UNDRESSING THE MAID

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Gender, Sexuality and the Body in the Construction of the Finnish Nation

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Johanna Valenius

Introduction

Focal questions

Paavo of Saarijärvi, stout Matti of Kuru and Matti the farmhand. Finnish national literature of the nineteenth century is full of male figures who have survived down to the present day as symbols of perseverance, honesty and the good simple life. Facing crop failure, famine and other hardships year after year, J.L. Runeberg's Paavo merely worked harder and continued to put his trust in God.[1] In the dialogues and stories in J.V. Snellman's educational magazine *Maamiehen Ystävä* (Farmer's friend) readers met Matti, an apt pupil who was taught by the Farmer's friend about numbers, the shape of the earth and how to feed his cattle.[2] These male figures are representatives of simple but hardworking men of the people. It is they who have defined and symbolized Finnishness, and who have served as role models for the members, both men and women, of the young nation – and equally for a nation struggling under an economic depression in the 1990s.

Finnish literature presents male characters that find their place in the national mythology and imagery. Both Matti and Paavo are idealized figures, created by nationalists and intellectuals as a part of their nation-building project. The Finnish folk were a simple folk, satisfied with little, and in the end, easy to mold. These male figures have become role models partly because very few women actually appear in the national canon.[3] For instance in *Farmer's friend* the educational dialogues take place between a few men, called for instance Pekka, Antti, Jussi or Juho.

The characteristics of Matti and other male figures in literature and later in films are regarded as typically Finnish. These 'men of the people' are not confined to Finland; their counterparts can be found for instance in Great Britain and the United States. John Bull, and even to some extent Uncle Sam, are the representatives of the common man in their countries.[4] But there is another side to all of this. These male figures have attained visibility in nations whose public places and squares are occupied by quite different national symbols: majestic women cast in bronze. Many nations are portrayed especially in the visual and plastic arts as a woman. Examples include *Bavaria* (Ludwig von Schwanthaler 1837–1848, Munich); François Rude's *Departure of the*

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1 Runeberg 1885, 18–20.
2 Snellman 1994, 55–58, 91–92, 148–151. A variation on the "Saarijärven Paavo" poem, "Saarijärven Martti" appeared in *Maamiehen Ystävä* on 29 August 1846.
3 Similar observations can be made regarding nineteenth-century German historical fiction (Peterson 1997, 82–85).
4 Warner 1996, 12.

Volunteers (part of the Arc de Triomphe, Paris, 1792), Lorenz Clasen's painting *Germania auf der Wacht am Rhein* (1860), and on the other side of Europe, in Volgograd, the giant 52-meter statue of *The Motherland* (Evgeni Vuchetich 1967). In addition to these figures, people are familiar with the Statue of Liberty and the figures of Britannia and the French Marianne.

Women's otherness and powerlessness in political life, and in society in general, is considered by many researchers as the main reason for these feminine personifications. Marina Warner has argued that male figures such as Uncle Sam and John Bull are perceived as individuals, while such characters as Liberty and Britannia are more universal.[5] The female figures scattered around public squares and buildings portray the high ideals of freedom and justice, but traditionally it is the man by whom these ideas are acted out. The stony ladies *are* and men *do*. Mary Ryan, in her article on nineteenth-century American parades, echoes Warner's argument:

> The female symbols were serviceable in a variety of ways. Their status as the quintessential "other" within a male-defined cultural universe made them perfect vehicles for representing the remote notions of national unity and local harmony. Similarly, as nonvoters they could evoke the ideal of a nation or a city freed of partisan divisions. As supposedly domestic creatures, they could stand above the class conflicts generated in the workplace.[6]

Finland too has its own personifications. In the midst of the Paavos and Mattis, the Finns have their own Finnish Maid, the *Suomi-neito*. It is this figure that is at the center of the present study, *Undressing the Maid*. The history of the Finnish Maid is not as grand as the history of Marianne, Germania or Britannia.[7] There are no known pictorial representations of her before 1780, when a medal commemorating the Swedish King Gustav III's visit to Finland was designed but never minted. The proposed medal showed a female figure, wearing a simple antique dress and a crown on her head. This, however, was not the first time Finland was imagined as a woman; a hundred years earlier, in 1678, Johan Paulinus-Lillienstedt had written a poem in which Finland is briefly mentioned as dear mother Finnonia.[8]

The history of the Finnish Maid begins during the autonomous period (1809–1917), when Finland was granted the status of a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. Over its history, Finland has been dominated by two greater powers: the country was first under the rule of the Swedish Crown for 300 years up till 1809, when Sweden lost control of the country to Russia. Finland finally gained independence in 1917. The Finnish Maid has been seen in relation to these two greater powers. In the first half of the nineteenth century, when political hopes

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5 Warner 1996, 12.
6 Ryan 1989, 150.
7 For the history of Marianne see Agulhon 1981; Agulhon 1989; Agulhon & Bonte 1992. For Germania see Gall 1993.
8 Reitala 1983, 18–23.

of Finland being returned to Sweden's control were harbored in Swedish-minded circles, Finland was seen, especially in Sweden, as the daughter of "Moder Svea"[9] (Mother Sweden) (Figure 1), 'lost' to Russia. The Finnish poet Franz M. Franzén, for instance, who had emigrated to Sweden for political reasons, wrote a poem in 1840 entitled "Aura till Svea" (Aura to Svea), in which Finland in the person of Aura yearns for her foster mother Svea.[10] The name Aura refers to the River Aura that runs through Turku, the oldest town in Finland; in the first half of the nineteenth century, this river goddess personified the country.[11] When hopes of Finland being returned to Sweden proved to be futile, this stepdaughter theme was abandoned.

The next stage in the development of the figure were the monuments sculpted by Walter Runeberg in the second half of the nineteenth century. I discuss these figures more in more detail below, where I address the different types of Maids. In nineteenth and early twentieth century Finland monument art was not as widespread as in Central Europe, and there were only few public monuments featuring the personification of the nation. The historian therefore has to look to caricatures, and verbal texts, in order to understand the Finnish Maid. Satirical magazines and caricatures were the place where the personification appeared in great numbers.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a time when Finnishness was under conscious construction. It was the Golden Era in the visual arts, where a unique national style was the objective.[12] In politics the threat of 'Russification', or unification, which, it was feared, would suffocate the Finnish nation, was perceived as very real. In Finnish historiography this era is known as the first (1899–1905) and second (1908–1914) period of unification.[13] The first period of unification started when the Emperor Nicholas II issued the so called February Manifesto, which placed restrictions on Finnish autonomy; censorship regulations, for instance, were tightened. For satirical magazines this meant that they could not publish material that criticized the Russian authorities and policies.[14] The first period of unification ended with the General Strike of 1905, and was followed by three years of relative freedom. The 'Great Strike' had a profound impact on Finnish society: the franchise was extended universally to all adult men and women, a unicameral Diet replaced the old Estates, and in general Finnish society became politically more active. In 1908 new unification measures were imposed upon the country, but less extensively than earlier.

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9 For the history of Svea see Tornbjer 2002, 71–88.

10 Franzén 1853, 172–174.

11 Reitala 1983, 25–26.

12 See Smeds 1996.

13 There has been disagreement among historians whether it is actually justified to speak of 'Russification' or 'periods of oppression'. These questions, however, are outside the scope of the present study. What is important from my point of view is that the Finnish elite felt strongly that the nation's autonomy and very existence was placed in jeopardy.

14 Ylönen 2001, 88–96. There is one satirical magazine, *Matti Meikäläinen*, which suffered the ultimate punishment for its anti-Russian satire. The magazine was abolished by the authorities in 1899.

Finnish intellectuals felt that national survival was threatened; thus it became necessary for the Finnish nation and national self-images to be constructed and re-constructed in culture and politics. There was, however, no unanimous agreement as to what Finnishness was or should be. The style of political debate was lively, even aggressive. With the relaxation of censorship regulations and the politicization of society following the General Strike, the satirical magazines in which caricatures appeared immediately joined in the debate. Armed with satire, they did not hide their inclinations or loyalties.

Sometimes it is much simpler to spell out what a study is *not* about, and this is the case now. This is not a study of the eras of unification and Finland's becoming independent; it is not a study of the Finnish national movement; it is not a study about the men, women and events portrayed in the caricatures; it is not a study of caricatures in general or political propaganda; it is not even a study of the history of the Finnish Maid. In short, I am not attempting to (re)write the political history of the eras known as the first and second periods of unification by reconstructing the political events that inspired particular caricatures. That would be an exercise in futility – as well as a near-impossible task, since most of the events referred to never entered the history books. Certainly they could be tracked down by a careful reading of contemporary newspapers; but my interests lie elsewhere. What, then, *is* this study about? It is about gender, femininity and masculinity, sexuality and the human body in the construction of the Finnish nation. It is about how the imaginary Finnish Maid was used to construct the Finnish nation at the turn of the twentieth century.

As someone who received her Master's degree in *history*, I face a problem: I am not that passionate about the past. The past, its people and phenomena do not particularly interest me as such. Rather, I am interested in the world I live in. I am not implying in any way that a historian would or could be oblivious to his/her own time. Historical research is always conducted in the historian's own time, and knowledge is situated in a particular historical setting. The best way to clarify my position is to recount how I became interested in this topic. The study has its beginnings somewhere in 1993–1994, when I was starting to look for a topic for my Master's thesis. At that time, the role of Finland in European and global politics was under discussion. The Soviet Union had ceased to exist, the Cold War was over and Finns seemed to have an identity crisis. What during the years of the Cold War had seemed to be neutral mediation between East and West, now for some people looked like Finlandisation and serving as a 'lackey' for the Soviet Union. To shake off the stuffy image of Finland as an "Eastern European country", identification with Western Europe was regarded as necessary. In practice this meant membership in the European Union (the EU). The debates and discussions concerning Finlandisation, globalization, immigrants and refugees entering the country and possible EU membership were essentially debates about Finnishness. In the public discourse Finnishness was constructed by means of various symbols and images, as if they were ahistorical eternal truths and stopped there; this was irritating. Nobody, it seemed, was bothering to look behind those images and deconstruct them. Annoyance then turned to curiosity, and I chose the visual symbol of the Finnish nation and

Figure 1.
Anonymous: So should it go if they don't want to give Sweden a proper defence.
Puck *8 August 1914.*

state, the Finnish Maid, as the topic for my thesis. I found postcards with the figure from the early 1900s, and by deconstructing these postcards, now almost a century old, I gained some understanding of the workings of national symbols and myths – and of the world I live in.

My motivation for this research was rooted in the present, and it still is. In a world where women's, and men's, bodies are appropriated by nationalist and military discourses and actions, it is important to understand how these processes come into being. It is important to understand that the mass rapes of women in the civil wars of the former Yugoslavia, Burma and Rwanda are not just random acts of violence, or that the fear of foreign men "coming to take our women" or of ethnic/racial minorities having high birth rates and thus outnumbering "us", are not just empty speech. They are part of the deep emotional structures concerning gender, sexuality and the human body, which create national identities and which have not fundamentally changed over the century.

I hope that this study will help to make sense of the world we live in. I am naturally aware that the Finland of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was in many respects different from that in which I am writing this book, but I still have my feet firmly in the present. This is also a reason why I have not defined this study temporally in the title. The title might specify *1899–1918* (the period from which the caricatures originate) or *late nineteenth and early twentieth century Finland* (a period which includes the texts as well as the caricatures). I have decided not to include such temporal definitions in the title, in the hope that my reader will not read this work as a history of these eras. Rather, I would like it to be read as a study of gender, sexuality and the body in the constructions of nations.

I do not concern myself here with nationalism as a type of political ideology affiliated with the state and its institutions, the kind of official nationalism that was expressed for instance in the writings of politicians, historians and other national ideologues. Rather, I am interested in a nationalism which was less conscious, though not less political. I understand nation and nationalism in the way Joane Nagel has defined them in her study of sexuality and nationalism:

> [b]y *nation* I refer to a collective identity associated with a region or territory that is sovereign or asserts sovereignty and self-rule (e.g., Portuguese, Americans, French, Quebecois, Navajos, Ognis, Afrikaners, English, Russians, Chechnians, Iranians). By *nationalism* I refer to an ideology that professes common history, shared culture, and rightful homeland, and often is marked by ethnocentrism where nationalists assert moral, cultural, and social superiority over other nations and nationalisms.[15]

No nation, however, is unified. Dominant and subordinated groups engage themselves in arguments and conflicts over political power and the right to define what the nation is alike, who and what belong to it.[16] Such struggles took place in early twentieth century Finland.

I also understand nationalism, nation, nationality and Finnishness as performative. Judith Butler's conception of performative gender[17] has influenced feminist scholars of nations and nationalism to see also nationality and ethnicity as performative acts.[18] Performativity differs from artistic performance in the sense that performativity is about repetition and performing acts, about who acts and where.[19] Moreover, according to Michael Billig, national identity "is a short-hand description for ways of talking about the self and community."[20] Nationality is thus produced and reproduced through repeated performative

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15 Nagel 2003, 148.
16 Nagel 2003, 148.
17 Butler 1990.
18 For example Nagel 2000, 111; Gordon, Komulainen & Lempiäinen 2002, 12–13; Lempiäinen 2002.
19 Gordon, Komulainen & Lempiäinen 2002, 12.
20 Billig 1995, 60.

acts, gestures, symbols and speech acts.[21] In this study the Finnish Maid is a symbol that was established to perform Finnishness; it is a symbol that was repeated. Also, as I will elaborate in the following chapters, the public unveilings of statues and ways of talking about the national landscape likewise depended on repetition.

In the early twentieth century each political faction had their own conception of the Maid. The various factions to which I refer in the course of this study are the Fennoman Old Finns, the Young Finns, the Socialists, the Swedish-speaking faction and the Constitutionalists. Actually, these five groups are not totally separate; there is some overlap among them. Furthermore, cultural politics did not always follow party-political lines. With regard to Finland's relations to the Russian Empire, the Old Finns supported a policy of appeasement; many of the Young Finns and the Swedish-speaking faction, on the other hand, advocated passive resistance to Russian unification measures by maintaining Finland's constitutional position in the Empire. These people were called Constitutionalists. In cultural politics, however, Old Finns and Young Finns were Finnish-speaking and supporters of a 'pure' Finnish culture, stripped of Swedish elements. In this sense both groups could be called Fennomans, but I use the term to refer to the Old Finns. This terminology is admittedly somewhat confusing. One reason for this is that the historical study of this era has been dominated by the analysis of party-political debates, overshadowing the nuances of cultural politics and identity-formation.

The discursive battles over the definition of Finnishness make this era at the turn of the century interesting and fertile for this kind of research. The Constitutionalists and Swedish-speaking circles, for instance, had adopted a Maid figure clad in bearskins. This figure encountered criticism from the Fennomans, who considered the figure too Scandinavian, in particular too Swedish. A certain Scandinavian tone was indeed inherent in the figure. For the Swedish-speaking minority, Finnishness did not exclude Scandinavia. The Fennoman self-image grew almost literally from the land. For the Fennomans, true Finnishness expressed itself in the class of rural small landowners and in their agrarian values. This was reflected in a Maid dressed in national costume. There was also a negative figure, the Suometar-Mamma, representing Fennoman appeasement policies towards the Russians. This Maid was employed by the Swedish faction and the Constitutionalists.

Yet her clothing was merely a covering, overlying her female body. The Finnish Maid is spoken of as the *symbol* or *personification* of the Finnish nation and state. Both terms refer to the world of ideas and the mind. There is also a third way to address the figure: we can say that in the Maid the Finnish nation or state is "embodied", "becomes a body" or "acquires a bodily form". Thus the nation becomes gendered. These gendered, sexualized and embodied meanings are the object of my analysis.

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21 Lempiäinen 2002.

We tend to see personifications in the framework of the mind/body dichotomy as ethereal and detached allegories. Research has concentrated on the abstract qualities these figures symbolize and convey,[22] and not much attention has been given to their materiality and genderedness. Maurice Agulhon, for example, in the first page of his study of the probably best-known political and national allegory, Marianne, says that the question "why a woman?" is outside the scope of his study.[23] Only with the awakening of the body, so to speak, in feminist studies, have gender-oriented scholars started to inquire into the corporeal aspects of nations and of the national space associated with the body.[24] For instance, in some caricatures the Maid is beaten, hanged and raped by a debauched Russian Cossack. Her body, virginity and (a)sexuality become crucial factors in the construction and representation of the Finnish nation. She is the embodiment of the Finnish nation. By embodiment I mean the manifestation of cultural, political and geographical prescriptions, representations and ideals.[25] The body of the personification is a space, both mental and material. It is the embodiment of the imagined nation[26] and of a geographical territory as well.

This study has five core chapters. In Chapter 2, Gender, Sexuality and the Body in the Constructions and Representations of Nations, I address theoretical issues and concepts central to my research. What follows Chapter 2 is the "undressing" of the Maid. I analyze caricatures, monuments and poems in more detail from the standpoint of gender, sexuality and the body. Chapter 3, National Space, addresses performative nationality and the production of a gendered national space. The focus is on the inauguration ceremonies and statues commemorating national heroes, the 'great men'. Each of the monuments discussed includes a female figure, in a position subordinate to the great man. This subordinate position of the allegorical female articulates the paternal and homosocial national order and the inherent masculinity of Finnishness. In fact, the role of masculinity and of men in nationalism is an important thread running through the whole study.

Chapter 4, Bridal Finland, focuses on the absence of a mature mother figure and the dominance of the virgin figure in the national imagery. I will suggest that the nation, in the form of the virginal figure, is the object of male heterosexual desire. In the intellectual imagination the nation and woman were enmeshed. Yet the Maid remains an unattainable virgin, who will never be a mother. This makes her a paradoxical figure: she is desired but asexual. In Chapter 5, The Maid in Distress, the Maid is taken captive and her virginity is threatened by an evil Russian Cossack trying to rape her. Here the focus is on

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22 Agulhon 1981; Reitala 1983; Agulhon 1989; Ala 1999.
23 Agulhon 1981, 1.
24 For example Nash 1993; McClintock 1995; Mills 1996; Sharp 1996; Martin 1997; Nash 1997; Valenius 2000; Valenius 2003; Cusack and Bhreathnach-Lynch 2003 (eds).
25 See Martin 2000, 68.
26 Anderson 1999; On the exclusion of gender in Anderson see Roach Pierson 2000: 41–43 and Wenk 2000: 63–65.

the role of the body as national space and territory, its borders and the imagery of sexual violence in nation-building. Here another paradox surfaces: men cannot save the Maid. Chapter 6, The Body Politics of the Suometar-Mamma, addresses the dirty sexuality of the grotesque Crone, the Suometar-Mamma, and how this grotesque figure was used in the Swedish-speaking *Fyren* to produce the ethnic and racially degenerate Other, a Finnish-speaking Finn.

Before proceeding to the theoretical questions of nation, gender, sexuality and the body, I introduce the four types of Finnish Maids that were used at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Four faces of the Finnish Maid

A historian studying caricature images of Finland's personification of the early twentieth century is easily overwhelmed by the diversity of Maids appearing in satirical magazines. Although the Maid familiar to Finns today, a young woman with long blond braided hair and wearing a national dress, was born in the late 1880s, in the early 1900s she was just one version of the theme among others. Nowadays all the others are virtually extinct and only she remains. The current form of the Maid as *the* Finnish Maid settled in the national imagery as late as the 1930s.[27] This creates a problem in this study; am I projecting the idea of the Finnish Maid to those bygone years a hundred years ago, to an era that perhaps did not recognize the figure as such? 'Finnish Maid' is nevertheless the term I have decided to use in this study, due to the term's now established place in the Finnish language. 'Finnish Maid' is a proper name, similar to 'Marianne' or 'Svea'. Furthermore, the term Finnish Maid was occasionally used in late nineteenth and early twentieth century poetry and caricatures to refer to a symbolic female figure. In using the term, I am nevertheless aware of the diversity of the personifications and of the fact that the Finnish Maid as such did not exist as she exists today.

A Finnish Maid's attire signified national aspirations and conceptions of Finnishness, and through her dress a satirical magazine showed its association with a particular politics of Finnishness. I have formed four categories of Finnish Maids, the defining factor being their attire. The Finnish Maid and the clothes she wore in the pages of the various satirical magazines were laden with national symbolism. The satirical magazines from which I have collected a corpus of more than a hundred caricatures are *Velikulta*, *Fyren*, *Kurikka* and *Tuulispää* from the years 1899–1918. Focusing solely on the first period of unification (1899–1905) would not have been fruitful; the corpus of caricatures would then have been reduced to a couple of dozen due to the strict censorship regulations of the era. In addition, *Tuulispää* and *Kurikka* would have been almost totally excluded from the study, since these magazines were published from 1903 and 1904 onwards.

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27 Reitala 1983, 87–88, 133–134.

Velikulta, *Fyren*, *Kurikka* and *Tuulispää* were affiliated with or at least supported various political factions. *Velikulta* endorsed the Finnish-minded Fennoman Young Finns, who – like the Swedish faction, supported by *Fyren* – stressed the importance of Finland's autonomous status within the Russian Empire. *Fyren* also emphasized Scandinavian or Swedish cultural and political elements in Finnish society. *Kurikka* was the satirical magazine of the Socialist movement, and *Tuulispää* was associated with the Finnish-speaking Fennoman community of small landowners and independent farmers. All these factions participated in the struggle through which Finnishness, Finnish culture and Finnish identity was constructed. There were no single conception, no consensus as to what Finnishness was or should be.

The four main types of female figures – the four faces of the Maid – created by caricaturists for the satirical magazines were the classical Maid, the Maid clad in bear-skins, the Maid in national dress and the Suometar-Mamma.

Classical Maid

Classical Maids (Figures 2 and 3) are without national insignia; and the figures are dressed in simple classical drapery with no ornamentation. Sometimes classical Maids are pictured wholly nude. In the high arts the classical type can be found in monument art, where the female figures imitate Greek and Roman goddesses. Britannia, for instance, with her helmet, shield, breastplate and spear, is a duplicate of Athena/Minerva. The classical Finnish Maid, however, does not carry any martial symbols. Eetu Isto's famous painting *Hyökkäys* (The attack, 1899) (Figure 4), in which a Romanov two-headed eagle is tearing a law book from the female figure's hands, is also of the classical type. She wears a simple white antique dress and sandals on her feet. On her belt is the Finnish coat of arms. Isto painted the picture in reaction against the February Manifesto.

The classical type of the Maid was mainly used in *Kurikka*, but the figure also occasionally appeared in the other three magazines. The lack of national insignia and the Socialists' choice of a generic female figure for the personification of Finland may be explained by Socialist theory. Nationalism was considered a necessary but passing bourgeois phenomenon on the road to the new Socialist society. The Finnish Workers' Movement had to maneuver between this theoretical principle and practical actions taken in politics, and there was no unanimity of opinion among the leaders of the Social Democratic Party.[28] Despite these differences in opinion, it was agreed that nationalism and national questions were linked directly with the class struggle. Nationalism as the bourgeoisie understood it was rejected. The motto was "patriotic and national, but not chauvinistic",[29] or as Taavi Tainio, an activist in the Workers' Movement, wrote:

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28 On the role of nationalism in the Finnish Social Democratic Party in the early twentieth century see Heikkilä 1993.

29 "Isänmaallinen ja kansallinen, mutta ei shovinistinen". (Heikkilä 1993, 98).

Figure 2. Antti Wanninen: "Bloody Germans – you come here to protest!" Kurikka *15 February 1910.*

> The internationalism and universality of Social Democracy should not be understood as so unflexible that it would be regarded as denial, and the opposite of national feeling. Cannot a good Socialist also be a good Finn, a good Russian, a good Swede, a good German etc. […] To avoid misunderstandings it is necessary to note that nationalism does not have to, and cannot be, the kind … it is in the bourgeois circles. […] It is not a question of the kind of national feeling which is being beaten into children with stories of Ensign Ståhl, or which is expressed in beautiful speeches and writings against immigration[.][30]

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30 Heikkilä 1993, 17, 353. "Sosialidemokratian kansainvälisyyttä, yleismaailmallisuutta ei saisi käsittää niin ahtaaksi, että sitä pidettäisi kansallistunnon kieltämisenä ja sen vastakohtana. Eikö hyvä sosialisti voisi ollakaan samalla hyvä suomalainen, hyvä venäläinen, hyvä ruotsalainen, hyvä saksalainen jne. […] Väärinkäsitysten välttämiseksi on tarpeellista huomauttaa, ettei kansallistunnon tarvitse, […] jollaisena se porvaripiireissä ilmenee. […] Ei kysymys ole sellaisesta kansallistunnosta, jota lapsiin ajetaan Vänrikki Stoolin tarinoilla tai jonka ilmaisumuotona on siirtolaisuuden vastustaminen kauniilla puheilla ja kirjoituksilla." (Heikkilä 1993, 75).

Figure 3. Eric Vasström: This small bird would certainly make my old barrel organ look pretty. Velikulta *23 June 1910.*

Clearly the symbols of bourgeois nationalism were rejected. What, then, were the symbols of the Swedish faction and the Fennomans? On both sides, the attire worn by the Finnish Maid – bear-skins for the "Swedish" Maid and a national dress for the Fennoman one – referred to what was considered to be a mythical national past.

Maid Clad in Bear-Skins

Like the classical Maid, the bear-skinned Maid too had her origins in the high arts, in Walter Runeberg's three statues: *Patria*, from 1892 (Figure 5), *Suomi*[31] (Finland), from 1883 (Figure 6) – a young woman at the feet of the statue of the

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31 Aimo Reitala maintains that the female figure at the feet of J.L. Runeberg is not in fact a political symbol but a mythological muse, who watches over Finnish art (Reitala 1978, 164). This may be how Walter Runeberg intended the figure to be understood, but a totally different question is how it has been interpreted over the decades.

Figure 4. Eetu Isto: Hyökkäys *(The attack, 1899).*

sculptor's father, the poet J.L. Runeberg – and *Suomi suojellen perustuslakejaan* (Finland protecting her constitution), from 1865 (Figure 7). In fact, the Finnish Maids in bear-skins in *Fyren*'s and *Velikulta*'s caricatures (Figures 8 and 9), the two magazines where this figure appeared, are the two statues, *Patria* and *Finland*, each with a bear-skin thrown over her head. In addition, there is the symbolism of justice. With their swords and the lion by their side, both *Patria* and the figure in *Finland Protecting Her Constitution* repeat the attributes associated with Justitia, the personification of justice.[32] *Patria* also holds a shield with the word LEX written on it, and in *Finland Protecting Her Constitution* the figure holds a book of law in her left hand. Unlike *Patria* and *Finland*, however, the Maid protecting the constitution does not wear a bear-skin but a lion-skin.

The symbolism of the Finnish Maid clad in bear-skins was twofold; on the one hand it referred to a mythical historical past, on the other to legality. Bear-skins connoted ancient Northern mythology, which among the Scandinavists was claimed as national heritage. Scandinavianism was a political and cultural

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32 Reitala 1978, 166.

Figure 5. Walter Runeberg: Patria *(1892).*

movement which advocated a political union between Sweden and Denmark.[33] Politically, in fact, Walter Runeberg was a Scandinavist and anti-Russian. While working in Rome in the 1860s Runeberg felt that he was one of the "Northern Vikings". He wanted to express his patriotic feelings through these female figures, not through the images of the Russian sovereign which had been customary in Finland.[34] Here it is important to note that the Maid in bear-skins did not refer to Moder Svea, which carried a monarchist symbolism.

Prior to Runeberg's Finland protecting her constitution there had been only two official visual representations of the Maid produced in autonomous Finland: one in 1818 for a medal by Fedor Tolstoi in commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the Reformation, the other a plate by C.E. Sjöstrand which was placed on the pedestal of the statue of H.G. Porthan (1861–1864). Public expressions of patriotic sentiment had centered around the Russian sovereigns, and allegorical figures might have overshadowed the glory of the rulers. In poetry and literature, however, Finland was occasionally portrayed as a young woman or a mother. When Walter Runeberg set out to create *Finland Protecting Her Constitution*, he thus intentionally broke with the customary focus on the

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33 Reitala 1978, 162–164; Kuhn 2000.
34 Reitala 1978, 160–161.

Figure 6. Walter Runeberg: Suomi *(Finland, 1883).*

Russian sovereign. There was also a political message: the small sculpture, 53 centimeters tall, was his protest against the politics of the Finnish elite, which he considered overly "servile" towards Russia. In the sculpture, patriotism is founded on legality and the country's constitutional autonomy, symbolized by the law-book.[35]

Albeit Walter Runeberg did not clad this female figure in Scandinavian bear-skins, the political and constitutional content of the statue disturbed those, namely the Fennoman Old Finns, who advocated a more conciliatory policy towards the Russian Empire.[36] With this figure he laid the foundation for subsequent Maids in bear-skins as well as for the political passions and dividing lines evident in the satirical magazines. Runeberg repeated the same symbolism of legality and justice in *Patria*. This figure is situated on the pedestal of the statue of Alexander II. People started to call *Patria* Lex due to the text on the shield, and it soon became the symbol of constitutionalism and passive

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35 Reitala 1983, 31–40, 50.
36 Reitala 1983, 51.

Figure 7. Walter Runeberg: Suomi suojellen perustuslakejaan *(Finland protecting her constitution, 1865).*

resistance to unification measures. In the last decade of the 1800s and the first two decades of the 1900s, the appropriate relations to be maintained with Russia – whether Finland should adopt a policy of appeasement or hold on to the constitutional status of the country – formed one of the most important dividing points in Finnish politics and the nation-building project; and in this debate the Finnish Maid was a key figure. The Swedish faction and the Fennoman Young Finns, who stressed Finland's constitutional position in the Empire and Sweden's influence on culture and on the political system, adopted the Maid in bear-skins as their symbol of the Finnish nation.

Figure 8. Alexander Federley: Novoye Vremya's ideal view of Helsinki. Fyren *25 February 1899.*

The Maid in National Dress

Because of the political and Scandinavian symbolism of the Maid in bear-skins, Fennoman intellectuals introduced their own version, the Maid in national dress[37] (Figure 10). Of the satirical magazines, it was mainly *Tuulispää* where this type was used, but the figure was not unknown in other gazettes, except for *Kurikka*.[38] National dress was an important element in nineteenth-century nation-building and the invention of national traditions. The concept of the

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37 Reitala 1983, 86–92.

38 The first time *Kurikka* used a figure with some national insignia was in 1918.

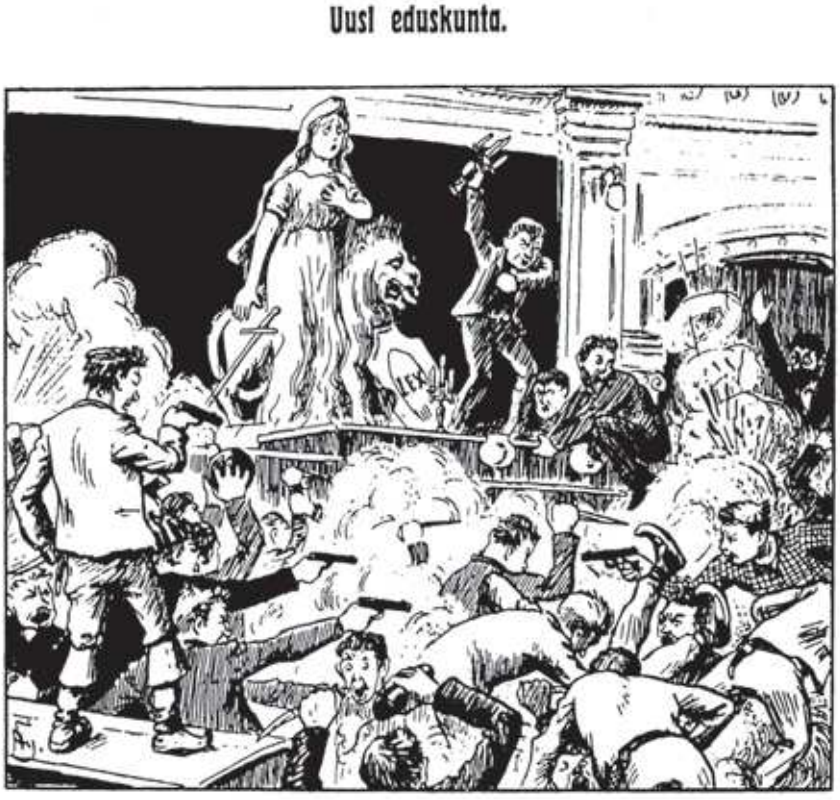

Figure 9. Alexander Federley: The new parliament. According to telegrams from the Socialists and the Old Finns the new parliament consists of thieves and murderers. Velikulta *11 July 1908.*

'invention of tradition' was introduced by the historian Eric Hobsbawm, according to whom in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, more precisely during 1870–1914, modern European nations mass-produced ritualized practices of a symbolic nature that implied a continuity with the past, especially with a nationally suitable past. Movements such as nationalism, which defend or even revive traditions, can never preserve a living past; therefore they must invent it. Foremost among these new traditions, especially in France and Germany, were public ceremonies such as Bastille Day, and the unveiling of public monuments.[39] Similar occasions took place in Finland as well. The unveilings of public monuments, the cult of the great men,[40] song and music festivals, domestic industrial exhibitions and visits by the Russian Emperor were Finnish invented traditions.[41] Of equal importance was the

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39 Hobsbawm 1985a, 1, 7–8; Hobsbawm 1985b, 271.

40 I discuss the unveilings of public monuments and the cult of great men in more detail in Chapter 3.

41 Smeds 1987, 91–107.

creation of the national dress.[42] In Finland, the national dress was linked to the Fennoman quest for Finnishness, as distinct from Swedishness and Sweden. National characteristics and true Finnishness was to be found among the rural population and in the eastern parts of the country. In this quest archaeology and ethnographic[43] research were harnessed to further the cause of nation-building.

The 1840s saw a growing interest in folk dress as well as other material culture associated with the rural population.[44] A few decades later, in the 1870s and 1880s, enthusiasm for preserving folk traditions and material culture grew even further. Ethnographic research was vigorous.[45] Yrjö Koskinen's controversial book *Oppikirja Suomen kansan historiassa* (History of the Finnish people),[46] published in 1869, began with an ethnographic introduction which situated Finnish national history in prehistoric times.[47] Finland had a long history, according to Koskinen; it only needed to be recovered, and in this ethnography proved useful. In autonomous Finland, ethnography as well as folkloristics and archaeological research had a political agenda. They were 'national disciplines', whose objective was to find and preserve authentic folk culture and further the progress of national awakening.[48] Kerstin Smeds points out that ethnography

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42 National costumes can be found around Europe, and they were invented in a manner similar to the Finnish dress. For instance, the kilt as the traditional Scottish Highland dress was created by an Englishman, Thomas Rawlinson, who modified the traditional garment of the "barbaric" Highlanders to fit workmen. Eventually the kilt was adopted by Scottish noblemen influenced by the Romantic movement. The 'clan tartans' were actually designed by Sir Walter Scott for a pageant in honor of a Hanoverian king. (Trevor-Roper 1985, 15–29.) Sir Walter Scott is in many ways an important figure in Scottish history. He is regarded as the creator of the historical novel, and in his work he often reflected and produced a distinct Scottish past (Bäckman 1998, 71; Sorensen 1997, 30–33.) Scott's works were also a model for Finnish literary Karelianism (Sihvo 1973, 356). In Wales, the customary outfit of poor women was deliberately turned into a national dress at the turn of the century by the Romantic Welsh revivalist Augusta Waddington, i.e. Lady Llanover (Morgan 1985, 80).

43 I use the term 'ethnography', the study of material folk culture, rather than 'ethnology' in relation to the nineteenth and early twentieth century, since this term most accurately describes the nature of research carried out during the last decades of Autonomy and the first years of independence. The type of ethnographic research practiced was directed at the material culture of the Finns and Finno-Ugrian peoples. There is another term, the German *Volkskunde*, which is the exact translation of 'kansatiede', the Finnish word for ethnography/ethnology (see Lehtonen 1972, 194–207).

44 Ervamaa 1981, 24.

45 For an overview of Finnish ethnography in the nineteenth century see Lehtonen 1972, 191–264 and Haltsonen 1947, 9–62. Of the two accounts, Haltsonen's ideas tend to be somewhat national-romantic in nature.

46 The book became a manifesto of the Fennoman movement. Due to its interpretation of Finnish national history prior to 1809 as separate from Sweden, *Oppikirja Suomen kansan historiassa* met with criticism. C.G. Estlander, a Swedish-minded liberal and Professor of Literature at the University of Helsinki, attacked Koskinen's work in the *Helsingfors Dagblad*. According to Estlander, Finland did not have a history before 1809. Another Fennoman historian, K.E.F. Ignatius, defended Koskinen, and was in turn criticised by Estlander (Koskimies 1974, 92–112).

47 Koskinen 1869, 1–20.

48 Tarkka 1988. The nationalisation of ethnology and folkloristics was by no means solely a Finnish phenomenon; a similar trend can also be found in other Scandinavian and European countries (Alver 1989, 15–18). In the preface to his 1913 book on Karelian folk dress, for instance, the ethnographer Theodor Schvindt linked the national mission and ethnographic scholarship (Schvindt 1913, Väliaikainen johdanto). A few decades earlier, in 1883, Schvindt had stressed that the founding of national museums was a patriotic task, and that "national ethnography is to explain the *present* circumstances of the people" (Haltsonen

Figure 10. S.A. Keinänen: A detail from Kansallis-Osake-Pankki's bond (1889)

was actually the only thing the Fennomans could lean on in their search for a national past, since actually the history of the Finnish state did not exist in any sense before 1809.[49]

In some cases it is actually rather difficult to define the dress the Maid is wearing, since a definition of the national dress is not simple to arrive at. A distinction is generally drawn between folk dress (*kansanpuku*), national dress

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1947, 200; emphasis in the original). The founding of the Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys (Finnish Society of Antiquities) in 1870, the Kalevalaseura (Kalevala Society) in 1911 (officially in 1919) and finally the opening of the National Museum in 1916 were other examples of such national aspirations (Sihvo 1973, 351). The Finnish Society of Antiquities was originally called The Finnish Corporation of Antiquities (Suomen Muinaismuisto-Yhtiö) (Haltsonen 1947, 45).

49 Smeds 1996, 164.

Figure 11. Alexander Federley: Before the election. Knight: Make coffee, my darling, and make it in a big pot! Priest: This is the last time we walk in your room. Velikulta *number 25–26 1906.*

(*kansallispuku*) and antique dress (*muinaispuku*). Folk dress is a traditional, usually home-made costume which varies regionally and which was worn by rural population up till the nineteenth century.[50] National dress does not have the same degree of originality. The ethnologist Bo Lönnqvist defines the national dress as

> a copied or reconstructed dress which revives the common people's festive costumes of the past, and which certain ideological circles use as a festive dress to emphasize a connection to the past, to a certain place or region or to a certain group of people.[51]

This definition is functional, in that it describes the purpose of the dress. It does not, however, provide any practical guidelines for the historian who is not knowledgeable in ethnology, as to what a national dress looks like, or what kind of ornamentation and accessories it has. The definition merely says that the national dress is a copy or a reconstruction of the common people's festive costume of the past. In my research material there are obvious examples, such as Alexander Federley's Maid in *Ennen vaalia*, (Before the elections)[52] (Figure

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50 Kaukonen 1985, 11.
51 Lönnqvist 1978, 125. Translation mine.
52 "Ennen vaalia" *Velikulta* number 25–26, 1906.

Figure 12. Alexander Federley: From the Axel Gallén-Kallela exhibition. The boat's lamentation over "national accident". Fyren *18 January 1908.*

11), where the skirt, apron and ribbon (*säppäli* or *pinteli*[53]) around the Maid's head – the sign of a young, still unmarried girl – resemble both the garments worn in old lithographs[54] and the national dresses displayed on patriotically festive occasions, not to mention international beauty contests. But there are also Maids wearing outfits with just one or two distinguishing signs of a complete national dress in an otherwise simple gown.

Moreover, as if to make things even more complex, some of the Maids seem to be wearing a combination of an antique and a national dress (Figure 12). The antique dress was identified by nineteenth century ethnographical research as different from the national dress. It too is a reconstruction, based on findings made at old burial sites dating from the twelfth and thirteenth century.[55] As one would expect, there are not as many antique dresses as national ones. In fact, there are only four types of the antique dress. One of these ancient garments, the prehistoric Karelian women's outfit, came to be known as the Aino dress, in reference to a female character in the *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic. The Aino dress consists of a loose, light-blue sleeveless dress held up by oval brooches on the shoulders, a bright red woolen apron and a loose white shawl-

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53 The difference between the *säppäli* and the *pinteli* is that the former is decorated with pewter buttons, while the latter is made solely of cloth (Kaukonen 1985, 202–203.)

54 Ervamaa 1981, 148; *US* 25 November 1886.

55 *US* 25 November 1886.

like headdress. Over the chest, hanging from the brooches, is a chain with leather purses. In 1899 the magazine *Koti ja yhteiskunta* (Home and society) published in a supplement a color drawing and instructions by Theodor Schvindt, the director of the ethnographic museum of the student associations (the 'nations') for making an Aino dress. The same models were published later in Schvindt's *Suomalaisia Kansallispukuja* (Finnish national dresses) in 1902. This outfit was popular among female schoolgirls and students in the beginning of the twentieth century.[56]

We should also remember that the Finnish national dress is actually not one single dress, but rather a variety of dresses based on traditional regional costumes. There is variation in fabric, shoes and headgear, with the main dividing line located between the eastern and western parts of the country. The Finnish Maid familiar to Finns today from travel advertisements and Kari Suomalainen's caricatures wears a dress with western characteristics; buckled shoes, a vertically striped skirt and a little hat or bonnet with lace on it (*tykkimyssy*).[57] This western type of Maid surfaced in the 1920s. Before that she had been pictured with Karelian characteristics, but now the newly independent nation aspired to be part of the Western world – even though the competing narrative of Karelian romanticism had not lost its popularity.[58]

The Suometar-Mamma

An interesting figure was the Suometar-Mamma (Figure 13), which appeared in the pages of *Fyren*, *Kurikka* and *Velikulta.* The Suometar-Mamma, or Uusi-Suimitar as she was occasionally called in *Fyren*, was the symbol of radical Fennomania and the Old Finns gathered around the newspaper *Uusi Suometar.* The figure was used by the political opponents of the Fennoman Old Finns: the Workers' Movement, the Swedish faction and the Young Finns. Strictly speaking the Suometar-Mamma did not symbolize a nation but a newspaper. She nevertheless corresponded to negative notions of what the Swedish-speaking population and Socialists considered a "vulgar" form of Fennoman Finnishness. What makes her relevant to the Maid, and therefore to this study, is that she wore a national dress, as did the new Fennoman Maids of that era. Thus she was one version of the Maid theme. I have devoted the whole of Chapter 6 to this figure, and I discuss her in more detail there.

In addition to the national dress, the Suometar-Mamma has two distinguishing marks; a white veil-like scarf with knots on both sides of her head, and curled-up footwear. These two pieces of attire were derived from the antique dress. On the Suometar-Mamma, however, they were used negatively; they were symbols

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56 Schvindt 1902; Kaukonen 1972, 29–31; Kaukonen 1985, 296–298. Instructions for making a national dress were also published in 1900, 1903 and 1904 (*Koti ja yhteiskunta* 15 January 1900; *Koti ja yhteiskunta* 15 January 1903; *Koti ja yhteiskunta* 15 January 1904).

57 Lönnqvist 1978, 138.

58 Reitala 1983, 134.

Figure 13. Alexander Federley: Political Easter, i.e. when Old Finn chicks and swallows appearing in spring await seeds of power at the national chicken farm.
Velikulta *8 April 1909.*

of a Fennoman Old-Finn Finnishness the Swedish faction, and to a lesser extent the Young Finns, did not accept. The knotted scarf was traditionally worn in the eastern parts of Finland by married women,[59] and it was made known to a wider audience by ethnographers and artists. One of these artists, Robert Wilhelm Ekman (1808–1873) was one of the first to portray it in his work; in fact, Ekman was one of the earliest *Kalevala* enthusiasts, the group of artists who sought inspiration from the national epic.[60] In his painting *Suomalaisten kaste*, (The baptism of the Finns, 1853) (Figure 42), one of the women to be baptized by Bishop Henrik is wearing this particular scarf, and the outfits of the two women in the foreground seem to be influenced by the Jääske dress. There was a belief in authenticity, as if there had once existed a 'degree zero' national culture, an untainted and crystalline state from which all national characteristics originated. The Jääske region was believed to be the place of the original costume from which all other dresses worn by later generations had evolved. Ekman was nonetheless entitled to artistic freedom in his depictions. In addition

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59 Schvindt 1913, 143.
60 Sihvo 1973, 220.

to ethnographic influences, he was inspired by Medieval and Renaissance art; the veil is similar to one worn by the Virgin Mary. In fact, since Ekman was inclined to 'antiquate' his models, the scarf, and the costume in general, should be regarded as giving the work a mythological *Kalevala* quality rather than as referring to any actual ethnographic record.[61]

The multiplicity of Maid figures shows that in the early twentieth century there was no single notion of Finnishness. With the artistic freedom granted to them, caricaturists were eager to give the Finnish Maid many faces. Every political faction, however, imagined and portrayed Finland as a woman, despite all the male characters in contemporary literature. For the Swedish faction, the Young Finns and the workers' movement, the Finland of the Fennoman nationalists was an ugly old woman. The Suometar-Mamma, as I will show in Chapter 6, represented political decay and submission to the Russian Regime. For the Swedish faction and the Young Finns, the true Finland was the figure of Justice, with strong Scandinavian overtones in the shape of the *Patria* / *Lex* statue, since for them the nation's existence was based on law; fatherland and constitution were inseparable. The Fennomans imagined a nation where national identity grew out of the values of the Finnish-speaking landowner society. Hence they created their own personification, the Maid in national dress. For the Social Democrats, Finland was without political or national symbols. In the pages of *Kurikka* there appeared yet another personification, that of socialism and social democracy. She was a young woman wearing a Phrygian cap, and she was in fact an exact replica of Freedom in French revolutionary art.[62]

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61 Ervamaa 1981, 23–26, 148.
62 *Kurikka* 15 April 1909.

Gender, Sexuality and the Body in the Constructions and Representations of Nations

Bringing the men back in

During the 1990s, gender and sexuality have attracted attention in the study of nations and nationalism.[1] Academics such as Eric Hobsbawm, Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson and Anthony D. Smith, all of whom have achieved a hegemonic position among the theorists of nationalism, have encountered growing criticism from feminist scholars for ignoring gender relations and sexuality in their studies. This critique has been articulated recently by Ruth Roach Pierson and Nira Yuval-Davis, among many others; over a decade earlier it was expressed by George L. Mosse.[2] Roach Pierson points out that influential and insightful as Anderson's concept of nation as imagined community is,[3] he still sees nationality and gender as profoundly separate, thus failing to see nations as gendered. Furthermore, Anderson does not recognize the deep emotional structures of subjectivity and identity formation, in which sexuality and eroticism are inherent.[4] With few exceptions,[5] the numerous studies of Finnishness and its representations have also tended to ignore the role of gender and especially sexuality in the formation of nations.[6]

Even in feminist and cultural studies, where the interconnections between gender and nationality have been extensively documented, the role of sexuality in nationalism has received surprisingly little attention.[7] Instead, the focus has been on ethnicity and racism;[8] in the numerous studies focusing on questions of

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1 Pryke 1998, 529; Sluga 1998, 88; Herminghouse & Mueller (eds) 1997; Pickering & Kehde 1997 (eds); Lutz et al (eds) 1995; Sangari & Vaid (eds) 1990; Yuval-Davis & Anthias (eds) 1989.

2 Roach Pierson 2000; Yuval-Davis 1998; Mosse 1997. See also McClintock 1995; Pryke 1998; Sluga 1998; Mayer (ed.) 1999; Kemlein (Hg.) 2000; Blom, Hagemann and Hall (eds) 2000; *Nations and Nationalism* 2000.

3 Anderson 1999.

4 Roach Pierson 2000, 42–43; Cf. Wenk 2000, 64–65. Wenk points out that on two occasions Anderson recognizes gender – nation as a masculine entity and the concept of 'the mother tongue' – but considers the exclusion of women and the construction of the masculine so self-evidently bound together that he does not problematize gender any further.

5 For example Sulkunen 1987; Ollila 1993; Gordon ja Lahelma 1998; Juntti 1998a; Juntti 1998b; Gordon, Komulainen & Lempiäinen (toim.) 2002.

6 See for example Korhonen (toim.) 1993; Liikanen 1995; Laaksonen ja Mettomäki (toim.) 1996; Rantanen 1997; Hannula 1997; Saukkonen 1999.

7 For example Parker et al (eds) 1992; Mosse 1997; Pryke 1998; Mayer (ed.) 2000; Nagel 2003.

8 For example Gilroy 1987; Lutz et al 1995; Brah 1996;

sexuality, on the other hand, the perspective has been one of subjectivity, sexual identities and the body.[9]

Yuval-Davis maintains that terms such as 'production' and 'reproduction', which are so often used in connection with nations, are not seen as relating to women but to state officials and intellectuals.[10] Yet it is women who in nationalist rhetoric are seen as mothers who bear sons – the soldiers who defend the nation. In the rhetoric of war, armed action is justified by the 'women and children' for whose safety and integrity men – fathers, sons, brothers and lovers – are supposed to fight, and die. It is not just nationalist rhetoric that is gendered; notable scholars as well use a language that engenders the nation. For instance, Anderson's famous and often quoted definition of the nation as an imagined community ends in bewilderment:

> the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. These deaths bring us abruptly face to face with the central problem posed by nationalism: what makes the shrunken imaginings of recent history (scarcely more than two centuries) generate such colossal sacrifices?[11]

A deconstruction of this excerpt gives rise to two interesting points. First of all, Anderson refers to the concept of fraternity, which is of course one of the catchwords of the French Revolution of 1789. The Revolution did extend the promise of equality between the sexes, but that promise was never fulfilled; on the contrary. In her book *The Sexual Contract*, Carole Pateman argues that societies are based on brotherhood, the fraternity of free sons, rather than on patriarchy, the rule of the father.[12] In a similar vein, Mosse argues that nation-building has been based on masculine networks and alliances; in addition to liberty and equality, societies claim fraternity.[13] It is this fraternity that excludes women from the community of free men upon which also nations, those imagined communities, are built. It is not, however, solely the careless use of the word fraternity with which Anderson engenders the nation, in this case as a sphere of masculine activity, but also his second point: "[this] makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, *not so much to kill, as willingly to die for* such limited imaginings" [italics mine]. The philosopher Adriana Cavarero maintains that Western culture is a culture of death at the expense of life and life-giving, a feminine activity. The ability to look death in the face and a willingness to die is the yardstick of male existence. Life is common – it is granted to everyone: women, children, men, rich and poor, healthy and sick; but risk-taking and death belong to the bravest of men. In fact,

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9 For example Foucault 1990; Butler 1990; Butler 1993; Grosz 1994.
10 Yuval-Davis 1998, 1–2.
11 Anderson 1999, 7.
12 Pateman 1988.
13 Mosse 1997.

