Finnish cultural sphere, and contributed to the creation of the invisible bonds of comradeship.

As demonstrated, the two publications instrumentalized – i.e. organized and adapted – the expressions of nationalism and thus contributed to the increasing political consciousness of the contemporaries, exemplified by the 1905 strike. By spreading nationalistic sentiments, directing readers to political content through advertisement, and consistently implicitly criticizing the current Tsarist rule, the periodicals raised political awareness and contributed in articulating the grievances

of the people. By offering implicitly political commentary, the periodicals shaped their readers' opinions of the Tsarist regime. Thus, the fourth hypothesis of the periodicals indirectly mobilizing people to strike in 1905 is also confirmed.

By conducting a thorough analysis of cultural publications and systematically detecting the four myths in their content, this research has contributed to Finnish historiography by continuing the trend of deconstruction of the nationalistic narratives. The values from which the myths derive – equality, tenacity, and ideas of democratic representation – constitute as the invented traditions of Finnishness according to the theory of Hobsbawm. These values, myths, and narratives disseminated through cultural channels significantly affected the nation-building process of Finland in the early twentieth century, and carry on to this day in the form of social democracy and universal education. Thus, the myths constitute as the progenitors of Finnish invented traditions, hence confirming the first hypothesis.

This research has illuminated the ways in which Finland's historicist intelligentsia participated in shaping Finnish identity and has thus deconstructed the bonds that have unified and upheld the country's imagined community. However, the contemporary circulation of the publications studied was limited, and thus the extent to which they reached and affected the masses is questionable. The contemporary pieces of art, however, reached much wider audiences, as demonstrated by Isto's *Attack* and its position among the main representations of the era of Russification. This painting, alongside with the other art analyzed, largely utilize the same mythical narratives present in the periodicals. The imagery varies, but the four myths are detectible as the structuring narratives in the contemporary art. Therefore, continuing research on how pre-independent Finnish nationalism reached and affected the predominantly rural and working class *Volk* is necessary in understanding how the mythical elements of Finnishness shaped the everyday lives and decisions of regular people. In addition to analyzing how the wider art trends affected people's conceptions of Finnishness, selecting popular worker's publications, such as *Työmies* (*The Working Man*) and

Kansan Lehti (*People's Magazine*) and analyzing if and how they disseminated nationalistic content, an assessment of the manner in which nationalism manifested in regular folk's life, not only among the elites, can be conducted. Moreover, it would be illuminating to research modern publications and analyze the extent to which these myths are still perpetuated in today's cultural spheres of Finland. Analyzing more recent content would exhibit if and how the myths have transformed over time and how they manifest in an utterly different political context to that of 1899. Finally, conducting similar research on the contemporary expressions of nationalism in for instance the Baltic provinces would demonstrate how the nationalistic narratives shaped history in other parts of the Russian Empire, and how the regime responded to these developments.

To conclude, this research has illustrated the cultural means with which the Finnish elites responded to political turmoil, and has examined the manner in which a certain set of traits and values was promoted in the periodicals and contemporary art. The creative, at times amusing, and surprising ways in which the periodicals were able to circumvent censorship and propagate these myths indicates how integral these considerations of Finnishness have been in shaping the country's nationalistic narratives. The contemporaries' understanding of the Finn as a democratic, free, and tenacious citizen, as propagated by the publications, resulted in the nation-wide mobilization in demanding citizen's rights. This case exemplifies the power that narratives have over people, and what masses of individuals, who share a common identity and a conception of self, can achieve.

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