"living for death" is one of the cornerstones of Western philosophical tradition.[14]

Despite researchers' claims and good intentions, scholarship under the rubric of 'gender and nation' has not been exactly that. Early studies in this field have focused mainly on women – not gender and gender relationships – and on

> the ways in which they become implicated in nation-building projects, nationalist movements and in citizenship rather than *gender*, understood as the total ensemble of relationships that regulate the production of masculine and feminine identities and their relationships to the distribution of societal power.[15]

In these studies, women are incorporated into the topic in two distinct ways; as representations and symbols, and as social, often marginalized, actors. Joane Nagel points out that while the feminist study of nations and nationalism has shown that women have not stood passively in the shadows, but that there have indeed been women revolutionaries and leaders as well as women's exploitation and women's resistance to domination, these efforts to "bring the women back in" have resulted in the conflation of 'gender' with 'woman', as if only women had gender.[16] These studies have concentrated on women – which is understandable, since earlier mainstream studies have ignored them – with the reverse result of overlooking men. According to these studies, women have been given two roles in nation-building: "as *representations* of the nation and as *social actors* implicated in national processes in specific ways".[17]

There have nevertheless been on the one hand feminist and gender studies, on the other critical studies on men that stress the importance of men and masculinity in the formation of nations and nationalist politics, arguing that the forces which forge and uphold the nation – state institutions, political power, militarism and the army – are above all masculine institutions.[18] In the study of nationalism, the notions of masculinity and manhood are therefore crucial. As Nagel argues,

> to limit the examination of gender in politics to an investigation of women only, misses a major, perhaps *the* major way in which gender

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14 Cavarero 1995, 15–30. Wendy Bracewell reports that a young Serbian man recruited into the army shot himself in front of his unit rather than went and fought in the battle field. According to Bracewell, the young man had not accepted the equation between militarism, manliness and national honor. He nonetheless had felt it unmanly to desert; he resolved the dilemma by committing suicide (Bracewell 2000, 579) Reality is thus more gruesome than lofty rhetoric and patriotic songs. It is an understatement to say that the degree of willingness in sacrificing one's life is open to debate. Moreover, women too encounter the darker side of nationalism in conflict situations. The most recent examples come from ex-Yugoslavia, where women's bodies were violated by raping, mutilating and killing them as a tactic of warfare.

15 Kandiyoti 2000, 491.

16 Nagel 1998, 243; Kandiyoti 2000, 491.

17 Kandiyoti 2000, 491.

18 For example Pateman 1988; Enloe 1993; Connell 1995; Pettman 1996; Mosse 1996; Mosse 1997; Hagemann 1997; Steans 1998; Nagel 1998; Jokinen 2000; Enloe 2000a; Enloe 2000b; Goldstein 2001; Nagel 2003.

> shapes politics – through men and their interests, their notions of manliness, and masculine micro and macro cultures.[19]

"Bringing the men back in" is not to say that there is a return to the earlier men-centered but gender-blind scholarship, in which men were regarded as generic humans. The study of nations and nationalism as masculine enterprises needs to be carried out through a critical and systematic examination of men as gendered beings. It has to be recognized that being a man does not involve essentialism; that masculinity is a construct just as femininity is. To emphasize this point further: to focus on men, their actions and conceptions of nation is not critical research unless it addresses the male gender and dissects masculinity.

What about the present study – is it about women or about gender in nation-building? When I first started, I situated myself in the tradition of the earlier studies mentioned by Kandiyoti. This study was to be, and still is, above all about women as symbols, about female figures as representations of nations. In the course of the work, however, I realized that I could not exclude the gender system and notions of masculinity from my analysis. In discussing the feminization, embodiment and eroticization of the nation, of space and of the national landscape, an examination of masculinity and manhood is needed because those processes rest on conceptions of what it means to be a man as much as what it means to be a woman. Notions of womanhood and manhood are mutually dependent. When men define the ideal woman, a manly self-image is present. I focus on the conceptions of femininity produced by the masculine subject position in the form of the Finnish Maid; in other words, I too "bring the women back in". Yet women themselves have had virtually no possibility of manipulating representations of femininity. Defining was performed by men, who were able to define manliness as well. Because of this asymmetry of power, we always have to bear in mind that femininity and masculinity, women and men are not opposite but equal sides of the same entity; there is always a hierarchy that renders masculinity and manhood more valuable than femininity.[20]

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19 Nagel 1998, 243. See also Kandiyoti 2000, 491; Scott 1999, 31.

20 There has been discussion in feminist and women's studies concerning the place of men as objects of research. Should the genderedness of men and the negative impact of the gender system on men's lives be recognized and studied in feminist and women's studies? This is not an easy question, for the simple reason that letting men in as objects of research may have some pitfalls. The recognition of the gender system as oppressive to both women and men easily blinds us to the gender hierarchy. Although men are affected by the gender system, they are not affected *in the same way* or *to the same degree* as women are. The gender system works to the benefit of men by giving them liberties and dominant positions, while women are for the most part repressed by the system. The demand to bring men back in may also easily reproduce the notion of complementarity between men and women, as if women and the study of women ("only" women studying "only" women) is complete when men too are studied (feminist and women's studies will become a "real" discipline only when it is acknowledged by men both as objects of research and as researchers). But there are also opposing views among feminist researchers. According to them, despite its potential dangers the linking of critical studies of men with women's studies will highlight even more clearly the complexities of the workings of gendered and hierarchized society (Koivunen & Liljeström 1996, 23–25; see also Scott 1999, 31–32). In this study I integrate men and critical studies on men in my analysis. I do not do this because I feel that bringing men in would make my points any more "legitimate" or give them more "general significance", but because the analysis of masculinity will give more depth to the picture of Finnish nationalism.

In the rest of this chapter, I discuss the key concepts of the study; masculinity and femininity, the heterosexual matrix, homosocial desire, the body, motherhood and eugenics. Each of these concepts figures in one or more themes of the study. They are all interconnected, but for the purposes of analysis I have separated them.

Masculinity and femininity

The evolution of the concept of masculinity is integrally linked with the development of nationalism and the creation of gender differences; the three phenomena have been codependent. Middle-class morality depended on a strict gender division and on gender identities: what it was to be a man and a woman.[21] The creation of ideal manliness has also been associated with the ideology and institutions of the empire, in particular the army. In the following discussion of the history and content of the concept of masculinity, I rely to a great extent on Mosse's work. Although there is a growing body of work on conceptions of masculinity, Mosse's point-of-view is clearly historical and he links masculinity to nationalism. Before pursuing the discussion further, one point needs to be made concerning the term 'masculinity' as such. There is no single, fixed masculinity to which 'masculinity' in the singular refers; rather, there are diverse 'masculinities', based on class, ethnic and sexual divisions, which may compete with each other. Nonetheless, according to Nagel, in any given historical situation and in any given place there is one, identifiable masculinity, a normative or hegemonic masculinity which overrides its rivals.[22] According to Arto Jokinen,

> [h]egemonic masculinity means, first of all, a practice that joins men together, secondly it refers to the dominant position a particular ideal of masculinity occupies in culture, and thirdly, it means the dominant position a certain class of men have regarding the majority of men and all women.[23]

This normative or hegemonic masculinity appears natural and is therefore more than an ideal; it is assumptive and widely held. Although this hegemonic notion of what it is to be a man is accepted by many, men and women alike, there is also resistance to it.[24] I am aware, however, that hegemonic masculinity as a concept is debatable. In the pages of the satirical magazines there were different masculinities. The ideal man of the Socialists was more physical and aggressive

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21 Mosse 1996, 7, 28. Mosse 1997. In his own assessment of his earlier work, Mosse recognizes that although he has touched upon the concept of masculinity in many contexts it has only been a subtext (Mosse 1996, 4). His more recent study of masculinity, *The Image of Man* (1996), however, focuses on masculinity.

22 Nagel 1998, 247.

23 Jokinen 2000, 215. Translation mine.

24 Nagel 1998, 247; Jokinen 2000, 213–217.

than the dignified and calm farmer of the landowner class. Is it then justified to speak of *hegemonic* masculinity? Yes and no. The term is widely used in research, but I would suggest a modification to it: the plural form 'hegemonic masculinities'. This term both recognizes the variations of ideal manliness between different groups and the existence of a normative ideal within each of these groups.

In *The Image of Man*, Mosse dates the birth of modern masculinity to the mid-eighteenth century, when aristocratic notions of manhood were transformed to fit a modernizing society with a strong middle class. Aristocratic masculinity – courage, daring, honor, loyalty and ennoblement through the pure love of a woman – was based upon a warrior caste and on family descent. In the evolving nation-state and bourgeois society, where one's social status was no longer strictly determined by one's birth, the middle-class nuclear family became the miniature of a nation. For instance, the platonic love of a noble lady, which in the aristocratic order of manly chivalry had spiritualized knighthood, was now transformed and channeled into middle-class marriage and the family.[25]

Certain other qualities of aristocratic masculinity besides pure love also continued their existence in modern masculinity and have changed very little since: a "real man" is still defined in terms of power, honor, courage and self-control. Aristocratic chivalry, which had been expressed in the duel, became a more general quality, still linking moral and physical principles. In modern masculinity chivalry came to mean compassion, straightforwardness and patriotism, i.e. middle-class manners and respectable behaviour which uphold the nation. Since masculinity also required physical characteristics, the male body took on symbolic meaning. In fact, the male body became the locus of masculinity and the condition of the society, since a man's posture and appearance were believed to reflect his moral qualities. Physical stamina was built up through sports activities and gymnastics geared towards both middle-class and working-class boys, many of whom served in imperial armies.[26] The importance of the physical endurance of the nation's youth was recognized in Finland as well. When in the 1878 conscription one half of the young men were classified as unfit for service in the imperial army, interest in the benefit of sports grew significantly. It became vital to introduce sports to the working-class as well as the upper classes.[27]

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25 Mosse 1996, 17–19.

26 Nagel 1998, 249; Mosse 1996, 15–23, 41–46.

27 Siltala 1999, 480–481; Tervo 2001, 358, 362. The emphasis on the association between sports and military service gendered sports as masculine. Since the role of sports achievements was integral in the building of the Finnish nation, the result was that the nation and the duty to defend it either on the sports field or in the army was considered an exclusively masculine activity. Women's sports were not taken seriously, and "Finnish journalists […] considered the bond between male athletes and the Finnish state and nation as self-evident." Tervo reports that when women athletes were mentioned in newspaper reports they were constructed as symbols, as pure Finnish Maids, and their athletic achievements were regarded as irrelevant (Tervo 2001, 365–367. Quotation p. 366). Thus Finnishness and masculinity were linked, while women as real historical women were excluded from nationality.

The image of the right kind of masculinity was important to those Finns who made decisions concerning public art. One question was the age at which a nationally important male figure should be portrayed: in his vital youth or at an older age?[28] These national figures were usually seen as middle-aged or even old; this made it possible to stress the self-control, maturity and dignity both of men and of the nation. Thus masculinity was fluid. It was possible to see manly qualities both in a vibrant youth and in a more mature, even an elderly man. In fact, masculinity tended towards the latter. In addition to this flexibility concerning the age of a manly man, there were also differing views as to what kind of qualities a "real man" should have. The historian Claes Ekenstam points out that when Mosse writes about modern masculinity as the masculine stereotype, what he is describing is actually bourgeois masculinity. Ekenstam criticizes Mosse's views for being overly generalizing. While the middle-class man was supposed to exercise self-control and sexual restraint, among working-class men there was another manly ideal, one of sexual potency and physical aggression.[29] There was indeed a celebration of more aggressive and physical masculinity for instance in the Finnish workers' movement. In *Kurikka*, a Socialist satirical magazine, the personification of social democracy was a muscular, often young man, who literally beat up his opponents[30] (Figure 14). These kinds of Herculean images were typical of the workers' movement and of Communist imagery, where the muscular man symbolized the power of the proletariat.[31] On the other side of the political spectrum, among the Agrarian faction, the independent, Finnish-speaking farmer was personified by a calm and serious middle-aged man,[32] (Figure 15) while a younger man was used to symbolize the independent, Swedish-speaking farmer in *Fyren*[33] (Figure 16). Domestic political opponents were often in turn feminized in caricatures, turned into unmanly men by representing them wearing a woman's dress[34] (Figures 17 and 18).

The existence of multiple masculinities in imperial Finland became apparent when the statue of the Emperor Alexander II was discussed among the competition jury. Some members of the jury were worried that the Emperor did not appear sufficiently majestic, that his body would be too "bourgeois" and commonplace.[35] It is clear that the masculinity of Alexander II operated on a different level from the stereotypical modern masculinity identified by Mosse. Unfortunately the members of the jury did not elaborate what the overly "bourgeois" body, unbefitting the Emperor, looked like, but it was obvious to

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28 Lindgren 2000, 40.
29 Ekenstam 2000, 73–75.
30 *Kurikka* 1 October 1910; *Kurikka* 15 May 1911; *Kurikka* 1 July 1913.
31 Katainen 2003, 150.
32 *Tuulispää* 15 March 1907; *Tuulispää* Midsummer issue 1912; *Tuulispää* 1 November 1912.
33 *Fyren* 27 January 1917.
34 For example *Fyren* 23 March 1901; *Tuulispää* 6 October 1905; *Kurikka* 8 June 1907; *Velikulta* 16 May 1908.
35 *Valmistava palkintokilpailu* 1884, 5–6, 14–15, 18, 20–21, 23, 27–29.

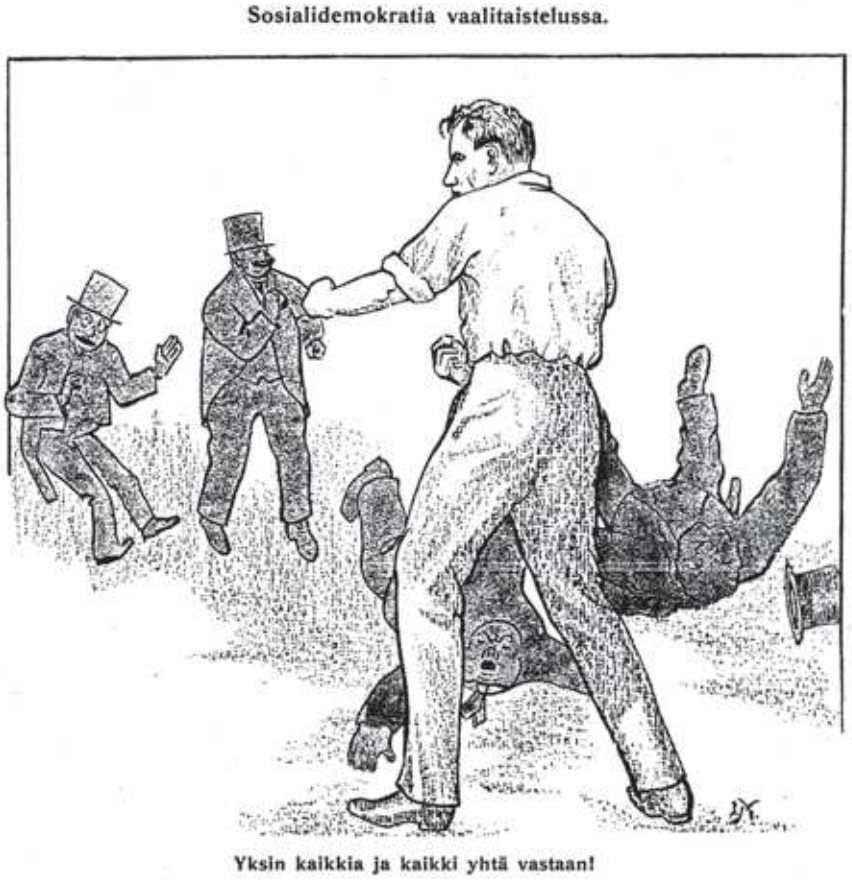

Figure 14. Anonymous: Campaigning for Social Democracy. Alone against all and all against one! Kurikka *1 July 1913.*

contemporary experts. Nevertheless, the final result was satisfactory; *Uusi Suometar* noted that Alexander II was portrayed "at the peak of his manliness".[36]

Although Mosse focuses on bourgeois masculinity, he also acknowledges other masculinities: what he calls 'countertypes', i.e. male Jews, Gypsies and homosexuals, who lived at and were displaced to the margins of society. The countertype was a "convex mirror", a reverse of the norm, against which masculinity could be affirmed. The position occupied by women in the gender system differed from the position of the countertypes. To be a woman was different from being an unmasculine man, a countertype. Women posed no threat to the gender order if they remained in their place. But if a woman abandoned 'respectable' femininity, in other words became an 'unwomanly' woman, she became similar to the countertypes.[37]

Although the qualities entailed by masculinity have changed little since their rise in the mid-eighteenth century, there have been times when masculinity has been challenged. One such crisis occurred around the turn of the twentieth century, when women started to demand political rights. Women who demanded

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36 *US* 7 May 1885.
37 Mosse 1996, 56–76.

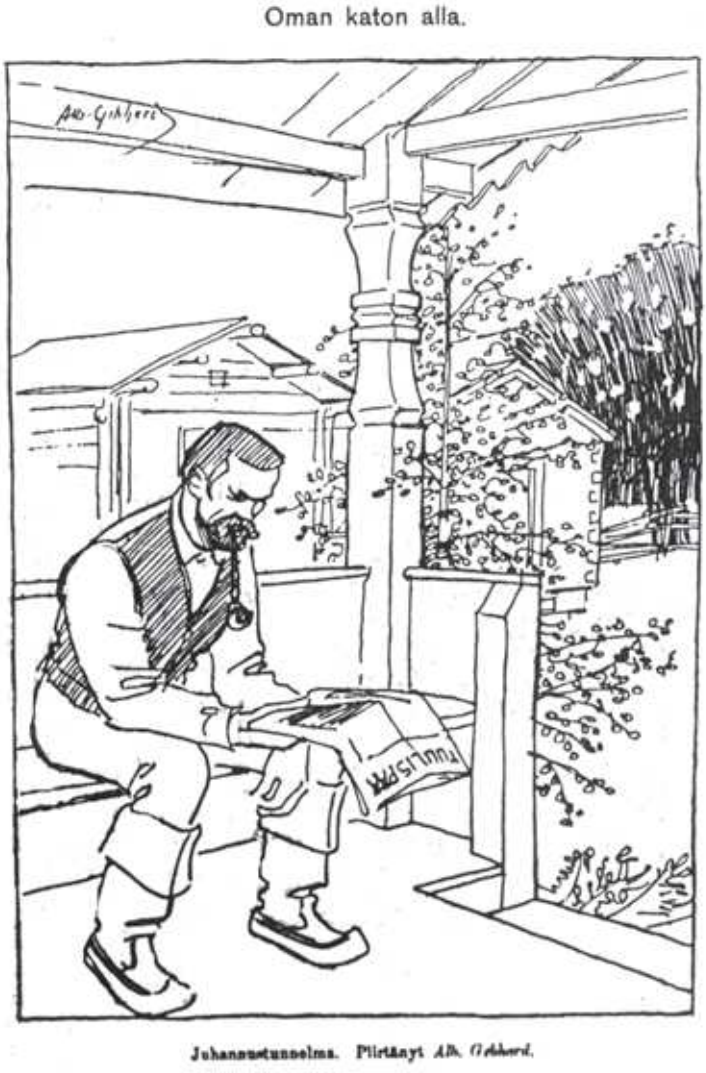

Figure 15. Albert Gebhardt: Under one's own roof. Tuulispää *Midsummer issue 1912.*

the right to vote and the right to economic independence, and were not keen on marriage, were seen to threaten male dominance at home as well as in society. In other words, the crisis of masculinity was the fault of women who did not know their place.[38] Finnish satirical magazines reacted to women's demands with ridicule, for instance by portraying a female attorney appearing in court as unprofessional (Figure 19).[39] Another target of ridicule were the women's movement activists, who were described as "sexless".[40] In particular Lucina Hagman, in her short hair and manly dress, was suspect.[41] (Figure 20).

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38 Ekenstam 2000, 75–78; Mosse 1996, 102–106; Kurikka 1993, 188–189; Rojola 1993, 167–168.

39 *Velikulta* 27 June 1901.

40 *Fyren* 28 November 1903.

41 *Fyren* 19 June 1913.

Figure 16. Eric Vasström: "Bow your head, you Swedish man…". The sign says: The great final sale of the Swedish land! Fyren *27 January 1917.*

Päivi Lappalainen has argued that the late 19th century was a time of the feminization of culture. Male writers took on feminine qualities, as though to colonize them. Their fantasies about the mother's body were a starting point in their attempts to appropriate femininity as part of themselves. The process of feminization, however, was not about the acceptance of actual historical women as equals, but about the masculine appropriation of the ideal Woman. In their own private lives these men could be misogynist towards women.[42] One could also argue that the feminization of culture was an attempt to familiarize the unknown and threatening feminine and bring it under control. According to Lea Rojola, the relationship between a real historical woman and the feminization of culture is illusory. The feminine is a site for masculine desires and fears, and the appropriated feminine secures the masculine subject.[43]

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42 Lappalainen 1998, 78–79.
43 Rojola 1993, 168.

Figure 17. Anonymous: Bourgeois election coalition. Kurikka *1 June 1913.*

The solution to the crisis was seen in a return to the old order, where women were dominated by men.[44] According to Mosse, masculinity is a conservative force allied with society's traditional values. In times of crisis, the defenders of masculinity do not question masculinity itself or the genderedness of men. On the contrary, the causes of the perceived demise of masculinity and men are sought elsewhere: in women who do not know their place and in other groups that do not fit the manly ideal.[45]

The heterosexual matrix and male homosocial desire

Sexuality has been seen as something ultra-private, but notions of fertility, sexual prowess or even the abnormality of other nationalities are nevertheless used to construct one's own nation.[46] Sexuality is a political force. Ritva Nätkin has argued to the point:

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44 Ekenstam 2000, 78.
45 Mosse 1997, 8, 78, 102–106.
46 Pryke 1998, 529.

Figure 18. Kaarlo Kangasmaa: Fie, who is naughty! Tuulispää *2 February 1906.*

> a sexual relation which stems from the goal to procreate is a factor that profoundly structures the society. This kind of sexual relation is not merely biological, albeit it is bodily, but it is also political.[47]

Sam Pryke has identified three major approaches to tackling the complex question of nationalism and sexuality. The main interconnections are *national sexual stereotypes, sexuality in national conflict* and *sexuality in nation-building*. Sexual stereotypes of other nations are obvious in jokes about the alleged prowess or lack of passion in members of certain nations.[48] In Finland, for instance, it is almost impossible to escape jokes about Swedish males' supposed homosexual orientation. Seppo Knuuttila, and Jan Löfström after him, have, however, pointed out that the main purpose of laughing at perceived sexual deviancy is not necessarily exclusion and dominance; jokes are a way of making sense of new, strange, even exciting sexual behaviour and desires. The construction of the Other, the boundary between 'us' and 'them' is merely a by-product.[49] Yet sexual attributes are utilized in serious discourse as well. In Finland pronouncements such as "they come here to take our women",[50] 'they'

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47 Nätkin 1997, 26. Translation mine. See also Helén 1997, 343–346.

48 Pryke 1998, 531, 534–537.

49 Löfström 1999, 53–55; Knuuttila 1992, 250.

50 One variation of this rhetoric was articulated by a prison guard, who wrote in the magazine *Vankilavirkailija* (Prison official) that violence against foreigners in Joensuu was something to be expected: "[w]hen black men take our women, jobs and bicycles, a Finnish man grasps what he has left and can use best in the world. A baseball bat." Quoted in Anttonen 1996.

referring to foreign men of darker skin color and of "greater virility", are all very familiar. The sexualization of nationalities ranges from the undemonstrative Finnish man, who neither talks nor kisses, and the Latin lover, who "makes her feel like a woman", to the mail-order bride business, in which global economic inequality is overshadowed by the 'femininity' and 'servility' of Asian and Russian women. The sexualization of nationalities is what Nagel calls sexual ascription as separate from sexual action. Sexual ascription means "the assignment of sexual meanings, evaluations, and categories to others", while sexual actions concern "the sexual behaviors and identities of individuals."[51]

In recent times the consequences of the use of sexuality in national conflict have been manifested in the Balkans, where the raping of women was used as a tactic of warfare.[52] That women are excluded from direct action in politics, and are subsumed in nationalist rhetoric as symbols of national boundaries[53] and as the guardians of collective honor, makes it possible to humiliate an enemy ethnic group or nation on a symbolic level by violating and mutilating real women. In this process, the same nationalist strategies that sexualize and eroticize the nation in fact repress the sexuality of actual men and women. More

Figure 19. Anonymous: Female attorney. A picture from the future. – Gentlemen! My client regrets his participation in this sordid affair, in which he became involved due to his inexperience. In reality he is a very kind man. An example: because he is unable to pay my fee he is offering to me what he has, his hand and heart. Is not this enough to show that he has a kind heart and should be let go free! Velikulta *27 June 1901.*

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51 Nagel 2001, 124.
52 Mass rape has also been used a tactic of warfare in Rwanda and Burma.
53 McClintock 1993, 62.

Figure 20. Rafael Rindell: Sisters. Fennia *(to Aunt Melucina and Aunt Annie): – Why don't* you *say anything? How can* you *quietly watch what is happening there?!* Aunts*: – Quiet girl, quiet. You have to watch silently while the nice aunts in England prepare the way for you and all of us …* Fyren *19 June 1913.*

precisely, women's bodies become part of a collective body, and the raping of women is invested with political significance because the violation of women's bodies is a violation of the nation.[54] Consequently, the specificity of the female experience of rape is denied and the female body is desexualized, as Julie Mostov has argued in relation to the former Yugoslavia.[55] The use of sexuality in national conflicts does not always need to be so drastic; acts of violence often take place at a symbolic level in the national imagery. As we will see in Chapter 5, in caricatures and poems the Finnish Maid was taken captive, beaten and even

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54 See for example Marttila 2003.
55 Mostov 2000.

raped by the Russians. The key here are the perceived degenerate sexual practices of the enemy nation, which are seen to threaten others.[56]

When sexuality is used in nation-building it mainly concerns the ways nationalist movements and the state control their members' sexuality, what kinds of sexual practices are allowed and which are forbidden.[57] Women's role as reproducers of a nation is both biological and cultural. Once women are biological and cultural reproducers of a nation, sexuality, male and female alike, has to be controlled.

In national discourses heterosexuality and heterosexual marriage are the norm, while homosexuality is deemed to be a serious threat to the family and thus to the whole nation.[58] Heterosexuality is perhaps *the* defining factor in the gender system and in notions of femininity and masculinity. There is nothing "natural" about heterosexuality, i.e. about the continuum between "natural" heterosexuality and "unnatural" homosexuality, although heterosexuality is naturalized.[59] Heterosexuality may be considered an umbrella concept under which the gender system is organized. To contest heterosexuality is to contest what it is to be a woman and a man. The cultural practices and the presupposition of natural heterosexuality form what Judith Butler has titled a 'heterosexual matrix':

> [t]he institution of a compulsory and naturalized heterosexuality requires and regulates gender as a binary relation in which the masculine term is differentiated from a feminine term, and the differentiation is accomplished through the practices of heterosexual desire.[60]

Thus the heterosexual matrix renders gender and desire intelligible only through a heterosexual prism. The gender order is based on the existence of two opposite and unequal terms, man and woman; everything outside this opposition is abnormal, even non-existent. National order too is heterosexualized through the nuclear family as the foundation of a nation. The concept of the family is rooted in the heterosexual relationship between a man and a woman as mother, and this relationship is duplicated on the national level.

Drawing on the concept of the heterosexual matrix, Marianne Liljeström argues that the gender system can be described as 'heterorelational reality'; this means that it

> consists of a wide variety of social, political, economic and emotional relationships which are regulated as sexual […] its norms, ways and forms of thinking define woman in relation to man, and not *vice versa*.[61]

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56 Pryke 1998, 538–539.
57 Pryke 1998, 540.
58 Mosse 1997, 23–47.
59 See for example Nagel 2000; Hubbard 2000, 193; Butler 1993; Butler 1990.
60 Butler 1990, 22–23.
61 Liljeström 1996, 131. Translation mine.

In the heterorelational gender system women are considered to exist for the needs of men, to give them support and care. Men, however, need women only occasionally, "and their [men's] "destinies" and duties as the builders of society and the world are not primarily defined in relation to women."[62] Luce Irigaray has commented on the position of women in masculine societies:

> Women exist only as an occasion for mediation, transaction, transition, transference, between man and his fellow man.[63]

Irigaray refers to Gayle Rubin's formulation "traffic in women". According to Rubin, in male-dominated societies and social groups women are used as gifts from one man to another. By exchanging women as gifts men form reciprocal relationships, thus strengthening the organization of masculine societies.[64] Male same-sex attachments thus take precedent over male-female relationships; since, however, open intimacy between men is a taboo, society assumes heterorelationality, which "is a mask or cover for male homorelationality and for the primacy of male-male relationships".[65] An example of the complex relationship between hetero- and homorelationality can be found in a marriage and sexual advice manual from 1910, which stressed that although a husband should spend more time at home with his wife he should also be able to be together with other men; otherwise he would lose his masculinity.[66] Femininity puts masculinity in jeopardy.

In order to accurately describe the nature of homorelationality and the kind of male same-sex attachments which are intimate but not sexual, researchers use the term 'homosocial', or '(male) homosocial desire'. 'Male homosocial desire' was first articulated by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick in her study of English literature, in which she analyzed the erotic triangles that take place between two men over the body of a woman. Sedgwick argues that male bonding over the female body does not bring the men together merely as political or economic allies, but also as erotic partners. The purpose of the woman is to mediate men's desire for each other.[67]

The homoerotic undertone of masculinity is crucial when we consider the fraternal aspects of nationhood.[68] Feminist research has repeatedly shown how nationalist projects push women to the margins and relegate them to the position of a symbol,[69] such as the Finnish Maid. Women occupy a central place in nationalism, but they are not recognized as actors but as a medium for

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62 Liljeström 1996, 131. Translation mine.
63 Quoted in Fraiman 1994, in the introductory part of the article. HTML document
64 Rubin draws from Levi-Strauss' studies of cultures with exogamous marriage practices, where brides are circulated to strengthen ties between men. (Fraiman 1994, in the introductory part of the article. HTML document)
65 Liljeström 1996, 131. Translation mine.
66 Räisänen 1995, 98.
67 Sedgwick 1985. Fraiman argues that the triangle is not solely about love between men but involves additional questions about race (Fraiman 1994).
68 Mosse 1997, 66–89.
69 For example Yuval-Davis 1998; Walby 1996.

"masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope".[70] In the nation as a "collectivity of national brothers",[71] men have two kinds of relationships; one kind with women as symbols, the other with their national brethren as equals.

The erotic aspect of male-male relationships is quite a difficult question. It must be emphasized that homoeroticism does not lead inevitably to the existence or practice of homosexuality in male-male relationships. According to Mosse, nineteenth-century homoeroticism "was combined with a quest for sexual purity", a platonic love between men.[72] The de-eroticizing of friendships was understandable, since homosexuality was deemed dangerous to the nation.

The uneasy co-existence of heterorelationality and male homosocial desire results in the heterosexualizing of desire. Desire is heterosexualized since in nationalist discourses homosexuality and open homoeroticism are taboo; this in turn is because they are non-productive and thus cannot serve to biologically secure the future existence of the nation. A female icon such as the Finnish Maid becomes an object where homosocial nationalist movements can safely conceal their homoerotic quality, while concurrently producing a hierarchical gender system in which the female body – as we will see in Chapter 4 – is the location of masculine power. Male bonding does not have to take place in suspect circumstances between men, but through a shared space outside the immediate male group, on woman.[73]

Male beauty and the female beast

Along with gender and sexuality, one of the focal points in this study is the body. Like sexuality, the human body too has been identified in the social sciences as private. Another reason for the disadvantaged position of the body even in earlier feminist discussion has been the imminent pitfall of essentialism and physical differences between men and women.[74] The human body, however, is constituted through public discourse and everyday practices. The body is not transhistorical and universal, but something produced through and in history.[75] Much of the research on the body owes a debt to the writings of Michel Foucault. Using the making of the soldier in the eighteenth century as an example in his *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault analyzed the production of docile bodies, which are not only useful and efficient but also obedient. This subjection of the body is attained by methods which Foucault calls 'disciplines'. Many disciplinary methods had been in existence in monasteries, armies and

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70 Enloe 2000a, 44.
71 Najmabadi 1997, 444.
72 Mosse 1997, 67–68. Quotation p. 67.
73 Salomon 1996, 81–83.
74 McDowell 1999, 36; Grosz 1994, 14; Ramazanoglu 1993, 6–7; Bailey 1993, 101. For a general overview of feminist scholarship about the body, see McDowell 1999, 34–70; for philosophy, feminism and the body, see Grosz 1994, 5–19.
75 Grosz 1994, 148.

workshops long before the eighteenth century; now, however, disciplines were directed for the first time not only at an increase in body skills and efficiency "but at the formation of a relation that in the mechanism itself makes it more obedient as it becomes more useful, and conversely." Disciplines, or policies of coercion, which manifest themselves in gestures, attitudes and movements, enter the body into "a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it." This leads to 'political anatomy' and a 'mechanics of power' that makes docile bodies function as expected. Control is exercised not only from the outside but also from within the subject, through self-regulatory practices.[76]

In Finland at the turn of the twentieth century, various women's organizations included in their programs the project of educating people, above all people of the lower classes, on bodily control. Mothers were instructed to teach their children to adopt proper table manners, to use a fork and knife, to sit up straight and eat their food slowly. Another educational task was to teach cleanliness of the body, the home and other surroundings. The purpose of this education was to 'civilize' the lower classes. A civilized human being could control his or her own body, emotions and urges. Once this skill was acquired, the individual could be in command of his/her space. Dirt and smells drew attention to one's corporeal existence. It was control, cleanliness and order that separated a civilized person from one in a state of nature. In particular women, who were regarded as closer to nature and as more bodily beings, were given the task of fighting against dirt and uninhibited behavior. A woman was a mediator between nature and culture.[77]

At the core of the Foucauldian conception of the body are thus appropriation, control, homogenization and utilization. For Foucault, the body is the object, target and instrument of power.[78] From the point-of-view of English-language feminist scholarship, however, there are some problems, or rather shortcomings, in Foucault's writings.[79] There is a latent trend in Foucault's work which implies that bodies pre-exist power and inscription as passive, blank pages.[80] Many feminist researchers, however, argue that the body is culturally produced.[81] Another problematic element is the omission of gender. Foucault assumes the

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76 Foucault 1979, 135–139. Quotations in p. 138; Foucault 1990, 139; Grosz 1994, 118; Nead 1992, 10.

77 Ollila 1993, 38–40; Nätkin 1997, 36–37; Sulkunen 1987, 161. Ollila has argued that by requiring civilized conduct from the lower classes the elite was in fact regulating freedom. The upper classes could function as gatekeepers of citizenship, and could create new requirements and rules that would constantly block the lower classes from full citizenship. According to Ollila, the lower classes would have turned into "a vulgar imitation of the elite." Equality could not be achieved because in a society where the old estate system was breaking down the hierarchy came to be based on social class and gender (Ollila 1993, 46–51; quotation p. 48. See also Markkola 1994, 232). Nätkin does not deny that from a class perspective control and regulation were prevalent. She nevertheless adds that in the upper-class women's movement education and professions were seen as ways to a social and economic rise for women of all classes (Nätkin 1997, 39).

78 Grosz 1994, 146.

79 For Foucault's ambivalent position in feminist theory see Ramazanoglu (ed.) 1993.

80 Cf. Bailey 1993, 107–109.

81 Grosz 1994, 146, 155–156; McDowell 1999, 53. See also Salomon 1996; Butler 1993; Nead 1992; Butler 1990.

human body to be neutral; this, it is safe to presume, is in fact male, and does not take into account that the same inscription does not have equivalent meanings on male and female bodies.[82] A masculine woman is not the same as a feminine man. Gender attaches to a body but is not dependent on it. The body is a surface on which gendered meanings are inscribed. In other words, biological sex does not define gender. Gender exceeds bodies; it exists in gesture, speech, even in emotions and thinking. Aggression is marked as masculine, nurture as feminine; rationality is masculine while emotion in general is feminine. Butler has argued that gender is performative: to be a man or a woman is to behave in a certain way.[83] Yet, as Jokinen points out, "one cannot escape the body";[84] one always exists in some kind of body.

The notion of body as the locus of power is articulated in the feminist metaphor, 'the politics of the body'. This concept is rooted in an older figure of speech, the 'body politic', which was employed by a number of Western philosophers from Plato to Hobbes. In the body politic, the society or the state was regarded as a human body in which different parts and organs paralleled different functions, institutions and forces of the society/state: the head or soul, for instance, symbolized the ruler and the blood the will of the people. Feminism turned the old metaphor around and "imagined the human *body* as itself a politically inscribed entity, its physiology and morphology shaped and marked by histories and practices of containment and control".[85] Strategies of bodily differentiations, hierarchization and exclusion are found in the formation and maintenance of nations as well.[86] The fertile female body is the place where the nation is biologically reproduced. Because of its reproductive capabilities the female body is also a source of anxieties. The "mixing of blood" endangers the ethnic/racial purity of a nation; women therefore need to be controlled and protected from men of inferior ethnic/racial groups. Iris Marion Young has unraveled the mechanism of 'cultural imperialism' that constructs inferior and dominant groups. The corporeal plays a crucial role in this mechanism, as inferior and to-be-dominated people are reduced to their undesirable bodies. Those in dominant positions are constructed as neutral, universal and disembodied. This position is generally occupied by white(s and) males. The female reduced to her sexualized body is the Other; nowadays her position is narrowed even further, through the idealization of her body as slim, tall and white – the kind the majority of women will never even have a chance to acquire.[87]

In the formation of the male body and masculinity, homoerotic sensibilities have been present not only in classical and Renaissance art but also in the creation of the clean-cut Englishman or the all-American boy, not to mention Nazi esthetics. The model for the ideal male body of modern masculinity was

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82 Grosz 1994, 156–158.
83 Butler 1990.
84 Jokinen 2000, 208.
85 Bordo 1993, 118.
86 Roach Pierson 2000, 44.
87 McDowell 1999, 48.

found in classical Greek sculpture, which was seen to exemplify power, virility, harmony, proportion and self-control.[88] The mathematical proportions of classical Greek art were seen as forming universal guidelines for all beauty, since they served, among other functions, as a model for architecture.[89] Feminist inquiry has uncovered the gendered language and values embedded in art history. For instance the term 'contrapposto', which refers to figures such as the classical Greek sculptures, standing and facing a viewer, is a mathematical, rational and philosophical term. *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary* defines contrapposto, under the category of "Fine Arts", as

> a representation of the human body in which the forms are organized on a varying or curving axis to provide an asymmetrical balance to the figure.

Although contrapposto appears gender-neutral, describing representations of "the human body", it is nonetheless applied consistently to male figures, while female figures go unnamed or are referred as 'pudica'. Pudica or Venus Pudica is a female figure dating from classical Greek sculpture. It is an idealized female figure, covering her genital area and breasts with her hands. The word 'pudica' means 'shame'. The position draws the viewer's attention to precisely those parts of the body the figure wants to cover. In Venus Pudica the female body is reduced to its sexuality and is fetishized. The contrapposto male figure, in contrast, is gendered by its mathematical and rational quality.[90] Contrapposto figures were not only models for an ideal masculinity; they were also models for an ideal beauty. The beauty described and portrayed in classical Greek art was a form that few men, if any, could ever hope to achieve.[91]

While the male body was considered perfectly proportioned, pure and harmonious, the female body was regarded as imperfect and impure, oozing filth and evil – a leaking container. The human body as a vessel is known in Finnish culture too. The folklorist Satu Apo notes how in Karelian folklore the male body was a sound vessel while the female body was broken and leaking, a polluted and polluting container. This conception was based on the most visible forms of biological reproduction: pregnancy and parturition. The female body was a gateway between two worlds, this material one and the hereafter. Again, biological reproduction was the factor: as Apo puts it, "the man goes into the woman's body, and the child pushes its way out of it". Due to its transitory nature, the female body was believed to have supernatural powers even while it was considered imperfect.[92]

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88 Mosse 1997, 58–62; Mosse 1996, 32; Salomon 1996, 81–83.

89 Anderson 1999, 130–131. For example the famous Vitruvian Man by Leonardo da Vinci was inspired by the calculations of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, an architect who set the standards for harmonious symmetry.

90 Salomon 1996, 79–83.

91 Anderson 1999, 131. The fact that men are less tormented than women to achieve the ideal body goes to show that although the gender system affects both men and women, they experience it in different ways.

92 Apo 1995, 26–29; quotation p. 29. Translation mine. See also Nead 1992, 7–8; McDowell 1999, 44–45.

According to Mosse, in the quest of masculinity youths were encouraged to exercise in order to avoid "the slackness of the female".[93] For the female body to be accepted it needed to be contained. The art historian Lynda Nead has pointed out that to present a female body is both an act of appropriation and an act of regulation.[94] This was achieved by enfolding the female body in the shroud of Art. Nead describes how bodies are 'framed'. At its simplest the frame is the frame of the picture, which encloses some things in a space along with the body and excludes others. Framing can also take place on the surface of the body, by covering it with a layer, i.e. art. Since the formless female body does not comply with the aesthetic ideals of art, it has to be transformed to something else, to an ideal female body, to a Woman.[95]

This raises the question of the gender of the concept of beauty – and of the female body itself. Can we say that the ideal female body is masculine? To a degree we can. Masculinity does not mean that the female body looks like a man;[96] because it is appropriated and molded to meet the standards of male art and beauty, however, the female body acquires some masculine qualities. Should we then say that it is men and not women who are the "fair sex"? In the creation of modern masculinity women were indeed excluded in developing the principles of beauty. Mosse argues that the earlier traditional notion of beauty was feminine because of its timelessness. When virility and dynamism, both male concepts, became national virtues, they were placed on the beautiful male body. Timeless, sensuous beauty remained feminine.[97] When poets and artists imagined the national space and the nation as a desirable and beautiful woman, as we will see in Chapters 3 and 4, they were therefore guided by two conflicting conceptions. On the one hand, the masculine subject created the nation in his own image on a (masculine) ideal female body. On the other hand, timelessness was one of the cornerstones of the nation: it was the fact that it had always existed, from time immemorial, that justified the nation's present and future existence.

This eternal, unchanging nation was symbolized by woman. Tricia Cusack, who has studied the role of the gender order in the formation of the newly independent Ireland, argues that men were seen as forging the nation's future, while women were taken to represent tradition. According to her, the Janus-face of nationalism is gendered.[98] In Finland, the national dress worn by one of the

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93 Mosse 1997, 45.

94 McDowell 1999, 44–45; Apo 1995, 26–29; Nead 1992, 7–9.

95 Nead 1992, 8–9, 18.

96 Nowadays, when 'excess' fat needs to be exercised, starved or surgically extracted in order for women to resemble what the American satirical novelist Tom Wolfe, in his *A Man in Full* (1998), describes as "boys with breasts", we can say that the ideal female body is also masculine in the sense that it looks like the body of a man – or actually that of a teenage boy.

97 Mosse 1996, 35, 53–55.

98 Cusack 2000. There is also an opposite view. While modernization has been seen as a masculine enterprise, symbolized by the male *flâneur*, woman also often personified the modern in contemporary portrayals (Lappalainen 1998, 77–78). 'The Janus-face of nationalism' has been introduced by Tom Nairn. He argues that nations, while presenting themselves as modern and as looking forward to the future, also create a past which justifies the nation's existence. (Nairn 1997, 71–72).

Maids explicitly referred to an imagined national past, it was "the dress of her [the Finnish woman's] ancestral mother".[99] The body of the Maid carried the past on it, while the male body was dynamic, looking towards the future. The national dress is a manifestation of different cultural, political and national gendered discourses, namely the nation's 'backward look'[100] and women as the carriers of national representation.[101] Both men and women were needed to justify national existence. Men and women were seen as complementing each other. The dynamic male required the passive woman to form a whole. Young girls in national dress appeared at concerts and lottery soirées organized by Suomen Käsityön Ystävät (Friends of Finnish Handicraft Arts).[102] The Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (Finnish Literature Society) and the Suomalais-ugrilainen Seura (Finno-Ugrian Society) began to publish models and dress patterns for women to make traditional clothing and accessories that followed "the national style".[103] Indeed, the first time when national dress was worn publicly it was worn by women. This occasion took place in 1885, when Alexander II and his wife Maria Feodorovna visited Finland; she was presented with a boat, rowed by eight women dressed in national costumes.[104]

Eugenic discourse and motherhood

The third interconnection in Pryke's model for approaching nationalism and sexuality is sexuality and nation-building.[105] This mainly concerns questions of fertility and demographics: more precisely, what kinds of babies and how many should be produced. Michel Foucault has identified the emergence of the concept of 'population' in the eighteenth century. Governments no longer dealt with 'subjects' or 'people', but with a 'population', with a specific birth and death rate, fertility, life expectancy and state of health. Population was an economic and political problem, at the core of which was sexual behavior – which sometimes resulted in illegitimacy, disease and overpopulation. The other side of the coin was the fact that population was a resource for the economy and for industry. Sexuality became a matter for the 'police'.[106]

The concept of population has been appropriated by the national discourse for instance in the form of eugenics, or racial hygiene, the science[107] of

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99 Sirelius 1922, 126.

100 Cusack 2000. Writing about Ottoman political cartoons, Göçek reports that women's dresses became more conservative and culture-bound, more "folkloric" when the women in caricatures were used to symbolize the nation (Göçek 1998, 55).

101 Yuval-Davis 1998, 45–46.

102 Smeds 1996, 174-175.

103 Haltsonen 1947, 245.

104 Lönnqvist 1978, 125. There is a contemporary account of this in *Kansanvalistusseuran kalenteri* 1886, 90.

105 Pryke 1998, 540–543.

106 Foucault 1990, 24–26.

107 In his study of Finnish eugenics, Markku Mattila points out that although race hygiene as a science is now discredited, at the turn of the twentieth century it was respectable science, and should be recognized as such in historical research (Mattila 1999, 12, footnote 5.)

improving the qualities of the human race, especially by the careful selection of parents. In a national context eugenics is concerned with the racial or ethnic quality of the nation. Eugenics as a science was born in the 1860s, with the development of the Darwinian theory of evolution. Yet it was not Darwin who was the founder of eugenics but his cousin Francis Galton, who was inspired by Darwin's theories. Eugenics enjoyed a respectable status in the scientific community until the end of the Second World War, when the medical experiments of the Nazi regime came to public knowledge.[108] A eugenicist discourse, however, still persists, and has led to political measures ranging from tax exemptions for certain groups to the sterilization and even genocide of "racially unfit" groups.[109]

The improvement of the biological quality of the nation takes place in various population loci. The British eugenics movement was class-conscious, with its objective of maintaining the social standing of the upper and middle classes, while in Germany eugenicists were worried about the falling birth-rate and the decrease of the German population.[110] In Finland, concern about the sheer quantity of the population occurred rather late, during the Second World War; the Väestöliitto (The Family Federation of Finland; the literal meaning is "Population League") was founded in 1941 to further population growth as well as to build up national self-confidence.[111] Eugenicist ideas, however, were not unknown in the early twentieth century. In his 1913 article, "Biologisten näkökohtain sovelluttamisesta yhteiskuntaan" (On applying biological perspectives to society), K. M. Levander stated that eugenics gives new hope for civilized nations.[112] Prior to the science of eugenics, in the first half of the nineteenth century, questions of race were raised in anthropological and ethnographic research.[113]

In the beginning of the 1900s, the dividing line lay between the Swedish- and Finnish-speaking population.[114] The Swedish speaking elite felt increasingly insecure as the Fennoman movement gained ground and demanded that the Swedish-speaking population should return to its Finnish roots, abandon its native language and adopt Finnish. The Svecoman movement, consisting of Swedish-speakers, maintained that there were two separate nationalities in Finland, with unequal intellectual capacities: the Swedes, who were of medieval

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108 Mattila 1999, 11–13; Räisänen 1995, 64.

109 Pryke 1998, 542–543; Yuval-Davis 1998, 31–32. On eugenics in Finland see Mattila 1999; Hietala 1996; Hietala 1985. Towards the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, the possibilities of gene technology have also raised questions about the ethics of genetic engineering; many see the new technologies as a new form of eugenics.

110 Mattila 1999, 11–15.

111 Nätkin 1997, 62.

112 *Valvoja* 1913, 259.

113 In 1845 the professor of surgery and gynecology Kaarle Daniel von Haartman gave a lecture in The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters (Suomen Tiedeseura), where he attempted to delineate the first Finnish-speaking race. Although ethnography did not have eugenistic ambitions, it did nonetheless see cultural, intellectual and political faculties as embodied in people's anatomy (Haltsonen 1947, 16–17).

114 Mattila 1999, 55; Hietala 1996, 197.

Scandinavian or Swedish descent, and the Finns, of Mongol (Asian) origin.[115] Eugenics was the means to the continued existence of the Swedish nationality within the Finnish nation.

The nuclear family, with its rigid roles for men and women, thus became a kind of miniature nation, as Rousseau testified: "Can patriotism thrive except in the soil of that miniature fatherland, the home: Is it not the good son, the good husband, the good father, who makes the good citizen?"[116] The family metaphor naturalizes power relations and gender hierarchies, the subordination of woman to man and child to adult, in the nation. Once these hierarchies are deemed natural through the familial trope, they become, according to Anne McClintock, indispensable in justifying

> exclusion and hierarchy within non-familial (affiliative) social formations such as nationalism, liberal individualism and imperialism. The metaphoric depiction of social hierarchy as natural and familial – the 'national family', the global 'family of nations', the colony as a 'family of black children ruled over by a white father' – thus depended on the prior naturalizing of the social subordination of women and children within the domestic sphere.[117]

Accordingly, the nation is seen as a heterosexual family,[118] in which women gain political relation to the nation through a social relation to a man in marriage. In a Finnish context, Irma Sulkunen has called this division into the feminine private and the masculine public sphere 'split citizenship' (*kaksijakoinen kansalaisuus*): even though in global terms Finnish women were granted the franchise early, it did not follow that women were equal citizens with men; society was still divided into a public sphere consisting of men and a private sphere of women. The bourgeois home and family became the nuclear unit of the state, and a place where new citizens were brought up.[119] What was new was that upper-class women's organizations such as the Martta Yhdistys (Martha Organization) demanded for women the right to participate in public life outside the home; society itself was seen as a kind of home. Working-class women, on the other hand, did not see work outside home as a privilege but as a necessity, and would have preferred higher wages for their husbands, making it possible for the wives to stay at home.[120] The two sides were arguing for seemingly opposite ideas, but basically women were seen as mothers who were the heart of the home.

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115 Hietala 1996, 199; Kemiläinen 1998, 113–114, 131–134.

116 Mosse 1997, 9–22; Sluga 1998, 93–94. Quotation in p. 93. See also Blom 2000, 8.

117 McClintock 1993, 64.

118 Michel Foucault found a similar heteronormativity emerging in the eighteenth century, when the heterosexual monogamous couple became the norm from which other sexual 'types' were more or less a deviation (Foucault 1990, 36–49).

119 Sulkunen 1987, 159–172; Ollila 1993, 30–31, 52–57; Nätkin 1997, 21–22. On the international perspective see Sluga 1998, 98.

120 Markkola 1994, 35–36, 152–168; Ollila 1993, 31, 55.

The national dress figures interestingly in the maternal emphasis in national discourses. Inga Dóra Björnsdóttir has argued in an Icelandic context that the national dress embodied both bridehood and the source of maternal nurture and reproduction. That women wore the national dress undermined their individuality. They became members of a generic force, an "army", in which each and every woman was in essence the "same" and could be replaced by another individual".[121] To anticipate a point I will elaborate in Chapter 4, I may mention here that the national dress on the Finnish Maid also alluded to her bridehood and potential motherhood, which nevertheless was never fulfilled.

In her study of Finnish motherhood, Nätkin has traced "the maternalist roots of the welfare state" to the early years of the twentieth century. According to her, various women's organizations laid the ground for the welfare system with their educational and regulatory activities and personnel, such as child-care instructions and midwives that became entrenched in the mother-child relationship. Later the state took upon itself the responsibilities which previously had been carried by these organizations.[122] Nätkin has defined maternalism in Finnish contexts as

> a speech and action, that is a discourse that does not require bodily motherhood (children of one's own), and which is not inscribed on a woman's body. Maternalism means on the one hand political movements where women try to improve the wellbeing of mothers and children (as well as families). On the other, it means a way of thinking according to which mother and child are not separate, but where the women's question is almost the same as the question of mother and child.[123]

The Finnish nation and state were built on the unbreakable bond between mother (woman) and child. In the women's organizations the new emancipatory female identity was based on motherhood, i.e. maternalism. Motherhood was woman's real nature, her social and ethical substance. Women had a natural talent to care, nurture and understand their fellow human beings. The kind of motherhood developed by the various associations was not biological. On the contrary, they argued against the traditional notion of passive biological motherhood. Motherhood should be active and transcend pure biology. This new female identity was labeled "societal motherhood", and it was emancipatory in the sense that it opened up and gave women authority in certain public sectors, for instance family policy.[124] What is perplexing is that, despite this strong emphasis on maternalism, motherhood – as we shall see in later chapters – is nowhere to be found in the personifications of the nation.

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121 Björnsdóttir 1997, 5–10. Quotation p. 9.

122 Nätkin 1997, 18–25, 43.

123 Nätkin 1997, 27. Translation mine.

124 Sulkunen 1987, 163–164; Ollila 1993, 60–62. It should be noted here that these notions of motherhood were not shared by all social groups. Motherhood was something that working-class women had to fight for, while upper-class women had to fight for the possibility of work. For upper-class women motherhood was an inalienable right (Nätkin 1997, 35, 40).

National Space

Gendered spaces

In this chapter I explore various dimensions of national space and the production of a national identity with gendered spatial technologies. I start with a discussion of the interconnections between space and gender in the light of feminist geography, focusing on the ways spaces are produced and gendered. After that, I take a look at the architecture of the center of Helsinki. Much of the town center was built in the nineteenth century with one purpose in mind: it was the heart of the capital of the imperial Grand Duchy and it needed buildings worthy of its new status. Administrative, cultural and religious power meet in Senate Square, which is encircled by the buildings of the Council of State (then the Senate Palace), the main building of Helsinki University, and the Lutheran Cathedral (then the Nicholas Church). The Square also has national importance; it has served as a stage for such public spectacles as the unveiling of the monument to Alexander II which is situated in the Square. I discuss this and other inaugural ceremonies from the points of view of public spectacle and space; I will be arguing that these ceremonies and statues commemorating national heroes were an expression of national identity that relied on paternalism and fraternity. All the monuments discussed include a female figure who personifies the nation in one way or another, and whose subordinate position in the monuments betrays the inherent masculinity of Finnishness. In the rest of the chapter I focus on the national landscape; that section will also serve as an introduction to what follows in the next chapter.

It is quite easy to conceptualize space as something "natural", something absolute and transparent, which can be precisely defined and pinned down on a map with geographical co-ordinates. Feminists and other social researchers, however, have challenged this commonsense notion. Spaces turn out to be fluid and contested; above all, they are made and maintained through the power relations which construct social and spatial boundaries. This is a reciprocal process; spatial practices in turn constitute social relations of power.[1]

The Italian sociologist Raimondo Strassoldo argues that there are different categories of space depending on subjective experience; the same space can be experienced in various ways. Spatial categories may be classed for instance along the lines of geographical vs. social, concrete vs. symbolic, or mental vs. cognitive. Strassoldo has created a classification consisting of six categories: ethological, personal, lived-in, symbolic, ecological and organizational/political

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1 McDowell 1999, 4; Paasi 1999, 222–223; Koskela 1997, 74; Massey 1994, 254; Rose 1993, 19–22.

space. I am interested in two of his categories: the symbolic and organizational/political space of power. Symbolic space includes sacred places, and – as I will argue later – nationally significant places have a sense of sacredness imbedded in them. Organizational/political spaces of power are defined by their intent, their closed nature and hierarchy. In organizational/political space, institutions and the space itself shape and define each other.[2] I will address these spaces in connection with the architecture around Senate Square.

Space is considered in many contexts to have a gendered character, to be feminine. The art historian Sue Best, for instance, begins her article about the sexualization of space with quotations from William Blake, "Time and Space are Real Beings. Time is a Man Space is a Woman", from Julia Kristeva,

> 'Father's time, mother's species', as Joyce puts it; and indeed, when evoking the name and destiny of woman, one thinks more of the *space* generating and forming the human species than of *time*, becoming or history".

and from Luce Irigaray, "Could it be […] that femininity is experienced as a space that often carries connotations of the depths of night […] while masculinity is conceived of in terms of time?"[3] Best continues with an extract from Marina Warner's *Monuments and Maidens*, where Warner describes Paris as a feminine space, a city of ladies.[4] Is space, then, gendered, and is it feminine whereas time is masculine? I should note that I am not inquiring whether space is essentially gendered as masculine or feminine, but rather whether our perceptions, and more importantly our discourses, are such that they engender spaces.

Space cannot be conceptualized and examined independently of time; as the geographer Doreen Massey argues, one should think in terms of time-space.[5] This in an important point with regard to what will follow. I will examine the national space around monuments and statues, which can also be seen as sites of memory. Remembering is integrally linked with time: there is the experience of time or times, the past remembered, the present – and the future which will follow. Space-time is also important when we unravel the gendering of space. According to Massey, the gendering of space and time is based on western philosophical thinking, in which the two entities are seen as dichotomous, forming binary oppositions in a manner of 'A/not-A'. 'Not-A' is defined as an absence or lack of 'A'. Binary oppositions are never equal but hierarchized, 'A', the Same, being more highly valued than 'not-A', the Other. Time is associated

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2 Strassoldo 1993, 4, 24–29.

3 Best 1995, 181.

4 Best 1995, 181–182. See also Massey 1994, 6. Gillian Rose recounts how in the discipline of geography, cities – in this case Venice – can still be characterized as feminine: "The organic, curving outline of the island city is surrounded and penetrated by tidal waters, its streets and canals form a dark and mysterious labyrinth to which we gain access by way of the sparkling and highly-decorated symbolic entrance of the basin of San Marco, the sinuous Grand Canal and the Piazzetta, leading to the womb-like enclosure of the Piazza." (Rose 1993, 69).

5 Massey 1994, 2, 249–272.

with history, movement, change and progress; space is passive, lacking the qualities of time. Femininity too is defined as passive and by an absence of the masculine qualities of movement and progress. According to Massey, space is coded as feminine and time as masculine.[6]

In her study of conceptions of time in the late nineteenth century, however, Anne Ollila argues that there are different experiences of time, that time is not monolithic. Time is experienced as having varying speeds; sometimes time seems to go fast, sometimes it stops. In addition, there is cyclical time and linear time. Ollila argues that cyclical time was gendered as feminine, especially among the educated elite. Women's work and social life followed cycles. According to Ollila, women's hurry was different from men's hurry, since men working outside the home were more dependent on clocks than women were.[7] To see time as solely masculine is an oversimplification, and different levels of time should be recognized. Future-oriented time can be seen as masculine, while stopped time and cyclical time can be seen as feminine.

As time and space are intertwined, so are space and the human body; they are even dependent on each other. When spaces are produced through social power relations, it takes place through individual bodies. The relations of individual bodies, their distances from one another and their respective positions all constitute shifting power relations, boundaries and hierarchies. The user of a space is a bodily and gendered subject. Spaces are experienced in one's body, sometimes in relation to other bodies sharing the same space. The movements of our own bodies and of those of other people, animals and vehicles construct and mold the space we occupy.[8] Since space is produced through a relation between the space itself and a bodily subject, it follows that we cannot speak of a singular space but of a multiplicity of spaces.[9]

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6 Massey 1994, 256–258. But, since time and space are interwoven and interrelational entities, Massey argues that space should not be defined simply as not-time (Massey 1994, 261). Rose argues that binary oppositions are exclusionary and therefore delimiting. What we can know about the Other ('not-A') is only in the terms of the Same ('A'). Since the Same does not allow radical difference from itself, our knowledge is limited. (Rose 1993, 75).

7 Ollila 2000, 131–134.

8 McDowell 1999, 34; Saarikangas 1998, 188; Rose 1993, 30–34. In my own personal experience I have discovered the same. On my way to the university I cross an open square in front of the Turku Cathedral. Formerly this square used to be open to traffic, but now it is restricted to to pedestrians and cyclists. When I walk across the square, often in the morning when there are not many people around, I become intensely aware of the vast open and empty space around me and my body in it. The feeling is not frightening (I do not suffer from agoraphobia); it is a rather pleasant awareness, owing a great deal to the aesthetic pleasures offered by the space but also to the space itself and my solitary body in it. I feel my body more connected to space in this open square than in a busy street. The only slight apprehension I feel is the expectation of oncoming speeding cars. The area is now closed to traffic, but my body still remembers the time when pedestrians had to be careful of fast-moving cars. Our bodies exist in relation to other bodies in space even in the new technologies of virtual reality, where the nature of space has changed – some would say even vanished. It is nevertheless not possible to communicate with other people in virtual reality without a body. However disembodied the new technology may seem, we still need our body to operate the computer.

9 Massey 1994, 3.

The meanings produced through the use of space are both gendered and engendering, reproducing and creating new power relations based on gender, sexual and class differences.[10] Nineteenth century bourgeois ideology for example stressed the gendered division of space into a feminine private sphere (the home) and a masculine public sphere (the street, the workplace outside home). According to the art historian Kirsi Saarikangas, in late nineteenth-century cities such as Paris the use of space – more specifically the streets – was intertwined with gender, class and the color of one's skin and with notions of the feminine private and masculine public sphere. Above all the streets were off limits to unmarried bourgeois women who had to be protected from the 'dangers' of the streets. Working-class women, servants and married bourgeois women were more free to move around the city. The greatest freedom was enjoyed by bourgeois men, who were able to seek the company of working-class women.[11] The street belonged to the exalted male *flâneur*. A female *flâneuse* was an impossibility; a "respectable" woman would not wander the streets alone.[12] This idea of the total exclusion of women from the public space, however, has been contested by feminism and feminist research as too debilitating to women.[13] Women have always crossed over into the public space.

I assume that gendered use of urban space occurred in Finland as well, but there were major differences compared to a European metropolis such as Paris. First of all, urbanization took place in Finland much later than in France, Britain and Germany. Secondly, the Finnish class structure differed from that of industrialized societies. Finland did not have a strong bourgeois middle class,[14] and the bourgeois urban culture did not even come close to the type that existed in Paris or London. What was presented in pictures was an ideal use of urban space. The lithographs and aquarelles by F. Tengström, F. Liewenthal and R. Westling, depicting Helsinki in the first half of the nineteenth century, show lone men walking about the town, but no lone women; all the women are either with another woman or with a man and/or children.

Many analyses of the interconnections of space, bodies and power are intellectually indebted to Foucault's reading of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon prison.[15] The basic idea of the panopticon is simple: the prisoners are constantly in the view of the prison guards, but the prisoners themselves cannot see either the guards or their fellow prisoners. This diabolical arrangement is carried out by architectural means. The panopticon consists of a circular (ring-shaped) building, with a watchtower at the center. The circle of the building is divided into cells which extend through its whole width; thus the prisoners cannot see each other. Each cell has two windows: one on the outside, one on the inside of the ring. The window facing outward lets in the light, while the window facing

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10 Saarikangas 1998, 195.
11 Saarikangas 1998, 189.
12 Massey 1994, 234.
13 See for example Rose 1993, 17–19.
14 See Karkama & Koivisto 1997, 11, 13–19; Ollila 1993, fn 2.
15 For example Saarikangas 1993; Markus 1993; Onnela 1992; Schor 1992.

inward lets the light through. Because of the light passing through the cell, the guards in the watchtower can see the prisoners at all times. The prisoners cannot see the guards, since the watchtower is built in such a way that it does not let the light through. Since the prisoners do not see the guards they cannot be certain when exactly they are being watched.[16]

The panopticon is a specific architectural system of control, which cannot be applied as such to other building complexes. Instead, for Foucault the panopticon is an analogy of the workings of power everywhere else in the society; it is a "figure of political technology". His 'power' differs from the narrow conception of the term, as something coercive that originates from the state and rulers. Power is everywhere in social relations, and cannot be pinpointed to particular persons. One of Bentham's principles was that power should be visible but unverifiable.[17] The constant visibility, and the knowledge that that at any time one may be under surveillance, leads to self-control and self-discipline. The prisoner

> assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his subjection.[18]

Foucault's grim view of the workings of invisible power has also generated criticism. His totalizing theories do not recognize subversion, resistance or change. Nothing, no single detail and gesture of everyday life, escapes the encompassing Foucauldian power; "the street had been overtaken by the prison", as Naomi Schor puts it. For Schor, the street is the site of the everyday, a place which allows a certain degree of freedom for both men and women. She does not claim that the street is similar for both sexes; the early twentieth-century street of a metropolis was construed as a masculine site, a space enjoyed by the male *flâneur*.[19]

Spaces of imperial power

The presence of human life stamps its visible imprint on space, and the by-products of human life, such as roads and buildings, shape space and one's experience of it. All buildings and other architectural constructions are built with a particular purpose in mind, whether they are for everyday living, for working, for the confinement of criminals or for national self-representation. Buildings, however, do not have only a single purpose: a government building, for instance, may function both as a workplace and as a display of power and

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16 Foucault 1979, 200.
17 Foucault 1979, 201. Quotation p. 205; Foucault 1990, 94–96.
18 Foucault 1979, 202–203.
19 Schor 1992, 188–192. Quotation p. 190.

nationhood. The areas around the Senate Square, the historic and administrative center of Helsinki are a case in point. Bordering on the Square are the Helsinki University main building, the Lutheran Cathedral (called the Nicholas Church during the period of autonomy), and the former Senate Palace, now the Council of State. During the nineteenth century, the south side of the Square was occupied by the homes of wealthy merchants. A couple of blocks away are the buildings of the House of Estates and the National Archive, both designed by Gustaf Nyström (1856–1917), and the Bank of Finland, designed by the German architect Ludwig Bohnstedt.

Much of the center, however, was designed by Carl Ludvig Engel (1778–1840) during the first half of the nineteenth century, when the capital was moved from Turku to Helsinki. The building complex consisting of the House of Estates, the Bank of Finland and the National Archive was completed in the 1880s and 1890s, when national institutions, the Constitution and the system of political representation were given more importance.[20] In considering the architecture and spaces of official power in Helsinki, we need to be aware that they are constructed spaces *par excellence*. The main task of Finnish architecture was to construct Helsinki as the new capital of the imperial Grand Duchy.[21] When Engel was leaving St. Petersburg for Helsinki in 1816, he wrote to his friend:

> [i]t seems that my deepest wish is going to be fulfilled for I will have almost an unlimited field to exercise and the use of my talents which is something that will fall and has fallen upon only few architects, and I will be one of these lucky ones because the chance to build entire towns is granted only to the few.[22]

Engel did indeed have an unlimited field. Helsinki was a small town with about 4 000 inhabitants; in order for it to meet the stature of the new capital of the Grand Duchy, the old center had to be torn down and "rocks the size of buildings" had to be detonated away.[23] Engel was aware of the importance of his work. Finland was now part of the Russian Empire, and the new capital needed to look worthy of its position. In 1818 he wrote in a letter to his friend about the Senate Square and the Senate Palace:

> One of the squares of our little Helsinki is to become one of the most beautiful plazas in Europe [24]
> At the same time this is a monument to posterity.[25]

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20 Viljo 1999, 178.
21 Sundman 1986, 25.
22 Engel 1989, 44. Translation mine.
23 Pöykkö 1990, 8–12. Quotation Engel 1989, 45–46.
24 Engel 1989, 95. Translation mine.
25 Engel 1989, 84. Translation mine. The next era when architecture was put at the service of the nation was at the end of the century, known for its national romanticism. Architectural design and ornamentation was seen to reflect true Finnishness and a special national style. But as a study by Ritva Wäre shows, the "national style" was not uniquely Finnish but was influenced by European trends. Only later was it labeled by art historians engaged in the national project as uniquely Finnish (Wäre 1991).

The beginnings, however, were quite modest; the construction of public buildings had been administered in Stockholm, Sweden, and virtually all knowledge remained there. In the early 1800s there were only two men in Finland who were trained as architects, Carlo Francesco Bassi and Anton Wilhelm Arppe, both in Turku. There were also Olof Alm, Per Granstedt and Johan Henrik Stråhlman, who had designed buildings but did not have a professional training in architecture.[26] The systematic construction of administrative buildings started in Finland relatively late, in the early nineteenth century. Government and the public authorities were remote from the subjects of the Emperor, and this ideology was demonstrated in public architecture. The Senate Square and major church buildings were basically symbols of power, designed to emphasize that government was above the rest of the society.[27] Since the Estates did not meet until 1863, it was not possible during the first half of the nineteenth century to make wide-ranging or long-term plans for new public buildings. When the Estates began to meet on a regular basis, the need for more administration and more buildings grew. Moreover, the adopted model of government favored official administration over centralized imperial rule. This had two consequences: first, new buildings had to be built, and secondly, these buildings had to display the power invested in the various government offices.[28]

Analytically there are two ways to approach architectural meaning. There is the intended symbolism of architecture, involving the interests of the architect and the client. Here the focus is on the *representation* of power. The problem with this approach is that it assumes fixed meanings, and does not take into account the fact that meanings are produced as much through the use of space and how space and power are *experienced*; this is the other way to study architecture.[29] Architectural meanings are like all meanings; they are produced in and in relation to a certain spatial and temporal context, depending on the audience and its interests and knowledge.[30] This is not to say that the study of intended meanings is futile; the researcher, however, has to be aware of his/her position. In this study I am mainly interested in the representation of power; I am aware, however, that knowledge is never 'complete' or 'final', and that my interpretations are situated in the points of view I have adopted. The nature of this study and the material I am analyzing do not allow for far-reaching suggestions regarding the way the spaces in question were actually experienced.

The articulation of architectural meanings in speech sometimes draws on the human body and gendered conceptions. Classical architectural forms were seen as parallel to the human body, to the ideal male body. In his treatise *De Architectura*, Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (*c.* 27 BCE) called for a correlation between architecture and the human form:

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26 Sundman 1986, 24–25.
27 Nikkilä 1986, 12; Pallasmaa 1986, 115.
28 Nikkilä 1986, 14–16.
29 Saarikangas 1998, 184, 190.
30 Anderson 1999, 144; Saarikangas 1998, 187.

> [i]n the human body there is a kind of symmetrical harmony between forearm, foot, palm, finger, and other small parts; and so it is with perfect buildings. […] Proportion is a correspondence among the measures of the members of an entire work, and of the whole to a certain part selected as standard. From this result the principles of symmetry. Without symmetry and proportion there can be no principles in the design of any temple; that is, if there is no precise relation between its members, as in the case of those of a well shaped man. For the human body is so designed by nature that the face, from the chin to the top of the forehead and the lowest roots of the hair, is a tenth part of the whole height; the open hand from the wrist to the tip of the middle finger is just the same; the head from the chin to the crown is an eighth, and with the neck and shoulder from the top of the breast to the lowest roots of the hair is a sixth.[31]

Vitruvius not only equated perfect architectural form with the male human body, the "well shaped man"; he also defined the ideal human body. Gender too was an inseparable aspect of classical architecture. Vitruvius had gendered the Doric column system as masculine because of its appearance of strength, while Ionic and Corinthian temples, with their elaborate decoration and elongated forms, were feminine.[32] According to Vitruvius,

> Corinthian, is an imitation of the slenderness of a maiden; for the outlines and limbs of maidens, being more slender on account of their tender years, admit of prettier effects in the way of adornment.[33]

In the seventeenth century Henry Wotton went even further, seeing the Corinthian column as "lasciviously decked like a Curtezane".[34] The Vitruvian system was widely known around Europe. German nationalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth century took advantage of the gendered character of the Vitruvian column system: in national monuments, the masculine Doric pillars were favored because they were seen as representing the vigor and manliness of the nation.[35]

Since the Corinthian and Ionic systems were considered feminine, it is surprising that both the Senate Palace and the University have feminine façades, the former Corinthian and the latter Ionic.[36] Does this make these buildings "feminine"? I believe not. Since these definitions were made within a masculine discipline, the notion of femininity was idealized and controlled, and therefore does not allow an alternative interpretation. The fact that a space is occupied – or rather decorated – with images of women does not render it feminine or a woman's space. Massey recounts an event from her youth, when with two male friends she visited an art gallery which was displaying paintings of naked

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31 Quoted in Anderson 1999, 130.
32 Anderson 1999, 131; Lilius 1978, 20.
33 Quoted in Anderson 1999, 131.
34 Quoted in Anderson 1999, 146.
35 Mosse 1991, 52.
36 Lilius 1978, 20.

women. She looked at the paintings, then she looked at her two friends looking at the paintings, and it was she who felt objectified. The women in the pictures were seen through the male gaze of the artists and her friends, and somehow she did not identify with the men but with the women on the walls.[37] It was a space controlled by men, a place of masculine hopes and aspirations – and, as I will argue in a later chapter, desires. Furthermore, the linkage between gender and architecture is not universal and ahistorical; gendered meanings are fluid.[38] For instance, albeit Vitruvius had labeled the Corinthian system as feminine, the Italian Renaissance gave it a new identity, that of government and masculine power; perhaps because in the Roman Empire, the epitome of force, the Corinthian style had been in wide use. Renaissance architects created a new hierarchical system, in which the function and status of a building was expressed in the column system. The Corinthian façade of the Helsinki Senate Palace should be seen in this context.[39]

The functions of official and public spaces vary. In everyday life government quarters were a place for work, but in festive gatherings, especially on occasions of national significance, public squares in particular became a stage. The art historian James A. Leith calls the evolving public square one of the most important legacies of the eighteenth century. Writing about the ideological content of urban planning in France immediately after the Revolution of 1789, Leith maintains that revolutionaries opted for open-air spaces because of their closeness to nature and their capacity to hold huge crowds. Open-air spaces were ideal for public spectacles, not just because of the sheer number of people who could take part on them, but because of the dual role the participants took on. They were both spectators and actors.[40] The importance of public squares was also recognized by the urban planners of Helsinki. In addition to the Senate Square, which had already been realized, there was a plan for another one. This square, however, was never finalized, and it was replaced with the Bank of Finland.[41] Later, when the buildings of the House of Estates (opposite the Bank of Finland) and of the National Archive were constructed, this complex took on national significance due to the institutions involved, although not to the extent of the Senate Square.

Although national space is open, it is not open for everyone in the same way. Even a particular space is not always the same for the same person; we give different meanings to a space depending on the situation.[42] Administrative centers are spaces of power, which both create and depend on hierarchies between social classes and genders. The Senate Square, containing the buildings of the University (culture, rationality), the church standing on a hill (divine power) and the Senate Palace (political power) render that space masculine and

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37 Massey 1994, 185–186.
38 Anderson 1999, 133.
39 Lilius 1986, 26–29.
40 Leith 1991, 6, 36, 53.
41 Viljo 1986, 90.
42 Saarikangas 1998, 186.

of the elite. Their architecture was designed by men for other men, as places for them to work and govern. Mathematical architectural designs emphasize culture and rationality, both of which are considered masculine traits in contrast to feminine nature and irrationality.[43] To recognize the symbolism of the *Empire* style of the Square and the classical symbolism – the University main building is in Greek style, connoting education and culture, while the Senate Palace is in Roman style, referring to government[44] – requires knowledge that is not accessible to everyone. The experience of this place is dependent on social status. Engel's letters reveal that he was knowledgeable about Vitruvius.[45] He does not, however, use explicitly gendered language in writing about the buildings he was designing.

Commodifying nationalism

The public square was designed to function as a stage for public spectacles. Kerstin Smeds has studied Finnish mass events during the era of autonomy, such as inauguration ceremonies and song festivals, and she describes them as "magnificent societal stage plays where the nation presented itself".[46] These rituals were just another example of the nineteenth-century invention of tradition.[47] Nationalist rallies, such as the unveiling of the statues of Johan Ludvig Runeberg in 1885 and Alexander II in 1894, and the floral tribute to the statue of Alexander in 1899 at the onset of the first era of unification, gave people a chance to enjoy aesthetic pleasure on the one hand by following the spectacle, on the other from the sense of witnessing and playing a part in a great historical moment.

The nineteenth century was an era of 'statuomania', a time when statues and monuments commemorating national heroes and nationally important events were erected one after another. The function of a monument is to serve as a site of collective memory.[48] In them, history and memory – or, more precisely, an interpretation of history – are given tangible and spatial form. But, the meanings of monuments are not fixed; they depend on the historical situation. Statuomania was especially frenetic in France, the source of the original term, *statuomanie*. The German equivalent of statuomania was the culture of the giant national monument, the *Nationaldenkmal*.[49] The difference between statuomania and the *Denkmal* culture was that in German monuments the importance of the

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43 See for example Lloyd 2000.
44 Lilius 1986, 29–31; Lilius 1978, 20–21.
45 Engel 1989, 87,141.
46 Smeds 1987, 99.
47 On invented tradition see Hobsbawm & Ranger (eds) 1985.
48 There is an extensive body of literature on collective memory and monuments. See for example Winter and Sivan (eds) 2000; Rosenfeld 1997; Winter 1996; Nora 1986.
49 Of 'statuomania' and *Nationaldenkmal* see Michalski 1998, 13–76; Mosse 1991; Hargrove 1989.

personification of the Fatherland – the national hero – was downplayed, and more emphasis was placed on the architectural monument itself.[50]

Statuomania also reached Finland, albeit on a significantly smaller scale.[51] It went hand in hand with the so called cult of great men, which paid homage to national heroes, artists, writers and philosophers.[52] In Finland these great men to be revered included Johan Ludvig Runeberg, Johan Vilhelm Snellman, Elias Lönnrot and Mathias Calonius, all men of letters. There were plans to turn the Student House in Helsinki into a place of worship for these men, a Finnish Pantheon, after the one in Paris.[53] Busts of Calonius, Runeberg, Porthan and Lönnrot were ordered from the sculptor C.E. Sjöstrand. The Finnish Pantheon was never realized in the form that had been planned, and in 1890 the busts were placed in the House of Estates, on the rear wall of the Peasant Hall. This hall was chosen because the members of the Peasant Estate were considered to come nearest to the common people; thus placing the images of national heroes there brought them closer to the people.[54]

Statuomania and the cult of great men gave rise to a proliferation of all kinds of memorabilia and collectibles, in every price range, and these were advertised in newspapers. Postcards in particular were popular. One reason for the birth of the collectibles was the rise in tourism and the need to make cities known, and postcards were compiled in 'portfolios' to serve tourists. But collectibles were also mementos that connected the buyer and sender of a postcard to a historical moment.[55] Writing about the picture postcards of the 1900 Universal Exposition in Paris, Naomi Schor notes that "[t]he turn-of-the-century pictorial postcard […] functioned like a cross between the modern print and communications media, something like CNN, *People, Sports Illustrated,* and *National Geographic* all rolled into one".[56]

The proliferation of memorabilia on the one hand nationalized the masses,[57] on the other it "massed" nationalism. Although thousands, even tens of thousands of Finnish people participated in various inaugural ceremonies, postcards and other pictures also reached those who were unable to attend the actual events. They too had a memento of the important moment. Nowadays we might call this a commercialization and banalization of nationalism,[58] history and memory. In France, where statuomania was far more hectic, food companies for instance produced series of collectible trade-cards with drawings of monuments.[59]

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50 France also knew 'monumentalism', *grossissement*, which comes close to the *Denkmal* culture (Mosse 1991, 50, 65).
51 Lindgren 2000; Smeds 1987.
52 Hargrove 1989.
53 Initially, Snellman declined the honor and he was replaced by Matthias Calonius. However, he rejoined the group later. Klinge 1997, 185–190; Of the Pantheon in Paris see Leith 1991, 109–115.
54 Viljo 1999, 182; Klinge 1997, 188.
55 Lindgren 2000, 15; Eskola 1997, 18–19; Schor 1992, 213; Hargrove 1989, 201–203.
56 Schor 1992, 193.
57 Mosse 1991.
58 Billig 1995.
59 Hargrove 1989, 202–203.

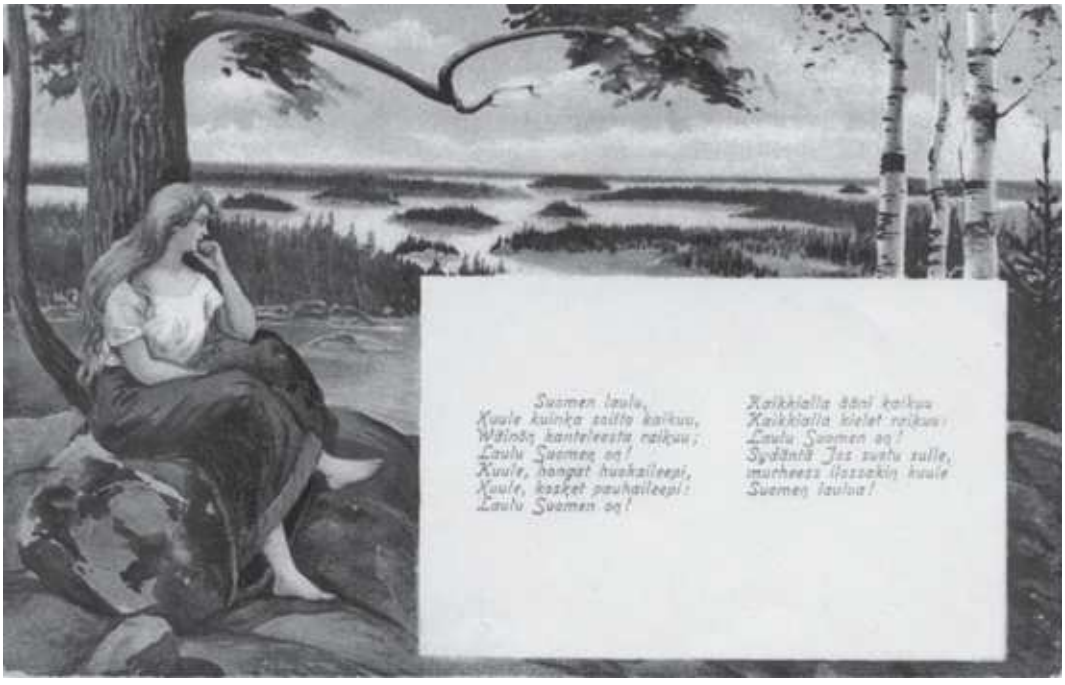

Figure 21. Anonymous: The song of Finland. Museovirasto.

This commercialization also democratized the experience of national sentiment; now it was possible for a wider segment of the population to be part of the festivities.

Postcards have played, perhaps surprisingly, an important role in political life. Postcards have been mobilized in political campaigns in the past as well as in modern times.[60] In Britain, Joseph Chamberlain's plans for a tariff reform were documented in picture postcards, and in continental Europe they were used for propaganda purposes during the Dreyfus Affair.[61] In campaigns where various organizations and groups want to make their demands known, the postcard itself with its picture, and the act of mailing it, have a political meaning. The sender does not even need to compose a message on the postcard; sending the card can be enough.[62] The emerging Finnish workers' movement generated postcards with ideologically combative imagery. There also was a plethora of national romantic postcards picturing the Finnish Maid (Figure 21). Thus the postcard was not only a democratic vehicle, but was also used for political and national propaganda and self-promotion. Since the postcard was accessible to all levels of society, it had revolutionary possibilities, and consequently aroused opposition at its birth.[63] Indeed, when the unification measures began, the strict

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60 Nowadays postcard campaigns are evidently being replaced by email campaigns.

61 McDonald 1994, 5.

62 The actual, mailed postcards from the beginning of the twentieth century were used as greeting cards on birthdays and New Years, and often contained apologies that the sender had not written earlier. The messages written on the cards did not have any political content on them, although the sender had chosen a political postcard. These postcards may be found in the picture archive at Museovirasto in Helsinki.

63 Schor 1992, 210–213.

censorship regulations prohibited postcards bearing national symbols, such as the Finnish coat-of-arms. Due to underground activities, postcards with illegal themes were nonetheless printed in small printing houses around Europe, smuggled into Finland, and put into circulation.[64]

In contrast to its potential danger to organized society, the postcard could also be trivialized. "The Postcard has always been a feminine vice. Men do not write Postcards to each other. When a woman has time to waste, she writes a letter; when she has no time to waste, she writes a postcard",[65] observed the British journalist James Douglas in 1907. Femininity is associated with everything that is trivial and picturesque, which is how the illustrated postcard was regarded. The feminization of the postcard was enhanced by the association between women and letter-writing, as Douglas' comment reveals.[66] The impact of the proliferation of postcards on national self-representation and the expression of national sentiments was therefore not only one of democratization; it also introduced a feminine quality. The postcard offered women a site for the celebration of national memory in a way other, more masculine forms did not.

Photographs of the statues did more than merely commodify nationalism; they also showed people how they were supposed to look at the monuments.[67] *Kurikka* rebelled against the hegemonic vision. In 1914 there was the following caricature:

> Nissinen and Nassinen are visiting Helsinki. Walking round the city, they come across the statue of Alexander II in the Senate Square. After looking at the statue for a while, Nissinen wonders: "was it maybe that carpenter that murdered the dead Emperor?"[68]

The caricaturist depicted the statue from the 'wrong' side, showing the right profile of Alexander II, and thus with the *Labor* group – consisting of a woman holding a sheaf and a sickle, and a man with an axe – facing the viewer (Figure 22).

Father's space

Many insightful analyses have been written about the national implications of statuomania, of the cult of great men, and of invented traditions,[69] but with the exception of the work of Liisa Lindgren, and to some extent that of George L.

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64 Bogdanoff 1987, 1–8.

65 Quoted in Schor 1992, 211.

66 Schor 1992, 211. There has been growing interest in women's correspondence in Finnish historical research. See for example the studies by Anne Ollila 1998; 2000 and Maarit Leskelä-Kärki 2001.

67 Lindgren 2000, 15.

68 "Nissinen ja Nassinen ovat matkustaneet Helsinkiin. Kaupunkia katsellessaan he ovat osuneet Senaatin torilla sijaitsevan Aleksanteri II:sen patsaan luo. Vähän aikaa katseltuaan tuumaa Nissinen: "Tuo kirvesmiesköhän se lie, tuon keisar-vainaan murhaaja"? (*Kurikka* 1 June 1914).

69 Michalski 1998; Klinge 1997; Hargrove 1991; Agulhon 1989; Hargrove 1989; Smeds 1987; Hobsbawm & Ranger (eds) 1985; Agulhon 1981.

Nissinen ja Nassinen ovat matkustaneet Helsinkiin. Kaupunkia katsellessaan ovat he osuneet Senaatin torilla sijaitsevan Aleksanteri II:sen patsaan luo. Vähän aikaa katseltuaan tuumaa Nissinen: »Tuo kirvesmieskõhän se lie, tuon keisaar-vainaan murhaaja»?

Figure 22. Anonymous: Nissinen and Nassinen. Kurikka *1 June 1914.*

Mosse,[70] they tend to be gender-blind. The cult of great men, for instance, cries out by definition for a gender perspective! June Hargrove, in her study of this cult, notes that

> [i]n French, the traditional phrases, common since the eighteenth century, are *grands hommes* or *hommes célèbres.* The use of *hommes* or *men* seems ultimately more accurate than *persons* because their number includes so few women.[71]

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70 Lindgren 2000; Mosse 1991.

71 Hargrove 1991, 63 fn 4. In the preface to her magnum opus, *The Statues of Paris: The History of Statues to Great Men*, she states: "And, alas, so few women have been honored with a monument that the historical precedent reflects the content more accurately than a subtitle phrased "statues to Great Men and Women." (Hargrove 1989, 7)

She acknowledges the lack of women in the genre, but does not take it further than that. In the following, I want to pick up from where many earlier studies have left of, and bring gender into the analysis of mass events and national space. This is not to bring new information in the form of discoveries of long-lost archive documents, but to reassess what has been written before and how we might approach the production of ceremonial national space from a gender perspective. I will take a closer look at newspaper descriptions of inaugural ceremonies, and one ceremony in particular: that of the statue of Alexander II on April 29th 1894 in the Senate Square. The monument was designed by Walter Runeberg, the son of J.L. Runeberg, the national poet. The statue of Alexander II, as well as those commemorating the poet Runeberg and Elias Lönnrot, contain other figures, among them the Finnish Maid. The auxiliary figures placed on the base are subordinate to the dominant character. They are at the feet of the great man. I first focus on the dominant male figures, after which I turn to the female characters.

Newspaper reports are exceptionally fruitful material because statuomania and public expressions of national pride were made possible by the growth of the press. Newspapers participated in nationalist fervor by reporting state and national events.[72] Of course there were many levels and positions of experience. On the ground level there were all the individuals who participated in the inaugural ceremonies in person – 30 000 of them at the unveiling of the statue of Alexander II.[73] It is plausible that some of the emotions were shared, but some individual differences also existed. There was probably even apprehension on some people's part over this kind of national self-promotion and the worship of the great men. The Socialist satirical magazine *Kurikka* for instance published a caricature titled "Vappuriemua" (Celebrating the First of May), in which all the important monuments in Helsinki – Alexander II, Runeberg, Lönnrot, *Havis Amanda* and *The Shipwrecked* – were parodied by depicting the figures as drunken slobs (Figure 23).[74] Although this took place fifteen years after the unveiling, it does demonstrate some resistance to the nationalist cult.

On another level are the newspaper reconstructions of the ceremonies. The journalists were interpreters of emotions and conveyors of meanings. Their reports to the reading public were how-to guides, instructions on how to see and feel. Although there were some slight differences with regard to the aspects they emphasized, their gaze was masculine and of the elite. They therefore offer hegemonic readings and constructions of the space.

The unveiling of the statue of the Alexander II was prepared in public many days before the actual ceremony. There were stories of Alexander II's trips to Finland, repeated accounts of how the statue came into being,[75] and announce-

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72 Smeds 1987, 91.

73 There were 20 000 people attending the unveiling of J.L. Runeberg's statue in the Esplanade on May 6th 1885 (Lindgren 2000, 31; Smeds 1987, 99).

74 *Kurikka* 1 May 1909.

75 *PL* 29 April 1894; *Hbl* 29 April 1894.

Figure 23. Anonymous: Celebrating the first of May. Kurikka *1 May 1909.*

ments of a festive dinner to be held in the evening of the ceremonies.[76] Advertisements for replicas of the new statue appeared even before it was unveiled.[77] Weilin & Göös (a publishing house) advertised a picture (*valtiopäivä-taulu*) commemorating the Estates:

> now that his statue is to be inaugurated let homes and schools be decorated with the aforementioned picture, which can be ordered from us or from any bookshop.[78]

The board commemorated the year 1863, when Alexander II allowed the Estates to meet again; it was because of this that the Emperor was revered in Finland. Advertisements set the mood for something important. They created a national state of mind. In a spatial reading, the act of hanging the board on the wall brought this very public celebration that was staged all over the town into more closed and private spaces such as the home. The boundary between the public and private sphere was fluid, allowing overlapping and an extension of the festive space.

A day after the unveiling, both *Päivälehti* and *Hufvudstadsbladet* ran long and detailed reports of the ceremony, its decoration and other festivities that

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76 For example *US* 19 April 1894.

77 For example *US* 5 May 1894.

78 "Kun nyt hänen patsaansa paljastetaan, niin koristeltakoon kodit ja koulut mainitulla valtiopäivän taululla, jota voipi tilata meiltä sekä joka kirjakaupasta." *US* 21 April 1894.

took place around Helsinki. *Uusi Suometar* had the report two days later. All three newspapers published the inaugural speeches and described the event in an identical manner, conjuring up scenes around town, street by street, sight by sight before the readers' eyes. People had arrived by train from all over the country the day before and in the morning. The streets leading to the Senate Square were lined with flags, and another sea of flags with the Finnish and Imperial coat of arms awaited at the Square. In the eyes of the *Uusi Suometar* reporter people themselves appeared to form decorations as well. Hours before the ceremony was to begin the Square filled with people; for instance the steps leading up to the Nicholas Church were full by 9 a.m. However, in the middle of the steps, behind the still veiled statue, there was an empty space which was filled with a "white and bright background":

> [f]our men in a row, the endless line of 900 students slowly filled the empty space […] On both sides black masses of people circled the dazzling white belt of students, forming a kind of giant three-part flag. […] Also different groups of people formed huge decorations. Looking from above it was like a black [sic] bed of flowers where the women's white dresses formed attractive clusters.[79]

When the canvas covering the statue was finally lifted at noon, the figure of Alexander II (Figure 24) was greeted with a shout of "Long live the Emperor" that came from the heart and filled the space.[80]

After the unveiling, numerous speeches by representatives of the Estates were heard. The speeches were the heart of the inaugural ceremonies; their content and emphasis guided the way the new monument was to be approached and understood by the public.[81] Nine years earlier, speeches at the Runeberg monument reminded the audience of his importance as a national poet, not just a great poet but one who had interpreted the soul of the Finnish people. Although he was born among the "Swedish-speaking coast people", he had captured in his poetry the true Finnish people and nature of the country's inland areas.[82] Who gave the speeches and in what order also carried political significance. The inauguration of the statue of Alexander II had turned into a political manifesto against the Russian authorities. The Governor General was therefore denied the opportunity to give the actual unveiling speech, since he would have given it in Russian.[83]

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79 "Neljä miestä rivissä tuo 900 ylioppilaan muodostama loppumattoman pitkä jono werkalleen täytti tyhjän tilan. […] Huikaisevan walkeata ylioppilaswyötä ympäröitsi täällä kummallakin siwustalla mustat ihmisjoukot, muodostaen tällä tawalla ikäänkuin kolmiosaisen jättiläislipun. […] Mahtawana koristuksena oliwat myös erilaiset ihmisryhmät. Ylhäältä katsoen oli se kuin musta kukkalawa, jossa naisten waaleat puwut muodostiwat miellyttäwiä kukkaisryhmiä." (*US* 1 May 1894). Also *Päivälehti* pointed out women's spring frocks (*PL* 30 April 1894).

80 "[S]ydämestä tulewan ja awaruuden täyttäwän eläköönhuudon." (*US* 1 May 1894).

81 Hargrove 1989, 119.

82 *US* 7 May 1885.

83 Smeds 1987, 101.

Figure 24. Walter Runeberg: Alexander II *(1894).*

The inaugural speeches for the statue of Alexander II reiterated his kindness and the good deeds he had performed for the Finnish people, and the loyalty his subjects gave him in return. He had been a "liberator" and a "father", who had taken care of his people. The historian Juhani Mylly has analyzed the 'cult of the emperor', the worship of the Russian sovereigns in Finland. The emperors, Alexander II in particular, were seen as defenders and guarantors of Finnish autonomy against Russian nationalist officials and politicians. This belief in the benevolence of the emperor persisted even when the unification measures started, when it was difficult to comprehend that also Nicholas II, and not only the "devourers of Finland" supported the expansive imperial policies. According to Mylly, this cult was an expression of the paternalist culture of submission. Moreover, from the Russian standpoint worship was a proof of exemplary loyalty to the ruler.[84]

Lindgren argues that the statues erected to great men conveyed strong patriarchal values: the monuments were an urban substitute for the agrarian values of "father's house, fields and cattle". Statues were the new transmitters of

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84 Mylly 2002, 186–190.

the old patriarchy.[85] 'Patriarchy' has been a controversial term in feminist research. There has been wide disagreement over the meaning of the term: should patriarchy be understood literally as the rule of the fathers? And where exactly does patriarchal power exist: solely in familial relations or in other social power structures as well?[86] The problem with patriarchy as an explanation to the marginalization of women is that patriarchy is the father's power over his family, his servants, wife, and children, daughters and *sons* alike. Thus under patriarchy men too, as sons, should be in a subordinate position, regardless of their social status. However, women as a group are subordinate to men as a group.

Carole Pateman has argued that despite the difficulties associated with the term the concept should not be abandoned; she suggests that modern patriarchy exists in a fraternal form. In the social contract, father is metaphorically killed by his sons, who then redistribute his fatherly rights in civil government. Fraternity is understood as a masculine bond among men. All men, by the virtue of being men, are brothers and equals.[87] Just as the idea of fraternity including women as well is a fantasy, so is the notion of all men being equal. Ethnicity, nationality, class, sexuality and religion form great divisions between men, but these divisions are different from those between men and women. Pateman discerns in 'fraternity' both fraternity as the "the universal bond of community" and fraternities, "the small associations (communities) in which fellowship is close and brother can know and assist his brother, almost as if they were family members." Fraternities are explicitly masculine and "typically have elaborate rituals to initiate their members into the fraternal secrets and into a rigid, hierarchical structure."[88]

The hierarchy among the nation's brethren can be seen in Emil Wikström's sculpture frieze on the tympanum of the House of Estates. It shows the Emperor Alexander I placed at the center, with the heads of the Estates and feminine personifications of justice and faith lined up to the right and left of him. Closest to the sovereign, who is swearing the oath to the Estates in 1809 and is elevated above the others, are the members of the Estates. Then come the female figures of justice and faith, and only after these personifications are figures of the common people, symbolizing Finnish culture and fighting spirit[89] – a mother teaching her child, a *kantele* player, a hardworking peasant, an injured soldier who is tended by his wife, and a fallen soldier. Due to the triangular form of the tympanum these figures have to be seated or kneeling. The spatial symbolism is staggering. The fraternity of the members of the Estates are grouped immediately after the Emperor, and only *after* them come the virtues of law and faith. The positioning of these personifications perhaps suggests that they form a dividing-

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85 Lindgren 2000, 10.
86 Pateman 1988, 19–20; Yuval-Davis 1997, 7. For an extended discussion on 'patriarchy' see Pateman 1988, 19–38.
87 Pateman 1988, 32, 77–80.
88 Pateman 1988, 81.
89 *Hbl* 22 November 1903; *US* 22 November 1903.

line between the elite and the common people. The reporter from *Hufvudstadsbladet* saw the positioning of the allegorical figures from a different angle: law made work and culture possible, just as faith made it possible to defend the nation. He nonetheless expressed the spatial hierarchy in terms of progress as advancing towards the center, and of Alexander I as standing at the threshold of a new era.[90]

According to the art historian Eeva Maija Viljo, the main motif in the sculpture is a reminder of the Estates as representatives of the nation, and it implicitly opposes the unification measures.[91] I agree with her on this; a closer and more critical reading, however, also reveals the paternal and fraternal order imbedded in the sculpture. This becomes even more explicit in the light of the frieze's history. The original plan was to decorate the tympanum with a group in which the personification of Finland was at the center, as in the Ateneum and the National Archive.[92] Placing the Finnish Maid in the middle would radically reverse the hierarchical order of the sculpture; at the center would then be the nation, with everything and everybody secondary to it.

When the sculpture frieze was unveiled in 1903, there was only a small ceremony[93] because at that time no open outbursts of nationalism were allowed. There is a story that the frieze was erected in secrecy at night, but this is highly improbable; it had been in place on the tympanum for two months while the façade was being painted. The competition for the frieze had also been public knowledge.[94] Stories like this merely show how public art was taken up in nationalistic discourse.

The actual choreography of the inaugural ceremonies was a metaphor of the social and political order. One can represent the setting in terms of zones lying concentrically around the monument. The closer one was to the statue of a great man, the greater one's importance. Only few had the honor to bask in his glory. Political cults were based on exceptionality, the surpassing of the humdrum of everyday (feminine) life. There was something else, outside the course of ordinary history, which only the few could really comprehend.[95] This upheld the hierarchical order, in which everyone knew his/her place. It also gave a way to combine the notions of fraternity and patriarchy. The father-figure was in the middle, above the rest, but close to him was the fraternity of his loyal sons.

Pateman's model of fraternities is very useful in the examination of nations, but I would not abandon the notion of patriarchy, or rather paternalism, either. I understand paternalism as "the relationship of the loving father to his son", which "provides the model for the relation of the citizen to the state"[96] – or in this case to the nation. When the familial structure was duplicated in national

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90 *Hbl* 22 November 1903.
91 Viljo 1999, 178–179.
92 Viljo 1999, 179.
93 *US* 22 November 1903.
94 Selovuori 1999, 162.
95 Mosse 1991, 21.
96 Pateman 1988, 32. See also Pateman's criticism of 'paternalism' (Pateman 1988, 33).

discourse to cover national order, paternalistic values came with it. In *Uusi Suometar* the relationship between Alexander II and the Finnish people was construed in paternalist terms; he had been the good father. Paternalism was also reproduced. According to the reporter, "from the children's bright eyes one could see what their *father* had told them about the blessed prince" [97] [italics mine]. Knowledge of the nation and membership in it were passed down from one generation to the next through the fathers.[98]

Along with the importance of the father figure, the symbolic language of the statues also stressed manliness. Some members of the jury deciding on the statue of Alexander II were concerned that in one of the designs submitted Emperor was not as tall and slim as he had been in reality, but short and stocky; this made Alexander insufficiently imperial, representing him as bourgeois and commonplace. One member congratulated Walter Runeberg on the Emperor's "tall, handsome body and imperial posture".[99] After the unveiling, *Uusi Suometar* reported that Alexander was portrayed "at the peak of his manliness".[100] In a similar vein, the "manly and tall body" of J.L. Runeberg was mentioned[101] (Figure 25). Nation was thus built through masculine bodies and notions of manliness. As the concern over Alexander's overly "bourgeois" body shows, however, there was not just one masculinity but different masculinities. A man's outward appearance was believed to reflect his inner worth;[102] what was suitable for a bourgeois poet was not enough for an emperor. The ideal human body, the male body, was modeled after Greek sculpture; it projected the strength and restraint of the most beautiful of gods, the Apollo of Belvedere,[103] whom one member of the jury saw in Alexander's posture.[104]

The iconographic rules dictated that in statues of real historical persons the figures on the base belonged to the realm of allegory. Their function there was to serve as a borderline between the worldly at the street level and the elevated existence of the commemorated person. The division of space was multilayered: the statue was separated from the public, and in the monument itself the key figure was spatially segregated from the rest of the sculpture. By the end of the nineteenth century this spatial division started to erode, at least in France. The

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97 "ja lasten pystyisistä kirkkaista silmistä näki mitä heille isä oli puhunut siunatusta ruhtinaasta." (*US* 1 May 1894).

98 In her study of motherhood and the construction of Swedish national community at the turn of the twentieth century, Charlotte Tornbjer argues that patriarchalism was deeply infused in the image of the Swedish royal family, and the whole nation. The king was a father, a master of the household and a shepherd to all of his loyal subjects. The king was a loving and just father. When the king was a father to his subjects, the queen as his wife was the mother of nation, *landsmoder*. Tornbjer concludes that the perception of the queen as the mother of nation emphasized vertical relations and solidarity between the queen and her subjects with the consequence that the relations between men and women were less explicated (Tornbjer 2002, 138–146).

99 *Valmistava palkintokilpailu* 1884, 5–6, 14–15, 18, 20–21, 23, 27–29. Quotation p. 17

100 *US* 1 May 1894.

101 *US* 7 May 1885.

102 Mosse 1996, 28.

103 Mosse 1996, 29–32.

104 *Valmistava palkintokilpailu* 1884, 14.

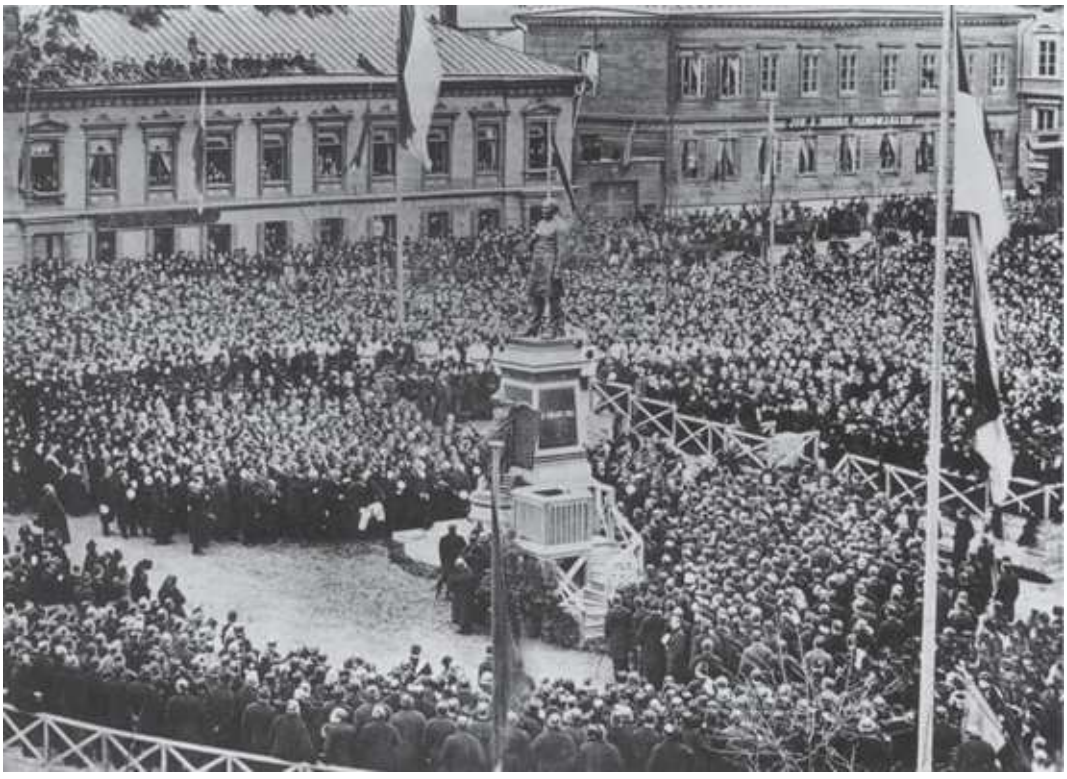

Figure 25. The unveiling of Walter Runeberg's J.L. Runeberg *(1885).*

pedestal and its figures were assimilated to the rest of the sculptural mass, with the result that the figure was brought closer to life. Moreover, the spatial barriers that had separated the monument from the viewing public were now gradually lowered.[105] As examples of this new form Hargrove takes the statues of George Sand, "[s]eated close to the ground, GEORGE SAND contemplates life in nature",[106] and of Madame Boucicaut and the Baroness de Hirsch:

> the women, who personify Goodness and Charity, descend from a low platform to share their wealth with an urchin. The viewer is further linked to these secular saints by the intermediary of the indigent mother and child huddled on the steps, implying that all passerby are potential recipients – and eventual benefactors.[107]

From the point of view of gendered space, it is interesting to note that these examples are statues of real historical women. The cult of great men is just that, not a cult of great men and women. Albeit there are some statues erected to women, such as (in France) Joan of Arc, a heavenly saint, Madame Boucicaut and the Baroness de Hirsch, secular saints, and George Sand, a writer, and (in Finland) Minna Canth, also a writer, it is the male figures that dominate the

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105 Hargrove 1989, 209, 217, 221
106 Hargrove 1989, 217, capitals original.
107 Hargrove 1989, 226.

pedestals along with allegorical females. When spatial barriers between the monument and the public are brought down, statues of women, both actual and those referred to by scholars, become more common.[108]

In Finland, the figures in the pedestal still kept their distance from the great man. One member of the committee that chose the winning submission for the statue of Elias Lönnrot complained that the allegorical figures and Lönnrot did not form a working integrated whole, and that it was common that

> the main figure stands alone and silly, knowing nothing about the figures that are put up around it.[109]

Up till now in this chapter I have concentrated on male figures, partly because the inaugural ceremonies focused on these and ignored the female figures situated at their feet. Nonetheless, in addition to the *Patria/ Lex*, at the base of the statue of Alexander II, and another Finnish Maid at the base of the statue of Runeberg, the tympanums of the National Archive and the Ateneum had the personification of Finland in the middle. Inside the House of Estates was a plaster replica of *Patria/Lex* dominating the main entrance, and the walls and ceiling of the Peasant and Burgher halls were decorated with personifications of the country. The invisibility of the female figures in the inaugural ceremonies does not mean that they were considered unimportant: on the contrary. Especially the use of the *Patria/Lex* group in caricatures demonstrates that the paternal and fraternal discourses that centered on the Emperor and great men were not without an alternative.

Of the satirical magazines, *Velikulta* and in particular *Fyren* employed the image of *Patria/Lex*, but in the 1910s the figure was not unknown to *Tuulispää* either. Considerable political passions had been invested in the *Patria/Lex* group during the competition for the Emperor's statue. The jury, which had consisted of Old Finns and more liberal members, viewed the two top submissions according to a political division. Among the Old Finns and like-minded members, what most caused resistance to Runeberg's design was the relationship between the figure of the Emperor and the four groups, *Patria/Lex*, *Lux*, *Pax* and *Labor*, on the base. Although almost everybody agreed on the artistic value of the groups, the Old Finns thought that the Emperor should be the focal point of the whole monument, and that in the design the Emperor was overshadowed by the allegorical figures.[110] And they were absolutely right. As an anti-Russian liberal, Runeberg did not have any interest in the figure of Alexander II.[111] Likewise the symbolism of the vestment of the *Patria/Lex* figure, the bear-skin over her head

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108 The irony here is that when George Sand, now seated near the street, wanted to explore the streets when still alive, she was able to do it only when she was dressed as a boy (Massey 1994, 245 fn. 12). On the statue of Minna Canth and its placement in the "periphery" see Lindgren 2000, 133–152.

109 "pääkuva seisoo törröttää tavallisesti tietämättä mitään niistä sivukuvista, jotka on sen ympärille ladottu." (Quoted in Lindgren 2000, 40).

110 *Valmistava palkintokilpailu* 1884, 10, 25, 29.

111 Nordmann 1919, 120–122. See also Reitala 1983, 65.

encountered opposition because it referred too explicitly to the Nordic sagas and to Sweden. According to V. Löfgren, the editor of *Uusi Suometar* and a member of the jury,

> *one* woman clad in bear-skin is enough, I mean the one who stands in the Esplanade at the feet of the poet. One idea which demonstrates a suspect taste is forgivable if it can be forgotten, but when it is cast in bronze, that is unforgivable.[112]

In the competition, it was actually Johannes Takanen's design that won; Runeberg's came second. Takanen, however, died before work on the statue began, and Runeberg was commissioned to complete the assignment on condition that he retained some of the best features of Takanen's work.[113] In one of his earlier designs, Runeberg had placed the allegorical figures in a different and more logical order. The symbols of the arts and sciences, *Lux*, faced the University; *Pax* (peace) faced towards the Church; and the symbol of work, *Labor*, faced the Senate Palace. In another design, it was *Patria/Lex* that faced the Senate. Since, however, the *Patria/Lex* group began to dominate the base, Runeberg moved it to the front of the statue, and consequently the other groups also had to be moved.[114] The final order, in clockwise order, was *Patria/Lex*, *Labor*, *Pax*, and *Lux*.

Judging from the opinions expressed by the members of the jury, there were two ways to see the statue, depending on which aspect one wants to stress: one sees the Emperor, the other the *Patria/Lex* group. At the unveiling of the statue of Alexander II, both *Päivälehti* and *Hufvudstadsbladet* noticed the groups on the base, but the Old Finn *Uusi Suometar* was silent about them, as if they were irrelevant.[115] The Young Finn *Velikulta* and the Swedish-language *Fyren*, in line with their political alliances, took in this symbol of law. This was of course enhanced by the fact that the *Patria/Lex* group was copied and placed in political and national institutions. The most common use of the figure was to portray it in its natural environment, in the Fire Brigade building and the Heimola building, both of which housed the new unicameral Diet until 1931 when the Parliament building on Arcadia Hill was completed (Figures 26 and 27).[116] A replica of the statue was placed behind the Speaker's desk, facing the rest of the assembly. In caricatures the figure came alive and reacted to everything that took place in the Parliament: she and the lion prayed along with Hilda Käkikoski (Figure 28),[117] were astonished by the bad manners of some

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112 "*yksi* karhuntaljaan verhoutunut nainen riittää, tarkoitan sitä, joka seisoo runoilijan patsaan juurella esplanaadissa. Epäilyttävää aistia todistavan päähänpiston toistaminen on anteeksiannettava, jos se voidaan unohtaa, mutta kun se valetaan pronssiin, niin se on anteeksiantamatonta." (Nordmann 1919, 123–124. Quotation p. 124.)

113 Nordmann 1919, 122–123

114 *Valmistava palkintokilpailu* 1884, 34–35; Nordmann 1919, 125 fn. 1.

115 *PL* 29 April 1894; *Hbl* 30 April, 1894. *Hufvudstadsbladet* ran also a story about Walter Runeberg a day earlier.

116 The Diet gathered in the Fire Brigade building from 1907 to 1910, and after that in Heimola.

117 *Velikulta* 30 May 1907.

Figure 26. Alexander Federley: Hear the hammers… Fyren *12 June 1909.*

members of the Diet (Figure 29),[118] and dozed off during endless speeches (Figure 30).[119] In all of these pictures the Maid is the dominant element.

Although J.L. Runeberg held a revered position among the Swedish-speaking population, the caricaturist Alexander Federley focused in two pictures on the Finnish Maid at the base of Runeberg's statue rather than on the man himself. On Runeberg's centennial in 1904, *Fyren* published on its cover a picture with a young boy, personifying the gazette, laying a wreath at the feet of the statue, or rather of the female figure (Figure 31). Federley has drawn the caricature in such a way that only the female figure appears.[120] A few years earlier, in 1899, right after issuing of the February Manifesto, a caricature entitled "Novoje Vremjas ideal af en Helsingforsvy" (Novoye Vremya's ideal view of Helsinki) shows the same Finnish Maid looking sternly at a gang of Russian soldiers in front of her (Figure 8). Federley made some minor changes in the picture. He added a law book in front of her and raised her face to look straight at the

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118 *Velikulta* 11 July 1908; *Fyren* 10 July 1909.
119 *Velikulta* no. 17 1908; *Velikulta* no. 21 1908.
120 *Fyren* 6 February 1904.

Figure 27. Anonymous: The one who tries to trick another… Parliament has voted 68 in favor and 33 opposed to demand that the administration prepare for an election for a king. Alkio*: – Oh no, what have they done now!* Tuulispää *16 August 1918.*

soldiers.[121] In the original statue, her face is turned downward. In Federley's caricature the female figure controls the space, the Esplanade, where the statue is situated.

Sacred space

Through spatial strategies national heroes were elevated above the mundane. What I first noticed in the accounts of the ceremonies is their strong religious and sacred element. They were rituals that followed an almost identical format regardless of whose statue was unveiled. Long before the beginning of the actual ceremony, people began to gather at the place. In fact, the ceremony started before the official festivities took place. The ritual started with processions that grouped around the statue. In the unveiling of the statue to J.L.

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121 *Fyren* 25 February 1899.

Suomettarilaisten ehdotus eduskuntaistuntojen alkamiseksi.
Rukoilija Hilda Käkikoski: Ja katso, minä en ole niin kuin nämä publikaanit.

Figure 28. Alexander Federley: The Old Finns' proposal for the beginning of the Parliamentary sessions. Praying woman, Hilda Käkikoski: *And see, I am not like these publicans.* Velikulta *30 May 1907.*

Runeberg, the organizers had reserved two platforms for the women who had been invited.[122] The processions were followed by music and a speech, and finally the unveiling. More speeches and music followed, and at the end the processions departed as solemnly as they had arrived.[123]

The place of the inaugural was instilled with a sacred quality. The Senate Square, for instance, was dominated by the Nicholas Church, elevated to a higher level than the other buildings and thus casting a religious aura over the space. At the unveiling of the statue of Alexander II the ritual began with a church service and the hymn "Jumala ompi linnamme" (A mighty fortress is our God). The participants moved around the Square as in a sacred place. According to *Päivälehti*, it was a celebration which everyone had both the privilege and the responsibility to attend. The reporter also noted that it was a Sunday, the day when everyone could leave their worries behind for a short while.[124] *Uusi Suometar* reported that after the ceremony people made a 'pilgrimage' past the statue and contemplated in silence.[125] 'Silence' also

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122 *US* 7 May 1885.

123 Also, there were no significant differences between the ceremonies in France and in Finland. In France, however, inaugurations were occasionally disrupted by demonstrations (see Hargrove 1989, 197–201).

124 *PL* 30 April 1894.

125 *US* 1 May 1894.

Figure 29. Alexander Federley: The case of Pykälä's feet.
Fyren *10 July 1909.*

describes the floral tribute to the statue in March 1899. The tribute was a demonstration against the unification measures, and according to the press the event was marked by people's silence.[126] The 'altar' in this and other 'religious' ceremonies was the statue. The dead Emperor, however, was not the only revered object. There is a story that for fear of the Russian authorities the famous painting by Eetu Isto, *The Attack*, in which the Russian two-headed eagle is tearing a law book out of the arms of the Finnish Maid, was displayed in secret in a locale in Kaivopuisto in Helsinki.[127] The work of art, which was painted as a reaction against the unification measures, was another kind of shrine, a sacred relic in whose presence those chosen were able to contemplate and experience the national struggle.

The public square which formed the center of the town had its own center, the altar-like monument. Leith points out that the evolution of the public square

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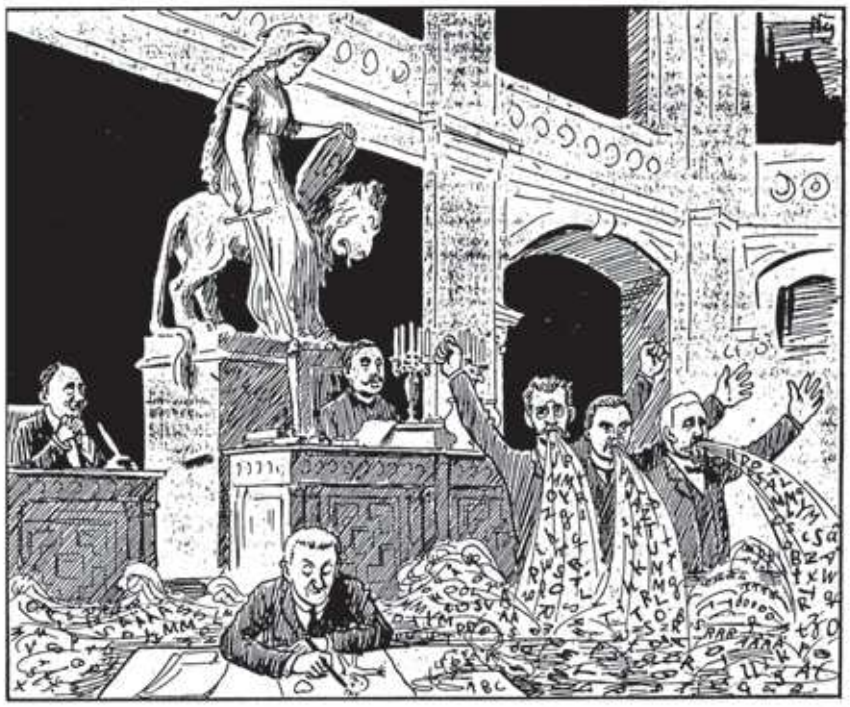
126 *US* 14 March 1899.
127 Rönkkö 1990, 103–104.



Puhetulvaan uppoava Suomen kansan eduskunta.

Kuinka valitut joudattavat asioita päätökseen.

Figure 30. Alexander Federley: The Finnish Parliament is drowning in speeches. How the elected hasten things to conclusion. Velikulta *number 21 1908.*

coincided with the conception of the monument at the center of the square, or somewhere in the near vicinity. The center – the capital of a nation, a public square, a monument in it – is "the point from which power radiates out and to which people give their allegiance." According to Strassoldo, it is almost impossible to think of space without a center. Cities were often built with the center in mind, and streets and squares were accordingly laid out in such a way that they guided people towards the monuments.[128] In the center of the Senate Square was the statue of the Emperor. The Square and the government buildings were at the center of the capital, and at the heart of the center – in the holiest of holies – is the sovereign, his serene and commanding imperial male body surrounded by equally regal and perfectly proportioned architecture.[129] Although the sovereign was the focal point, he needed to be encircled by men who had served him and the nation well.[130]

Sacredness was integral to the adoration of great men; indeed this was a *cult*. Most striking is the newspaper description of what happened when Alexander II was unveiled:

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128 Leith 1991, 4–7. Quotation p. 33; Strassoldo 1993, 32–33.

129 "Sådant Alexandersmonumentet nu tar sig, där det står på sin ståtliga plats, omgifvet af kyrkan, senatshuset och universitet, gör det ett mäktigt anslående intryck, fullt värdigt sitt besämmelse att vara ett uttryck för hela det finska folkets känslor." (*Hbl* 30 April 1894).

130 Leith 1991, 8.

> the Emperor who had reappeared among his people[131]

The Emperor had been incarnated on earth among his subjects, even if not in the flesh but in a bronze body. He was resurrected, and

> [t]o the present world and to posterity will the Emperor's statue speak its mute but still eloquent language[132]

As already mentioned, there were plans to build a Finnish Pantheon, a shrine to great men. The Pantheon was a place where the statues and busts of national heroes were gathered, and which people could visit. Leith writes that in late eighteenth-century France there were plans to convert the new church of Sainte-Geneviève into a national shrine "so that the temple of religion will become the temple of the fatherland".[133] The Pantheon was *the* expression of the sacred quality of the cult of great men, but it was not immune to political fluctuations. According to Hargrove, the Pantheon has been tugged, de- and reconsecrated, between Christianity and the cult of great men depending on the political climate.[134] 'Sacred' is also a word used by Mosse in his analysis of public festivals and monuments. He argues that in Germany from the eighteenth century onward there was the urge to transform the political into the religious, a development which culminated in the rituals of the Third Reich. Contemplation of a national monument should lead to rites, and in the end to the worship of the secular religion of the nation. For this purpose some monuments were furnished in front with a platform or other sacred space for national worship. Although secular in nature, popular political religion borrowed a great deal from Christianity, fusing the church service with national festivals.[135] Leith argues that when Christianity and the belief in life after death in a religious sense became less compelling, the notion of immortality was channeled into nationalism. It was possible to become immortal through history. The shrine where the immortals were paid homage to was the Pantheon.[136] As the *Uusi Suometar* reporter testified, immortality was part of the adoration of Alexander II as well as the other national men.

Immortality is a gendered concept. It is reserved for men. Immortality is a victory over nature, the body and death itself, all of which are marked as feminine in the dichotomies of nature/culture, body/spirit. The life of an immortal is not bounded by his physical body, and his life is a triumph of spirit, a triumph of masculine ideals over feminine weaknesses. Immortality is paradoxical, in the sense that to achieve it one has to die; immortality is achieved only through death. The Italian philosopher Adriana Cavarero argues

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131 "Ja kansansa keskeen jälleen ilmestynyt keisari"(*US* 1 May 1894).
132 "Nyky- ja jälkimaailmalle on keisaripatsas puhuva mykkää, mutta kuitenkin niin kaunopuheista kieltään"(*US* 1 May 1894).
133 Leith 1991, 112.
134 Hargrove 1989, 77.
135 Mosse 1991, 48–63, 74–81.
136 Leith 1991, 109.

Figure 31. Alexander Federley: Runeberg's 100th anniversary. Fyren *6 February 1904.*

that the Western patriarchal order is a culture of death at the expense of life and life-giving, which are a part of women's world. Staring death unflinchingly in the face is the measure of human – that is, male – existence. Risk-taking and death in action gives meaning to a man's entire life.[137] Benedict Anderson has briefly touched upon the culture of death in his *Imagined Communities.* He asks, what generates the colossal sacrifices, that so many people are willing not so much to kill as to die for the nation?[138] The fact that Alexander II had been assassinated, had died "a martyr's death",[139] elevated him to national sainthood. Nevertheless, death does not have to be violent, it is enough that one has died "in the service of the nation."

The canonization of the Finnish great men, Lönnrot, Runeberg and Snellman, however, was begun during their lifetime by Fredrik Cygnaeus and Zachris Topelius.[140] I see this homage to the still living by their pupils as revealing an inherent paternalism, but also the fraternal order of Finnish nineteenth century

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137 Cavarero 1995, 7, 15–27; Braidotti 1995, xviii.
138 Anderson 1991, 7.
139 *US* 1 May 1894.
140 Smeds 1987, 94.

nationalism. Lönnrot, Snellman and Cygnaeus belonged to the same generation, and they had been friends at the University. Topelius was of the younger generation, and was Runeberg's pupil.[141] The 'son' (disciple) expressed his admiration and loyalty to his 'father' (teacher). The paternalist tone does not rule out notions of fraternity, which were present in Cygnaeus' relationship with the great men, but the existence of the two orders reflects the flexibility of national sentiments. Paternalism and notions of fraternity were used for different purposes. Paternalism served for national elite to educate and nationalize the masses, it concerned the vertical relations that extended from the top of the society to the lowest strata. Fraternity was horizontal, and was reserved for the chosen few. The existence of two hierarchical orders gave an interpretative latitude, and the possibility of negotiating and re-negotiating national discourses and one's place in them.

National landscape

In the rest of this chapter I take a look at Finnish national landscape and the way in which landscapes are feminized. This will also serve as an introduction to what the subject of the next chapter: the association between landscape and the Finnish Maid, and the ensuing eroticization of the Finnish nation. First, however, a few general points about landscapes.

Zachris Topelius has greatly influenced the way Finns have looked at their country. His books of landscape prints, *Finland framställdt i teckningar* (Finland in pictures, 1845) for instance, made the country known to his readers. Topelius was the first to present the entire territory of Finland. In fact, he pioneered the discipline of geography in Finland. What is interesting in his depictions is that while he presented Finnish landscape and nature he minimized the importance of the country's borders, which are barely visible in his works. According to Maunu Häyrynen, the absence of borders stressed the integrity of the natural nation-state, which would have been compromised by man-made borders. When an actual border was shown, its purpose was to represent it as a natural dividing-line between the Finnish nation-state and a foreign nation.[142]

In examining spatial aspects of national identity we need to look at how particular, framed bits of the national space – landscapes – are represented. Landscapes can be found in national image galleries in so many instances that it can be argued that national identity and landscape are inseparable. For example, certain places become sites of national remembrance, "symbolically activating" time and space. Some landscapes – for instance the frontier in the United States or the Pastoral in England – are seen as epitomizing the nation and the qualities of its members.[143] In Finland, the nationally significant landscape is the lake-

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141 Klinge 1997, 185.
142 Häyrynen 1996, 106; On Topelius and geography see Tiitta 1994.
143 Daniels 1994, 5.

Figure 32. Alexander Federley: Freedom's plague carriers or the "last effort" by the Old Finns.
Fyren *5 May 1906.*

and-forest idyll, often viewed from the top of a hill. The late nineteenth century poet J.H. Erkko, for instance, told Finns to "[c]limb up to the ridges, see the beautiful land of Finland."[144] A stereotypical image is the Maid sitting or standing at the top of a hill and looking down on the lake view (Figure 32) Here the theme is used in a caricature, but the image proliferated especially in postcards (Figure 21).

Landscapes picture the nation,[145] but what exactly is a landscape? The geographers Gillian Rose, Vivian Kinnaird, Mandy Morris and Catherine Nash define it as follows:

> [l]andscape is a term which usually describes some kind of clearly delimited geography, very often a framed visual image of an environment. […] This scene is related to ways of seeing or picturing the world: a

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144 "Nouskaa maamme harjanteille, nähkää kaunis Suomenmaa." ("Kansanopistoruno" (1891) in Erkko 1910b, 84).

145 Daniels 1994, 5.

> picturing which may be derived from our experience of being in the landscape, from written descriptions or from visual imagery. Landscape, then, refers to both material and imagined places.[146]

Landscape refers not only to a physical but also to a mental space, enmeshing nation and nature, producing both physical and cultural identities.[147] Landscape is thus produced through looking. This weight on visuality has come under criticism for ignoring the power relations imbedded in landscapes. Rose has argued that visuality is not a simple act of observation but a process that systematically excludes and erases parts of reality. Moreover, the term 'landscape' does not refer solely to the relationship between objects in the observer's view, but also implies a way of looking, a certain visual ideology.[148] It is therefore important to look what is there, but equally important is to look what is *not* there.

When members of one culture define what kind of landscape is nationally significant, or which particular slice of an environment even constitutes a landscape, they are bounded by their own cultural values and structures. What is a landscape for Finns is not necessarily one for members of another culture. Landscapes picture the nation through repetition. Häyrynen maintains that national imagery contains "a 'formula' that enables the reproduction of imagery according to pre-ordained rules of representation".[149] We cannot take a fresh new look with open eyes, because previous depictions and landscape knowledge make us look at a particular scenery as a landscape. The Finnish national landscape was made familiar through both the visual and the literary arts: through poems such as "Kesäpäivä Kangasalla" (A summer day at Kangasala, 1853) by Topelius, or "Maamme" (Our land, 1846), the Finnish national anthem by Runeberg, and through paintings celebrating Finnish nature. Especially Topelius' *Maamme kirja* (The book of our land, 1875), with its text and illustrations, made the country familar to adults and children alike. These works created a *grand panorama*, through which the country could be consumed as a whole at one gaze. The panorama contained a number of typical features: the season was summer and the landscape was viewed from up high; it depicted lakes and forests; sometimes it also contained signs of the human touch; placenames were often mentioned, accompanied by various impressions of light and sounds of nature and village life.[150]

The painters of the "Golden Era" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Akseli Gallén-Kallela, Albert Edelfelt, Eero Järnefelt and Pekka Halonen, contributed with their depictions of rugged forest scenes to the conception of Finland as a country of lakes and forest wilderness. All of these artists now belong to the national canon, and virtually all Finns can name at

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146 Rose, Kinnaird, Morris and Nash 1997, 167–168.
147 Pritchard and Morgan 2000, 118.
148 Rose 1993, 87–92.
149 Häyrynen 2000, 5.
150 Eskola 1997, 39–40.

least some of them. Their canonization was initiated by such art historians as Onni Okkonen and Ludvig Wennervirta, who wanted to see a single, unbroken and commonly shared narrative of national struggle where the visual arts too played a cardinal role. Reality, however, has a more polyphonic quality, which nonetheless is silenced in order to create the illusion of unity. The canonized artists were above all cosmopolitans, who were influenced more by French art trends such as Japonisme than by mythical Finnishness.

The art historian Tutta Palin points outs that Edelfelt in particular posed a problem for the art historians writing the national narrative; he felt more at home in a European metropolis such as Paris, and painted Parisian scenes and women as well as Finnish landscapes. Frenchness was associated with femininity, which was inconceivable in an artist who also painted rugged masculine wilderness forests.[151] Anna Kortelainen, who has studied Edelfelt's Parisian years, has addressed Edelfelt's anxieties about his own masculinity. When in Paris he yearned for Finland and its rugged nature, where he could be a man. Yet, at the same time he enjoyed painting portraits of women, which was considered to be feminine and thus was less highly valued. For Edelfelt, masculinity expressed itself in Finnish nationalism and respectability. Kortelainen notes that Gallén-Kallela too felt that his masculinity was in crisis.[152]

In her critical assessment of the discipline of geography, Gillian Rose has addressed issues of gender in geographical discourses. She distinguishes between two schools of geographical inquiry: time-geography and humanistic geography. Despite their quite profound epistemological differences the 'master subject' of both fields is according to Rose masculinist, the white heterosexual middle-class male.[153] This subject is a no-body, who does not recognize that the existence of certain other bodies, especially those of the gay, the lesbian and the black, of women and children, is not welcome in some spaces, so that they often meet with intimidation and even violence.[154] The master subject recognizes only one body – his. This body, in accordance with the demands of western rationality, is disembodied. Rose notes that the masculinist master subject position should "not [be] understood as a conscious conspiracy" but "a complex series of […] discursive positions, relations and practices",[155] which make "certain identities […] more powerful and more valuable than others".[156] The main difference between the two schools is in the way they view space. For time-geography, space is transparent, and knowledge

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151 Palin 1999, 210–212; Kortelainen 2002, 143.

152 Kortelainen 2002, 150–159.

153 "White heterosexual middle-class male" is almost a parodic term, the root of all evil, and should not be understood in the strictest sense of the words. I see this entity as an artefact that describes a hegemonic subject position. There are white, heterosexual, middle-class men who are susceptible for instance to feminist ideas. There are, however, also white, heterosexual middle-class men who are just that, "white heterosexual middle class males".

154 Rose 1993, 34–35. For instance, the only movements, gestures, and displays of affection allowed in public spaces and a work place are heterosexual.

155 Rose 1993, 10.

156 Rose 1993, 6.

of it is constituted as if the observer existed outside the observed space. To claim exhaustive knowledge of space, time-geography banishes from its master subject position all reference to the Other, the feminine.[157]

Humanistic geography is more self-aware of its gaze, and the position of the observer is not outside the space, but inside it. This form of geography is nonetheless as masculinist as time-geography, for its gaze is masculine. Possible alternative interpretations for instance by women are erased, but "unlike time-geography, its discourse explicitly depends on a feminized concept. […] humanistic geography feminizes its notion of place". This feminine *place* is spoken of in the terms of the lost Mother. In other words, humanistic geography acknowledges the Other, as time-geography does not. The kind of masculinity that is inherent in humanistic geography is "aesthetic masculinity". The Woman (with a capital W) of humanistic geography is not a woman, but a masculinist ideal of the feminine, Woman.[158] The relationships of time-geography and humanistic geography to space are different: time-geography's fear of the Other leads to its desire to dominate it. The resulting masculinity is what Rose calls social-scientific masculinity. Humanistic geography is not afraid of the Other, but rather is infatuated by it. There is a desire for knowledge and intimacy with the Other, which is achieved through the technologies of aesthetic masculinity.[159]

Rose raises many interesting points. First, she concludes that *space* is masculine while *place* is feminine.[160] She bases her argument on the fields of interests of time-geography and humanistic geography. The former is interested in space in general, and constructs it as masculine. The latter focuses on communities and other places of everyday life, which are often inhabited by women. Therefore places seem to be feminine and spaces masculine. I see this as a question of semantics and the use of language. For Rose and the geographers she studies, 'place' is a community; others might use 'space' to describe the same area. My use of 'space' is looser than hers.[161] In this text, I have used 'space' as a general term, 'place' in referring to a more restricted and particular area.

Secondly, it is aesthetic masculinity I am interested in: how is a space gendered as feminine through the male gaze, and does this make it a woman's space? Thirdly, Rose maintains that the feminized place of humanistic geography and aesthetic masculinity is seen as mysterious, unknowable and beyond language and rationality.[162] I agree with her on this point, but when she argues that space is seen as the lost Mother, I will argue that there is another way besides a Mother to construct the mysterious space: as a beloved. This does not rule out maternal imagery, as for instance in the poem "Herää Suomi!" (Wake up Finland!, 1881) by Arvi Jännes: "My Finland, my people, the land of birth! /

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157 Rose 1993, 43–45.
158 Rose 1993, 44–46, 60. Quotation p. 44–45.
159 Rose 1993, 77.
160 Rose 1993, 63.
161 Also Strassoldo sees 'space' as more general and abstract than 'place' (Strassoldo 1993, 7. See also Eskola 1997, 27).
162 Rose 1993, 60–61.

My mother poor and dear! / You have always suffered from oppression".[163] In fact, the country as a suffering mother was a literary cliché.[164]

The world of Gallén-Kallela, Järnefelt and the rest of the national artists was a masculine one, with all their treks into uninhabited areas remote from the trappings of urban culture – or so it seemed. Koli, one of the national landscapes in eastern Finland and the destination of many artists, was a tourist attraction already by the end of the nineteenth century.[165] According to tourism researchers Annette Pritchard and Nigel J. Morgan, since "tourism itself is a product of gendered societies it follows that tourism processes are gendered in their construction, presentation and consumption".[166] Travel has traditionally been a masculine activity because it requires leaving the domestic sphere of women. Tourism and tourist attractions are spoken of in terms which are "infused with masculine ideas about adventure, pleasure and the exotic".[167]

The masculinization of tourism and of the consumption of nature had many consequences for the visual arts. To begin with, there was no room for women in the artistic canon. Many of the female artists were Swedish-speaking and Swedish-minded, and like their male colleagues they looked to European trends for inspiration. Their male counterparts, however, had a choice of worlds. In addition to a European metropolis, they had another world accessible to them in the wilderness. This was something Swedish-speaking bourgeois women would not, or for that matter did not have.[168] The wilderness was left for the male gaze to consume and conquer. The popular, nearly scientific visual studies of birds by the von Wright brothers, Magnus, Wilhelm and Ferdinand, according to Palin symbolically brought Finnish nature under male control.[169] The national landscape was viewed from a privileged position, to which female artists did not have access. The master subject was truly masculinist. The place of the observer underlined his position. The landscape was seen as if it existed outside the observer. Later research, however, has stressed the fact that the observer is not outside the view; he/she is at the center, the site where the landscape is experienced.[170]

If a woman artist like Fanny Churberg (1845–1892) ventured to paint landscapes, her work was suppressed as too colorful, too radical, too strange. Politically she would have fitted in with the gallery of national artists since she was an ardent Fennoman, but she was of the wrong sex. Contemporary attitudes towards her demonstrate the gender bias women artists encountered. According to the gatekeepers of art, women did not have what it took to be an artist. Churberg had aspired to be a 'genius', but there did not exist a category of

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163 "Suomeni, kansani, synnyinmaa! / Äitini kurja ja kallis! / kärsinyt ain' olet sorrantaa" (Quoted in Larmola 1989, 91).
164 Lappalainen 2000, 192; Larmola 1989, 91–95.
165 Palin 1999, 219.
166 Pritchard and Morgan 2000, 116.
167 Enloe 2000a, 20.
168 Palin 1999, 212.
169 Palin 1999, 224–225.
170 McDowell 1999, 34; Eskola 1997, 25–27; Raivo 1997, 198.

'female genius'; this is a quality which eludes women.[171] Even her close friend, the artist Jac. Ahrenberg, considered that women lack the most important prerequisite, "the creative fantasy that alone can generate something great".[172] A woman was prone to leave things unfinished because of her "fundamental desire" to trade the alien world of "power and joy" for a "little corner".[173] The works of female artists were regarded as personal projects, without general significance.[174] Churberg's talent was gradually recognized. As early as 1919, Signe Tandefelt wrote:

> [b]ut the status she was entitled to, she never received. She was regarded as behind her professional brothers who, however, were a head shorter than she. She was a woman, and she had considerable wealth, two things that reinforced the conception that she was only a dilettante.[175]

Churberg, however, has never been canonized, nor have her landscape paintings been recognized as national. The female gaze and the feminine subject position remain invisible.

The fact that the national landscape was found in wilderness forests and lakes had the consequence that those male artists who painted other scenes were also excluded from the grand narrative, no matter how prolific they were. The painter Arvid Liljelund (1844–1899) exemplifies the constant process of exclusion. Despite a body of work over 600 paintings, he is not a household name. He had taken upon himself, or was given by his contemporary financial supporters, the task of producing national art. He painted for instance common people wearing national dress. It is thus all the more surprising that later national art history does not remember him. Marianne Koskimies-Envall suggests that the main reason for Liljelund's dismissal from the canon is that with his paintings of western and often Swedish-language Finland he simply did not fit into it. According to Koskimies-Envall, at one point Liljelund would have wanted to paint his favourite subjects, "the picturesque old men of the archipelago, old women, girls and boys, fishermen", but saw it as his duty to paint "grand patriotic compositions, plays for an audience which demanded national themes". When Fennoman artists traveled to the inland regions of the country and Karelia in their quest for the national heritage, there was no room in the national story for west-coast fishermen.[176]

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171 Konttinen 1994, 9–11, 16.

172 "luovan fantasian, joka yksin kykenee saamaan aikaan jotain suurta." (Quoted in Konttinen 1994, 133).

173 Konttinen 1994, 133–134.

174 Palin 1999, 212. The same still continues in the field of literature (see Kivimäki 2002).

175 "Mutta sitä asemaa, johon hän olisi ollut oikeutettu, hän ei koskaan saanut. Hänen katsottiin olevan paljon jäljessä ammattiveljistään, jotka kuitenkin olivat päätä lyhyemmät kuin hän. Hän oli nainen ja hänellä oli melkoinen omaisuus, mitkä kaksi seikkaa yhä lisäsivät hänen aikalaisissaan sitä käsitystä, että hän oli vain taiteen harrastelija." (Tandefelt 1919, 2).

176 Koskimies-Envall 1998, 254–257. Quotations p. 71.

In her study of Liljelund, Koskimies-Envall has defined his work as "essentially romantic escape".[177] Not all visual representations of the common people were as romantic as Liljelund's work. For instance, Topelius' *Suomi 19:llä vuosisadalla* (Finland in the nineteenth century, 1893) contains illustrations of men working in the fields and forest, fishing and hunting, thus gendering national space as masculine. Women's work as such is rarely seen. Liljelund, however, was at home in the women's world. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he did not paint restaurant and café scenes with women of ill repute – paintings which attracted the male gaze. When he painted women, they were portrayed in their household duties near the oven or spinning-wheel, or in family festivities, surrounded by children. Koskimies-Envall maintains that Liljelund's painting of women did not require a male viewer, and according to Liljelund's contemporary critics his paintings attracted women in particular.[178] I cannot fully agree with Koskimies-Envall on the subject of the male viewer. Although Liljelund did not paint sexually enticing women, his view was still masculinist. He presented an idealized bourgeois vision of women and children. His views of the lives and surroundings of the 'common people' were so to speak touched up. The women and girls in his pictures were confined indoors, in homes that looked simply too affluent to belong to the common people.[179] This is not to say that the problem with Liljelund's work, and the reason for his exclusion from national art history, was that he idealized his subjects, but that he idealized the wrong people and the wrong places. His Finland was one of women, children and fishermen. The suppression of those men who did not fit in, and of women, created the illusion that there existed a monolithic Finnishness that was shared by everyone.

A similar exclusion took place in the fields of fiction and poetry. With very few exceptions, female writers such as Hanna Ongelin and Isa Asp, and Swedish-speaking male writers, were ignored in the histories. Often the reason for exclusion was the same as in the visual arts: they saw Finland from the wrong point of view. K.A. Tavaststjerna, Jonatan Reuter and Ina Langen situated their poems and novels in coastal areas rather than the lake region.[180] The oblivion of Isa Asp was partly due to her death at the age of nineteen in 1872. She was nonetheless the first Finnish-speaking female poet, and left a considerable body of work behind.[181] In addition, what makes her interesting in terms of this study is that in some of her poems she expressed strong national feelings, urging

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177 Koskimies-Envall 1998, 19.

178 Koskimies-Envall 1998, 256.

179 See for example Koskimies-Envall 1998, 67, Plate 36 *Kilttipiika* (Nice girl) (1876) and the analysis of the painting, 156–159.

180 Lappalainen 2000, 17, 102. Some women writers turned towards children's literature, which is not considered to have the same prestige as other forms of literature. However, many of the children's poems written in the late 1800s were made into songs and are therefore part of Finnish culture even today. There are not many Finns living today who are not familiar with Immi Hellén's "Squirrel's Nest" ("Oravan pesä": Kas kuusen latvassa oksien alla / on pesä pienoinen oravalla), "Guiding Angel" ("Enkeli ohjaa": Maan korvessa kulkevi lapsosen tie, / hänt' ihana enkeli kotihin vie) and "Christmas Church" ("Joulukirkkoon": Kello löi jo viisi, / lapset herätkää). (Lappalainen 2000, 103).

181 Hyytinen 1983.

women to participate in the national struggle and even demanding for women the right to die for their nation.[182] In a poem entitled "Pettynyt toiveeni" (My disappointed hope) at the age of 13, she expressed the hope that after her death she would be included in the company of the patriotic greats. Asp also influenced the poetry of J.H. Erkko,[183] whom I discuss in the next chapter.

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182 "Kutsu taistohon" (A call to battle), "Tammisaaren naisseminaarin avajaisten johdosta 12.10.1871" (At the opening of the women's seminar in Tammisaari), "Synkkinä hetkinä" (In dark moments).

183 Hyytinen 1983, 5.

Bridal Finland

Some preliminary remarks

When I was browsing through the shelves in a local library searching for material for this chapter, by chance my eye caught a book titled *Kotimaani. Itsenäinen Suomi runouden kuvastimessa* (My homeland: independent Finland in the mirror of poetry). I immediately picked it up, hoping I would find all the poems I needed packed into a single book. Needless to say I had no such luck. The book was published in 1992 to commemorate the 75th anniversary of Finland's independence, and it contained poems by nineteenth and twentieth-century poets celebrating the country and its people. Since I was looking for a particular type of poem, those depicting Finland as a female figure, I had no use for Jorma Etto's "Suomalainen" (A Finn, 1964) or Jari Tervo's "Minä synnyin ennen noottikriisiä" (I was born before the note crisis, 1980). These were both examples of conceptions of Finnishness, the former drawing the picture of a stubborn Finn and implicitly gendering Finnishness as masculine ("And nothing cannot separate a Finn from another Finn / nothing except death and the police"[1]), the latter's title exemplifying, perhaps parodying, the preoccupation in contemporary history with foreign policy crises. Still, they were not what I was looking for. Then I turned to the preface written by Kalevi Kalemaa, the editor of the collection. The first three sentences went as follows:

> [i]n this book independent Finland, now turning 75, is seen through the mirror of poetry. What kind of face or body contours does the Finnish Maid have? What does the Maid herself think about her independence?[2]

I could not but smile.

In what follows, I continue from where I left in the previous chapter. I begin by examining the feminization and eroticization of the national landscape. I focus on poems by J.H. Erkko (1849–1906), one of the best-known Finnish poets of the late nineteenth century. When Erkko started publishing poems in the 1870s, his contemporaries compared his style to that of J.L. Runeberg.[3] As a native Finnish speaker Erkko wrote only in Finnish, and none of his work was translated into Swedish. This had the result that Erkko remained unknown in

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1 "Eikä suomalaista erota suomalaisesta mikään / ei mikään paitsi kuolema ja poliisi." On masculine violence and the Finnish character, see Nikunen 2002.

2 "Tässä kirjassa 75 vuotta täyttävä itsenäinen Suomi peilautuu runouden kuvastimessa. Millaiset ovat Suomi-neidon kasvot, vartalon ääriviivat. Mitä neito itse ajattelee itsenäisyydestään?" (Kalemaa 1992, 5).

3 Vasenius 1906, 608–611. According to Vasenius, this comparison was somewhat odd, in that Erkko was then not yet familiar with Runeberg's work (Vasenius 1906, 609).

Swedish-speaking circles. My choice of Erkko as an example of a poet portraying the Finnish landscape as a woman is not to suggest that the kind of language he used dominated even his own poetry, or that I cover Finnish literature of the Era of Autonomy in any way exhaustively. In addition to the type of poetry written by Erkko, the 1880s and 1890s were familiar with a type of political poetry which with the beginning of unification procedures was transformed into a more allegorical style. In fact, due to censorship regulations allegory became *the* central literary form in the first era of unification.[4] The poems I focus on here were not considered political poetry or allegories; in my reading, however, I see them as political in that they constructed a conception of the country as a space distinct from Russia. I have chosen Erkko's works for closer analysis because in them the association between landscape and the female body was so clearly explicit.[5] In the following translations of the poems and of satiric verses, I have aimed at literal accuracy rather than at poetic quality. The translations therefore appear much clumsier that the Finnish-language originals.

When Erkko used the metaphor of a maid for Finland's nature and landscape, he also "racialized" Finnishness. I am aware that the concept of race, and of a person as belonging to a particular race, is highly problematic. 'Race' is about visible bodily differences, of which skin color is the most obvious. At an extreme, skin color and facial features are seen as determinants of intellectual capacities.[6] Nevertheless, for lack of a more adequate word I argue that Finns were racialized as blond and blue-eyed people of the white race. The embodiment of the blue-eyed and fair-haired Finn was the Finnish Maid. She was not merely a symbol of the Finnish nation; she embodied it. I understand embodiment as a manifestation of cultural and political prescriptions, representations and ideals. The body of the Finnish Maid was a metaphor for these cultural and political prescriptions.[7] Race and embodiment also figure in Ilmari Kianto's novel *Wienan neitsyt* (The Maid of Wiena, 1920) which I discuss in addition to Erkko's poems. Wiena, nowadays spelled Viena, is the Finnish name of the Russian river Dvina. More broadly it refers to Karelian regions in the pre-1917 Archangel Government.[8] Kianto's story is set in the first years of Finland's independence, in 1918 and 1919, when Finnish volunteer troops went to Viena in a failed attempt to annex the region and other parts of East Karelia to Finland.

The reason behind the military interventions was the ideology of "Greater Finland", which was based on the belief that certain population groups outside Finland proper, in Estonia and East Karelia, were ethnically Finns, Finnish "tribes". In this context, the Maid of Wiena is a type of the Finnish Maid, an

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4 Lappalainen 2000, 104–105.

5 In addition to the poems I discuss in this chapters, see also the following poems by Erkko: "Karjalan kukkulat", "Kansalaislaulu", "Pohjatuulen tuomiset" and "Sveitsin Rheinillä".

6 In the Finnish language the word for race is *rotu* which is also used as 'breed' as in different breeds of dogs. Hence the Finnish term creates a very close association between race and innate bodily differences.

7 Of embodiment see Martin 2000, 68.

8 Sihvo 1999, 198.

embodiment of a particular section of the Finnish people. What ensued were the "tribe wars" of 1918 and 1919. Kianto wrote the novel immediately after the annexation attempt. Being vehemently anti-Russian and "the last propagandist of Greater Finland"[9] – he even named one of his daughters Viena! – Kianto had supported the mission, and the novel was his way of airing his disappointment. The novel links issues of ethnicity and sexuality, and it does so on the protagonist's female body. *The Maid of Wiena* follows the life of Tarja, her family and the village in Viena where the Finnish troops arrive. Tarja falls in love with the Finnish Hero,[10] with whom she has a brief encounter. Before going to the war where he is eventually killed, the Hero tries to seduce Tarja but fails, and she remains a virgin. The novel ends with Tarja's suicide. The Russians capture her, and when her rape by them is imminent she kills herself rather than be "defiled" by enemy men of other ethnicity.

In addition to the racialization of Finnishness, I address the paradox of the Finnish Maid that keeps intriguing me – her eternal adolescence. Among all the maternal figures of Mother Sweden and Mother Russia, the sensual Marianne of France and the martial Britannia, the Finnish Maid is a young innocent girl. She was desired by male nationalist intellectuals who spoke of her as a (prospective) bride. Furthermore, she had the potential to become a mother-figure, but she remained an unattainable virgin.

The starting point of my analysis is what Gillian Rose calls 'aesthetic masculinity', a masculine gaze that views space as feminine in the form of an idealized Woman. According to Rose, there is not only the desire to dominate space, but also plain desire and pleasure in consuming landscape.[11] Rose's assessments refer to the contemporary discipline of geography, but they can be applied in the contexts of nationalistic poetry and national imagery as well. In this chapter, I will argue that the Finnish nation, in the form of the Maid, was the eroticized object of male heterosexual desire. Such a position, however, entails certain dangers. It should be kept in mind that the materials and readings I am introducing here are not the only possible ones. As noted in the previous chapter, women's voices and the voices of some men were excluded from the national gallery of images. Since the object of this study is the national canon, I feel justified in concentrating on these hegemonic visions.

The masculinist subject position is not tied to the sex of the observer. In her account of her trip to Punkaharju, one of the sites of national landscapes, Nanny Cedercreutz's language of conquest was as masculine as that of her male counterparts. She saw the place as "timid" and "withdrawn", and as gradually opening up for her.[12] Her narrative manifests how easily the masculinist position is assimilated and its genderedness goes unrecognized. The 1970s feminist analyses of images of women in mainstream films revealed how

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9 Sihvo 1973, 319.
10 Kianto does not give any other name to this young man.
11 Rose 1993, 44–46, 73.
12 Cedercreutz 1916.

women occupy a passive role as objects of male viewing; they are there to be looked at. For female viewers this means that they have only two positions to choose from; they can either be masochists and identify with the passive, looked-at and often victimized women on the screen, or they can adopt a masculinist viewing position.[13] In the words of Linda Nochlin, the feminist art historian, looking at a painting with two naked women holding each other in their sleep:

> [a]m I going to be one of the boys (i.e. am I going to "enjoy it" as erotic stimulation, as artistic daring, as vanguard transgression?) or one of the girls (Am I going to acquiesce to (male) authoritative interpretations? Am I going to reject it as "oppressive"? Am I going to just give up my status as viewer and lie down and identify with the bodies in the picture?)? Or to end this discussion with still another question: Why must transgression – social and artistic alike – always be enacted (by men) on the naked bodies of women?[14]

Nochlin's rhetorical questions and my own position may give the one-sided and bleak picture that desire and pleasure are always oppressive, but that certainly is not my purpose. As Catherine Nash shows in her analysis of works of art by female artists who depict the male body as landscape, there is the possibility of subversive visions.[15]

Eroticized and racialized landscape

Erkko's poetry employed the metaphor of the Finnish landscape as a young maid with blue eyes and fair hair. Nowadays Finns recognize this female figure as the Finnish Maid. She is wholesome, radiantly healthy and down to earth in her national dress and flowing blond hair.[16] In "Kevätruno" (Poem for spring, 1889) the maid is " the most beautiful of all the blue-eyed"[17] and in "Hämäläisen laulu" (Song of a Tavastlander, 1869)

> There is no maid more dear,
> No more chaste, more noble,
> Than the fair-haired maid of Tavastland,
> That blue-eyed maiden.[18]

. . . . . .

13 Nash 1996, chapter "Landscape and the Problem of Visual Pleasure. HTML document. See also Raine 1996, 235.
14 Nochlin 1999, 144.
15 Nash 1997, 116–122; Nash 1996.
16 The type is often called *elovenatyttö*. Elovena is a traditional brand of oatmeal which is sold in a box with a picture of a young woman in national dress. She is standing on a field holding a sickle and a sheaf of oats in her left hand. The color of her hair matches the golden yellow of the sheaf and the field.
17 "Kaunihimpaan sinisilmäisistä." (Erkko 1910b, 45).
18 "Ei impee missään rakkaampaa, / Ei sivempää, ei jalompaa, / Kuin Hämeen valkotukkainen, / Tuo sinisilmä neitonen" (Erkko 1910a, 11).

"Tunnethan impeni?" (Do you know my maiden?, written between 1872 and 1878) links the blue-eyed young woman and the country in explicit terms

> Do you know my beautiful maiden?
> She is known by everyone!
> Well, as dear is my land of birth,
> As dear and wonderful.
>
> Like a mountain's leafy forest
> Is the maiden blossoming and of spring,
> Her brow is protected by a garland
> And her hair flows in the wind.
>
> That wave out there has the eyes of blue,
> Like a maiden at the feet of her groom,
> And the shores kiss the waves,
> As the groom kisses the lips of his bride.[19]

Gendered bodily characteristics of ethnicity and race have been important components in the building of the Finnish nation. The blue-eyed and fair-haired Maid was juxtaposed with a darker female figure symbolizing Russia. In a short story by August Ahlqvist-Oksanen, "Satu. Kansatieteellinen unelma" (A fairy tale: an ethnological dream, 1847), a Finnish Maid called Suometar is enslaved by a woman who is "dark, narrow-faced ja thin, with a sharp nose […] a Gypsy woman!"[20] From her clothing and from the narrative it emerges that the woman is Russia. This image was also used in visual form. *Fyren* published a caricature where a Mother Russia figure wearing a spiked breastplate welcomes her "little daughter" with open arms to her motherly embrace (Figure 33).[21] With her black hair and eyebrows and her hooked nose her facial characteristics are in stark contrast with the Maid's fairer ones.

The British film researcher Richard Dyer has analyzed representations of whiteness in Hollywood cinema and in the Western visual arts in general. He stresses first of all that all concepts of race are also concepts of the body and heterosexuality, which are the means of reproducing white bodies.[22] Joane Nagel expresses the same thought as follows: "[r]ace, ethnicity, and nation are sexualized, and sexuality is racialized, ethnicized and nationalized."[23] Male heterosexual desire and the body were integral components of Finnish

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19 "Tunnethan impeni kaunoisen? / Hänethän tuntevi jokainen! / No niin, yht' armas on synnyinmaani, / Yht' armas on se ja ihana. / Kuin vuorten metsistö lehväinen / On neito kukkiva, keväinen, / Jonk' otsa-kumpua seppel suojaa / Ja tukka tuulessa lainehtii. / Tuo aalto on sinisilmäinen, / Kuin neito helmassa sulhasen, / Ja rannat aalloilleen suuta suikkaa, / Kuin sulho kultansa huulilleen. (Erkko 1910a, 117–118). There are similarities between this poem and the one entitled "Meren neito" (The maid of the sea) in *The book of our land*, where Finland is seen as a daughter of the sea (Topelius 1981, 21).

20 "mustanpuhuva, kaita ja laiha, nenä näytti terävältä […] se on mustalaisakka!" (Ahlqvist-Oksanen 1931, 85).

21 *Fyren* New Year's issue 1909.

22 Dyer 1997, 20–25.

23 Nagel 2001, 123.

nationalism as well. Secondly, Dyer recognizes various shades of whiteness. White can be understood in the rather crude racial dichotomy of white/Caucasian vs. black/African. Yet, among white people, some are "whiter" than others. One can have black hair and brown eyes and still be considered white, but the apex of whiteness is the blue-eyed, flaxen-haired individual. The third point Dyer makes is that whiteness carries symbolic meaning. It connotes purity, cleanliness and virginity, i.e. moral and esthetic superiority. Finally, the last point to be made here is that whiteness is gendered. Purity and virginity refer to women in the heterosexual order. Just as the apex of whiteness is the blue-eyed blond, the apex of human beauty is the blue-eyed blond woman.[24]

In his poetry Erkko "racialized" Finnishness. The fairness and lightness of the Maid/landscape connoted purity and innocence. To anticipate a point I will elaborate in Chapter 6: I maintain here that the blue-eyed blonde was the ideal national female beauty. In addition to racial marking, there is the eroticization of the landscape. Rose argues that the feminization of nature takes place especially when the masculinist subject recognizes its beauty and the pleasure associated with the act of viewing the landscape. *The Maid of Wiena*, for instance, where the geographical region of Viena is symbolized by the female body of the protagonist Tarja, opens with a sensual and corporeal description:

> Tarja of Tshirkkaranta was a beautiful and sturdy girl even when she was only 16 years old. You could hardly imagine finding a fairer pearl anywhere in all of Wiena Karelia […]
> Her eyes!
> Her teeth!
> Her lips!
> The arch of her neck!
> The shine of her hair!
> Her young breasts!
> Her smoothly moving body![25]

Although Finnish national landscape, the lake-and-forest idyll, is usually situated outside permanent habitation it is invested with meanings that bring it in from the realm of rough nature. Finnish landscape is a liminal space between nature and culture.[26] This liminality takes us back to the issues of gendered corporeality. The conflation of landscape and the female body is very common[27]. Women and nature belong together as men and culture do. Masculine gaze sees the contours of the female body on the hills and valleys in the horizon.

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24 Dyer 1997, 70–71. For example in representations white characters with dark hair and complexion are usually more wicked and/or sexual than fair-skinned ones with fair hair. Furthermore, in heterosexual couples – from Greek vases and classic Western art to Hollywood cinema – the man is darker than the woman (Dyer 1997, 57–60).

25 "Tshirkkarannan Tarja oli 16-vuotiaana kaunis ja roteva tyttö. Tuskin koko Wienan Karjalasta […] saattoi kuvitella yllättävänsä yhtä soreaa simpukka-helmeä. Hänen silmänsä! / Hänen hampaansa! / Hänen huulensa! / Kaulansa kaari! / Hiustensa hiilu! / Nuoret rintakumparensa! / Notkahtava vartalonsa! (Kianto 1920, 17).

26 Tarasti 1990, 156; Kuusamo 1990, 128.

27 McDowell 1999; Nash 1996; McClintock 1995; Nash 1993.

Figure 33. Alexander Federley: Finland, Finland, little daughter, what a mother's joy that I can give you "a closer hug!"
Fyren *New Year's issue 1909.*

In Erkko's *Poem for the spring*, the view is construed as a young maiden; it depicts the awakening of nature after a long winter. The story is narrated from the point of view of Light, the son [sic] of day. Light leaves his castle to find himself a bride. On his journey, Light comes across the Finnish Maid and takes a liking to her:

> In his heart, Light, the son of day
> Felt the burning need for love.
> He left his castle of gold,
> To make the earth his bride
> […]
> Moving on the arches of the sky
> Light saw the Finnish Maid, took a liking to
> The most beautiful of all the blue-eyed.
> From the arches he descended on a hill,
> […]
> Descended on the maiden's bosom,
> But a white shroud covered it,
> Under the shroud of whiteness slept Finland,
> In her breast faint hope flickered.
> […]

He warmed up the bosom for the heart to beat,
The shroud flowed down the maiden's breasts,
A shy smile rippled on her cheeks,
[…]
With warm kisses of love
He set free the maiden's blue eyes
[…]
The maiden's bosom heaved,
As feelings of spring filled it.
Finland's heart beat for light[28]

One possible interpretation is that the sunlight warming up nature to spring is a metaphor for enlightenment awakening the nation; in the second part of the poem Erkko shifts the theme to education. What is more interesting, however, is the racialization and eroticization of the landscape. According to Dyer, "[i]dealised white women are bathed in and permeated by light. It streams through them and falls on them from above. In short, they glow."[29] In the poem, the feminine contours are caressed by light, and when feminized nature is flooded by light it comes alive.

Erkko's poetry relies heavily on heterosexuality, as in for instance "[f]ull of splendor Finland is / as the bosom of a young bride",[30] which renders nature an alluring and passive woman, while the observer is active and masculine. The sleeping (nude) woman was a much used allegory in nineteenth century western European painting. The sexual potential of the enticing position brought women closer to nature, especially if the woman was portrayed in the middle of fields and woods. The supine position further accentuated the conflation of the female contours and the landscape on the horizon.[31] The viewer's (masculine) gaze sweeps over the waiting land, caressing its female contours. Like Sleeping Beauty, nature as woman is waiting for a man to awaken her, to uncover her. The motif of sleep underlines her passivity. Oblivious of herself and her surroundings, the Maid/landscape is the eroticized object of the male gaze *par excellence*: she cannot return the gaze, she cannot resist, and due to masculine activity that she comes alive.

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28 "Valon, päivän pojan, sydämessä / Syvä lempi paisui polttavaksi. / Läksi kultalinnastaan hän maahan / Kosimahan maata morsiokseen / […] Taivaan seitsenkaarta kulkiessaan / Valo näki Suomi-neiden, mieltyi / Kaunihimpaan sinisilmäisistä. / Seitsenkaarelt' astui kukkulalle / […] / siitä laski immen poven päälle, / Mutta vaippa valkoinen sen peitti, / Valkovaipan alla nukkui Suomi, / Rinnassa vaan heikko toivo tykki./ […] Poven lämmitti, niin sydän sykki, / Vaippa valui immen ryntähiltä, / Hymy vieno värjyi poskipäillä, / […] / Lämpimillä lemmensuudelmilla / Vapautti immen sinisilmät / […] Että kuohahteli immen rinta, / Kevättuntehet kun siellä tulvi. / Valollen jo syki Suomen sydän," (Erkko 1910b, 45).

29 Dyer 1997, 194.

30 "Täynn' ihanuutta Suomi on / Kuin rinta nuoren morsion" in a poem "Newland" ("Uusimaa") (Erkko 1910b, 155). Nash quotes an early seventeenth century British colonial administrator, Luke Gernon, who used similar eroticized language when writing about Ireland, "[t]his Nymph of Ireland […] Her breasts are round hillocks of milk yeelding grasse, and that so fertile, that they contend with the valleys. And betwixt her legs (for Ireland is full of havens), she hath an open harbour, but not much frequented […]" (Nash 1997, 112).

31 Rose 1993, 96.

Bride-to-be

As Anne McClintock has shown, desire has been deeply imbedded in the building of colonial empires. Undiscovered lands – undiscovered, that is, from the European point of view – were feminized and eroticized. There were, however, also some feelings of uneasiness. While foreign lands and the women there were seen as sexually enticing, they were also considered sexually dangerous, nearly bestial in their perceived corporeality. 'Porno-tropics', as McClintock calls these projections, stemmed from European forbidden sexual desires and fears.[32]

Desire was a driving force in Finnish nation-building as well, albeit it operated in a different context. Desire was channeled towards one's "own people", which occupied the position of the Other, the position of the native woman in a colonial context. When we look at the opening of *The Maid of Wiena*, what is striking is the erotic quality of Tarja: "Her eyes! Her teeth! Her lips! The arch of her neck! The shine of her hair! Her young breasts! Her smoothly moving body!"[33] Tarja is eroticized right from the beginning. A few decades earlier Erkko had written repeatedly about "the maiden's bosom" and her incomparable beauty.[34] The often quoted sentence from Cynthia Enloe is appropriate here: "nationalism typically has sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope".[35] I would add to this list "masculinized heterosexual desire". McClintock cites George Santayana's male view, and concludes:

> Santayana, for one, gives voice to a well-established view: "Our nationalism is like our relationship to women: too implicated in our moral nature to be changed honourably and too accidental to be worth changing." Santayana's sentence could not be said by a woman, for his "our" of national agency is male, and his male citizen stands in the symbolic relation to the nation as a man stands to a woman. Not only are the needs of the nation here identified with the frustrations and aspirations of men, but the representation of male *national* power depends on the prior constructions of *gender* difference.[36]

Through the sensual female bodies both Erkko and Kianto eroticized geographical areas and the nations living there. Woman and nation were merged, and both became objects of male heterosexual desire. This, I suggest, is a strong undercurrent in Finnish nation-building in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The idolization of the nation was not limited to the fictional character of the Finnish Maid; also real historical women were relegated to the position of a symbol. Let us take an example:

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32 McClintock 1995, 21–28.
33 Kianto 1920, 17.
34 For instance Erkko 1910b, 45; 1910b, 155.
35 Enloe 2000a, 44.
36 McClintock 1995, 353.

> Do you know what you are to me? You are the blessedness of home and love burning inside. You are the meaning of my life, the embodiment of the spirit of the fatherland. You are the allegory of all that is true and immaculate in life.[37]

This was written by the Finnish nationalist 'awakener' Yrjö Koskinen (later Yrjö-Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen) in 1853, in a love-letter to his fiancée (later his wife) Sofia Friberg. To the historian reading his words 150 years later they seem odd, even ridiculous; who would be pleased to be called 'the embodiment of the spirit of the fatherland' in a declaration of love? We have to remember, of course, that the art of letter writing has changed over the century, but can the sentences be discarded as mere florid language and empty rhetoric? Juha Siltala, who has carried out an extensive study of the mental world of male Finnish intellectuals and their relationships with women – in particular with their mothers and wives – has taken those words very seriously. According to Siltala, Koskinen idealized Sofia Friberg. She embodied the Finnish people for him; he felt that through his relationship with Sofia he had established a relationship with the people as well. In Koskinen's own words, he had two brides: Sofia and the fatherland.[38] He even wrote and sent her a poem, called "Kaks on mulla morsianta" (Two brides have I), in which he declared his love for his two beloveds, Sofia and the fatherland.[39] Yrjö Koskinen had also stated in his speech at the Finnish Literature Society that in history the nation holds the position of a wife.[40] The Finnish people as the beloved also appeared in Erkko's poem for Uno Cygnaeus, the founder of the Finnish school system; Erkko wrote of the "two beloveds / he had: enlightenment and the Finnish people".[41]

The next caricature, "Suomi-neidon kosijat" (The suitors of the Finnish Maid) (Figure 34), is a beautiful example of the bride metaphor. In this picture the title explicitly states that Finland is being courted; the various political factions symbolized by the male figures desire her and are each trying to make the country their bride.[42] The caption has the men saying "and she doesn't know whom she'll take because there are so many of us."[43] The national dress combination the Maid is wearing is a young woman's dress. Around her head the figure is wearing a ribbon, the *säppäli* or *pinteli*, which in rural folk tradition was the sign of an unwed woman.[44] Hence it is an allusion to her virginity.[45]

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37 "Tiedätkö, mitä merkitset minulle? Olet minulle kodin autuus ja sisäisesti palava rakkaus. Olet minulle elämäni tarkoitus, isänmaan ruumiillistunut henki. Olet minulle kaiken toden ja tahrattoman vertauskuva elämässä." (Quoted in Siltala 1999, 70).
38 Siltala 1999, 67–70.
39 Siltala 1999, 68; Reitala 1983, 34.
40 *US* 1 July 1881.
41 "armast' oli kaksi / Vaan hällä: valistus ja Suomen kansa" (Erkko 1910a, 243).
42 The narration of Finland as a bride was by no means limited to the turn of the twentieth century. The same metaphor was used in the 1990s, during the debate over Finland's membership in the European Union (Juntti 1998b, 70–74).
43 "Eikä se tiedä, kenet se ottaa, kun meittiä on niin monta." (*Velikulta* no 25-26, 1905).
44 Ervamaa 1981, 148; Schvindt 1913, 143.
45 For a woman to be a virgin is of course a heterosexual conception.

Figure 34. Alexander Federley: The suitors of the Finnish Maid. – And she doesn't know whom she'll take because there are so many of us. Fyren *number 25–26 1906.*

The courtship, however, is not merely the playful wooing of a desirable young woman but a battle over political power, taking place upon – and over – her female body. The one who gets the Maid gets the nation. Again, Ilmari Kianto gives us a literary example of this narrative. In *The Maid of Wiena* there is a scene where the villagers are celebrating a festival. The main attraction is a stage play, in which Tarja plays the leading role of the Princess of Wiena. Foreign nations, personified by suitors, arrive one after another to propose to her, but she remains aloof to them. Then gallant Finland appears and wins her. A brief dialogue takes place between them; he says "[c]ome!" to which she answers "[t]ake me!"[46]

The Maid as a prospective bride was in accordance with the late nineteenth and early twentieth century nationalist discourse, in which the country was fantasized as a female beloved in a heterosexual relationship.[47] There are a number of examples in addition to Erkko's poetry. In 1886, for instance, the People's Education Association published in its annual Calendar (*Kansanvalis-*

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46 Kianto 1920, 106–109.

47 A similar setting is found within Iranian nationalism. Afsaneh Najmabadi's analysis of late nineteenth century Iranian heteroerotic love stories shows that the Persian/Iranian homeland was imagined as a female body and a female beloved. Najmabadi reports that while looking for the love stories she came across a story written in dialogue form. In the story, two young men were discussing the hardships of love. As she continued reading the story, she realized that their beloved was in fact Iran. In her words, "I had been looking for a woman as the beloved, instead, I found the country as a woman." (Najmabadi 1997, 451).

tus seuran kalenteri) an article about the statue of the nationalist poet Runeberg and the female figure at his feet (Figure 6). The text, which identifies the latter figure as the Finnish Maid, describes her:

> [l]eaning forward she forces a deep, piercing stare at everyone passing by as if she wanted to ask, "are you able to love me as fiercely, as purely as this man has loved me?"[48]

Unlike many other texts, including Erkko's poems, this one constructs the Maid not as the passive object of desire but as an active subject demanding love. She is questioning whether others can reach the high level of love she deserves and requires. Likewise in *The suitors of the Finnish Maid* it is the Maid who is in control. The historical context of this caricature is the electoral reform of 1906, in which a unicameral Diet and a general and equal franchise were established in Finland. The picture depicts the first election. The Maid here is also the personification of the unpredictable electorate. The male figures, each symbolizing a political party, are wondering which one the Maid will choose. They all desire her, the nation, but they do not have the power to decide who will finally get her.

A totally different and more conservative image was offered two years later, again in the *Calendar*. In a poem titled "Suomen tytöille" (To the girls of Finland), by the female writer Irene Wendelin, girls and women are urged to love their country until their death. Here the country is gendered as male: "[i]t is your fatherland, holy and dear",[49] and women are its/his beautiful ornament. If the poem is interpreted from a heterosexual standpoint, regendering takes place at the end of the poem; now the country is coded as feminine. Women are told to inspire the minds of young men, and make their (the young men's) love for the country and its people everyday even stronger. On the one hand, women are there in accordance with heterorelationality to support homosocial men. On the other, women and the nation are identical. The last line of the poem says that when this is done "[t]hen Finland will not be ashamed of its women".[50] This last sentence suggests that a gender shift has once again taken place: "its women" marks Finland as more likely masculine than feminine.[51]

Sons and lovers, mothers and brides

As noted, the national dress marked the Maid as a young unwed woman. It also, however, functioned as a promise of future motherhood. Ida Blom has argued that the Norwegian national romantic movement employed the national dress to

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48 "Eteenpäin kallistuneena tunkee hän syvän, lävistäväisen katseen jokaiseen ohikulkijaan, ikäänkuin tahtoisi kysyä: "osaatko sinäkin rakastaa minua yhtä tulisesti, yhtä puhtaasti kuin tämä mies on minua rakastanut?" (*Kansanvalistusseuran kalenteri* 1886, 70).

49 "Se on sun isänmaasi pyhä, kallis". (*Kansanvalistusseuran kalenteri* 1888, 138).

50 "Ei silloin Suomi häpee naisiaan." (*Kansanvalistusseuran kalenteri* 1888, 138).

51 As Finnish lacks grammatical gender, it is not possible to distinguish between he/she and his/hers.

emphasize women's roles in the nation as mothers and housewives.[52] Similar findings in an Icelandic context have been made by Inga Dóra Björnsdóttir.[53] Catherine Nash has pointed out that in the Irish 'national dress debate' in the 1910s it was suggested that modern fashion restricted female biological functions.[54] Finland was by no means an exception. The association between the dress and motherhood was expressed in various texts. The women's magazine *Koti ja yhteiskunta* (Home and society) ran many articles warning women about tight French fashions. One of these articles ends with the declaration that woman's most important and noblest duty in life is to bring up healthy children; to do so, the woman herself had to be healthy. Tight and revealing clothing predisposed her to colds, and what was more detrimental, it compressed her intestines, and her reproductive organs. At the same time that the magazine warned women about the health dangers of French fashions, it published models of different types of national dress and urged women to make and wear them.[55]

In her study of Finnish motherhood, Ritva Nätkin has traced "the maternalist roots of the welfare state" to the early twentieth century.[56] The Finnish nation and the state were to be built on the unbreakable bond between mother and child. In women's organizations the new emancipatory female identity was based on motherhood, or maternalism. Motherhood was woman's real nature, her social and ethical substance. Women had the natural talent to care for, nurture and understand their fellow human beings. The kind of motherhood advocated by various organizations was not solely biological. On the contrary: they argued against the traditional notion of passive biological motherhood. Motherhood should be active, transcending mere biology, and even those women who did not have children of their own could still be mothers. This new female identity was labeled 'societal motherhood'. It was emancipatory in the sense that it opened up and gave women authority in certain public sectors, for instance in family policy.[57]

The Maid in national dress had the potential to become a wife and a mother but she remained a virgin. This kind of oscillation between mother and virgin imagery has been typical of national discourses. In eighteenth and nineteenth-century America, for instance, unknown regions were first seen as a bountiful mother; as more land was explored, however, it began to be construed as a seductive virgin to be mastered. In the words of the founding fathers, the land

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52 Blom 2000, 12–14.
53 Björnsdóttir 1997, 5–9.
54 Nash 1993, 45–47.
55 *Koti ja yhteiskunta* 15 February 1903, 35–37; *Koti ja yhteiskunta* 15 April 1903, 45–47. *Koti ja yhteiskunta* 15 September 1902, 90. See also Oittinen 1990, 59. Incidentally, the same magazine published a poem where Finland is a bride (*Koti ja yhteiskunta* 15 January 1901, 2). Fashionable clothing was also associated also with vanity (*Koti ja yhteiskunta* 15 September 1899, 74; *Koti ja yhteiskunta* 15 June 1900, 60), and moral dangers and depravity which the ordinary people should avoid (Oittinen 1990, 54–58, 65).
56 Nätkin 1997, 18–25.
57 Sulkunen 1987, 163–164; Ollila 1993, 60–62.

was "[l]ike a faire virgin, longing to be sped, And meete her lover in a Nuptiall bed".[58] The shift from mother to virgin imagery reflects the changing position of the observer, from son to lover. When he is in need of warmth the land is seen as a mother, but when he feels sufficiently secure it becomes an object of his desire to dominate. In Europe, the Czech national movement delegated to women the role of the mother who would educate her children to be faithful patriots, while parallel to this ideal were the heroic and belligerent female soldiers, the sisters Libuše and Vlasta of the national mythology.[59] In the Baltic area, the Latvian epic narrative *The Bear-Slayer*, written by Andrejs Pumpurs in the 1880s, has two types of female characters. Staburadze is the mother of the Baltic destiny, and the one who keeps the ancients customs alive. However, since Pumpurs wanted to create a strong male hero, the national woman is constructed as a maid and virgin bride.[60]

Maidenhood, rather than motherhood, has been the dominant characteristic of the Finnish Maid during her 300-year history. Finland's position between the two greater ruling powers, Sweden and Russia, has been a significant factor in the formation of the personification. Finland was seen as the daughter of Svea, i.e. Sweden, when the country was under the Swedish Crown, and this perception persisted in Swedish-speaking circles after Finland had been ceded to the Russian Empire in 1809.[61] Those few occasions when the personification has been seen as a mother have involved domestic situations; in the representation of foreign relations, the metaphor of maidenhood has been customary.[62] The geopolitical context alone, important as it undoubtedly was,[63] is not necessarily the most fruitful approach in analyzing the Maid, since issues of sexuality and gender are then easily overshadowed. Attitudes towards sexuality and towards women's bodies will be a more useful reflecting surface, in particular when we explore what happened when the figure of the maid was once again reproduced in the social order.

Despite the dominance of the virginal figure, there was some fluctuation between the imagery of mother and maid in nineteenth and early twentieth century Finland. Fredrick Cygnaeus' poem "Jag tackar dig" (I thank you), for example, portrays Finland as a tender mother,[64] as Juha Ala has shown in his psychohistorical study of the periods of unification. According to Ala, Finland

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58 Pritchard and Morgan 2000, 120. Pritchard and Morgan point out that in current tourist advertizing the North American landscape is construed as "active, wild, untamed and often harsh and even penetrative", i.e. masculine and exclusively for the male gaze (Pritchard and Morgan 2000, 129). Although the landscape is gendered as male, it is produced through the male gaze, thus articulating a heteromasculinist conception of what it is to be a man.

59 Malečková 2000, 298–304.

60 Novikova 2000, 327–329.

61 See for example Franzén 1853, 172–174; Ahlqvist-Oksanen 1931, 79–97.

62 Reitala 1983, 157–158; Cf. Rantanen 1997, 42, fn 52.

63 For instance Walter Runeberg's small sculpture *Suomi suojellen perustuslakejaan* (Finland protecting her constitution, 1865), with a female figure clad in lionskins and holding a sword pointing at the ground, was considered to contain overly risky symbolism to be situated in a public place (Reitala 1983, 61). Similar opinions were raised against Runeberg's *Patria/Lex* (*Valmistava palkintokilpailu* 1884, 34). See Chapter 3.

64 *Valvoja* number 3, 1907 has the Finnish translation "Sua kiitän" of the poem.

was on the one hand a mother who protected her citizens from the Russian authorities; on the other hand she was a maid, the stepdaughter of evil Mother Russia.[65] The role of Finland was thus tied to the image of Russia. When Russia was conceived as Mother Russia, Finland became her stepdaughter. The maternal role was invoked particularly in connection with the image of Alexander II.[66] As noted in the previous chapter, the revered Emperor was seen as a good father who protected his subjects. The dead Emperor and Finland as a mother were protecting and understanding parents.

In the imperial Russian context, the nation as a family and the Tsar as "the Father of the Fatherland" was one of the cornerstones of imperial ideology.[67] Associated with it was the figure of Mother Russia, which in pre-1917 peasant culture was seen as married to the Tsar. Mother Russia as the wife of the ruler has been interpreted as implying two different positions. The strong mother figure has been seen as representing the "power of the land" in opposition to tsarist patriarchy. As Linda Edmondson maintains, however, the marriage metaphor can equally symbolize the Tsar's patriarchal power over the feminized land.[68] The position of the male sovereign as the father of the nation is strengthened by the existence of a symbolic mother. For instance in the Gaelic tradition of pre-Christian Ireland the king's symbolic marriage to the "sovereignty goddess" validated his right to rule.[69]

I must emphasize that the personification of Finland, whether as a mother or as a virginal maid, was never to my knowledge portrayed as the Russian ruler's wife, or even a potential wife. On the contrary: as will be shown in the next chapter, the virgin figure came under sexual threat from Russian men. However, *Fyren* depicted the Finnish Maid as Mother Sweden's daughter who was forced to marry a Mr. Ivan (Figure 35). A verse accompanying a caricature from 1918 begins:

> When I was young I was married off in a far away Eastern country,
> not out of love did I give my hand to Mr. Ivan[70]

That the Finnish Maid was forced to marry a generic Mr. Ivan, and not the Russian ruler, reflects the reverence Finns still felt towards the institution of the Emperor.

A very similar picture and poem had been published in *Fyren* some years earlier (Figure 36).[71] In both pictures and verses Finland laments her situation

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65 Ala 1999, 213–214.

66 Ala 1999, 39. There is one caricature where Mother Russia is having a conversation with her Sister Finland (*Fyren* 24 November 1906).

67 Petrone 1998, 96–97.

68 Edmondson 2003, 54.

69 Nash 1997, 112. Nash stresses, however, that the actual figure of Mother Ireland did not derive from this tradition but in reaction to colonialism (Nash 1997, 112. See also Sharkey 1994, 5).

70 "Ung jag giftes bort i fjärran Österland, / ej af kärlek gav jag herr Ivan min hand." (*Fyren* no 5–6, 1918)

71 *Fyren* 31 December 1909.

Figure 35. Alexander Federley: A broken promise and a weak hope. The song of Swedish Finland to Mother Svea in spring 1918. Nya Fyren *number 5–6 1918.*

and her mother, who did not come to get her back. The verses combine the themes of two earlier poems. In 1840 Franz M. Franzén had written a poem *Aura to Svea*, in which Finland, in the form of Aura, yearned for her mother, Sweden.[72] Sixteen years later, in 1856, Emil von Qvanten wrote a poem "Suometar" (Finnish Maid), in which Finland as a young maid was taken captive by a giant.[73] There are two versions of von Qvanten's poem. In the first the Finnish Maid is rescued and set free by a heroic knight, Sweden. When it became clear that Finland would not be returned to Sweden, von Qvanten removed the bit about the knight from later versions.[74] In 1907 *Tuulispää* depicted a boy Sweden and a girl Finland kissing.[75] (Figure 37).

Although, as shown by Ala and Juha Siltala,[76] Mother Finland imagery was present in the Finnish national imagination (Figure 38), the young maid was more dominant. In her study of the various historical discourses of Finnishness, Päivi Rantanen suggests that in the seventeenth century there was oscillation between images of a helpless maid and an amazon.[77] Rantanen recounts a story by Johannes Messenius (1579/1580–1636), in which Agne, the king of Sweden,

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72 Franzén 1853.
73 von Qvanten 1859.
74 Reitala 1983, 35.
75 *Tuulispää* 1 March 1907.
76 Siltala 1999. Siltala has titled his book *Valkoisen äidin pojat* (Sons of the white mother).
77 Rantanen 1997, 42 fn. 52.

Figure 36. Albert Gebhardt: Mother, daughter and son-in-law.
Fyren *31 December 1909.*

Figure 37. Anonymous: Young man Sweden and the Finnish Maid embrace each other and weep tears of joy.
Tuulispää *1 March 1907.*

Figure 38. Signe Hammarsten-Jansson: Mother Finland and her Christmas children. Fyren *29 December 1916.*

came to Finland to get himself a wife. The young bride, however, was not happy with the arrangement; she hanged her groom at the wedding and returned back home. According to Rantanen, this story of a Finnish amazon reflects Messenius' belief in an independent Finnish nation, separate from both Sweden and Russia.[78] Even independence did not transform the figure into a mother. *Kurikka* published two caricatures in which independence was celebrated. In the first the Finnish Maid tells her Uncle Ivan the Bolshevik that she is now an adult and does not need a guardian any longer (Figure 39). The second shows the young girl having turned into a suffragette and done away with patriarchy![79] (Figure 40).

Mother Finland seems to be limited to verbal texts; with only few exceptions,[80] the caricatures which form the basis of my research material utilize almost solely a maidenly figure. The question to be raised here, then, is – whose personification are we actually talking about? Who had access to the power to define the Finnish Maid that became the 'official' personification? Eira Juntti points out that the Finnish Maid is a male invention, while Finnish women have opted for a rural matriarch as the symbol of Finnish women.[81] While I would argue that the Finnish Maid is not a symbol of Finnish women but of the nation

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78 Rantanen 1997, 30–31.
79 *Kurikka* 15 January 1918.
80 See *Velikulta* 26 January 1899; *Fyren* 6 April 1901; *Tuulispää* 4 October 1906; *Kurikka* 15 June 1908.
81 Juntti 1998b, 74.

Suomineito: Nyt, setä Iivana, minä olen täysikäinen, eikä sedän tarvitse olla enää minun holhoojanani.»
Setä Iivana Bolshevikki: »A iso fiikuski paha holhomas, paha kaikki halut ymmärtämäs. Sinu vapaa olemas, a sinu itte ines huoltamas.' A hjuva tavaritshi olemaks.»

Figure 39. Ola Fogelberg: The Finnish Maid*: Now, Uncle Ivan, I am grown up and uncle does not need to be my guardian any longer.* Uncle Ivan the Bolshevik*: It is difficult to control a big girl, she misunderstands everything. You are free, you take care of yourself. A good comrade you will be.* Kurikka *15 January 1918.*

in general, I cannot ignore the point raised by Juntti. Ala bases his interpretations to a great extent on the writings and speeches of the female leaders of the Finnish suffragette movement. His focus is on activists in the Finnish women's movement, such as Alexandra Gripenberg, while my study draws for the most part on caricatures and poems produced solely by men. Perhaps women, as Afsaneh Najmabadi suggests in a context of Iranian nationalism, were more prone to imagine the personification as a mother; this gave them a degree of equality with men.[82] In the families of the Finnish educated elite (the background of the women's movement activists) mothers occupied a central role in their daughters' lives. Mothers passed down religious education and moral ideals, and brought up their daughters to be mothers themselves.[83] The leaders of the suffragette movement revolted against attempts to restrict women to the family sphere, but their upbringing and the ideology of 'societal motherhood' nevertheless affected them as well. I believe that from this position it was easier to imagine the country as a nurturing mother. Male caricaturists in turn fantasized Finland as an object of heterosexual desire, a young unwed woman, a bride-to-be.

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82 Najmabadi 1997, 445–446.
83 Ollila 1998, 20–27.

Figure 40. Anonymous: Independent Finnish Maid. Kurikka *15 January 1918.*

The visual form of the Maid indeed was created and reproduced by men: in monuments by Walter Runeberg, in caricatures – published in all-male satirical magazines – by such artists as Alexander Federley, Oscar Furuhjelm and Eric Wasström. Patricia E. Sawin, in her analysis of the female characters in the *Kalevala*, the national epic of Finnish folklore, has argued that all potential mothers were removed from the epic by its compiler Elias Lönnrot. Lönnrot subscribed to the ideas of Herderian nationalism, according to which women did not have a role in nation-building.[84] This is actually quite surprising, considering that in nationalist discourses the biological reproduction of the nation falls on women.

The Finnish Maid is a paradox. Intellectuals, artists and poets fantasized about an eroticized Maid/nation: she/it was the object of male heterosexual desire, a prospective bride and mother. Yet she was never attained by the men who desired her. Next, I review some possible reasons for this paradox, in terms

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84 Sawin 1990, 61. Cf. Apo 1995, 89–119.

of the debate over sexuality, both male and female. I see the doctrine of appropriate sexual behavior in the context of masculinity and femininity, and I will argue that the paradox of the Finnish Maid can be attributed in part to constructions of what it was to be a man and a woman in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Finland.

(Dis-)embodying the nation

Because of her clothing, the Finnish Maid in national dress was associated more closely with actual historical women who wore the dress than were other Maid figures. Moreover, the Maid was linked to a particular social class of women. As the novelist Maila Talvio regretfully noted, because of the bright colors and the abundant use of fabric only wealthier land-owners and the urban elite could buy such dresses.[85] This is an important point when we consider what kind of values, and whose, the national dresses and the Maid reflected. The Finnish-minded Fennoman nationalists had adopted the values of the land-owner society; for them, Finnishness grew almost literally from the land. Among the wealthier land-owners sexual morality and in particular women's sexual space were more restricted than among their hired servants.[86] In the beginning of the twentieth century sexuality was a taboo subject in the upper strata of society. Ignorance of sexual matters was a measure of young woman's morals and chastity,[87] and women who openly manifested their sexuality were considered a threat.[88]

Among the rural common people, sexual morals were more lax. For instance, the 'nightrun' (*yöjuoksu*) was an accepted tradition. During the summer the young women slept in farm buildings outside the main house, and it was customary for young men to go around visiting the young women at night. Daytime relations were considered immoral, but the 'nightrun' was accepted. It was a form of courtship ritual which led to premarital sexual relations, but also to marriages. Hence the 'nightrun' held an important place in the culture of the rural common people. In the eyes of the women of the urban elite, who constituted the Finnish women's movement, the tradition of the 'nightrun' was proof of sexual immorality among the lower classes. Campaigns were organized against the 'nightrun' and promoting middle-class sexual morality and behavior. Rural sexual immorality was also seen to threaten urban middle-class families, in the form of the female servants who had arrived from the countryside to work in bigger towns.[89] In representing rural culture and values, the Fennoman Maid in national dress reflected the ideals of the upper strata of rural and urban society, not those of the common people.

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85 *Kansanvalistusseuran kalenteri* 1905, 98.
86 Rantalaiho 1994, 17–18.
87 Ollila 1998, 130–133.
88 Rojola 1992, 137.
89 Räisänen 1995, 54–56; On the threat to middle-class families see Sulkunen 1989, 36–44.

In accordance with bourgeois sexual morality, the national 'awakeners' expected chastity and a certain degree of incorporeality from the women they idealized. Paradoxically, Sofia Friberg, who embodied the spirit of the fatherland to Yrjö Koskinen, chastised herself for her corporeal being. She was there to satisfy Koskinen's every need, to live only for him.[90] The demand to deny female corporeality in the service of the nation was also manifested in the writings of Uno Cygnaeus, for whom women teachers were "the embodiments of abstract ideals of woman".[91] Cygnaeus demanded that female teachers make their bodies into "bodies devoted to God". They did not own their bodies, nor did Cygnaeus own his own; a higher power used them for its purposes. These young women were to forget young, carnal men, and to become Cygnaeus' spiritual brides.[92]

The turn of the twentieth century saw intensifying debates over female sexuality, and over a woman's right to a sexuality of her own. An interest in women's sexual feelings and anomalies also arose: for example the concept of the 'female hysteric' was born.[93] Public discussion was nevertheless centered around questions of middle-class morality and a strict gender division; for instance 'societal motherhood' did not allow a woman sexual identity outside her husband and procreation.[94] In her study of marriage and sexual advice manuals from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Arja-Liisa Räisänen distinguishes between a medico-theological and an empirical scientific discourse. The medico-theological discourse saw women as asexual and lacking in desire. The empirical scientific viewpoint did not deny female desire, but regarded it as weaker than the male sex drive. In heterosexual relationships, woman was the passive and receptive party. Her chastity and lack of desire, however, were not gynecological or neurological in nature, as had been considered in the early nineteenth century, but moral qualities everyone should aspire to. Thus female desire existed, but in a very contained form.[95]

The discourse of female sexuality took two forms. During the nineteenth century a shift had taken place regarding conceptions of women's sexuality. Up till now, women had been seen as ontologically passionate and sexual. Now they were increasingly regarded as asexual beings lacking desire. However, there was the image of the uncontrolled and insatiable sexuality of the prostitute and the lesbian, endangering the core of society, the home.[96] The symbolic ambivalence of the female body was a threat to a woman herself as well as to all the men around her, and ultimately to the whole society.[97] As Mosse has shown, sexual deviance, i.e. all practices that were inconsistent with middle class

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90 Siltala 1999, 78–79, 85.
91 Siltala 1999, 224.
92 Siltala 1999, 224–225.
93 Helén 1997, 281–282.
94 Leskelä 2000, 219; Toikka 2000, 247; Ala 1999.
95 Räisänen 1995, 136–143, 267–270; Helén 1997, 310–321. See also Ekenstam 2000, 65.
96 Leskelä 2000, 220–222; Ekenstam 2000, 65.
97 Toikka 2000, 247.

norms, were considered a threat to a nation's existence.[98] Women in their moral chastity and 'societal motherhood' were the guardians of the collective national honor. The Finnish novelist Arvid Järnefelt exemplified this ideology: according to him, a woman's moral responsibility had practically no limit, since she was morally responsible not only for her own actions but also for those of her husband and of the society.[99]

While 'respectable' femininity was construed as passive and asexual, there was also some anxiety concerning masculinity and sexuality. Since middle-class masculinity relied heavily on the controlled male body, symbolizing the nation's order, moderation and self-control,[100] sexual restraint became part of proper middle-class male behavior. In marriage and sexual advice manuals published in Finland, absolute sexual morality, i.e. sexual restraint for men, was the call of the day. Control of one's passions and abstinence from unnecessary sexual relations, i.e. relations that were not procreative, even in marriage, was the responsibility of every respectable man. Future husbands and fathers of the nation needed to understand that

> satisfying one's sexual drive was by no means a man's private business. In spite of the fact that sexual drive was a natural instinct, to satisfy it was not a man's natural right. Due to the nature of the sexual instinct, it was every man's responsibility to learn to control it by exercising his reason, and to direct the instinct for the benefit of the man himself, the society and future generations.[101]

Ilkka Arminen and Ilpo Helén have analyzed the novel *Isänmaa* (Fatherland, 1893) by the aforementioned Arvid Järnefelt. In this work Järnefelt links the themes of the body, emotions and sexuality to the question of nations, as was not uncommon in late nineteenth century Finnish literature. Arminen and Helén argue that for Järnefelt a man's honor stemmed from his love of the nation and its people. Moreover, his love of the people sublimated his own baser desires and passions into a national ideology. In national ethics a man was defined by his self-control and sacrifices for the national cause. In the end of the novel the male protagonist founds his masculinity on a basis of celibacy. According to Arminen and Helén, Järnefelt's sexual abstinence indicated the nascent asceticism he later adopted.[102] Working-class masculinity was constructed in somewhat opposite terms. In rural areas, the 'nightrun' assumed a sexually potent young man who satisfied his needs.

The Finnish women's movement also addressed questions of an appropriate male sexuality. The movement campaigned against the double standard, which allowed men sexual freedom outside marriage while women's sexual space was restricted. The debate developed around the question of how sexual equality

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98 Mosse 1997.
99 Toikka 2000, 251–253.
100 Mosse 1996, 9.
101 Räisänen 1995, 188–193. Quotation p. 189. Translation mine.
102 Arminen & Helén 1994, 6–15.

could be achieved: by "lowering" the standards for women to the level of men's, which would have meant allowing women the same freedom, or by demanding that men conform to the same rules as women. The majority in the women's movement supported middle-class notions of masculinity, namely self-control for men.[103]

Returning to the paradox of the Finnish Maid: I argue that ideals of masculinity and femininity, of male and female sexuality were projected into the figure. In the homosocial order of the nation, men could bond with one another over the body of the Finnish Maid. They felt desire for her/the nation; they competed with each other for her love. She was the prize that was passed around among the fraternity of national brothers. This was something that would not have been possible with a mother-figure. 'Mother Finland' would have implied a strong woman, for whom there was no place in official nationalism, where the 'cult of great men' was actively promoted. In a harmonious, homosocial community of national brothers forging the nation, a strong mother figure would have been discordant. *Mother* Finland might have undermined the authority of the 'great men' and the centrality of the fraternity. Lovers would have turned into sons.

The ideals of femininity and female sexuality also contributed to the paradox. The personification of the Finnish nation as a virginal maiden corresponded to the ideal of purity expected from young women and women in general. There was nonetheless that certain ambivalence towards the female body and sexuality which is typical of Christian culture. The mother is idealized, and her corporeality is dissolved. But the mother in her fulfilled sexuality can be dangerous, not as easily controlled as a young maid. Marja-Liisa Nevala has studied the works of Ilmari Kianto, and suggests that his virgin characters are without sexual consciousness; this is precisely why he so intensely admires them.[104] For instance the Maid of Wiena, "in her lily-white innocence this Tarja of Tshirkkaranta, who fortunately is not yet aware of her loveliness, is enchanting in her splendor."[105] Nevala furthermore argues that as a woman Tarja was elevated to holiness because through her suicide she fulfilled her gender by giving herself not to a man but to her people.[106] Both Tarja and the Finnish Maid were denied their sexual existence. They were eroticized, but solely for the male gaze and enjoyment. As virgins in their bodies – and their minds – their justification and attraction is based on the fact that they never can be totally owned; one cannot touch a virgin without shattering the ideal.[107]

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103 Räisänen 1995, 48–54. For instance the teachings of Ellen Key and August Bebel met with resistance. Both of them advocated free love for both men and women (Räisänen 1995, 49–54).

104 Nevala 1986, 269.

105 "Häikäisevän hurmaava vitivalkoisessa viattomuudessaan on tämä Tshirkkarannan Tarja, joka onneksi ei ihanuudestaan vielä ole itsetietoinen." (Kianto 1920, 19). It is interesting to note the concept of whiteness here. Dyer argues that whiteness is marked as absence – the absence of dirt, sexuality, of all things bodily – and is therefore a pure state which cannot be attained (Dyer 1997, 78).

106 Nevala 1986, 277.

107 Nevala 1986, 268.

Figure 41. G. Lannmark: Svea. Nya Nisse *18 July 1917.*

This denial of female sexuality is also a denial of the Finnish Maid, as of Sofia Friberg and of female teachers as bodily beings. As embodiments of ideals and not allowed to have bodily feelings, women were in a state of limbo. A similar liminality is in the Maid. The Maid in national dress and as bride-to-be has the potential to become a mature mother-figure, and her sexuality is merely waiting to be fulfilled. Yet her sexuality and the promises of her body are not fulfilled; she remains an eternal adolescent, and what is more important she remains a liminal figure between corporeality and incorporeality. For instance Svea was seen in Sweden as a highly erotic figure (Figure 41). Because of her liminality, we can say that the Finnish Maid (dis-)embodies the nation; (dis-)embodies it in a sense that while the figure embodies the nation, by remaining an ethereal figure it also disembodies it. The Maid marks two contradictory processes simultaneously.

In this chapter I have addressed male heterosexual desire and the female embodiment of the ideals invested in the nation. However, the Finnish Maid was not merely a mental space. In the specific historical and geopolitical context of the unification measures, a maid figure in her idealized purity also became a tangible metaphor for a physically defined geographical territory. Her boundaries (her skin) were the boundaries of the nation. I next examine how the metaphor of rape was exploited in national imagery when Finns felt that their national existence was put in jeopardy by Russian policies.

The Maid in Distress

Geo-bodies

In the chancel of the Turku Cathedral is a fresco titled *Suomalaisten kaste* (The baptism of the Finns, 1854) by R.W. Ekman (Figure 42).[1] The composition in Ekman's work is symmetrical, an hourglass turned on its side. On the left are heathen Finns. The high mountains behind them are matched by the tall spears carried by the crusaders on the right. The crusaders are an all male group. The key figures, two kneeling young women and the standing Bishop Henry, are in the middle. The male Finns in the background are wearing animal skins connoting barbarism and the past. The two women about to be baptized, in their woven clothing, are on the other hand culturally more advanced.[2]

On the other side of the world, in the Rotunda of the United States Capitol, is another painting, *The Baptism of Pocahontas at Jamestown, Virginia, 1613* (1840), by John Gadsby Chapman.[3] The similarities between the two paintings are striking. The arrangement in Ekman's painting mirrors that of Chapman's. The kneeling Pocahontas is in the middle; her people, the Native Americans, are on the right side and the Europeans on the left.

There are many alternative ways to read these two paintings, for instance in a context of Christian values, good and bad. I argue, however, that the key to interpreting these images is to see the baptized women as personifications, embodiments of nations and territories. In Ekman's work, the young woman closest to Bishop Henry, with her long blond hair, is a genuine Finnish Maid. In territorial and cultural terms, her female body is a space through which a territory is entered. Anne McClintock points out in her extensive study of race, gender, sexuality and colonialism that for centuries 'unknown' continents, such as the Americas, Africa and Asia, were feminized and seen as virgin terrains which explorers and colonial armies were to inseminate with the male seeds of Western civilization and rationality. Real historical women and fictitious female figures became boundary markers between the known and the unknown. There are for instance numerous illustrations in which male explorers are greeted by a

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1 There are actually two copies of the work: the fresco in the Cathedral and an oil painting (1853), in a private collection. There are no notable differences between the two paintings, since Ekman meticulously copied the oil painting in the fresco (Ervamaa 1981, 21).

2 Ervamaa 1981, 21–27. A similar setting, with the female representing a higher stage in cultural development, was on the cover of J.R. Aspelin's *Muinaisjäännöksiä Suomen suvun asumusaloilta/Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien* (1878). There a quite stocky Maid holding the Finnish coat of arms holds open a curtain onto Iron Age Finland. In the distance a small prehistoric man is peeping at her (For the picture see for example Smeds 1996, 168; Cf. Cusack 2000).

3 Faery 1999, 84–85.

Figure 42. R.W. Ekman: Suomalaisten kaste *(The Baptism of the Finns, 1854).*

native woman when they enter the new land; or, conversely, the personification of the colonial power is greeting the people – native or colonial masters – in her colonies.[4]

In *The Baptism of the Finns,* the crusading army led by the Bishop is there to civilize a virgin and pagan territory. The locus of entrance is the Maid figure. She marks the threshold of the new territory that the crusaders are about to cross. The way to a nation's head, to rephrase an old saying, is through a woman's body. By baptizing the woman, Bishop Henry is in his own way inseminating the nation with the seed of Western civilization. In poetry this metaphor was

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4 McClintock 1995, 21–25, 354, fig. 1.1., fig. 10.2.

used by Erkko. In his "Uno Cygnaeus'en täytettyä 70 vuotta" (To Uno Cygnaeus on his 70th birthday, 1880) the Finnish nation is construed as the earth, in which the great men Snellman, Lönnrot and Koskinen toil and plant with the seed of education.[5]

Baptism, according to McClintock, is "a surrogate birthing ritual" whereby men claim their place in the birth of a new life, hence diminishing female agency and turning the child into a being of solely male origin. Since in Christianity women are not regarded as complete birthers, the child has to be reborn and named by men. McClintock extends the analogy to the imperial act of the discovery of new lands. Although there were people already inhabiting the discovered territory, they needed to be rediscovered by Western culture, born again. Only in this way could the rational Western man claim foreign lands as his own.[6] In *The Baptism of the Finns*, both of these acts – rediscovery and baptism – are present. The Finnish nation and territory achieve completeness as a result of male activity. The 'rebirth' of Finland as an independent state was another occasion where male agency was emphasized. In a caricature in *Nya Fyren* in 1918, V.I. Lenin places a Phrygian cap on the head of the Finnish Maid,[7] and by this act 'gives' Finland her independence (Figure 43).

In the meeting of two cultures, as in *The Baptism of the Finns*, the female body of the Finnish Maid functions as a contest zone,[8] or alternatively a border zone,[9] a contact zone[10] or a battlefield.[11] Each of these terms refer to the body as a site of ideological conflict, a terrain where battles for domination are fought. The body is a boundary, a liminal space between two worlds. The anthropologist Mary Douglas, in her classic study *Purity and Danger*, has analyzed the links between society and individual human bodies and their boundaries. She has argued that the body can represent any bounded system, for instance a society. The borders of the body symbolize any other borders in the system that are somehow threatened. According to Douglas, the human body is a miniature of a society.[12] Indeed, the ideas of the body as society and the body politic date back as far as Antiquity. The human body was conceived as a symbol of society and political order. Health and sickness as well as harmony and disharmony in the body were seen to reflect the condition of society. In the late Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, when the role of the sovereign increased in European societies, his or her physical body became the symbol of political power and the state. A couple of centuries later, with the shift to

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5 "Kun kääntänyt ol' itse suuri Snellman / Jo kansallisen hengen kesannosta; / Kun Lönnrot uuden touon siemenjyvät / Toi kansan muinaisuuden hinkalosta, / Ja Koskinen, kuin kevät-ouru, uursi / Par'aikaa pellon valtakaivannoita: / Loi Suomen muistot eri sarkahansa – / Maa vaati vielä paljon muokkaajoita. (Erkko 1910a, 242).
6 McClintock 1995, 29.
7 *Nya Fyren* 4 January 1918.
8 McClintock 1995, 24.
9 Faery 1999, 41.
10 Mills 1996, chapter "The Contact Zone: level of sexualized space. [HTML document]
11 De Lauretis 1984, 123; De Lauretis 1987, 45.
12 Douglas 1988, 114–118.

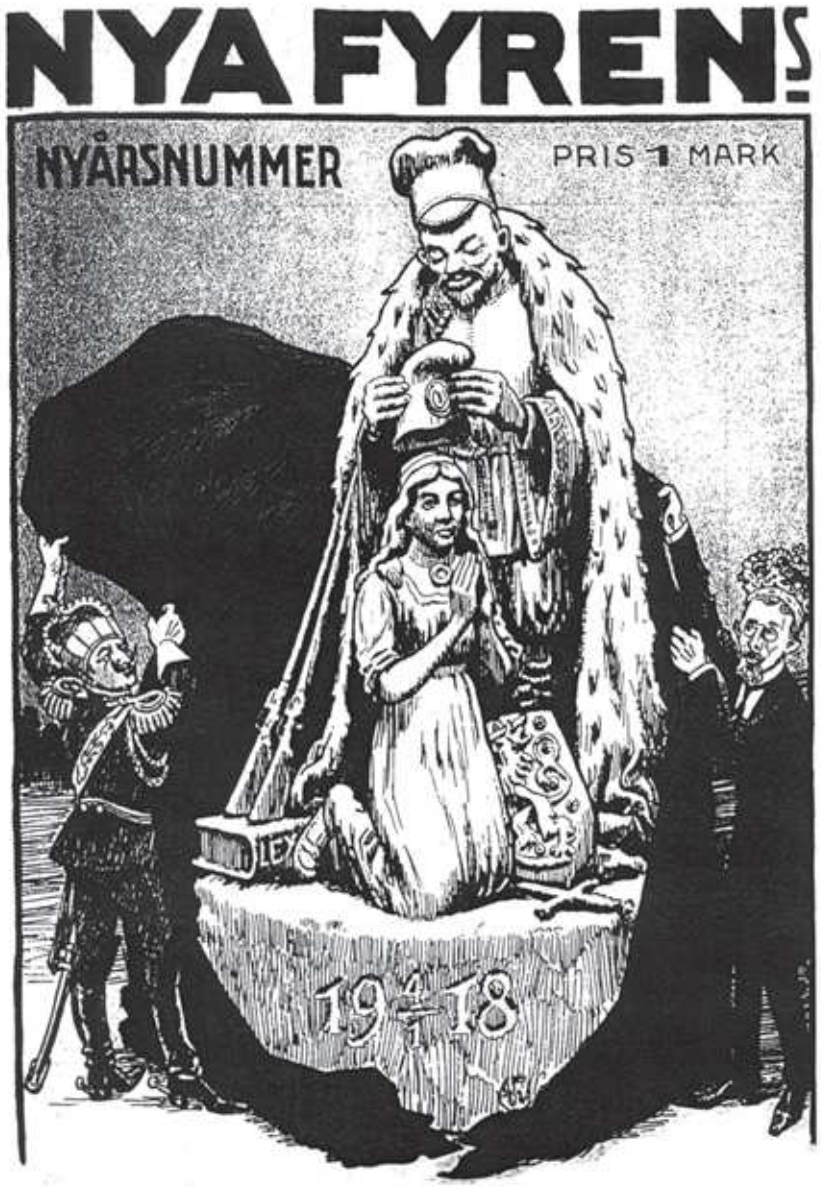

Figure 43.
Alexander Federley: Coronation hymn.
Nya Fyren *4 January 1918.*

individualism, notions of power which had been invested in the sovereign were now projected into individual bodies.[13]

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13 Helén 1997, 116. "In the version in John of Salisbury's Policraticus (mid-Twelfth Century) the prince is the head, the senate is the heart, giving both good and bad deeds of impulse, the judges are the eyes, ears and tongue, the soldiers are the hands, the revenue collectors are the belly, which if over-stuffed and holding on too obstinately to its contents causes illness, and the peasants are the feet. […] Christine de Pizan, in Le Livre de Corps de Policie of 1406, has the prince as head, knights and nobles as hands and arms, and labourers as legs and feet. […] Bluntschli, a professor from Munich from 1848 [...] argued that 'The moral-organic Personality of the State is like a human's. The state is the image of Man. The state-body is the

In many cultures the female body has a special meaning. In Finnish folklore it was regarded as a transitional space or a gateway between different worlds, this material one and the beyond.[14] In colonial discourse, virgin lands passively awaited their conquerors.[15] As Samuel Eliot Morison put it in 1942, "the New World gracefully yielded her virginity to the conquering Castilians".[16] In fact, the discipline of geography offers many examples of hetero-masculinist language and values, "with all of the 'thrusting' and 'penetrating' of new lands by the bold men",[17] or with the notion of "impregnability".[18]

Nationalist discourses have been central vehicles for bodily metaphors. For example, both J.G. von Herder and G. W. F. Hegel described the nature of the state as an 'organism', a 'plant' and a 'body'. Influenced by German intellectuals, nineteenth-century Finnish national 'awakeners' adopted these biological metaphors in their own discourse.[19] In their use of corporeal metaphors, Johan Wilhelm Snellman and Zachris Topelius also gendered the Finnish body politic and conflated it with the middle-class family. The husband was the rational head and hands that built the nation, while the wife, as mother, was the heart.[20] The conception of the state as an organism continued to enjoy popularity in the beginning of the next century through the writings of the Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellén, who applied Darwinian models of natural selection to international relations.[21]

In the 1870s, when Finnish national 'awakening' began to be saturated with anti-Russian sentiments, the Topelian landscape continued its existence in the national imagery, but it was now seasoned with the production of geographical knowledge of Finland as a distinct territory. The de-emphasis of visible borders reached its end at the beginning of the first period of unification, and borders, the eastern border in particular, were so to speak 'discovered'. In the Finnish National Atlas (*Suomen Kartasto*, 1899) – the first in Finland – the Russian unification measures were contested at the level of the cartographic imagination. Finland was presented as a separate territorial unit of its own. The border

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copy of the human body...The dynasty and the nation, the head and body..., feel themselves connected like the head and limbs of a body.' The state's constitution, he claimed, was'the articulation of the body politic.'" (Harvey 1999, in the first quarter of the HTML document). For an analysis of the body politic and an individual citizen in a contemporary context see the article by Meira Weiss, dealing with on the one hand the media coverage, on the other the handling of the cadavers of the victims of the 1996 suicide bombings in Israel (Weiss 2001).

14 Apo 1995, 28–29.

15 McClintock 1993, 69.

16 Quoted in Faery 1999, 89.

17 Morin & Berg 1999, in the first quarter of the HTML document. This discourse found its crystallization in popular culture. In the opening words of the television series *Star Trek,* William Shatner, who plays Captain Kirk, intones that space is "the final frontier"; the mission of his starship *Enterprise* is "to seek out new civilizations" and "to boldly go where no man has gone before". The new civilizations Kirk and his crew encountered were often inhabited by erotic and dangerous women, who were tamed by the manly charms of the Captain.

18 See Hooson 1994, 1.

19 Kemiläinen 1964, 72, 78; Manninen 1982, 11–12.

20 Helén 1997, 137, 141. See also Ollila 1993, 30–31 and Nätkin 1997, 21–22, 51.

21 Manninen 1982, 12.

against Russia was drawn as clearly as the Swedish border. This was of concern to the Russian authorities; the western border was a line between two states, and Finnish cartographic representations seemed to make the same distinction eastward. The concern led to a Russian note, sent to the Finnish Senate by the Governor General F.A. Seyn in 1909.[22]

The geographer Sami Moisio, in an article about Finnish national atlases, has analyzed the ways in which geographical knowledge and the production of the state body came together in autonomous Finland. Following Foucault's ideas of knowledge, power and governmentality, he reads these maps as the *politics of geo* (*geon politiikka*), as political agents that produced Finnish territory, borders and identity. In the atlases geographical knowledge was visualized and embodied in a rational form, which can be "administered, organized and observed".[23] I find Moisio's conceptions interesting with regard to my own research on the Finnish Maid; the Maid too can be read as the politics of geo, producing national territory, borders and identity. Through the figure of the Maid Finnish national territory is embodied in a tangible and visible form.

There is also another concept – the *geo-body* – introduced by the historian Thongchai Winichakul. By geo-body Thongchai is referring to the technologies of territoriality, chiefly maps, which define a nation spatially.[24] The geo-body, however, transcends maps. It is associated with a nation's integrity and sovereignty, with invasions and border control:

> [i]t is a component of the life of a nation. It is a source of pride, loyalty, love, passion, bias, hatred, reason, unreason. It also generates other conceptions and practices about nationhood as it combines with other elements of nationhood.[25]

Although Thongchai does not discuss the embodiment of the country in personifications but in maps, his concept, combined with Moisio's politics of geo, is nevertheless useful. It is the geo-body of the Finnish Maid, and of the Maid of Wiena, that embodies bounded geographical territories. In a couple of instances Kianto narrates the body of Tarja as the geo-body of Viena:

> [o]n a stormy autumn day […] the Karelian woman sits with her body twisted in suffering – somewhere out there, in the vast open of the lake is the war boat that robbed her of what she loved best under the sky of Wiena … The world war rages on – Wiena writhes and does not understand.[26]

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22 Moisio 2001, 287–295; Kosonen 2000, 122–124. Cf. Häyrynen 1996, 108.
23 Moisio 2001, 288–289.
24 Thongchai 1997, 16–17.
25 Thongchai 1997, 17.
26 "Myrskyisenä syyspäivänä […] istuu Karjalan nainen ja väántelee ruumistaan – tuolla kaukana Jättijärven ulapalla jo soutaa sotapursi, joka ryösti hänen rakkaimpansa Wienan taivaan alla...Maailman sota raivoaa – Wiena väántelehtii eikä ymmärrä." (Kianto 1920, 24).

And when the news of the Finnish civil war reaches Viena:

> [t]he maid felt strange waves in her chest – she felt the urge to grasp someone's strong hand and perform miracles. Something squeezed and burned her, she wanted to scream … to cry and feel joy about something great that was coming and was bursting in flames behind that frosty door … a War of Liberation?[27]

The geo-bodies of the Finnish Maid and the Maid of Wiena resemble maps – or better yet, maps resemble their geo-bodies, since a map is by no means merely a map, a mathematical calculation which passively but objectively reflects reality. Rather, a map is a construction reconstructing reality, and in nation-building it plays a pivotal role in defining boundaries between 'us' and 'them'.[28]

Visual practices in marking a region as feminine vary. In caricatures, one way was to place the Finnish Maid on the map of the country (Figures 44 and 45). The maps under her are 'extra', in that it would be possible to understand these pictures without them. What these images do is underline the symbolic bond between earth and woman. Another visual device is to picture the map itself as a woman (Figures 46 and 47). As someone who was born and raised in Finnish culture, the connection between the cartographic shape of Finland and the Finnish Maid is obvious to me. Starting from the north, the upper parts of the map form the head and a raised arm, the middle part is the waist and the rest southward is a woman's long skirt. This is how I, along with every other Finn, was taught to look at the map of Finland.[29] There is nothing new in depicting geographical areas as women. There is for instance the famous sixteenth century picture by S. Münster, in which Europe is visualized as a queen.

It is difficult to determine whether the personification stems from the cartographic shape, or whether it is the existence of the Maid figure that guides one's perception of the map. What is rather unexpected is that early twentieth century presentations did not exploit the similarities between the map and the Maid; there are only a few caricatures in which the map of Finland is depicted as a woman. The analogy seems to have been drawn only later. The art historian Aimo Reitala maintains that it was only in the 1920s, after the Peace of Tarto, when Finland gained the other 'arm' for a short period of time, that the Maid outlined as the map of the country became more popular in the national imagery.[30]

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27 "Neito tunsi outoa aaltoilua rinnassaan – hän olisi tahtonut tarttua jonkun väkevän käteen ja tehdä ihmetöitä. Häntä puristi ja poltti, hän tahtoi huutaa...itkeä ja iloita jostakin suuresta jostakin suuresta, joka oli tulossa ja joka ikäänkuin leimahteli tuolla huurteisen oven takana...Vapaussota?" (Kianto 1920, 40).

28 Thongchai 1997, 130–137; Kosonen 2000, 19–37. See also Harley 1992. Thongchai engagingly continues to employ bodily metaphors in his argumentation. When discussing the geo-body and the study of history he notes that history-writing "is always a discourse of the past. It is a language that can make the elements recollected meaningful and intelligible. It is not so much a matter of discovering fragmented facts as a matter of how to *re-member* them" (Thongchai 1997, 140. My italics).

29 Similarly, the shape of Italy is seen as a boot. I do not know whether this is solely a Finnish way of looking or whether people in other cultures perceive the same shape. On anthropomorphized maps see Pickles 1992, 210–217.

30 Reitala 1983,114.

Figure 44. Anonymous: The Russian eats from other people's bowls, with one hand Finland, with the other Persia. Kurikka *15 May 1909.*

Entering a national space through a woman's body is a powerful image – especially when the border crossing is carried out with extreme force. Images of sexual violence, or the threat of such violence, became common in caricatures when the unification measures started again in 1908. The Finnish Maid was eaten (Figure 44), strangled (Figure 45), hanged (Figure 48) and raped by evil and lecherous-looking Russian men.

This chapter has three starting points, each of which has been addressed in the two preceding chapters. The first is the nation as a masculine enterprise, in which women are relegated to the position of a symbol. In the previous chapter I discussed the Finnish Maid as a prospective bride, a liminal and desexualized figure, which not only symbolized the nation but in fact *was* the nation, desired by male intellectuals. Secondly, homosocial desire, the erotic form of male bonding which takes place over the female body, proves to be a useful tool in the analysis of violence as well. Susan Fraiman argues that male same-sex relationships are not always subsumed by 'love', and that desire does not exclude political domination and resistance. Hostility and violence may in some cases be unrecognized signs of uneasy intimacy between men. Women constitute the third side of this triangle by being reduced to the position of mediators in male rivalries.[31] Studies of sexual violence against women in ethnic and national conflicts, for instance, have shown that the actual target of the rape and mutilation of women is the enemy men. By raping 'their' women, aggressor

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31 Fraiman 1994, in the introduction to the article. HTML document.

Figure 45. Eric Vasström: Finland and Europe. The whole civilized world gives Finland sympathy in these stressful times. (Sundsvalls-Posten). Fyren *9 April 1910.*

men communicate to the men of the enemy that they cannot protect 'their' women and are therefore less manly.[32]

Thirdly, I return to the conception of the female body as a space of national territory. I see the Finnish Maid as a metaphor for Finnish national space, which came under Russian attack. Here I focus on boundaries and their transgression. The body of the Maid was both the violated national space itself and a gateway, or border zone, through which the national space was entered. Thus the female body, as a metaphoric space, was also a battleground for ideological domination.[33]

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32 See for example Nagel 2001, 133; Mostov 2000; Nikolić-Ristanović 2000, 47–49; Marttila 2003, 68–73. Marttila's study gives an extensive list of the literature on ethno-national sexual violence against women, especially in the former Yugoslavia.

33 Faery 1999, 41.

Figure 46. Alexander Federley: 195 000 million rubles. Velikulta *18 April 1907.*

The material analyzed in this chapter consists of caricatures in which the Finnish Maid is either attacked by a Russian male figure or is threatened with attack. In some caricatures the assault was given an explicit sexual meaning, for instance by describing the act as 'rape' or the perpetrator as a 'rapist'. In other caricatures there was an indirect allusion to sexual violence. Another theme that was prevalent in poems and caricatures was that of captivity. The nation, in the form of the Finnish Maid, was held captive by the Russians. This imagery too contains sexual overtones, but for the purposes of analysis I keep the two separate.

The discussion in this chapter draws on studies of sexual violence in ethnic and national conflicts. The most obvious difference between this study and the studies of sexual violence is of course that I do not address actual acts of violence against actual historical women; there are no victims in my study, no actual bodies, only textual ones. However, from one point of view the symbolic rape of the Finnish Maid and the rape of real historical women in ethno-national conflicts coincide: that is, at the symbolic level of the actual acts. In addition to the tangible violence, with perpetrators and victims, there is also the symbolism of humiliation and boundary crossing.

Figure 47. Onni Muusari (?): The suitors of Mother Finland. Young Finns: Too succulent to have grown in such barren soil. Old Finns: And these are too colorful for such poor people. Kurikka *15 June 1908.*

The captive Maid as a contact zone

When the Russian unification measures were reinstated around 1908, they were followed in satirical magazines by caricatures that depicted Finland as the Finnish Maid, or a young boy, taken captive by the Russians (Figure 49).[34] The proliferation of captivity imagery does not mean that the so-called second era of unification was felt more strongly than the first one in 1899–1905, but that censorship regulations were now more relaxed. At the turn of the century the satirical magazines had been under strict censorship, and no images or satirical verses against the Russian administration had been allowed. The second cluster of captivity imagery appeared in the fall of 1917, just months before independence, when the Socialist *Kurikka* published caricatures in which the Finnish Maid was the prisoner of the Russian and/or Finnish bourgeois right wing (Figure 50).[35]

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34 *Fyren* 23 January 1909; *Kurikka* 1 September 1910.
35 *Kurikka* 15 September 1917; *Kurikka* 1 October 1917.

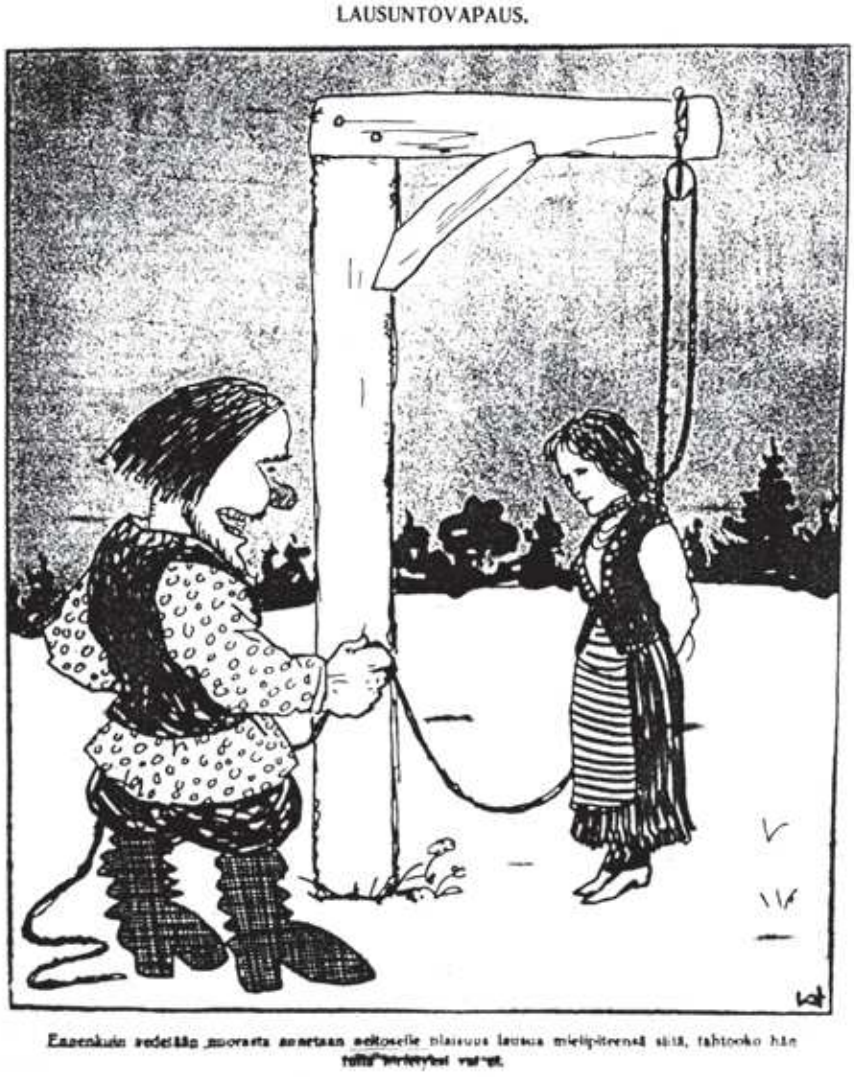

Figure 48. Heino Aspelin: The right to voice an opinion. Before we pull on the rope we give the maiden a chance to voice her opinion whether she wants to be hanged or not. Tuulispää *1 April 1910.*

The theme of imprisonment was not used only in the caricatures of the second era of unification and around independence; late nineteenth century poetry and literature also construed Finland as a captive woman. J.H. Erkko's poems "Vangittu äiti" (The captive mother; written between 1872–1878) and "Kevätruno" (Poem for spring, 1889), as well as Emil von Qvanten's poem "Suometar" (The Finnish Maid, 1859) and August Alhqvist-Oksanen's short story "Satu: Kansatieteellinen unelma" (A fairy tale: an ethnological dream), from 1847, all employ the captivity metaphor.

In Erkko's *Poem for spring* the "son of day" leaves his castle to seek a bride; as discussed in the previous chapter, he finds the Finnish Maid sleeping under a snowy cover. The poem is mostly about the Maid's gradual awakening, which is narrated in highly eroticized terms. The second stanza, however, also makes use of the metaphor of captivity:

Figure 49.
Anonymous:
Russian, Finland and
the "general law".
Kurikka
1 September 1910.

Finland waited for her beloved to help her
From the slave shackles of night and cold;
Many a winter did she endure,
Storms from the east, gusts from the north;
She did believe that spring will come.[36]

The terms 'son of day' and 'shackles', and the metaphors of sleep, the dead of winter and waiting for better times, all of which appear in this poem, were repeated in 1911 in a caricature in *Velikulta*.[37] The satirical magazine had placed on its front page Alexander Federley's picture, "Sydäntalven sydänyössä" (In the heart of the night of the heart of winter) (Figure 51), in which a sleeping Finnish Maid in a classical dress and with a crown on her head is surrounded by spiders with leering human male faces. The Maid is held prisoner behind a giant

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36 Suomi vartoi armast' auttajakseen / Yön ja kylmän orjakahlehista; / Monen kovan takatalven kesti, / Idän irnut, pohjan puuskaukset, / Kevähän tok' uskoi koittavaksi. (Erkko 1910b, 45).

37 *Velikulta* 28 December 1911.

Figure 50. Anonymous: Towards the elections... Russian bourgeois *(to Finnish bourgeois): A Finnish maid a good maid! And we trade, trade. You kiss one cheek, I kiss the other.* Finnish bourgeois*: A good trade, a very good trade! But our Socialists! They want to liberate it.* Russian bourgeois*: Socialists! You vote the Socialists down, I provide the whip. A lot of fun it is going to be!* Kurikka *1 October 1917.*

spider web. On the next page there is a satirical verse, *In the heart of the night of the heart of winter*, beginning:

> In the heart of the night of the heart of winter sleeps the slave maid of the North,
> in the hazy night of her sleep her hope drowns dying.
> She believes the webs of spiders are her shackles,
> her tormented ear keeps hearing the call of death.
>
> Where are you, Son of the Day, when will your sword flash,
> When through the night and mist, haze, will you walk?[38]

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38 Sydäntalven sydänyössä Pohjan orjaimpi nukkuu, / uniensa utuyössä toivehensa sammuin hukkuu. / Kahleikseen hän kai jo luulee lukkein verkot vierellänsä, / korva kiusaantunut kuulee kuolon kutsut yhtenänsä. / Missä viivyt, Poika Päivän, kussa säiläs säkenöipi, / halki yön ja usman, häivän koska käyntis ketteröipi? (*Velikulta* 28 December 1911).

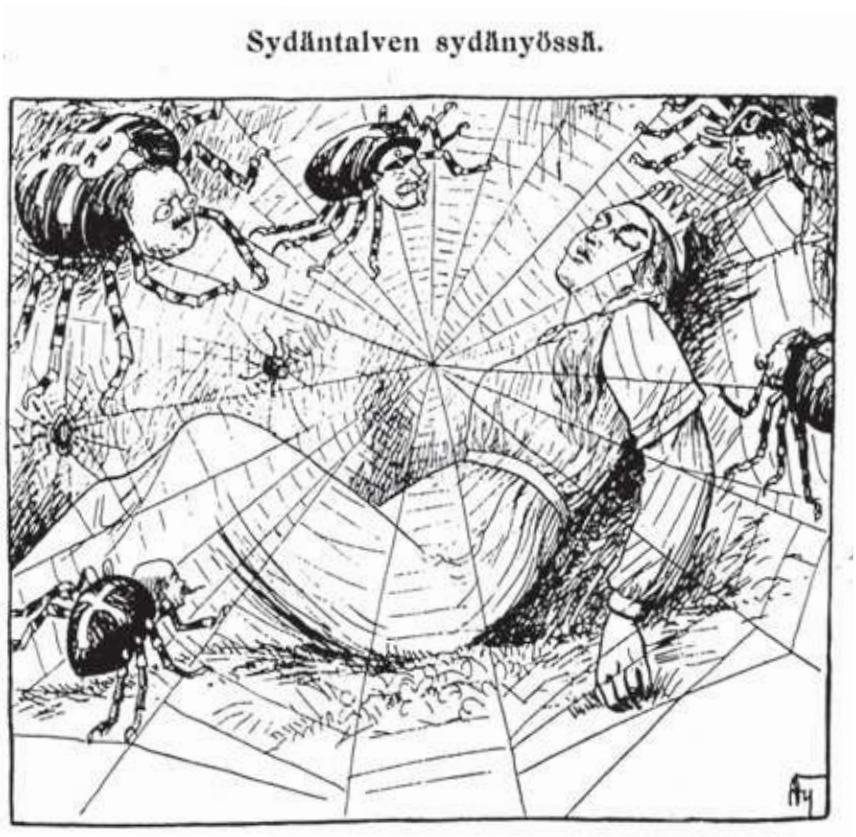

Figure 51. Alexander Federley: In the heart of the night of the heart of winter. Velikulta *28 December 1911.*

The verse continues rather optimistically in its belief that some day night and winter will pass, the slave maid of the North will wake up and the spiders will retreat to the darkness. In addition to the verse, the editorial that follows it ends with an optimistic note: "It is the dead of winter and the dead of night. Finland is sleeping and spiders weave their webs over her. But the dead of night means the coming of dawn. And that is something we all know."[39]

If Erkko and *Velikulta* portrayed Finland as a passive and sleeping young maid who just waited for things to happen, Erkko's earlier poem, *The captive mother*, represents a different type of patriotic poetry, this time with female agency. The poem tells about a mother and her son who are imprisoned in a castle by enemy soldiers. Her husband and the father of her son had "fallen for his Finland",[40] and the mother and son had witnessed his death. Their lives had been spared because the enemy wanted the mother to betray the hiding place of the Finnish troops. She refuses:

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39 "On sydäntalvi ja yö ylimmillään. Suomi nukkuu, ja hämähäkit kutovat sen ylle verkkojaan. Mutta sydänyö merkitsee aamun kallistumista. Ja sen me tiedämme." (*Velikulta* 28 December 1911).

40 "Suomelleen sortuen" (Erkko 1910a, 118)

I'll be a prisoner, die a prisoner,
If I can maintain the honor of my country![41]

She also identifies herself as a mother to the nation and repeats her willingness to die with her son for the country. When the enemy soldier leaves her prison cell to get a cauldron of boiling water in which he is going to boil the mother and son, the captive mother starts praying:

Now, Lord of Heaven, I saw your holy will,
You mercifully look at us: –
You let me die for my people
I and my child.
But, if you will, save my child:
As a man he could serve his country![42]

Then suddenly the mother notices a hole in the wall through which she drops her son. An angel appears and catches the little boy. When the enemy soldier returns with the cauldron and a sword in his hand he orders her to step into the boiling water. Instead, she reaches for the sword and plunges it into her chest. The poem ends with the lines coming from among the other prisoners:

Oh, you noble wife, the honor of your country,
You purchased heroism as a prisoner!
Free men of the country
Now cheer for her![43]

The captive mother, *Poem for spring* and the caricature *In the heart of the night of the heart of winter* belong to a genre in which the figure of a woman captive functions as a site for the construction of national, ethnic and gender identities. Writing in an Atlantic cultural context, Rebecca Blevins Faery dates the birth of the captive (white) woman genre to the late seventeenth century British colonies in North America, to a book written by Mary Rowlandson in 1682. Rowlandson was a Puritan woman whose family and friends were killed in an attack by a local Native American tribe. Rowlandson survived the attack and was taken captive by the tribe, among whom she lived for nearly three months until a ransom was paid to free her. She wrote a book about her experience among the Natives, and the book, *The True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, became a kind of best-seller. More importantly, her story has served down the centuries as a prototype for numerous subsequent fictional stories, poems, novels, pulp fiction and films and other forms of the visual arts about a white woman taken captive by Native Americans.[44]

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41 "Voin olla vanki, kuolla vankina / Kun säilyssä on maani kunnia! (Erkko 1910a, 120)

42 "Nyt, taivaan Herra, tahtos pyhän näin, / sä armosilmin katsot meihin päin: – / Suot kuolla kansallein / Mun lapsinein. / Vaan lapseni, jos tahdot, pelasta: / Se miehenä vois maataan palvella! (Erkko 1910a, 121)

43 "Oi, jalo vaimo, maasi kunnia, / Sä sankar-arvon ostit vankina! / Vapaina urhot maan / Nyt puoltakaan!" (Erkko 1910a, 122)

44 Faery 1999, 24–25; Woodard 1996, 115–116, 124; Dietrich 1995, 427.

In the next century, when the frontier moved westwards and urbanization proceeded, narratives of female captivity continued to enjoy popularity, but sometimes with a different setting. In some stories the heathen Native Americans were replaced by the morally depraved Catholic French, who preyed on virtuous British Protestant young women.[45] The ideologies that saturated the captivity narratives were based on the dichotomies of white vs. Indian, Christian vs. heathen, Protestant vs. Catholic, and – ironically – American vs. foreign. The white Protestant woman and her white body symbolized the purity and integrity of the white 'American nation'.

The body of a white woman occupied the position of a contact zone for two cultures. Faery uses the term border zone,[46] but I prefer on this occasion to use Sara Mills' 'contact zone' because it more accurately describes the meeting of two cultures on a female body. Writing about post-colonial fiction, Sara Mills maintains that the contact zone

> is a space where there is mystery, barbarism, mutual incomprehension, conflict; the most prominent form of contact which underlies many other relations is sexual contact or the threat of sexual attack. […] The contact zone is sexualised.[47]

Hence there is a sexual undertone present in the meeting of two ethnic or national identities. Joane Nagel writes about ethnosexual frontiers, those "erotic and intimate borderlands that lie at the intersections of racial, ethnic, or national boundaries." She echoes Mills' notion of the contact zone as a space of mystery, arguing that ethnosexual intersections are sites of fantasy and stereotyping.[48] In addition, Mills recognizes the sexualization and the presence of sexual threat in the contact zone. Mills employs 'contact zone' to refer to actual spaces where people of different ethnicities meet,[49] but I would like to extend the term to cover a more symbolic space, the human body.

Sexuality is constantly present in captivity narratives in both North American and Finnish contexts. In Federley's caricature the Finnish Maid's reclining position, which gives prominence to her bosom, is rather erotic; it is not a position in which any human being would actually sleep. She is vulnerable and open to the advances of the male spiders. In a number of caricatures the Finnish Maid is stark naked,[50] in one *Kurikka* caricature almost pornographically so with her protruding breasts (Figure 52).[51] The issue of nakedness and its relation to eroticism and sexuality is somewhat tricky. Art historians and other researchers of visual materials have long reflected on the representation and

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45 Woodard 1996, 125–129.
46 Faery 1999, 41.
47 Mills 1996, chapter "The Contact Zone: level of sexualized space" HTML document.
48 Nagel 2001, 128.
49 Mills 1996, chapter "The Contact Zone: level of sexualized space" HTML document.
50 *Fyren* 18 September 1909; *Kurikka* 1 May 1910; *Velikulta* 23 June 1910; *Velikulta* 16 May 1914.
51 *Kurikka* 1 July 1910.

Figure 52.
Anonymous: The end of Finland.
Kurikka *1 July 1910.*

signification of nude bodies. Marcia Pointon, in her analysis of Eugène Delacroix's famous *La Liberté Guidant le Peuple* (1830), has written about the visual paradox which is associated with representations of the naked body. She suggests that on the one hand *nakedness* symbolizes truth; on the other, *nudity* implies sexuality.[52] Also Lynda Nead, in her study *The Female Nude*, has noted the way in which classic studies in art history treat the nude as a sexualized body. Discussions of the nude, however, tend not to be gender-neutral; the assumption is that of a female nude and a heterosexual male viewer.[53] Consequently, feminist research has questioned the distinction between nakedness and nudity. The distinction is based on the idea that in visual representation it is possible to represent natural bodies free from mediation as

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52 Pointon 1990, 63, 72. For instance, "the naked truth", but "this film contains some nudity and should not be viewed by small children". The Finnish language does not distinguish between 'nakedness' and ' nudity', there is only *alastomuus*. The nude as a work of art is *alastontutkielma*.

53 Nead 1992, 13–14. See also Nochlin 1999, 144; Massey 1994, 185–186. Also Nanette Salomon has addressed the female nude. She too distinguishes between nakedness and nudity, but she applies the terms the other way around; the female figure is naked, the male figure nude (Salomon 1996, 73).

such, purified of all meaning. Once these pure naked bodies were inflated with signification, they would be transformed into the nude. Another problematic point is that in the discourse of traditional art history these terms are gendered. Nakedness represents feminine emotion and nature, which are appropriated, rationalized and incorporated into the masculine realm of culture by turning the naked figure into a work of art – the nude – through masculine esthetic conventions.[54]

This distinction runs into problems when its ideological debt to the perception of the binary system as an actuality and not as a cultural construction is recognized. Once the constructed nature of the duality is understood, we see that there is no 'original' pure body which exists outside representation:

> even at the most basic levels the body is always produced through representation. Within social, cultural and psychic formations, the body is rendered dense with meaning and significance, and the claim that the body ever can be outside of representation is itself inscribed with symbolic value. There can be no naked 'other' to the nude, for the body is always in representation.[55]

The nude female body, according to many feminist art historians, is represented in such a way that there is no room for any reading other than a sexual one; the viewer is forced to read the image through a sexual narrative. Yet, since the female nude is so common in the Western art tradition, we no longer see her nudity, but ingest it. In the end, woman is reduced to her sexuality and her body is fetishized. In addition, she is exposed and vulnerable. This vulnerable and exposed position manifests and reproduces hierarchical power relations between the genders, relations which are structured on difference and defined as sexual.[56] Thus, looking at the caricatures (Figure 3; Figure 51; Figure 52) with the captive and nude Finnish Maid, the viewer is instantly aware of their sexual aspect. This sexualized reading does not depend on the Maid's nudity; other captivity images are also easily interpreted in sexual terms due to the position of the body and the general setting. The Maid's nudity simply underscores the sexual threat present.

In the fall of 1917, just months before Finland's independence, *Kurikka* published three captivity caricatures. They all refer to the politically hectic times starting from the revolution in March (February in the Russian calendar) 1917, when Nicholas II stepped down and a new and more liberal interim government was appointed in St. Petersburg. For the Finnish Socialists the

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54 Nead 1992, 14–16.

55 Nead 1992, 16. According to Griselda Pollock, the "body is a construction, a representation, a place where the marking of sexual difference is written" (Pollock 1996, 6). See also McDowell 1999, 53; Grosz 1994, x–xi. I find the naked/nude distinction, and its consequent deconstruction, analogous to the criticism of the sex/gender system. According to the feminist philosopher Judith Butler, the sex/gender system is based on the idea that the biological body – sex – is neutral. Butler, however, argues that the body is already gendered. Thus it is impossible to distinguish between sex and gender (see Butler 1990; Butler 1993).

56 Salomon 1996, 63, 70–76; Nead 1992, 17.

overthrow of the Tsar meant a window of opportunity for an eventually independent Finland. The new Russian administration itself signaled that it would welcome a redistribution of power for the benefit of Finland. In the late spring and summer of 1917 the Socialists began to draft a law (*valtalaki*) which would give all political power, except for foreign and military policy, to the Finnish Diet. The majority of the bourgeois parties opposed the proposition; surprisingly, the Russian Mensheviks also advised against it because they feared that Finland would slide into an anti-Russian camp. Despite the opposition, the proposition was passed in the Finnish Diet in July 1917, and was sent to the Russian interim government for ratification. The Russians did not ratify it; instead, Kerenski, who had been appointed Prime Minister, dissolved the Diet and ordered new elections to be held.[57]

Ola Fogelberg's caricature, *Circus Imperialisticus*,[58] (Figure 53) refers directly to the dissolving of the Diet; "Kerenski, gladiator of the capitalists" tramples on both the Finnish Maid and a book of law:

> I am a winner, the little girl Finland lies on the ground!
> What is your will, oh Imperialism,
> may I deliver the deadly blow?[59]

The other two caricatures, *Missä merkeissä vaaleihin…* (Towards the elections…) (Figure 50) and *Porvarien intiaaniulvonta sosialisteja vastaan* (Indian cry of the Bourgeois against the Socialists) (Figure 54), published October 1st 1917, are about the campaigns for the election to be held in the beginning of October.[60] Ola Fogelberg's *Indian cry of the Bourgeois against the Socialists* is interesting in the context of what I have written above about North American captivity narratives. The caricature shows that the same stories of white female captives and the symbolism of these stories were fully assimilated in Finland in 1917. Socialist election propaganda adopted the form and the sexual aspect, even the ethnic features of captivity imagery in a North American context. The positioning of the characters – Mother Finland tied to a pole and the men circling her – is familiar from countless stories. Faery notes the outstretched arms, the torn clothing accentuating feminine curves, the heaving breasts and long tussled curls; these were the visual trade marks that eroticized the white female captive body.[61] All three *Kurikka* caricatures employ more or less these visual conventions.

I argue that at the core of the conception of the Finnish Maid as a captive is male homosociability, and that to fully understand the ideologies that were embedded in this iconography we have to look at male-male relationships in addition to male-female ones. Male homosocial desire is usually associated

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57 For a detailed account of the spring, summer and fall of 1917 see Paasivirta 1984, 52–100.
58 *Kurikka* 15 September 1917.
59 "Mä voittaja, Suomi-flikuski maassa makaa! / Kuin käskys kuuluu, oo Imperialismi, / mä kuoliniskun voinko jakaa?" (*Kurikka* 15 September 1917).
60 The outcome of the election was that non-Socialist parties gained a majority in the Diet.
61 Faery 1999, 176–178.

Figure 53. Ola Fogelberg: Circus Imperialisticus. Kerenski, gladiator of the capitalists (after dissolving the Diet): I am a winner, the little girl Finland lies on the ground! What is your will, oh Imperialism, may I deliver the deadly blow? Kurikka *15 September 1917.*

with the feelings of love and brotherhood which take place over a female body. The caricature *The suitors of the Finnish Maid* (Figure 34) was a good example of this. The men are competing for the Maid's favors, but there is also a sense of male bonding between them. Here the competition is fraternal, but, as Fraiman argues, homosociability may be expressed in a violent form as well.[62] Then the female body turns into a battlefield.[63]

In the three *Kurikka* caricatures the battle over the body of the Maid takes place between Finnish Socialists and Finnish and/or Russian bourgeois. In *Towards the elections…*the dialogue between the Russian and Finnish bourgeois renders the Maid into a commodity to be traded:

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62 Fraiman 1994, in the introduction to the article [HTML document].
63 De Lauretis 1984, 123; De Lauretis 1987, 45.

Figure 54. Ola Fogelberg: Indian cry of the Bourgeois against the Socialists. Kurikka *1 October 1917.*

Russian bourgeois (to Finnish bourgeois): A Finnish maid a good maid! And we trade, trade. You kiss one cheek, I kiss the other.
Finnish bourgeois: A good trade, a very good trade! But our Socialists! They want to liberate it.
Russian bourgeois: Socialists! You vote the Socialists down, I provide the whip. A lot of fun it is going to be![64]

This caricature exemplifies the thesis of "traffic in women", i.e. that "[w]oman exists only as an occasion for mediation, transaction, transition, transference, between man and his fellow man".[65] On the surface the Socialists seem to exclude themselves from the fraternity, which they obviously found politically reprehensible; the transaction seems to take place between the bourgeoisie. Yet

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64 "*Ryssän porvari* (suomalaiselle porvarille): A finski flikuski hjuva flikuski! A me sjopimaks, sjopimaks. A sinä pussamaks hjuks poski, a minä pussamaks hjuks poski. / *Suomalainen porvari*: Hyvä kauppa, mainio kauppa! Mutta meidän sosialistit! Ne tahtovat vapauttaa sen, / A sotsialiste! A sine ääntä alas sotsialiste, a mine naikaikka antamaks. A paljo lysti tulemaks!" (*Kurikka* 1 October 1917).

65 Irigaray 1985. Quotation in Fraiman 1994, in the introduction to the article. [HTML document].

the text "they [the Socialists] want to liberate it" implicates the Socialists as well. They are part of the masculine and homosocial enterprise of the nation, and the battlefield for political power is the body of the Finnish Maid. Therefore, while the Socialists set themselves apart, even in an antagonist position in relation to the bourgeoisie, on the national-political level they join their adversaries. Forging a nation is a man-to-man business. While there is not necessarily homosocial *desire*, there is the male same-sex attachment of homosociability. In the end, the fight over the Maid reinforces the organization of male society.

Indian cry of the Bourgeois against the Socialists shares a common symbolism with *Towards the elections…*. The verse, written in the *Kalevala* meter, tells how Mother Finland was enslaved by foreigners and how those "who knew the pains of a slave"[66] wanted to set her free. The Finnish bourgeoisie, however, betrayed the mother, declaring that it was better for Finland to remain in the hands of the foreigners because the Socialists would use her only "as a harlot / *for incest*".[67] Once again the Socialists are figured into the picture from the outside. This caricature is one of the few pictures in which Finland is depicted as a mother. According to Jonathan Goldberg, the homosocial fraternity enshrines women as ideal Mothers in order to disguise male-male arrangements with normative heterosexuality.[68] As we have seen, the Finnish national iconography favored young woman as a personification of the nation; I would argue that a young maid, especially as a bride-to-be, serves normative heterosexuality as a disguise for homosociability as well as a mother figure, if not more so.

Masculine honor, feminine shame

That the Native Americans always raped their female captives was an oft-repeated accusation in colonialist rhetoric, despite the total absence of evidence to substantiate the rumors.[69] In Rowlandson's case, her own Puritan community had to respond to the titillating aspects of her ordeal and assure her readers that she had maintained her sexual integrity. Her integrity was coterminous with white Puritan integrity; in order to maintain the ethnic and religious difference, it was thus vital to make it absolutely clear that her Puritan existence was not in any way compromised.[70] In the foreword to her book, Rowlandson's story and

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66 "orjan tuskien tuntijat" (*Kurikka* 1 October 1917).
67 "porttona emoa / *varten sukurutsausta.*" (*Kurikka* 1 October 1917).
68 Goldberg 1992, 62–63.
69 Faery 1999, 46.
70 According to Maureen L. Woodard, there are occasions in Rowlandson's own account when the line between Puritan and Native American existence is blurred. For instance, Rowlandson describes stealing food from another captive, an English child. In her account she feels no remorse, although she herself was actually behaving like the Natives who stole food from her (Woodard 1996, 121–122).

experiences were appropriated by the male authorities of her community. The foreword was written by a man, who interpreted her story from an authoritative Puritan position which stressed gender, religious and racial hierarchies.[71]

The captive mother and *In the heart of the night of the heart of winter* are prime illustrations of the construction of gender and the Finnish nation through captivity imagery. Since the narrators in both pieces speak with authoritative male voices, the possibilities of contradiction and renegotiation of gender and ethnicity are dismal. The female figures correspond to an ideal femininity; they do it, however, in a different way. The Finnish Maid in *In the heart of the night of the heart of winter*, as well as in *Poem for spring*, is passively waiting for someone or something to come and rescue her. She does not do anything to free herself, and submits to her fate.[72]

The woman in *The captive mother*, however, takes her fate and the fate of the nation in her own hands. Her willingness to die for the nation recalls Benedict Anderson's comment on how fraternal nationalism "makes it possible, […], not so much to kill, as willingly to die for" the nation.[73] His identification of fraternity and death as integral parts of nationalism renders the nation a masculine enterprise. How, then, does the self-sacrificing captive mother figure in all of this? In contrast to historical Mary Rowlandson, who chose life, not knowing what would it would be like,[74] the fictional Mother Finland chooses death. Her death, however, is not the same as the deaths soldiers face in defending their nation. Her death is a suicide; male soldiers are killed by enemy swords, arrows and bullets. Mother Finland does have a choice – to die in a cauldron of boiling water or to die by her own hand – and she chooses the latter.

I argue that *The captive mother* is not so much about her death itself, and that her fate cannot be seen in an Andersonian context of heroic nationalism. Instead, we should focus on the manner in which the mother dies. I suggest that in national fantasies it will not be easy for women to die a heroic death at the hands of the enemy. That kind of death on the battlefield is reserved for men. The poems of Isa Asp address this question. There is a certain ambivalence in Asp's poetry; while she yearns for women to have the right to go to battle for their country, she recognizes the gender difference. Still, in her teenage resoluteness Asp calls on the women of Finland to fight beside men: "[a]lthough we fall short in strength, / it may be of some help."[75] In a poem written for the opening of the Women's Seminar at Tammisaari in 1871, Asp wrote:

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71 Faery 1999, 40–43.

72 Woodard notes that in her refusal to attempt escape Rowlandson demonstrated the bride-like submission required of women (Woodard 1996, 119; Cf. Dietrich 1995, 430–431).

73 Anderson 1999, 7.

74 Faery 1999, 28. See also Dietrich 1995, 430.

75 "Vaikk' on voimat vajavaiset / ehkä apuna ne on." ("Kutsu taistohon" ("Call for Battle") Hyytinen 1983, 86.)

I thank Him who gave
also woman the right:
for her fatherland
to live, to die also she!
Why cannot she as well
her fatherland help?[76]

The death of Mother Finland is more about her purity and integrity, and thus the nation's. As a guardian of the collective national honor, she – and her body, as the national body – fell under threat of defilement. To preserve her virtue, and the nation's, she prefers to commit suicide rather than suffer death at the hands of the enemy. For a man to reach the same decision could be interpreted as an act of cowardice. Ilmari Kianto's novel, *The Maid of Wiena*, also ends with the suicide of the protagonist Tarja. The Russians have captured her, and when her rape by them is imminent she kills herself rather than be "tarnished" by enemy men.

The moral of Kianto's novel and Erkko's poem is that there is room for female sacrifice, but on a different level than the masculine one. Concepts of national honor and purity are closely integrated with ideal femininity, with a woman's body – and with her life. The violation of her body is a violation of the nation. Studies of sexual violence towards women in ethno-national conflicts show that the 'honor' involved is ultimately the honor of the male community,[77] and that there are not many ways for women to redeem that lost honor, except by death. In the words of Faery, "once proved to be unchaste, she is as good as dead, might as well be dead, ought to be dead".[78] Anu Koivunen, in her study of the representations of women in Finnish cinema in the 1940s, has argued that the so called "syphilis films" located the threat to national security in female bodies carrying venereal diseases. At a time when syphilis infections were three times more common in men than in women, the shame of disease was more fatal to women than to men. A man was able to recover through medical help; a woman's fate was to die, sometimes by ending her own life.[79] This is what the captive mother and the Maid of Wiena resort to, in order to preserve national and ethnic purity and integrity.

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76 "Kiitos Hälle, joka sääsi / naisellekin oikeuden: / kalliin isänmaansa eestä / elää, kuolla, myöskin hän! /Miks' ei hän sais' yhtä hyvin /isänmaata hyödyttää?" (Hyytinen 1983, 88)

77 See Marttila 2003.

78 Faery 1999, 43. Deborah J. Dietrich argues that by her will to cope with captivity and survive Rowlandson subverted the Puritan gender order (Dietrich 1995, 430-431; Cf. Woodard 1996, 119). Discussing Rowlandson's life after the captivity period, Faery points out that it was believed that Rowlandson died quite soon after her release and the death of her husband, a Puritan minister. The rumors of her death were easily believed; in a way, she should have died. She lived, however, for another thirty-five years, and again by her will to live challenged notions of ideal femininity (Faery 1999, 50–51).

79 Koivunen 1995, 107–145.

The matrix of assault

Tied to the perception of the captive Finnish Maid were images of rape or other form of violence, often alluding to sexual threat. The most famous picture in which the personification of the Finnish nation is under attack is from the beginning of the first era of unification. In the painting *The Attack* (Figure 4), by Eetu Isto, the Romanov two-headed heraldic eagle is tearing a law-book from the hands of the blond-haired Maid in a classical dress. In her flowing long hair the female figure resembles Akseli Gallén-Kallela's Aino in the central part of the *Aino triptych* (1891), in which the old Väinämöinen is reaching for the naked Aino. Because of the intentional or unintentional reference to Gallén-Kallela's work,[80] there is a possibility of reading *The Attack* through a sexual narrative. Here, however, I concentrate on caricatures in which the sexual overtones are more explicit.

The threat of illicit and aggressive sexuality was persistent in the national imagination. In his psychoanalytical study of the emotional world of the Finnish nationalist elite in the early twentieth century, Juha Ala records that the debate over the legislation concerning sexual offences directed against young girls gained momentum when the unification procedures first began. Finland as the Finnish Maid was perceived in "group fantasies" as having become a target of symbolic sexual offences. As a psychohistorian, he suggests that these fantasies and the political debate regarding legislation over sexual matters manifested individual fears of the possible breakdown of mental balance among the national elite.[81]

Violent fantasies surface in violent times. During the First World War, inflamed by the German occupation of Belgium, both sides created in their minds atrocities committed by the enemy. Stories of Belgian girls gouging out the eyes of wounded German soldiers circulated in Germany. In Belgium, the German occupying forces allegedly chopped of the hands of women and children.[82] A very powerful and universal propaganda symbol of national humiliation is a sexually violated woman. Writing about early twentieth century Zionism, Billie Melman shows how the image of raped Jewish women either in the Russian *pogroms* or in Palestine was taken advantage of by the Zionist movement.[83] Similarly, early twentieth century Iranian nationalists construed the nation as a woman raped.[84] In Europe, the rape of Armenian women in Cilicia in 1915,[85] the "rape of Belgium"[86] during the First World War, the rape of Greek Cypriot

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80 Rönkkö 1990, 67.

81 Ala 1999, 36-37. *Kurikka* published a curious caricature, "Karamelli-rakkautta" (Candy love) in which the male personification of the rival *Fyren* as a devil-faced sugar-daddy seduces little girls. The picture openly implicates *Fyren*'s staff as pedophilic (*Kurikka* 15 November 1907).

82 Horne 2002, 49–50.

83 Melman 1998b, 125–126, 133–135.

84 Pettman 1996, 49.

85 Melman 1998a, 10.

86 The metaphor of nation as a raped woman is not restricted only to propaganda texts. In April 2002, *History Today* had "Was Belgium Raped?" as its cover story. The title on the cover refers to John Horne's article "German Atrocities, 1914: Fact, Fantasy or Fabrication?"

women after the Turkish invasion, and in the 1990s "the rape of Kuwait",[87] among many others, are metaphors and accusations that have been exploited by national and international propaganda.[88]

These images are founded on a more general 'matrix of assault', an iconography of a violated woman, a figure common in the visual and literary arts. European cultural history is saturated with the stories of Helen, of the Sabines and Lucrèce (Lucretia), all producing meanings beyond the single act of violence. The abduction and rape of Helen constituted male heroism in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the consolidation of the power of Ancient Rome was based on the rape of the Sabines, and the rape and public suicide of Lucretia set the standard of chastity-violation-castigation: that a raped woman would prefer to kill herself rather than live with her 'shame'.[89]

All the discourses of atrocities allegedly committed during wartime and times of crisis can be approached from various points of view: propaganda, collective fantasies, or verification of whether the acts of violence really happened. What interests me here, however, is the role of the body and its violation as a metaphor for the national space and for the symbolic transgression of its borders. The borders of the national woman are the borders of the nation. All that enters the body politic disturbs harmony and tarnishes national pride. Personifications indeed tend to be literally cuirassed against the enemy. We need only picture Britannia, whose breastplate, helmet and shield protect the body and its borders to assure the 'impregnability' of the nation against attack. One question to be raised here is the one asked by Linda Nochlin: "[w]hy must transgression – social and artistic alike – always be enacted (by men) on the naked bodies of women?"[90]

In previous chapters I have discussed the female body as a space in general, and now I return to the subject. Next, I narrow my focus, addressing the place or position occupied by the body as a space in the geographical imagination, i.e. as a space within a space. I see the iconography of rape, the matrix of assault, as a metaphor for boundary crossing and entering into the national space. In this kind of imagery, the body of the Finnish Maid is both a boundary marker through which a space is entered (for instance in *The Baptism of the Finns*), and the space itself. It is difficult to distinguish between the body as a boundary and the space itself, since the meaning of the body is fluid. According to Sue Best, the metaphor of the body as a bounded system indicates the desire or demand for distinct limits, and *vice versa* the body entails borders. Yet, when the body is placed at the center of attention, it is its boundaries that become uncertain.[91] I next look more closely at the violent transgression of national borders: the rape of Finland.

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87 Pettman 1996, 49.

88 In its advertisement in 2000 for *Kun Summa petti*, a historical play about the last weeks of the Winter War, the Finnish National Theater used a photograph of a battered Finnish Maid walking on crutches.

89 Sharkey 1994, 9.

90 Nochlin 1999, 144.

91 Best 1995, 183.

The rape of Finland

In a conflict situation, the propaganda machinery often exploits the image of the enemy nation as a sexually degenerate and abnormal Other.[92] Similar images were employed in Finland, where Russians were seen as debauched Cossacks beating and raping the Finnish Maid. News reports and public discussion about sexual assaults on young women were prominent, and although the perpetrators were not Russians those acts of violence were more or less explicitly associated with the unification procedures.[93] There was a history of seeing other nationalities and ethnicities as sexually perverted. For instance in agrarian folklore Russians in particular were seen as so insatiable that they were ready to copulate with anything, even corpses and animals. Violent rape, however, was not part of this conception.[94] The iconography of rape was therefore motivated by the political situation and by nationalism.

In each of the caricatures referred to here the Maid is physically assaulted or is under threat of an assault by a Russian male. In the captions and satirical verses, if any, the female character is identified as a 'maiden' and a 'virgin' and the male figure as a 'rapist'. For example in "Ei" (No) (Figure 55), which appeared in *Velikulta* in 1910, a Russian man is grabbing the Maid's hand trying to drag her with him into the forest and threatening, "You don't come when asked nicely? I'll take you by force"? "No! I won't go. Our men are close",[95] answers the Finnish Maid. Following the picture is a poem entitled "Autumn", which describes the time as one of death and disease. Then it continues:

> *Raping* and crushing goes autumn across our land,
> much, so much it breaks we can now see
>
> Will the Finnish Maid fall to its embrace?
> This is the whole world's question.
>
> To *rape* and steal Finland this giant now
> intends, that long-feared, cruel angry man.
>
> But a village has heard the *virgin's* cry,
> every man is there
>
> The best of men, the sturdiest one will be in time to help her
> embarrassed away the *rapist* will be running.[96] [italics mine]

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92 Pryke 1998, 540.

93 Ala 1999, 36, 80.

94 Löfström 1999, 52–56.

95 "Sinäkö et lähde hyvällä? Minä vien väkisten." – "Ei! En lähde millään. Meidän miehet ovat lähellä." (*Velikulta* 29 September 1910).

96 "Raiskaten ja ruhjoen käy syksy yli maamme / paljon, paljon särkemäänsä todeta nyt saamme. / Suistuneeko Suomi-neito nyt sen syleilykseen? / Koko maailma yhtynyt on tuohon kysymykseen. / Raiskata ja ryövätä nyt Suomen jättiläinen / aikoo, kauvan peljätty, tuo julma kiukkupäinen. / Mutta kylään kuulunut on immen itkun ääni, / kapula on kiertänyt, on läsnä koko lääni. / Miehet parhaat, vankimmat ne apuhunsa ehtii, / nolonapa raiskaaja se pakoon vetelehtii." (*Velikulta* 29 September 1910).

Figure 55. Alexander Federley: No. – You don't come when asked nicely? I'll take you by force. – No! I won't go. Our men are close. Velikulta *29 September 1910.*

In 1911 *Velikulta* Again placed on its front page a caricature exploiting the metaphor. In "Turvaton" (Defenseless), a dark, black-bearded Russian ties the Maid's hands and ankles behind her back. The verse, by the pen-name Teppo, emphasizes the theme of helplessness:

> Defenseless is virgin Finland
> in the hands of her masters,
> those harsh and unmerciful
> arrogant rapists.[97]

In the course of this study one particular picture has captured my attention more than others: "Ihmissyöjän rakkaus" (The love of a cannibal), by Rafael Rindell, which appeared in *Velikulta* in 1914 (Figure 56). Its style is different from any other contemporary caricature featuring the rape theme: the female figure is even more eroticized than the Maids in general. In the picture a fat African man

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97 "Turvatonna Suomi-impi / käsissä on käskijäin, / tylyjen ja tunnotonten / raiskaajainsa röyhkeäin." (*Velikulta* 11 May 1911).

Figure 56. Rafael Rindell: The love of a cannibal. "I love Finland" said Deutrich – and reached to eat. Velikulta *16 May 1914.*

is eyeing and hungrily stroking the naked young woman. The caption goes "'I love Finland' said Deutrich – and reached to eat".[98] W. F. Deutrich, who is personified here as an African, was a Russian bureaucrat and a member of the Russian-Finnish committee appointed to plan new legislation which would tie Finland more tightly to the Empire. The arrangement and the body language of the characters is that of master and slave, connoting white slavery. The Maid has her back to the male figure and has bowed her head in submission and fear. He wears military clothing in a show of power. She is available. Her naked white skin is in stark contrast with his black hand.

The caricature is sinister in an openly titillating manner. The Maid in this caricature is eroticized particularly through her bodily position. Since Antiquity the idealized female has been represented in Western art in the form of the *Venus Pudica*, a figure covering her genital area with her hand.[99] The fundamental

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98 "Minä rakastan Suomea" sanoi Deutrich, – tavotteli syödäkseen." (*Velikulta* 16 May 1914).

99 The *pudica* is shown either standing, as for instance in Praxiteles' *Cnidian Aphrodite* (c. 340 BC) or Botticelli's *The Birth of Venus* (c. 1480), or reclining, as in Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (1528) or Manet's *Olympia* (1863).

difference compared to the male nude is that while the female figures cover their genitals and/or breasts, the male ones cover nothing. Quite predictably the viewer's attention is drawn precisely to those parts of the body that are shielded from our eyes. As Nanette Salomon puts it:

> [i]n any reading, the hand that points also covers and that which covers also points.[100]

It has in fact been debated whether the Greek figure is covering her pubis from onlookers, or whether she pointing to her reproductive powers. What the original intentions of these artists were, and how their contemporaries read these images, is now beyond recovery. The point is that the *pudica*'s pose does not offer any room for an alternative reading; we are now forced to read the work of art through a sexual narrative. Since the pose is so common in the Western tradition, however, we no longer see her nudity, but ingest it. Ultimately, the Maid is reduced to her sexuality and her body is fetishized. Man, however, who does not call attention to any body part in particular, remains coherent and rational.[101] The *pudica* is also exposed and made vulnerable. The word *pudica* itself, which means 'modest' or 'shameful', is used with regard to female images. *Pudica* is etymologically related to 'pudenda', which has the double meaning of 'shame' and 'genitalia'.[102] For male figures the term is *contrapposto.*

The female figure in *The love of a cannibal* has a lot in common with the *pudica*; she is a kind of Fennia Pudica. The woman in the picture has her back turned to the viewer, and her withdrawn pose draws attention to her nudity. His groping hand on her lower back, and his covetous expression, give room to the imagination. The situation, to cite Linda Nochlin, involves "a discourse of desire", "a fantasy potential" and "the hint of unspeakable things to come".[103] Salomon employs the concept of a "narrative of fear" which is produced by the crouching pose. Vulnerability and desirability are narratively associated. In *The love of a cannibal* the Finnish Maid is an object of desire, or desires: one desire originates from within the picture, Deutrich's desire for the Maid/nation, the other from without, from the viewer. Desire in this discourse is heterosexual. The sexualized and vulnerable female is an object in which homosocial nationalist movements can hide their homosocial quality. At the same time they produce a hierarchical gender system in which the female body is the location of masculine power. Male bonding does not take place directly between men, but through a shared space outside the immediate male group: on the woman.[104] "The hint of unspeakable things to come" also turns viewers into voyeurs,

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100 Salomon 1996, 73.
101 Salomon 1996, 63, ft 23, 70–76. Quotation p. 73. See also Nead 1992, 17.
102 For more on the etymology of *pudica* see Salomon 1996, 74–75.
103 Nochlin 1989, 8.
104 Salomon 1996, 81–83. Sport is one exception where men can appreciate each other's bodies without fear of losing their heteromasculinity. One need only glance through a newspaper to find sports pages saturated with photographs of men hugging and touching each other. Anywhere else in the newspaper such images are absent.

Figure 57. Anonymous: The Finnish Maid's New Year's morning, i.e. the nightmare behind the curtain. Tuulispää *5 January 1912.*

wanting to see what is not shown.[105] The same sinister yet titillating atmosphere is of course found in every caricature. For instance in "Suomineidon uuden vuoden aamu" (The Finnish Maid's New Year's morning) (Figure 57), the Governor General F.A. Seyn is lurking behind the screen which hides the innocent, sleeping Finnish Maid.[106] This particular picture is perhaps more humorous than the other caricatures, yet there still is the anticipation of something evil about to happen.

The rhetoric of eating and cannibalism was as common as the imagery of rape. In the foreground of *The love of a cannibal* are bones left over from earlier meals. The desire to consume Finland refers to contemporary nationalist rhetoric, in which certain Russian authorities were called 'the devourers of

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105 Salomon 1996, 74, 77.
106 *Tuulispää* 5 January 1912.

Figure 58. Eric Vasström: The first morsels. Fyren *29 April 1913.*

Finland'. In Eric Wasström's "De första munsbitarna" (The first morsels) (Figure 58), a swarthy Russian is cutting Finland (in the form of a human figure lying on a platter) into pieces; he is complaining that the dish would be easier to swallow if he had some "rich and good sauce made of Europe's crocodile tears".[107] In "Ryssä syöpi toisten vadista, toisella kädellä Suomea, toisella Persiaa" (The Russian eats from other people's bowls, with one hand Finland, with the other Persia) (Figure 44) another Russian man is groping for food from the plates of Finland and Persia.[108] *Fyren* also used the metaphor to comment on domestic politics. In a cover illustration from 1906, Finnish Fennoman nationalism in the form of an orangutan is gobbling up the representatives of the Finnish people.[109]

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107 "[F]et och god sås som Europas krokodil tårar" (*Fyren* 29 April 1913).
108 *Kurikka* 15 May 1909.
109 *Fyren* 19 May 1906.

Through bodily metaphors the nation is transformed into a tangible, living being, which can be raped, cut to pieces and annihilated as well as loved and desired. The imagery of rape was particularly fitting, since the personification of the nation was this virginal figure whose boundaries were unbroken. Her body was an immaculate space, which the enemy was attempting to invade and pollute. Being devoured is even more fatal than being raped. It dissolves the body's boundaries, and makes the devoured one with the devourer. Cannibalism as a metaphor for the loss of the self has been recurrent in Western culture. According to Robert Stam, it has been the "'name of the other,' the ultimate marker of difference in a coded opposition of light/dark, rational/irrational, civilized/savage."[110] McClintock argues in a context of colonialism that the fear of being engulfed by the unknown was common among Europeans. According to her, this cannibal trope was "projected onto the colonized peoples as *their* determination to devour the intruder whole".[111] When we remember that some Russian bureaucrats were called 'the devourers of Finland', we see the same pattern arising. Granted, the Russians were not a subjected people, quite the contrary; but they were dehumanized very similarly to the native people in the colonies. Being eaten may also be interpreted as a metaphor for being raped, and the Russian's desire for the innocent Maid takes on a perverted and violent form. The love in *The love of a cannibal* is dirty and destructive, not pure and unselfish like a people's love for their fatherland. The same metaphor is used in "Novoje Vremjas kärlek till Viborgs län" (Novoye Vremya's love for the Province of Viborg)[112] (Figure 59).

Strategies of bodily differentiation, hierarchization and exclusion are found in the formation and maintenance of nations,[113] of which the sexually and bodily degenerate Russian and the pure white Maid are a case in point. In the mechanisms of differentiation, hierarchization and exclusion, the corporeal plays a crucial role. Inferior people are reduced to their undesirable bodies. The Russians were seen as filthy and degenerate creatures imprisoned in their swarthy bodies and bodily urges. The Russian bureaucracy is made to appear licentious; to express all their evil breeding, in *The love of a cannibal* the cartoonist Rafael Rindell has employed the dichotomy of black (night, wickedness)/white (day, goodness). The strangeness of Deutrich is accentuated by giving him a 'primitive' form. In other caricatures the threat and depravity of the Cossacks is accentuated through metaphors of white/black, day/night and light/dark, implying that the Russians are creatures of the dark. *Kurikka* in turn portrayed the bourgeois as fat men. The use of contrast and the mythologization of the world of politics, as the art historian E.H. Gombrich calls this employment of natural metaphor, is an effective weapon for a cartoonist. One's moral qualities or lack of them are naturalized by equating them with natural

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110 Stam 1989, 125–126. Quotation p. 125.
111 McClintock 1995, 27.
112 *Fyren* 18 September 1909.
113 Roach Pierson 2000, 44.

Figure 59. Rafael Rindell: Novoye Vremya's love for the Province of Viborg. Fyren *18 September 1909.*

phenomena and by cleverly fishing in the pool of deep-seated primordial fears.[114]

The body of the pure Finnish Maid taken captive was both the emblematic national space over which the both sides fought and the contact zone in which the two national ideologies met. According to Sara Mills, the contact zone is sexualized: it is a site in which conflict and the threat of a sexual attack prevail.[115] Through these violent images ethnosexual stereotypes and ethnosexual identities were reproduced. According to Nagel, the ethnosexual frontier is situated at the border area between two or more ethnosexual stereotypes, an area in which the different stereotypes meet.[116]

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114 Gombrich 1985, 138–142.

115 Mills 1996, chapter "The Contact Zone: level of sexualized space". HTML document.

116 Nagel 2001, 128–129. In her study of mass rape in ethno-national conflicts in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, Anne-Maria Marttila has derived 'ethnosexual identity' from Nagel's concepts. 'Ethnosexual identity' refers to the identities which arise between the assailant and the victim. (Marttila 2003, 73–76).

The scholar's job is of course to look at what is there, but sometimes it is equally important to look at what is *not* there. Many of the poems and caricatures I have discussed in this chapter lack a strong male hero. Neither in Erkko's *The captive mother* nor in such caricatures as *In the heart of the night of the heart of winter*, *Defenseless*, *Finland 1809 – Finland 1912*,[117] *The Finnish Maid's New Year's morning* or *The love of a cannibal* is there is a hero who will come to the rescue of the Finnish Maid. In some caricatures there is optimism that some day the nation will be freed, but this will happen by itself; either because that is the nature of things or because of Providence, as in "Lilla Suomi och jätten Ivan" (Little Finland and giant Ivan)[118] (Figure 60). A similar absence of a rescuing male hero is found in von Qvanten's poem *Finnish Maid*, in which the country in the form of a maid is held prisoner by "a giant". What is interesting about this poem is that there were two versions of it. The original version from 1856 anticipated a heroic knight, Freedom, who was on his way to free the Maid.[119] The knight symbolized Sweden and von Qvanten's hopes that Sweden would take Finland back. When the hopes of Finland being returned to Sweden turned out to be futile, von Qvanten removed the part about the knight from subsequent editions.[120]

The body's boundaries are the site of transgression. Transgression is defined as sexual in nature, and it is generally the uncontrolled female body and female sexuality that put the community in jeopardy. Hence female sexuality needs to be restrained and women's bodies appropriated and made inviolate by framing, layering them with impenetrable armor.[121] Many personifications, such as Germania and Britannia, have their body covered with breastplates, shields and helmets, as if to reinforce the 'impregnability' of their borders, the skin. Finnish national symbolism lacks this kind of armor, but the Maid is shielded in other ways. In *The right to voice an opinion* (Figure 48) and in *No* (Figure 55) she is dressed in a national or a typical rural folk costume that covers the full length of her body. She is weaponless, but with her concealing clothing she is as fortified as her more militant European sisters. The Maid's shield is her innocence and moral legitimacy.

The absence of a strong masculine agent contradicts the kind of national gender order which rests on the dichotomy of protecting male – protected female. In actual conflicts and wars, the intended target in sexual assaults on real historical women is not so much the women themselves as the men of their own national or ethnic group. By raping "their" women, the enemy men send a

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117 *Fyren* 3 April 1912.
118 *Fyren* 9 April 1910.
119 von Qvanten 1859.
120 Reitala 1983, 35.
121 McClintock 1995, 47; Nead 1992, 8–9. There is the conception of the female body as a polluting vessel leaking through its boundaries (Douglas 1988, 95–96, 150–158; Apo 1995, 26–29). Transgression thus takes place in two directions: from the inside to the outside and *vice versa*. Framing contains all the dirt inside the body, preventing it from polluting the outside world, at the same time that it protects the body from external threats (Nead 1992: 7–9).

Figure 60. Aadolf Luomanen: Little Finland and giant Ivan. Giant Ivan*: Finally, in the law's shadow I can hug the little Finland!* A voice from above*: That joy won't last for long: the girl will get help from above!* Fyren *9 April 1910.*

message that the men on the other side are not men enough because they cannot protect "their" women.[122] I must emphasize that this is not the only motive for wartime rapes; for instance misogyny is deeply implicated in sexual violence. Nevertheless, sexual assaults are partly motivated by the purpose of humiliating the other men. What is curious about Finnish national fantasies that masculine heroes were not there to protect and rescue the Maid.

This is not to say that the Finnish imagination is totally lacking in strong male heroes. One story in which the Finnish Maid is actually rescued from her captors is Ahlqvist-Oksanen's *Fairy Tale*, in which the Finnish male hero, again

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122 Marttila 2003.

named Freedom, frees the Maid. Ahlqvist-Oksanen's story also differs from the poems and caricatures in another way: the Maid is held captive by two women, Sweden and Russia, rather than by a man. Perhaps it would have been inconceivable for Finland to have remained captive to two women. Similarly, Erkko's poem "Nuori prinsessa" (The young princess, 1901) has a potential hero, a poor *kantele* player, who hears the sorrowful sighs of the princess. Like the Maid of Wiena, the young princess has turned down the proposals of foreign men. She cannot think of marrying:

> In her breast she carries
> The great sorrows of the country,
> To her her people is dear.
> "If there were a hero in Finland,
> He would not allow slavery!"[123]

The role of the *kantele* player is to incite Finnish men to be ready to fight for the young princess. Paavo Cajander's poem "Vapautettu kuningatar" (The freed queen, 1881) employs characters and situations which may be considered more typical of the gender order. The poem describes a captive queen, who in her sorrow sings at night. Once a traveler happens to hear her singing and recognizes her song. He brings the song to his people, who in turn keep on repeating it. The song awakens deep patriotic feelings in one man:

> From his helmet daylight reflects and from his sword the moon:
> "This country has to rescue mother!" he shouts to his people[124]

No one follows him and he has to face the enemy alone; this is not that difficult for him, because "the strength of a hundred men has he".[125] In the end the queen is set free and restored to her throne. *The freed queen* is not a love story, in which the gallant knight rescues and gets the maidenly princess. Its female figure is a mature mother; she is called a mother twice by the hero. He remains anonymous. He appears from the crowd and vanishes back into it. The poem stresses that national sons protect their mother, and that every man is capable of doing so.

Among the caricatures, the presence of someone to rescue the Maid makes *No* different from the others. In their bowler hats and tophats, the men who come to her aid belong to the upper class. This recalls Eino Leino's novel *Jaana Rönty* (1907), in which the main character, a poor young girl, comes to Helsinki from the countryside. In the beginning of the novel Jaana finds herself unwittingly in a brothel, and is about to be raped by the frenzied customers. She is, however, saved by the old Baron Manfelt, a representative of the educated classes. Later on Jaana is less fortunate: she is attacked on the street by Russian

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123 "Hällä on rinnassaan / Suursurut synnyinmaan, / Hälle on kansansa kallis. / "Jos ois sankari Suomenmaassa, / Ei se orjuutta sallis!" (Erkko 1910b, 294).

124 "Kypärästä välkkyvi päivä ja miekasta kuu sädehtii: / "Pelastettava maan on äiti!" hän huutavi kansallen, (Cajander 1914, 127).

125 "Sadan miehen voimat hällä" (Cajander 1914, 127).

Figure 61. Alexander Federley: 2,5 million rubles.
Fyren *12 September 1908.*

gendarmes. Baron Manfelt is there again to witness the attack but does not recognize Jaana, and decides not to get involved. This time she is raped by the gendarmes at the police station.[126] The novel belongs to Leino's so-called *routavuositrilogia* ("trilogy of the years of oppression"), which depicts the political situation and attitudes of that era, and I find it interesting that he too chose the rape theme as the driving force in the story of Jaana Rönty.

Here, in addition to gender and sexuality, social class emerges as an important factor in the construction of Finland. The Fennomans believed that the authentic Finnish people and culture were to be found in the rural areas, and the Young Finns – whom *Velikulta* supported – consisted to the great extent of the educated classes and the intelligentsia. The Maid is defiant, but her resistance is not strong enough and upper-class men come to her rescue – i.e. to

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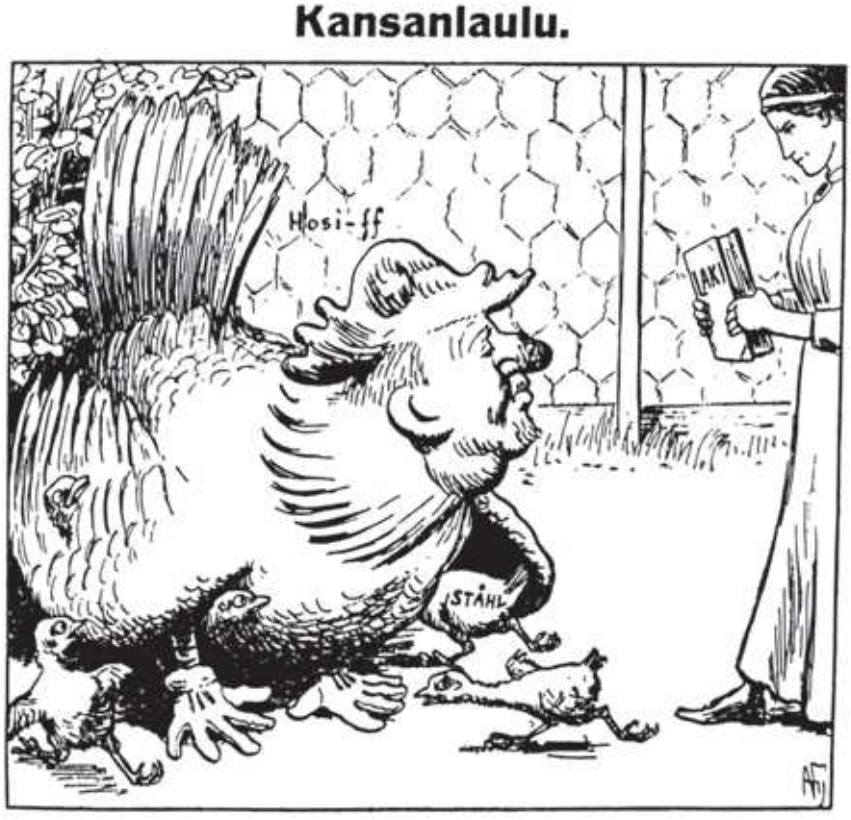
126 Leino 1998, 200–204, 224–230. I do not want to extend the comparison too far. *Jaana Rönty* belongs to a period in Leino's career when he had grown disillusioned in his view of the common people. Baron Manfelt represents the old, idealistic world, which is inevitably losing ground, and in the end he is unable to save the young woman (See Larmola 1990, 219–251; Sarajas 1962, 127–162.)

Figure 62. Alexander Federley: Folksong. Velikulta *21 November 1912.*



the rescue of the nation. A woman may well serve as the symbol of a nation, but she remains just that. Masculinity is required to secure the existence of the nation. Here masculinity is not so much physical strength as rationality and culture.

I am attracted to Ala's idea that the rescue of the Maid took place in the public debate over prostitution and the age of consent.[127] The masculine subject was in crisis. What did not take place in caricatures took place furtively in the public discussion. These pictures should also be seen within in a wider narrative. The Maid was not always in distress; she could be defiant as well (Figures 61 and 62). Images of strong masculine men were also used, especially in *Kurikka*. In addition, it must be kept in mind that these pictures were above all a form of propaganda in a specific historical and political situation, and the Maid raped was a powerful image.

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127 Ala 1999.

The Body Politics of the Suometar-Mamma

Abject and grotesque

In the previous three chapters I have analyzed the young and desired Finnish Maid. I will end the discussion with a totally different figure, the old and grotesque Suometar-Mamma, Old Woman Finland. Although this character was not a Finnish Maid as such – an ethereal object of male heterosexual desire – but quite the contrary, I nevertheless include the Suometar-Mamma in my analysis. There are three reasons for this. The first reason is related to the figure's body, or to what covers it: the national dress. In her clothing she was the ugly side of the Fennoman Finnish Maid in national dress, and thereby played a crucial part in the construction of the national identity. In *Fyren* and *Velikulta*, where the figure was drawn by Alexander Federley, the Suometar-Mamma was very detailed. Her dress was ornamented on the sides of the sleeves, and she often wore a brooch or buckle that held the dress together (Figure 13). Moreover, she wore the distinctive headgear, a scarf with knots on both sides of the head, familiar for instance from R.W. Ekman's *Kalevala* paintings and illustrations.[1] The Suometar-Mamma was above all Federley's creation; it was he that introduced this figure to readers. Oscar Furuhjelm's Suometar-Mammas had the same headgear (Figure 72). In fact, in 1908 the knotted scarf was *the* distinctive feature in the otherwise very simplistic dress in Furuhjelm's caricatures.

Antti Wanninen's Suometar-Mamma in *Kurikka* was more plain, if this word may be used in connection with the character. Her dress was composed of a separate blouse and skirt. Sometimes both garments had polka-dots, sometimes only one of them. On some occasions her sleeves were rolled up, revealing hairy and masculine arms. Her legs too turned out to be very hairy.[2] Unlike Federley's and Furuhjelm's Suometar-Mamma, she did not wear the knotted headgear but a simple band with 'U.S.' or 'U. Suometar' written on it. Since her head was not covered, readers were able to see her stringy sparse hair (Figure 63).

Secondly, the sheer number of caricatures featuring the Suometar-Mamma was great. To ignore this figure would be a great injustice to the early twentieth century political debate over Finnishness that took place in the satirical magazines. The Suometar-Mamma appeared in *Fyren*, *Kurikka* and *Velikulta*, in the satirical magazines that supported or were associated with the Swedish faction, the workers' movement and the Young Finns respectively. A factor

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1 See Ervamaa 1981, for example Plates 24 and 298.
2 *Kurikka* 1 October 1909; *Kurikka* 1 November 1910.

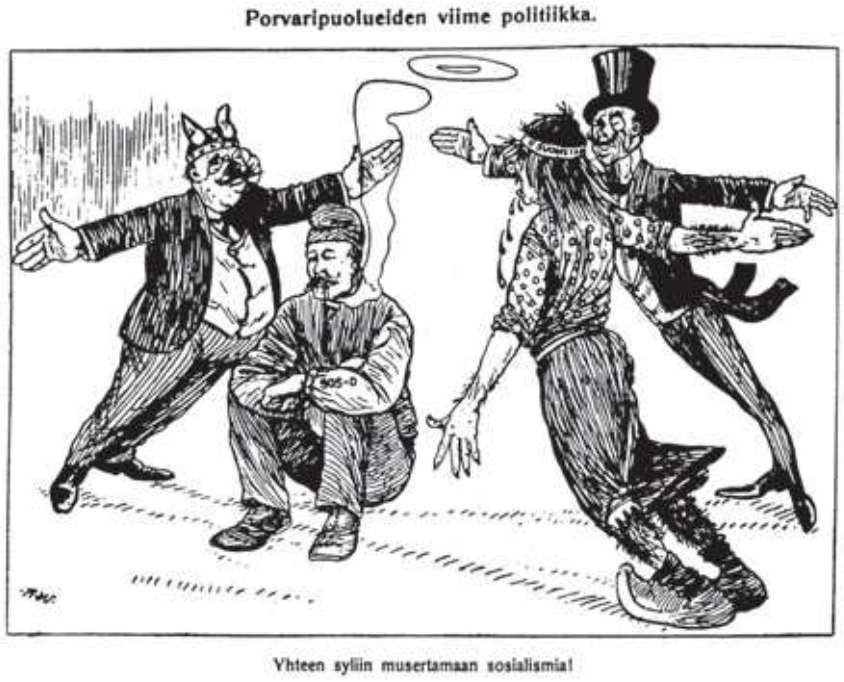

Figure 63. Antti Wanninen: Bourgeois party politics. Let's all hug Socialism until it suffocates! Kurikka *1 November 1910.*

common to these three publications was their opposition to the Old Finns and to their newspaper, the *Uusi Suometar*. The Suometar-Mamma, or Uusi-Suimitar as she was occasionally called, was the symbol of *Uusi-Suometar* and the Fennoman Old Finns behind the Old Finnish Party newspaper. Its most important political articles had to be accepted by the party, and the editors followed the party's instructions. Ernst Nevanlinna, the editor-in-chief between 1906–1913, was also the chairman of the party delegation.[3] The link between Party and paper was therefore tight, and there was thus a close association between the Suometar-Mamma and Fennoman Old Finn politics and conceptions of Finnishness.

Because of this enmeshing of the Suometar-Mamma, the *Uusi Suometar* and Old Finn politics, the figure was more involved in daily political events than the other Maids. For this reason also the following discussion will address political events slightly more closely than in previous chapters. Nevertheless, keeping in mind the focus of this study, my main interests lie in gender, sexuality and the body, and not in the reconstruction of political events. In fact, the grotesque body of the Suometar-Mamma is the third reason for her inclusion. Her old and deteriorating body was in stark contrast to the body of the virginal Maid. Through the Suometar-Mamma we can address the symbolic meanings of filth, aging and contamination associated with the female body in the context of national identities.

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3 Salokangas & Tommila 1998, 112.

Before the Suometar-Mamma was introduced in the pages of *Fyren*, the magazine had used male figures to portray the *Uusi Suometar*. One was 'Suomettaren Matti', a character based on the political column 'Matti's letter from Helsinki'. When the popular column first started in 1877, 'Matti' was the *nom de plume* of Agathon Meurman, a notable Old Finn politician, but early on other columnists, such as Anton Almberg (later Antti Jalava) began to write under the pen-name.[4] In some caricatures Matti was given an actual face,[5] in others he was a fictional character.[6] The name Matti was very Finnish and had nationalistic connotations; it had been used in the 1840s by J.V. Snellman, and by others after him, in the newspaper *Maamiehen Ystävä* (Farmer's friend) to portray the common Finnish man.[7] In J.L. Runeberg's poem "Hirvenhiihtäjät" (The elk hunters) readers meet stout Matti of Kuru,[8] and in Z. Topelius' *The Book of Our Land* there were two characters named Matti. Thus Finnishness was marked as masculine.

The visual appearance of the Suometar-Mamma – old, wrinkled, twisted body, wide-open toothless mouth that cannot hold back a stream of drool and snot[9] – is something one sees as ugly and disgusting; she is an 'abject'. 'Abject' is a psychoanalytical concept introduced by Julia Kristeva, who in *Powers of Horror* defines abject as

> something rejected from which one does not part, from which one does not protect oneself as from an object. Imaginary uncanniness and real threat, it beckons to us and ends up engulfing us. It is thus not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules.[10]

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4 Nieminen 1946, 574–575; Landgren 1988, 322. Nieminen and Landgren do not refer by name to other columnists than Meurman and Almgren, who wrote the column between 1878 and 1893. Landgren suggests, referring both to the memoirs of Lounasmaa and to Nieminen's study, that after Almgren a number of writers were responsible for Matti's letters. Neither Lounasmaa nor Nieminen, however, mention other names. According to Miesmaa, the letters were usually written by the editor-in-chief (Miesmaa 1916, 10). This would mean that Lounasmaa, and from 1906 onwards Ernst Nevanlinna, were behind Matti's letters.

5 "Hur finsk gröt och svensk mjölk i längden skola hålla i hop, förstår jag inte" (*Fyren* 24 May 1902). In the course of this work I have every now and then asked myself the question, "who is this man?" Faces in the magazines do not always match the names and faces in encyclopedias. The man in "Hur finsk gröt…" is a case in point. The character is probably a real person, since this is not the only occasion it appeared (see *Velikulta* 10 January 1901). Exact identification is another matter. If the writer behind Matti's letters was the editor-in-chief, then the figure would be Lounasmaa. However, Federley's front-page caricature "Und Pippa tanzt" in *Fyren* 1 September 1906, featured Lounasmaa, Messman and Meurman; none of them resembled Matti. Is this one person or an amalgam of many? No wonder a historian often finds herself perplexed and frustrated. According to Juha Huuskonen, Matti was a man named Akseli Lilius (Huuskonen 1986, 199, 214).

6 "Landtdagstrojka". Matti as a youth plays circus with his younger brothers Finn and Sven. (*Fyren* 1 October 1904).

7 For example *Maamiehen Ystävä* 17 August 1844, 30 November 1844, 18 January 1845. The articles can be found in Snellman 1994.

8 Runeberg 1968.

9 *Kurikka* 1 February 1910; *Kurikka* 1 November 1910.

10 Kristeva 1982, 4.

Figure 64. Alexander Federley: Uusi Suimitar or the Finnish Lady Macbeth. Suimitar-Macbeth*: Out, damned spots! out I say! … Yet who would have thought that my right hand was so black? … Will it ne'er be clean…? Here's the smell still … all the SHINE-powder will not sweeten this black hand … (Freely after Shakespeare).* Fyren *18 March 1905.*

Kristeva argues, following Mary Douglas, that fluids, formlessness and filth of the body are considered disgusting and dangerous.[11] Dirt and contamination were associated with the Suometar-Mamma from the onset. She made her debut in the character of William Shakespeare's tragic Lady Macbeth, a notable cultural figure herself, in a caricature titled "Uusi Suimitar eller Den finska lady Macbeth" (Uusi Suimitar or the Finnish Lady Macbeth).[12] (Figure 64) This picture by Federley was captioned:

> *Suimitar-Macbeth*: Out, damned spots! out I say! … Yet who would have thought that my right hand was so black? … Will it ne'er be clean…? Here's the smell still … all the SHINE-powder will not sweeten this black hand …[13]
>
> (Freely after Shakespeare)

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11 Kristeva 1982, 2–4.

12 *Fyren* 18 March 1905.

13 *Suimitar-Macbeth*: Bort, förbannade fläckar! Bort säger/ jag...Hvem hade kunnat tro, att min högra hand var så/ svart?...Skall den då aldrig bli ren...? Allt ännu stinker/ den...Inte ens

The verse and the picture referred to the well-known sleepwalking scene, in which Lady Macbeth is trying to rub her symbolically bloody hands clean. In the popular imagination Lady Macbeth is a merciless, deceitful, disloyal and power-hungry "fiend-like Queen",[14] who incites her apprehensive husband Macbeth to murder the virtuous King Duncan, so as to fulfil the prophesies of the Three Witches – the Weird Sisters – and rise to the throne himself. Lady Macbeth does not commit the actual murder, but masterminds the bloody plot. She cannot, however, bear her guilty conscience, and when she is unable to literally wash her hands off the affair, she commits suicide.

It is in this infamous character that the Suometar-Mamma was first conceived, and the image persisted in *Fyren*: the same picture was used three times after its initial appearance.[15] In the Lady Macbeth caricature her black hand reflects the shadow of the Old Finn Yrjö-Koskinen on the wall,[16] like one of the bloody daggers that were used to kill the King. The Suometar-Mamma was desperately trying to polish her tarnished reputation when it became apparent that despite the Old Finns' co-operation with the Russians the Party was losing its political clout.[17]

The image of the Suometar-Mamma was one of filth and foulness (Figure 65). Parts of her body were covered with filth which had to be cleaned from the Old Finns' sins committed during the Bobrikov years; as one of the recurring Lady Macbeth caricatures puts it,

> Old Granny Patience
> weeps in her shame
> she wants to clean herself
> of the dark years' blame.[18]

All the dirt, however, could not be totally washed away, and the Suometar-Mamma went around contaminating everything she touched. In "Ett värdigt

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BLENDA-pulver kan rentvä denna svarta/ hand.../ (Fritt efter Shakespeare). The original Shakespearean text in Act V, scene I, line 33 onwards is as follows:
Lady M[*acbeth*]. Out, damned spot! out, I say! – One; two: why, then 'tis time to do't. –Hell is murky. – Fie, my Lord, fie! a soldier, and afeard? – What need we fear who knows it, when none can call our power to accompt? – Yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him?
Doctor. Do you mark that?
Lady M. The Thane of Fife had a wife: where is she now? – What, will these hands ne'er be clean? – No more o'that, my Lord, no more o'that: you mar all with this starting.
*Doct*or: Go to, go to: you have known what you should not.
Gentlewoman: She has spoke what she should not, I am sure of that: Heaven knows what she has known.
Lady M. Here's the smell of the blood still: all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand. Oh! oh! oh!

14 *Macbeth* Act V, scene IX, line 35.
15 *Fyren* Easter issue 1907; *Fyren* 20 January 1912; *Fyren* 21 January 1916.
16 Huuskonen 1986, 281.
17 Salokorpi 1988, 55–57.
18 "Gamla Maltti-gumman/ gråter i sin skam,/ ville tvätta sig/ mörka årens slam". "U.S. vill tvätta sig" (*Fyren* Easter issue 1907). See also "Dirtmarks from the past years being cleaned" ("Takavuosien likajälkiä puhdistetaan") *Kurikka* 1 October 1909.

Figure 65. Antti Wanninen: Dirt marks from the past are cleaned off. Kurikka *1 October 1909.*

par" (An equal couple) (Figure 66),[19] the Suometar-Mamma and a male figure personifying the newspaper *Työmies* (The working man) left class hatred and a hatred of the Swedes behind them. The same picture appeared a couple of weeks later under the title "Två massförgiftare – ty den kan ej införas för ofta" (Two mass poisoners – for it cannot be shown too often).[20]

With her dirty hair and body, the Suometar-Mamma was quite the opposite of the desirable Finnish Maid. The abject indeed is the opposite of desire. It is based on exclusion "and articulated by *negation* and its modalities, *transgression*, *denial* and *repudiation*."[21] Kristeva, however, stresses that filth cannot be fully expelled and that the experience of the abject involves a mixture of disgust and interest.[22] Furthermore, writing in a psychoanalytical context, Kristeva

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19 *Fyren* Midsummer issue 1906.

20 *Fyren* 8 August 1906. After the Civil War of 1918 the Fennomanes were accused of provoking nationalism among the lower classes what had in time turned into a revolt. (Kemiläinen 1998, 151.)

21 Kristeva 1982, 6.

22 Kristeva 1982, 2–4, 65–89. See also Palin 1996, 232; McClintock 1995, 71–72; Grosz 1994, 192–193.

attributes the abject to the maternal, to the fear of the archaic mother and her generative powers.[23] Mary Russo points out in her assessment of Kristeva that the alleged contempt for the maternal has led Kristeva to idealize motherhood in a manner which has no basis in the reality and experience of real mothers.[24]

Since *Powers of Horror* is influenced by the work of Douglas, Kristeva emphasizes boundaries and order:

> filth is not a quality in itself, but it applies only to what relates to a *boundary* and, more particularly, represents the object jettisoned out of that boundary, its other side, a margin.[25]

Thus bodily fluids and filth become disgusting and dangerous when they transgress borders, whether it is the border of one's body or boundaries between bodies invading space and disturbing harmony. According to Douglas, all boundaries are both danger zones and vulnerable, and when they are contested something fundamental changes form.[26] The imagery of rape relied on the vulnerability of boundaries. Then the danger came from outside the national body; now the threat flows out from within it and from within the body of the Suometar-Mamma. All the spittle and mucus dripping from the Suometar's mouth and nose declare the permeability of the body, of the female body in particular. Douglas points out that in many cultures both sexes lead the opposite sex into danger. However, Douglas recognizes the genderedness of polluting matter; it is the female body and bodily fluids which are more contaminating and perilous to men than men's are to women.[27] The beautiful insight in Douglas' analysis is the interdependence between the human body and society. One's attitudes towards the body do not differ from the experiences one has as a member of a particular society. Danger and filth are culturally varying categories, and to understand bodily pollution we first have to consider the dangers that threaten society, since these threats are then manifested in the body.[28] Nonetheless, all that transgresses borders is generally represented as dirt and experienced as abject.[29]

The body of the Suometar-Mamma is an abject body, but it is also a grotesque one. The Suometar-Mamma was the Crone, a withered old woman whose deteriorating body was pictorially exploited. The figure was an example of the grotesque. The concept of the grotesque was introduced into modern cultural

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23 Kristeva 1982, 2–4, 77, 208.
24 Russo 1995, 64–65.
25 Kristeva 1982, 69.
26 Douglas 2000, 190–191.
27 Douglas 2000, 49; Grosz 1994, 193–197. The numerous unravellings of the mysterious and precarious female body by researchers has left the male body in the shadows. Men, masculinity and the male body have assumed the position of universality. Grosz gives some examples of the silence about the male body: for instance, early 1990s AIDS prevention measures among heterosexual population were aimed at women who should guard sexual purity of the whole community (Grosz 1994, 197).
28 Douglas 2000, 190–191. See also Russo 1995, 56–58.
29 Grosz 1994, 201.

Figure 66. Alexander Federley: An equal couple or two mass poisoners. Fyren *Midsummer issue 1906.*

studies in the West via the translated works of the Soviet literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975).[30] According to one of Bakhtin's main works, *Rabelais and His World*, the grotesque in Rabelais' (1494–1553) carnivalesque works relied heavily on the body. Bakhtin's grotesque was associated with the material lower bodily stratum: degradation, filth, decay, death and rebirth. The grotesque body twists, protrudes, secretes; it deviates from the norms of the sleek classical body.[31] Like the abject, the grotesque body too occupies a liminal space between inside and outside.[32]

To apply the concept of the grotesque successfully in an early twentieth century Finnish context, however, some modification of it seems to be necessary, since the cosmology and culture of Medieval and Renaissance French society certainly differed from those of the *fin-de-siècle* autonomous

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30 For Bakhtin's role among historians such as Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Natalie Zemon Davis and Peter Burke in a wider movement of cultural studies see Docker 1994, 192–197.
31 Russo 1995, 7–8.
32 March 2002, 329.

Grand Duchy. Closely linked with the grotesque is another concept, the 'carnivalesque'. The spectacular carnivals that played a significant role in Medieval and Renaissance Southern Europe were associated with the cycle of life and of the year. They were celebrated regularly before or after the religious fast, around harvest time, and on occasions connected with the two extremes of life, birth and death.[33] Regeneration through death, laughing pregnant old hags and death giving birth were an integral part of the carnival and the grotesque.[34]

The Suometar-Mamma was not laughing. Her grimacing face and twisted old body connoted only death and decay, not rebirth. The Bakhtinian grotesque was essentially a positive and joyful phenomenon, an instrument for the lower classes to turn society's hierarchies upside down at least for a brief moment.[35] The grotesque body was resistant and subversive.[36] Medieval society was strictly divided into the serious sphere of the omnipotent Church and the festive sphere of carnival and people's laughter.[37] Carnival was not a festival given for the people but one that people gave themselves, as Goethe observed during his Italian journey in 1787–1788.[38] The Bakhtinian carnival and the grotesque were the common people's way to cope with the hardships and sometimes even the sheer terror of everyday life and death.[39]

Bakhtin has been criticized for having too naive and idealized an image of the carnival festivities. Their joyous freedom had an ugly side, that of the taunting of minorities such as the Jews. There were also reports of women being raped during carnivals.[40] Bakhtin also misses the gendered ramifications of the grotesque body, for example in his analysis of pregnant hags. From a feminist point-of-view, laughing and pregnant hags are filled with meanings of fear and disgust evoked by biological reproduction and ageing.[41] There is indeed the danger that, looking at the subject through this theoretical lens, one will fail to see all the gendered, negative and constructivist elements in the picture. Rabelais' works contain both male and female grotesques, yet their political implications differ. The modern gallery of the grotesque is mostly filled with women. In addition to the Crone, other types of iconography associated with the grotesque include the Medusa, the Bearded Woman, the Fat Lady, the Tattooed Woman, the Hysteric, the Vampire, the Unruly Woman, the Hottentot Venus, the Starving Woman, the Female Impersonator, the Siamese Twin and the Dwarf,

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33 Bahtin 1995, 11–14. The carnivals could together take up to three months of a year. I have used the Finnish translation of Bakhtin's study, hence the translitteration 'Bahtin' in references.

34 Bahtin 1995, 24–25; Johnson 1994, 43–44. The most famous old and pregnant-to-be hag who was laughing at the face of the absurdity of her prophesied condition was, of course, Sarah in Genesis 18: 9–15.

35 Bahtin 1995, 81–82.

36 March 2002, 323–324.

37 Bahtin 1995, 7–8.

38 Goethe 1992, 324.

39 Bahtin 1995, 81–82.

40 Docker 1994, 186–187; Russo 1995, 58–63. For Docker's criticism of the criticism see Docker 1994, 187–191.

41 Russo 1995, 63.

many of which are explicitly coded as female.[42] In fact, Russo ponders whether the term 'female grotesque' is a tautology, since the sleek body from which the grotesque is a deviation is actually gendered as male; the female body is the broken vessel, leaking, polluting and transgressing boundaries.[43]

I understand the grotesque first of all as a *stylistic device*, enabling the portrayal of exaggerated bodily forms. Still, an exaggerated form alone does not constitute the grotesque; there must be something that we perceive as shocking, disturbing, ugly.[44] 'Ugly' often implies 'morally repugnant'; in other words, form or style affects content. For this reason the grotesque is considered to contain a built-in criticism of society, since the deviating forms of the grotesque constitute a critique of norms.[45] In its clash with the symmetrical, static and sleek body of the classical aesthetics of high culture, it signifies social transformation. The grotesque, as Russo puts it, conceptualizes "social formations, social conflict, and the realm of the political".[46] Accordingly, I understand the grotesque secondly as a *political device* that was used in the discursive power struggle over the definition of Finnishness.

To sum up: with some reservations, I see the Suometar-Mamma as having qualities of both the grotesque and the abject. Although the abject is originally a psychoanalytical concept, for instance Anne McClintock has applied it in her study of imperialism. According to McClintock, being situated at the threshold of the body and the body politic abjection can function as a bridge between psychoanalysis and material history.[47] The Suometar-Mamma was men's representation of an old woman, a symbol of the political enemy. With all its problems, the grotesque, the politics of the old female body, is nonetheless a serviceable concept, especially if its negative and constructivist aspects are recognized. In her ugliness, filth and degradation, a negative image of Fennoman Finnishness and racial characteristics was created. Before approaching this question, however, I examine the metaphors of political prostitution which were also associated with this figure.

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42 Russo 1995, 14. Of vampire women see Hapuli 1992. Classic grotesques are considered to be imaginary hybrid creatures such as Basilisk, Pegasus, Centaur, Griffin, Pan, Harpy (and Medusa) (Fingesten 1984, 420).

43 Russo 1995, 11–12. Cf. Fingesten 1984, 420 who does not see the Venus of Willendorf as grotesque but as a symbol that "evokes the miracle of human procreation."

44 Fingesten 1984, 419–420.

45 Berger 1994, 65–66, 147.

46 Bahtin 1995, 20, 130; Rowe 1995, 33; Russo 1995, 8. In addition to the Bakhtinian comic grotesque, literature knows another kind of grotesque: the Freudian uncanny. It connects to inner mental world, but as its Bakhtinian counterpart, also it depends on the body. (Russo 1995, 7).

47 McClintock has used the concept to cover groups of people such as slaves and prostitutes that were pushed out to the margins of society, but who were at the same time needed in one way or another by the rest of the society. McClintock maintains that these groups and the places they inhabited became abject zones that were under perpetual supervision (McClintock 1995, 72).

Prostituted body

At the turn of the century the political debate was lively, even acerbic. Satire could be cruel and grotesque, and of this the Suometar-Mamma was a telling example. This shriveled and haggard body marked sinfulness. From the very beginning, starting with the Lady Macbeth caricature, characteristics associated with the Suometar-Mamma were disloyalty to what *Fyren* considered to be the political common good and rightfulness, and deceit for own selfish gain; these were often conveyed by the twisted position of the figure's body. In the Christian tradition, woman and particularly the female body are the symbol and source of sin. To extend the biblical metaphor, we can say that the political Fall of Man was signified by the female body of the Suometar-Mamma.[48]

The Suometar-Mamma's sexuality was marked as disgusting and was associated with notions of prostitution. The repulsiveness and even ridiculousness one sees in the representation of her sexuality is the result of her haggard old woman's body. What is particularly interesting with regard to national identity production in the case of Finland is that the only explicitly sexual and bodily character among the female figures used in the construction of Finnishness was this negative character. The other Maid figures, as shown in earlier chapters, were ethereal, liminal non-bodies.

In the context of party politics, disloyalty was exemplified by 'patience' and 'moderation' (*maltti*), which was one of the Suometar-Mamma's attributes that was used in *Fyren*. In the Lady Macbeth picture the word is written on the washbasin; in "Fosterlandet's värn år 1908" (Fatherland's shield in 1908)[49] (Figure 67), a blindfold Suometar-Mamma clutches a Patience bottle; in the verse in "Und Pippa tanzt" … vergebens" ("And Pippa danced" … in vain)[50] the Suometar was called Old Woman Patience (*Maltin muija*); in "Skön Suimitar och Ung Otto" (Beautiful Suimitar and young Otto)[51] (Figure 68), the time of patience (*maltti-tiden*) is mentioned in the satiric verse, and in "För morgonbris..." (For morrow's winds)[52] (Figure 69) the character is called Patience Finland (*Maltti-Suomi)*. In *For morrow's winds* she is also portrayed as a turncoat, an unsuccessful one who "cannot even turn coat depending on the wind as before".[53] Turning one's coat is of course an action similar to trying to wash one's hands of guilt. The long coat she is wearing and the spurs on her shoes resemble the outfit of the Russian gendarmes.

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48 The Christian image of the woman is, as we all well know, dualistic. There is the asexual Virgin Mary and the sexual penitent whore Mary Magdalene. Interestingly, neither myth has its basis in the Bible, but in social reality. The threat of female sexuality was brought under (male) control by these two images; the asexual virgin mother and the prostitute who repents her sexuality. (Koivunen 1994, 6.)

49 *Fyren* 18 July 1908.

50 *Fyren* 1 September 1906.

51 *Fyren* 22 April 1905.

52 *Fyren* 1 April 1905.

53 "kan inte ens vändä kappan efter vind som förr" (*Fyren* 1 April 1905).

Figure 67. Alexander Federley: Fatherland's shield in 1908. Fyren *18 July 1908.*

'Patience' referred to the appeasement policy advocated by the Old Finns and their party leader J.R. Danielson-Kalmari as the main strategy in working with the Russian authorities. The Finnish people were to claim their national rights in the Empire patiently, though resolutely. Furthermore, the political elite had to do their utmost to avoid damaging and eventually severing relations between the people and the Russian sovereign. In practice this meant concessions to the new and old Russian regulations.[54] *Kurikka* commented in "Eräs hirttolaillisuuden kerupiimi" (A certain cherub of hangman legality)[55] (Figure 70) on 'Matti's' article in *Uusi Suometar*, defending the old statute that required printers to send file copies to the authorities.[56] To those critics who regarded the

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54 Salokorpi 1988, 27. Concessions had resulted in the Old Finn majority in the Senate and also in civil service since the Constitutionalists had resigned from those posts. Danielson-Kalmari brought forth this and other views regarding what should be the Party's, and the counry's, line toward Russian policies in Finland in a book titled *Mihin suuntaan?* (Which direction?, 1901). This book became the program of the appeasement policy. (Rommi 1964, 309, 320).

55 *Kurikka* Midsummer issue 1911.

56 *Uusi Suometar* 11 June 1911.

Figure 68. Alexander Federley: Beautiful Suimitar and young Otto, or the deserted and disappointed groom without a bride.
Fyren *22 April 1905.*

nation's existence as based on its constitutional laws, this appeasement policy must have seemed hypocritical and a form of political prostitution – or at least was articulated as such in propaganda writing.

There were indeed allusions to prostitution and sexual license. Satirical magazines teamed the Suometar-Mamma with the political opponent; in *Fyren* the figure collaborated with the workers' movement and in *Kurikka* with the Swedish People's Party (SPP).[57] For instance in "Kaunis pari" (A beautiful couple), the two vile characters, the Suometar-Mamma and a Viking as the symbol of the Swedish People's Party, were joined in a warm embrace (Figure 71). According to the caption, some Finnish voters had decided to support the candidates of the Vikings, i.e. the SPP.[58] Allegations of sexual collaboration with the enemy also surfaced in *Tuulispää* in 1917–1918, i.e. around the time of Independence and the Civil War. This time the allegations involved actual Finnish working-class women and Russian soldiers stationed in the country.

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57 See for example *Fyren* Midsummer issue 1906; *Kurikka* 1 November 1911; *Kurikka* 15 August 1912. There is also a picture in *Kurikka* 1 June 1908 where *Uusi Suometar* is in bed with the male *Novoye Vremya.*

58 "Kaunis pari". "Kristiinankaupungin kunnallisvaaleissa ilmoitti » Joukko suomalaisia valitsijoita » päättäneensä äänillään kannattaa viikinkien ehdokkaita." (*Kurikka* 1 November 1909).

Figure 69. Alexander Federley: For morrow's winds… Heavens! Sun and gusty winds! Fatal – with all my patience I am without doubt in windy weather… And what is most fatal – I cannot even turn coat depending on the wind as before because it is helplessly caught in the – – – _spurs… which _– – _and _– – gave me…
Fyren *1 April 1905.*

The columnist "Pilkkakirves" disapproved of "the 'mutual' aid working-class women, *our* women and the army frequently extend to each other"[59] [my italics], and deplored the decline of the morals of Finnish women who crowded the gates of Russian barracks.[60] "Pilkkakirves" pointed out that he knew only one other group of women who were prepared for "racial mixing" with strangers: the Hebrew women who went with the Moabites and the Egyptians. But as the writer reminded the readers, "they all were drowned".[61]

After the Civil War, Finnish women were implicated in *Tuulispää*. Right after the war, the satirical magazine published a "liberation issue", containing a caricature of women with little children, one woman pregnant, crying after a departing train. According to the caption, many young Finnish women were now sad because "Ivan" had left the country, but the saddest were those women

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59 ""molemminpuolisesta" avusta, mitä työväki, naisemme ja sotaväki vähäväliä ojentavat toisillensa," (*Tuulispää* 29 June 1917).
60 *Tuulispää* no 10?11, 1916.
61 "he kaikki hukutettiin..." (*Tuulispää*, issue for Shrove Tuesday 1916).

Figure 70. Antti Wanninen: A certain cherub of hangman legality. Kurikka *Midsummer issue 1911.*

for whom he left a "fruit as a memory"[62]. The magazine implied that there were immoral women who had had sexual relations with the enemy. Two issues later the magazine addressed "respectable" women with a poem "Iloitkaa immet" (Be joyous, young maids): young women should be glad because Finnish men in uniforms are arriving. The "stench of the Russians" is gone, and

> You pure doves who have suffered
> soon to the Finnish soldiers
> you can open your hearts![63]

Once again national degeneration and the threat to national unity was located on the sexual female body, on a woman who did not behave as was expected of her. This led Pilkkakirves to ponder – humorously but also in true homosocial fashion – whether men should just give up on women and keep to all-male groups, where they would be free of

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62 *Tuulispää* Liberation issue 1918.

63 "Te kärsineet puhtaat pulut, / pian suloille Suomen soltuille, / saatte avata syömenne sulut!" (*Tuulispää* 31 May 1918).

Figure 71. Antti Wanninen:
A beautiful couple.
Kurikka *1 November 1909.*

> leap years and all the odd devices of stupid imagination. Around our bald heads would coolness and peace linger, and we could without fever and distraction think about more valuable things. […] Do you think that this suggestion is good enough for the cold and passionless women of Finland.[64]

These discourses took place in a humorous context, but more serious voices were also raised. There is an often-quoted polemic by Ilmari Kianto, in which he suggests after the Civil War that

> Would it not be a correct tactic of judgement to kill off a certain percent of the other sex among the enemy – as a moral warning to their wretched

. . . . . .

64 "karkauspäiviä eikä muita typerän mielikuvituksen kummallisia keksintöjä. Meidän kaljujemme ympärill asuisi viileys ja rauha, ja me voisimme ilman kuumetta ja häiriintymistä pohtia arvokkaampia asioita. […] Luuletko, että tämä ehdotus kelpaa Suomen kylmille ja himottomille naisille." (*Tuulispää* issue for Shrove Tuesday 1916).

> sisters. In a wolf hunt it is precisely the bitch and not the male one thinks is a better catch, because every hunter knows that the female gives birth to cubs that are just as bad and will became an eternal enemy. It has been proven that in the Finnish civil war the Reds were beasts, and many of their women – wolf bitches, even tigresses. Would it not be pure madness not to shoot those beasts which harass us?[65]

In addition to the feminization and sexualization of the enemy, they were dehumanized and transformed into animals which breed uncontrollably.

Illegitimate offspring were the products of the Suometar-Mamma's illicit indulgence as well. In "Frid och fröjd and försoning" (Freedom and joy and reconciliation)[66] (Figure 72), by Furuhjelm, the Suometar-Mamma and *Helsingin Sanomat* embraced each other warmly. In the foreground was an infant 'Hatred of the Swedes',[67] again an allusion to the Suometar-Mamma's destructive sexuality. In the satiric verse "Finsk förbrödningssång" (Finnish fraternity song), by Marionett, that accompanied the caricature, *Helsingin Sanomat* sings to *Uusi Suometar* that he "want[s] to live happily in your [her] bosom!"[68] The result of this new friendship would have been prejudice and hatred of the Swedish-speaking population. In *Kurikka*, Mamma-Suimitar was pictured "trying to breastfeed her bastard child with the last name »Workers' Union» during the construction workers' strike"[69]. Both caricatures were coarse, and the Suometar-Mamma's old woman's sexuality was marked as disgusting and bordering on prostitution. The satire in *Kurikka* was in general more obscene than in the other magazines.[70]

Allusions to prostitution were used in *Fyren* as well. In *"And Pippa danced" … in vain* (Figure 73), the Suometar is dancing in front of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party while the Old Finns Lounasmaa, Miesmaa and Meurman applaud and Nevanlinna plays an accompaniment on the *kantele*. The picture was on the front-page, and with it there was a clipping from *Hufvudstadsbladet* of 28 August 1906 reporting on the Social Democrat Party meeting. The Party had issued a declaration that work for the Swedish language was as important as for Finnish, since Swedish was important in the education of the Swedish-speaking population, and Swedish was also the language which conveyed Western culture in Finland. *Hufvudstadsbladet* went on to comment

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65 "Eikö olisi oikeaa tuomiotaktiikkaa ottaa joku prosentti vihollisen toisestakin sukupuolesta – siten siveellisesti varoittaakseen niiden kurjien ammattisisaria. Sudenjahdissa kelpaa maalitauluksi juuri naarassusi ehkä enemmän kuin uros, sillä metsästäjä tietää, että naaras synnyttää yhtä pahoja penikoita, joista on tuleva ikuinen vastus. Todistettu on, että Suomen kansalaissodassa punakaartilaiset olivat petoja, monet heidän naisistaan – susinarttuja, vieläpä naarastiikereitä. Eikö ole sulaa hulluutta olla ampumatta petoja, jotka meitä ahdistavat." (Quoted in Apo 1998, 104–105).

66 *Fyren* 21 November 1908.

67 'Svensk hat.'

68 "vill lefva lycklig i din midt-san!"

69 "Rakennustyöväen lakon aikana on mamma-Suimitar koettanut imettää äpärälastaan sukunimeltä: »Työväen liitto»." (*Kurikka* 1 October 1912).

70 See for example the verse "Priest And His "Chaste" Wife" where the righteous wife has a farmhand for a lover. (*Kurikka* 1 February 1910).

Figure 72. Ola Fogelberg: Freedom and joy and reconciliation. Fyren *21 November 1908.*

that the statement was proof that the Old Finns' attempts to plant hatred and oppression of the Swedish language had not borne fruit among the masses, and that the Social Democrats had not allowed themselves to be taken over by the idols of nationalism.[71]

In the picture, the Suometar-Mamma has a lewd expression on her face. A similar picture depicting the personification of the newspaper as a harem dancer appeared in *Velikulta* number 25 & 26 of 1906. Rafael Lindqvist had written a verse to accompany "*And Pippa danced*", with explicit suggestions of loose sexual morals in its first stanza:

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71 The declaration that was basically directed against the Old Finns included also concessions to the Russian language with the aim to remove prejudice towards the language and the Russian people in general. (Heikkilä 1993, 58).

Old Woman Patience, also known as old gallant
Suometar,
wanted to dance the Oulu dance despite both
gallstones and stomach catarrh,
she thought: one can please the minions sure,
'though not for the master's bed is enough pure,
if one is folksy in the dance's swirls and spins –
there is always someone to lure…

But 'though the player Nevanlinna tapped on his
kantele
and 'though clapped their hands those Bobrikov's
footmen three,
it happened that granny slipped her feet,
just as she danced the nationalista
and it was not a prima vista,
what the whole Oulu people did see…
Fie, fie, fie! said Oulu people – Valpas,
Sirola, Tainio.
Fie, fie, fie! said the whole people – Rainio, Sainio,
Vainio.[72]

In the second stanza, and outside the picture, the Suometar-Mamma is also shown making a spectacle of herself, in the sense referred to by Russo: women are warned in the English language not to 'make a spectacle of themselves', in other words they are advised to behave within the limits of proper female decorum.[73] When a woman does make a spectacle of herself, it is embarrassing. The Suometar-Mamma falls down, and what is exposed to the men around her, readers are told, is not a pretty sight. The verse continues that she is no blossoming young thing,[74] to emphasize that she is certainly a grotesque old woman.

Both Lynn Hunt and Chantal Thomas have studied the 'political pornography' involving Marie Antoinette, i.e. pamphlets and pictures produced and circulated by the revolutionaries of 1789 depicting her engaging in sex acts with men and women.[75] Numerous scandal sheets portrayed the dethroned and eventually guillotined queen as an insatiable, alcoholic, bestial, incestuous and lesbian libertine. The significance of this pornographic imagery was twofold. First, it associated the decadence of the old regime with the eternal evil of

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72 Maltin muija, äfven kallad gamla galantan/ Suometar,/ ville anföra U:borgs-dansen trots både gallsten/ och magkatarr,/ tänkte: man kan väl tjusa drängar,/ fast man ej duger för herresängar,/ blott man är folklig i dansens svängar –/ alltid finns det väl någon narr.../Men fast speleman Nevanlinna spelade takten/ på kantele/ och fast takten med händerna slogo bobrikoffska/ betjänter tre,/ råkade mummu balansen mista,/ just som hon dansa så kansallista –/ och det var ingen prima vista,/ som koko Oulun kansa fick se.../ Hyh-hyh-hyh! sade Oulun kansa – Valpas,/ Sirola, Tainio./ Hyh-hyh-hyh! sade koko kansa – Rainio, Sainio,/ Vainio. (*Fyren* 1 September 1906).

73 Russo 1995, 53.

74 "Ty det var ingen ungdomsfägring".

75 Hunt 1991, 119; For a general overview of political pornography of the French Revolution see Cameron 1991.

Figure 73. Alexander Federley: "And Pippa danced" ... in vain. Fyren *1 September 1909.*

femininity.[76] The body of Marie Antoinette became the locus of the political degeneration of the aristocratic order. There is the famous picture showing the jailed queen, the widow Capet, sitting sideways to the viewer, with plain clothes and sagging looks. The illustrious, bejeweled and hedonistic woman had fallen, and the transformation is explicit on her body and face.[77]

Secondly, public and sexual woman threatened to deprive men of their masculine power and to effeminize them. Marie Antoinette indeed was a public woman, and as such a threat to the homosocial republican ideal. Hunt points out that the revolutionaries kept relatively silent about Louis XVI, the actual ruler, and she infers that this reflected their basic conviction that regardless of political differences power and sovereignty were first and foremost masculine. First, by portraying Marie Antoinette as a sexual libertine, the revolutionaries articulated her threat to masculinity; then, by ridiculing, rejecting and finally killing her they reclaimed their superior position and reinforced the notion of fraternity. The symbolism of Marie Antoinette was that of a negative. She was the opposite of the female Liberty, the icon of republican ideals, but of equal importance.[78] She was the rejected abject, just as the Suometar-Mamma was the negative, abject version of the Finnish Maid.

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76 Thomas 1999, 111; Hunt 1991, 110

77 Thomas 1999, 99–100. The motif of disfigured face as a sign of moral decay is present also in Choderlos de Laclos' *Les liaisons dangereuses* and Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray.*

78 Hunt 1991, 126. See also Thomas 1999, 112.

Self-spoiled identity

The dress the Suometar-Mamma was wearing differed from one magazine and caricaturist to another, but what was common to all the Mammas was the curled-up shoes or boots they wore. The shoes were a symbol of the Old Finns, and they were also used in pictures depicting real persons.[79] Interestingly, the personification of *Velikulta* also wore boots with curled-up toes.[80] Curled-up footwear, like the knotted scarf on the figure's head in some pictures, was based on ethnographic discoveries made around the 1850s; artists like R.W. Ekman, C.E. Sjöstrand and later A. Gallén-Kallela utilized these findings in their paintings and sculptures.[81] The characteristics of Louhi in the *Kalevala* – Akseli Gallén-Kallela's Louhi in *Sammon puolustus* (The defence of the Sampo), for instance – can easily be detected in both Federley's and Wanninen's Suometar-Mamma. *The Defence of the Sampo* was itself laden with political meanings. In the painting, which the artist painted for the Paris World Exhibition of 1900, contemporaries saw political symbolism. The Sampo was a Finnish treasure that the Russian eagle, i.e. Louhi, with her flapping wings, was attempting to steal. Moreover, the face of Bobrikov was seen amongst the men in Louhi's fleet.[82] The Suometar-Mamma also bore some resemblance to Mother Russia or to the personification of the newspaper *Novoye Vremya*, which was caricatured as well (Figure 74).

In the *Kalevala*, Louhi, the old mistress of the land of Pohjola, is regarded as a cunning and deceitful character, but as Patricia E. Sawin argues this is partly an optical illusion and partly a result of the manipulation of old folk poems by the compiler of the epic, Elias Lönnrot. Lönnrot was influenced by Herderian nationalist ideology, which stressed the nuclear family and patriarchal power as the core of the nation. Mingled with patriarchy was homosocial fraternity. All the traditions that upheld national identity were masculine, passed on from a father to his sons, who in turn formed the national institutions of power. Women's role was to reproduce the nation biologically and to care for men, freeing them to perform heroic deeds. According to Sawin, because of his engagement with Herderian patriarchal nationalism Lönnrot frequently ended up creating negative female and positive male characters; he depicted women such as Louhi, who did not comply with masculine hopes and aspirations, as deceitful, immoral and so on. Moreover, Lönnrot rearranged the stories of the original folk poems in such a way that Louhi appeared evil.[83]

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79 For example in "Senaattori Nevanlinna kalastamassa vaalimiehiä suomettarelaiselle puolueelle" and "Hilda Käkikoski U.S:n talousoppia kansalle selittämässä" both by Federley Nevanlinna, Käkikoski and Meurman were in pointed footwear. (*Velikulta* 18 October 1906; *Velikulta* 20 September 1906).

80 For example the front pages in *Velikulta* in 1909.

81 Ervamaa 1981, 23, plates 132–150, 263, 270; Okkonen 1935, plates 6–8.

82 Smeds 1996, 287–291, plate 139 c.

83 Sawin 1990. For instance, when Kyllikki after being abducted in order to become a wife to violent Lemminkäinen, still trying to build a happy marriage with him and persuading Lemmikäinen to leave his violent ways wants to spend some time with young women of her

Figure 74. Alexander Federley: Novoye Vremya's small child. Velikulta *13 July 1909.*

The folklorist Satu Apo sees Louhi, and the *Kalevala*'s representations of men and women in general, differently. She stresses the fact that the male heroes do not generally succeed in obtaining wives; if they do, they do not manage to keep them. According to Apo, this hardly makes the men the personifications of manly Finnish virtues, as Sawin argues. Apo also emphasizes the fact that the main antagonist of the male heroes is the old Louhi, a very powerful woman,

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age, Lemminkäinen forbids her to do so. When Kyllikki breaks her promise to stay at home, Lemmikäinen breaks his, goes to a war and to look for a new wife. Kyllikki is made quilty to the break-up of the marriage while Lemmikäinen's actions are ignored. In fact, Sawin argues that the *Kalevala* justifies men's violence against women. Lönnrot also rearranged the stories to make male figures more virtuous. For example, in the *Kalevala* Louhi sends Lemmikäinen to his death and refuses to help his mother to find his son. In the original poems it is Väinämöinen who does this (Sawin 1990, 52–57. Of Kyllikki's action cf. Jokinen 2000, 72). The *Kalevala*'s male figures and their actions have been interpreted in different ways depending on the researcher's position. Lemminkäinen's and Kullervo's proclivity to violence, quest for adventure and their attitudes towards women have either been celebrated in mainstream research or criticized by feminist research (Jokinen 2000, 68, 99–103).

who has been accepted by Finnish readers as a positive personification of a strong Finnish woman. Furthermore, the heroes are aided by another old woman, the mother of Lemminkäinen, who resurrects her son. Arto Jokinen sees this as a manifestation of the power of maternal love, which is more powerful than death. The men in the *Kalevala* are actually fatherless 'mothers' sons'.[84] This raises the question of the existence of patriarchy that Sawin is eager to perceive in the epic. In fact, I would argue that the concept of fraternity is more to the point.

Although Apo disagrees with Sawin on some crucial points, she does concur that there are misogynist elements:

> [w]omen are both good and bad, both protective and destructive. The bad woman in the *Kalevala* is first of all a monstrous antagonist, a witch woman […] Louhi also has realistic, 'manly' qualities: she is a strong-willed and intelligent 'strong woman' who rules her family and people.[85]

Lönnrot also portrayed mothers in a positive light – when they were mothers of sons, ready to suffer for their male offspring. Mothers of daughters, such as Louhi, were dangerous.[86] This passing over of daughters and matrilinearity strengthens the fraternal order, in which women are considered as goods to be exchanged.

With these emblems of prehistoric national culture and allusions to Louhi, the Suometar-Mamma did not construct Finnishness through positive identification, as the Maids in bear skins, national dress and classical Maids had done. The Suometar-Mamma exemplified a vulgar form of national identity, Finnish-speaking Finnish culture, which functioned as a negation, something to which members of a particular group did not see themselves as belonging. The figure was used in this manner especially in *Fyren*. Antti Wanninen's Suometar-Mamma in a polka-dot dress was not as "national" as the one in national dress in *Fyren*. This seems quite paradoxical, considering that the Socialist movement rejected the kind of Finnishness and nationalism which was offered by the Fennomans.[87] It would have been logical for national insignia, such as the dress, the knotted scarf and various ornamentation, to have been emphasized in the figure. Everything, however, cannot be explained by politics and ideology. Stylistically Wanninen did not aim at such accuracy as Federley, and a polka-dotted Suometar-Mamma was simpler to draw.[88]

Apo has addressed the tradition of stigmatization of national identity that has been prevalent in Finnish culture down to this day. She traces the trend to quite a long stretch in Finnish history, to a period between 1810–1945; during this

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84 On the strong Finnish woman see Markkola 2002; Jokinen 2000, 89–90; Apo 1995, 90–95, 107–108.
85 Apo 1995, 95. Translation mine.
86 Apo 1995, 97–98.
87 Heikkilä 1993.
88 It is also reasonable that Wanninen did not want to be accused of plagiarism.

time there were strong tensions between the elite and the common people, while it was the elite that defined Finnishness. The stigma is a negative stereotype, based on the notion that the Finns are *metsäläisiä*, 'backwoodsmen' and yokels,[89] unrefined and underdeveloped in comparison to the 'old' cultures of Western and Southern Europe. Apo uses the term 'self-spoilt identity'[90] to describe the condition whereby the Finnish identity is in certain respects spoilt by the Finns themselves, who have then sought reasons for this perceived inferiority in biology, cultural heritage and language.[91]

This belief in the inferiority of Finnish-speaking Finnish culture persisted and was in fact to some extent boosted in the aftermath of the General Strike of 1905.[92] Both Annamari Sarajas and Petri Ruuska pinpoint the years from 1905 to 1918 as the era when negative discourses of Finnishness were generated.[93] The Strike brought about many changes in society. One of them was the shattering of the idyllic Runebergian image of the common people that had dominated the discourse of Finnishness. The Strike and the victory of the Workers' Movement[94] proved that the common people, the *rahvas*, a word that already had a negative connotation,[95] were not simple, satisfied with little; above all, they were not the elite's to control. "The most regrettable of this all is that the Finnish people did not turn out be the people I always described it as" lamented the novelist Juhani Aho in a private letter before the Strike in 1902, after learning to his disappointment that not all young men boycotted conscription into the Imperial army and that some people actually betrayed objectors to the authorities.[96]

Similar voices of growing discontent were raised during the centennial of J.L. Runeberg's birth in 1904. Intellectuals such as Eino Leino did not deny the artistic value of Runeberg's works, but criticized those who held on to his idealized images of the common people.[97] At one extreme, in the place of the simple but basically benevolent Mattis and Paavos now came racially degenerate Finnish-speaking common men and women, who by definition could not produce a high culture or excel in science. The Finnish language, unlike Swedish and other Western cultural languages, was simply not equipped

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89 '*Metsäläinen*' i.e. 'lives in forest' does not to my knowledge have an exact translation in the English language, which just goes to show that it is uniquely a Finnish concept. There is 'boondocks' as in "she's from the boondocks" that would come close enough to '*metsäläinen*'. Similarly, 'yokel', or 'country bumpkin', for '*maalainen*' are slightly suspect, but they are definitely more to the point than for example 'redneck'.

90 She has derived the term from Erving Goffman's 'spoilt identity'. (Apo 1998, 85–86).

91 Apo 1998, 84–86. Matti Peltonen raises similar points in Peltonen 1998, 22–23.

92 Peltonen 1998, 24–25.

93 Sarajas 1962; Ruuska 1999, 295.

94 The Social Democratic Party gained 80 seats out of 200 in the first unicameral and universal election in 1907. That made the Social Democrats the biggest party in the new Diet.

95 Kemiläinen 1998, 107–108.

96 "Surkeinta kaikesta on, että Suomen kansa ei ole osoittautunut olevansa se kansa, joksi sitä aina kuvailin." Sarajas 1962, 120–123. Quotation p. 121.

97 Sarajas 1962, 126–129. Of Leino's dissillusionment see for example his trilogy *Tuomas Vitikka* (1906), *Jaana Rönty* (1907) and *Olli Suurpää* (1908). Also *Nousukkaat* (1911) by L. Onerva portrayed primitive Finnishness.

with the necessary sophistication.[98] There were two kinds of Finnish-speaking people: the respectable and civilized land-owners, and the bestial common people.[99]

Much of the stigmatization relies on the Finns' allegedly next-to-zero tolerance of alcohol. In the gallery of Finnishness, to be a Finn is to drink a lot, to brawl, and finally to pass out. Finnishness appears as a pathological condition.[100] Minna Nikunen, who has studied newspaper reports of homicides and suicides in the 1990s – those where a man, usually while intoxicated, kills his family and/or himself – argues that although this kind of violence is statistically a rare phenomenon, Finns themselves are fond of this stereotype. Because Finns are emotionally attached to this violent and negative image, it is virtually impossible to parody it. In Nikunen's words, "Finnishness escapes parody".[101]

This negative image of the violent Finn is a masculine one; women are seen as victims of violence.[102] It follows that when Finnishness is construed in terms of alcohol abuse, violence, or – in a more positive light – in the form of all the Mattis and Paavos, national identity and citizenship are coded as male. Women are invisible in the discourses of Finnishness. There is the stereotype of the strong Finnish woman, but she does not define *national* characteristics. She is an anomaly in the field of Finnishness and defines femininity, not nationality, while the drunken, suicidal man hides his gender and appears as a generic Finn.[103] In this context the female Suometar-Mamma may seem an exception, but she is not. The Suometar-Mamma was never a symbol of a unified nation, although she exemplified the stigmatization of Finnish-speaking Finnish identity.

According to Ruuska, discourses of Finnishness typically consist of the elite's conceptions of the common people, and this condescending gaze has resulted in a negative image of national traits. It is not strictly speaking a self-image, since the subject position is that of an outsider looking downward from above; rather, it is an image of the Other, the common people.[104] To give an example: one of the cornerstones of Finnish identity, the folklore which was

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98 Peltonen 1998, 24–28. Cf. Sarajas 1962, 130.

99 Apo 1998, 101.

100 Nikunen 2002; Apo 1998; Peltonen 1988.

101 As an example of this Nikunen gives the reception of the song "Murheellisten laulujen maa" (The land of sorrowful songs, 1982) by the popular rock group Eppu Normaali. It tells about the poor and desperate Finnish people, and the whole song may be defined in the verse "[u]nemployment, booze, ax and family / Snow, police and the final mistake" ("[t]yöttömyys, viina, kirves ja perhe / Lumihanki, poliisi ja viimeinen erhe." The point is that the song has become like a second anthem although Eppu Normaali meant it to be a joke, a gross parody of all the stigmas attached to Finnish identity. Martti Syrjä who wrote the lyrics has explained, "I thought that the lyrics were too much to [Finnish] people because they are such a piss take from my part on everything Finns have always liked, i.e. wallowing in all that's sad in life. But no, just the opposite happened." (Nikunen 2002, 276. Translation mine).

102 Cf. Markkola 2002 about the strong Finnish woman.

103 See for example Lempiäinen 2002, 24–32; Nikunen 2002, 283–286; Knuuttila 1998, 194–195.

104 Ruuska 1999, 293–294; Also Apo 1998, 83. Of the negative Finnishness see also Nikunen 2002; Saukkonen 1999, 265–281; Peltonen 1998; Peltonen 1988.

collected in the field, is the product of a relationship where the source was the strange Other. The collectors were often educated and upper-class city-dwellers, while the source lived in a rural society and was uneducated. Apo points out the irony that much of the folklore was collected from areas in Russia that never had been part of Sweden or the Grand Duchy. As an example of the layers of Otherness she mentions Julius Krohn (1835–1888), a founder of the discipline of folkloristics in Finland. A traditional rune singer from Karelia was a quadruple Other to Krohn. He/she lived in an agricultural society, belonged to a lower social class, spoke a foreign language (neither Swedish nor German), and was considered to belong to a different race (neither Germanic nor Scandinavian). Furthermore, he/she could be Russian Orthodox, be loyal to the Czar and consider Krohn a Swedish foreigner. According to Apo, it is quite remarkable that any illusion of national and cultural unity could be created at all.[105]

One way the collectors could deal with this disparity between their own privileged position and the position of the source was to "leap across" the common rural people in reaching back to the more valuable past. The source was a mere medium through whom the past heritage presented itself. The collectors did not see their sources as individuals living in the same time-space as themselves.[106] This is what the anthropologist Johannes Fabian calls 'the denial of coevalness': in order to justify the "archaic" quality of folklore, the collector needs to push the source deep into the past.[107] Another way to make the poor sources models of national culture and identity was to bring them into the realm of high culture by sublimation. The male singers of folk poetry were seen to exemplify Homeric qualities, while the women resembled the Virgin Mary and the martyrs. A third strategy was rearrange the stories and pick those elements that fit the purpose, as noted earlier in connection with gender in the *Kalevala*.[108]

There is nevertheless also an element of self-image. The array of negative conceptions also includes reverse discourses about the elite and its pretentious life-style, which are ridiculed among the common people. Ruuska points out that it is possible to see the two negative discourses – the discourse about the common people (*kansapuhe*) and that about the elite (*herrapuhe*) – as constituting a difference between the two socio-economic groups; therefore the Finnish people do not qualify as an Andersonian imagined community. According to Anderson, a nation is "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation […] a deep, horizontal comradeship",[109] and negative images serve to make visible and reproduce inequalities and hierarchies. However, Ruuska argues that this may not be the case, and that the purpose of the negative discourses may in fact be to eradicate the division. By seeing the common people as simple and unrefined the elite merely wants to educate the lower

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105 Apo 1998, 93–94.
106 Apo 1998, 95–96.
107 Fabian 1983, 25–35.
108 Of the antiquation of folklore see also Anttonen 1994, 25–28. Apo 1998, 97.
109 Anderson 1991, 7.

classes. The common people in turn, by ridiculing the elite, tell it that it should not think itself better even though it is a socially and economically privileged group. According to Ruuska, talking about differences is talking about how they should not exist; it is actually an attempt towards the horizontal comradeship.[110]

I think Ruuska's argument is interesting but over-idealized, at least in the context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Finland. Studies show, for instance, that late nineteenth and early twentieth women's organizations campaigned among working-class women, with the purpose of educating them in hygiene, home management and child-care. This education was partly motivated by nationalist ideas of creating a healthy and unified nation,[111] and I believe that there was also a genuine concern about the living conditions of the poorest strata. The strategy was to rid the common people of their ignorance and savagery, and an ideology of control was therefore also integrated in the campaigns. The method was 'black pedagogy' or 'cultural insult', i.e. education through reproach, shame and dictate. The common people were considered irrational and ignorant.[112] Anne Ollila stresses that in trying to "civilize" the lower classes by teaching them proper manners, cleanliness, order, and control of the mind and the body, the elite were acting as gatekeepers of citizenship. New rules and requirements were created. If the lower classes had indeed obeyed these demands, however, they would have merely become a "vulgar imitation of the elite"; the difference would have remained. The ultimate result was that the erosion of difference never took place.[113]

The difference was marked on the abject and grotesque body, as we can see in the following excerpts from Kianto's *Punainen viiva* (The red line, 1909); the author revels in the wretchedness of its main characters Topi and Riika:

> Riika of Korpiloukko was becoming a hag with her gradually hooking chin and thinning cheeks. Topi had started to resemble an old man with his sparse beard that was never shaved.[114]

and in the sauna,

> [f]ather Topi […] climbed up after every throw to flog his hairy body with a whisk, a body where the ribs stuck out sharply; Mother Riika sat on a lower step, with her hair disheveled, her breasts sagging.[115]

In the minds of the elite, the common people could not control their baser bodily urges; they were spontaneous, impulsive, aggressive and prone to high alcohol

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110 Ruuska 1999, 294–300.
111 Markkola 1994; Ollila 1993.
112 Apo 1998, 90, 108.
113 Ollila 1993, 46–51. See also Markkola 1994, 232.
114 "Akan näköiseksi oli jo Korpiloukon Riika muuttumassa yhä käykistyvine leukoineen ja laihtuvine poskipäineen, Ukosta alkoi Topikin jo käydä harvahkoine kulkkupartoineen, jota ei milloinkaan ajeltu." (Kianto 1997, 22).
115 "Isä Topi […] kiipesi joka heittämältä pieksämään vitsalla karvaista ruumistaan, jossa kylkiluut terävästi näkyivät; äiti Riika istui hiukset harillaan, riippuvin rinnoin laudeportaiden alapäässä." (Kianto 1997, 97).

consumption and sex. In short, all the corporeality which the elite had to repress in the name of respectable bourgeois behaviour was projected onto other groups – onto the common people, women, and Russians.[116]

Ugly Finns

It was in the midst of the kind of cultural struggle discussed above that the grotesque Suometar-Mamma of *Fyren* was created. Moreover, it should be remembered that Rafael Lindqvist, then the editor-in-chief of *Fyren*, was an ardent pro-Swedish Svecoman, whose distaste for Finnish-Finnish culture was matched only by his virulent anti-Semitism;[117] both were loudly manifested in *Fyren*. In Lindqvist's view the existence of the Swedish-speaking Finnish culture and people was under perpetual attack and threat from the Finnish-language culture.[118] At one point Lindqvist in fact stated that his main objective was to aid the struggle for survival of the Swedish-speaking population.[119]

The pro-Swedish Svecoman movement had its roots in the 1850s and 1860s, in the Nyland student 'nation' (*osakunta*) of Helsinki University. According to the movement's main ideologue, Axel Olof Freudenthal (1836–1911), there were two separate nationalities in Finland: the Swedes, of medieval Scandinavian or Swedish descent, who made up the majority of the population in the Nyland region, and the Finns, who were of Mongol origin. These two 'nations' differed in their intellectual capacities. The Svecomans, for instance, considered the *Kalevala*'s heroes foreign and even ridiculous because in the epic Väinämöinen cries "like a woman", and they searched through ancient Scandinavian mythology for more manly heroes.[120] The pro-Swedish side saw the Swedish-speaking population as a heroic and energetic warrior people with a glorious past, and Finnish speakers as more passive.[121] Valor and heroism are gendered concepts, and consequently the Swedish-speaking side was endowed with masculine virtues. E.G. Palmén described the Finnish race as one of "modest passivity" compared to the Scandinavian/Germanic race, and reminded his readers that

> [t]he Finnish race has been, as Fredrik Cygnaeus somewhere says, "a woman among nations", more liable to suffer and endure than to vigorously rise against enemies.[122]

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116 Apo 1998, 101–102, 114.

117 See Lindqvist 1942, 45–49. For his anti-Semitism see Lindqvist 1942, 133; Lindqvist 1943, 128 onwards.

118 See for instance "Freedom and joy and conciliation" in *Fyren* 21 November 1908 where out of the alliance of the Suometar-Mamma and *Helsingin Sanomat* an infant 'hatred of the Swedes' was born.

119 Lindqvist 1942, 45–49.

120 Kemiläinen 1998, 113–114; 131–134; Hietala 1996, 199.

121 Hämäläinen 1985, 409–410.

122 "Onhan suomalainen rotu, niinkuin Fredrik Cygnaeus jossakin sanoo, ollut "nainen kansakuntien joukossa", taipuisampi kärsimään kuin tarmokkaasti nousemaan vastuksia vastaan." (*Valvoja* 1905, 596).

Ironically, the Swedish-speaking upper class was in fact of 'Finnish' or foreign origin, and had merely adopted or changed its native language from Finnish to Swedish. The 'real' descendants of the medieval Swedes were the Swedish-speaking common people: the farmers and sailors of the coastal area.[123] The novelist Volter Kilpi had challenged racial visions in *Kansallista itsetutkiskelua* (National introspection, 1917) where he criticized the Swedish-speaking population, those "Swedish sons of the newly rich merchant fathers and grandfathers of purely Finnish origin", for wanting to separate themselves from the Finnish speaking majority.[124] Kilpi nonetheless believed that the population of western Finland was both culturally and racially Germanic, while in the eastern parts of the country the people had a Slavic nature.[125]

At the turn of the century the aspirations and achievements of the Fennomans, demanding that the Swedish-speaking elite return to their "Finnish roots", caused increased insecurity. The historian Aira Kemiläinen maintains that the Swedish-speaking elite seems to have thought that the nation would be divided into the racially superior Swedes, who would rule in culture and politics, and the inferior Finns, who would take care of manual work in society.[126] The cultural and economic development of the Finnish-speaking population was to make these designs null and void, and the demands of the Fennoman movement to abandon their native language, and with it their culture, the cornerstones of national identity, understandably aroused part of the Swedish-speaking population to a defensive struggle. According to Pekka Hämäläinen, the perceived threat forced the Swedish-speaking elite on the one hand to seek co-operation with the Swedish-speaking common people, on the other to create even closer ties with Sweden. These associations resulted in a form of Swedish nationalism in Finland.[127] With the rising interest in racial theories and eugenics, this defense struggle at its worst took on racist overtones.

Racial theories and eugenistic thinking gained ground among the Swedish-speaking elite in the early 1900s, although in the beginning public discussion of 'racial hygiene' was rare.[128] The term 'race' was used indiscriminately to refer to people, nationality or ethnic or linguistic group, as well as to biological or anthropological qualities. The pro-Swedish faction saw race basically as a linguistic group. The objective of eugenics was to improve the quality of the Swedish-speaking population, which then would be better equipped to preserve its privileged status.[129] Likewise the Civil War was interpreted in terms of race, but not strictly according to language; the Reds were considered to be Mongols

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123 Kemiläinen 1998, 113–114, 131–134.
124 Kilpi 1987, 30–31. "[…] supisuomalaisesta ympäristöstä lähteneen, vaurastuneen kauppiasisän tai -isänisän aitoruotsalaiselle pojalle" (Kilpi 1987, 82).
125 Kilpi 1987, 35.
126 Kemiläinen 1998, 136.
127 Hämäläinen 1985, 410–416.
128 Mattila 1999, 83.
129 See for instance the satiric verse "Finnish-Swedish activities to better the race" ("Suomen ruotsalaisten rodunparannuspuuhat") in *Tuulispää* 16 April 1909.

and the Whites of the Nordic race.[130] One eugenistic measure was to reward Swedish-speaking mothers. The Swedish-language association for public health, Samfundet Folkhälsan i Svenska Finland, began in 1920 to reward mothers belonging to the "Swedish tribe". In addition to race requirements, the mothers had to have at least four children between the ages of four and seventeen. It was also made explicit that the purpose was to encourage only the best families, not to help poor and/or large families.[131] It was also at this time, in 1918, that Mothers' Day was first introduced in Finland; it was originally celebrated to honor the mothers of White Finland. As an annual celebration, Mothers' Day was reintroduced and established by Väestöliitto in 1941, at which time the tradition also began of rewarding mothers of large families.[132]

In the newly independent Finland, Finnish-speaking people themselves began to show a growing interest in racial theories and racial hygiene, now in the name of a unified, monolingual nation against Bolshevist Russia. Finnish-speaking intellectuals looked to other Finno-Ugric peoples, such as the Estonians and Hungarians, while the Swedish-speaking elite continued its ties with Scandinavia.[133] Eugenics found support in many political organizations, and the whole question of racial hygiene was linked with the issues of women's rights, the temperance movement and the Socialist movement. Eugenics fit in with the agendas of various organizations advocating the sanctity of marital life, public health and morality.[134]

The Suometar-Mamma was constructed in negative racial terms. In "Vi och våra rivaler" (We and our rivals)[135] by Oscar Furuhjelm, all the different ethnic groups, especially Africans, were depicted in a derogatory manner, and the Suometar-Mamma and a man symbolizing *The working man* were likened to them. Her broad face and stocky figure did not fit the ideals of the Scandinavian beauty of Snooty Stina[136] (Stina Stursk), a young, upright and beautiful woman portraying the Swedish People's Party (Figure 75). Snooty Stina, incidentally, is very similar to the Finnish Maid. The perceived ugliness of the Finnish race was based on the belief that Asian or Mongol facial features were uglier than the features of the Central European and Scandinavian peoples. Anthropology and geography books of the nineteenth and early twentieth century were filled with drawings depicting typical people living in various parts of the country. The ugliest and most miserable people were found in Tavastland.[137]

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130 Mattila 1999, 100–101; Hietala 1996, 197, 200.
131 Hietala 1996, 208–210.
132 Nätkin 1997, 75.
133 Hietala 1996, 196–197.
134 Mattila 1999, 81–109; Nätkin 1997, 50–54; Ollila 1993, 51.
135 *Fyren* 9 November 1907.
136 "Stina Stursk i ny upplaga" (*Fyren* 14 November 1908).
137 Kemiläinen 1998, 162. In varying degree Finns were seen in Western Europe as Mongols, for instance in Great Britain and the United States Finns were considered to be a mixture of Mongols and Aryans. In Russia, however, race was not an issue. Of Finns in German and Nordic encyclopedias see Aro 1985, in Russian texts see Vihavainen 1985, and in Anglo-American text books see Halmesvirta 1985. See also E.N. Setälä's article in *Valvoja* 1911, 599–600 where he argues that Finns have mixed with the Germanic race and that "proven Mongol characteristics cannot be found" in Finns anymore.

Figure 75. Alexander Federley: New and improved Snooty Stina.
Fyren *14 November 1908.*

This perceived ugliness had its roots in the ideology of Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882), the founder of eugenics. In his main work, *Essai sur l'inégalité des Races Humaines* (1853–1855), he idealized both the physical and mental qualities of the tall, fair-haired Germanic peoples.[138] The Finns he condemned as ugly and lazy members of the "yellow" race.[139] Nor were Finnish intellectuals-innocent. In *The Book of Our Land* one of the Matti's expressed the physical characteristics of the Finnish natives: "medium build, broad shoulders, strong hands and very sturdy. He had brownish hair, grey eyes, grey skin, a slightly

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138 Virtanen 1985.
139 Kilpeläinen 1985, 169–170.

Figure 76. Alexander Federley: New Sotnjetress. Fyren *25 January 1908.*

dented nose, thin lips, a broad face".[140] The other, Mighty Matti (*Väkevä Matti*), was "the youngest and dumbest of his siblings",[141] but he was also strong. Federley often drew the Suometar-Mamma's nose as a dented "saddle nose", as shown for example in "Uusi Sotnjetar" (New Sotnjetress) (Figure 76). A similar nose was given to the representative of the Workers' Movement in *Fatherland's shield in 1908*.[142] Hence the Suometar-Mamma had some of the characteristics Topelius had given to Matti in *The Book of Our Land*. The Finns, as a Frenchman had noted, looked as though they had fallen flat on their noses.[143]

This ugliness becomes particularly obvious when the Suometar-Mamma is shown along with other characters. Federley's cover for the Easter issue of *Fyren* in 1910 is to the point (Figure 77).[144] It depicts six female figures, five

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140 "keskikokoinen, hartiakas, jänteväkätinen ja hyvin kestävä. Hänellä oli ruskeahko tukka, harmaat silmät, harmaa iho, hieman sisäänpäin painunut nenä, ohuet huulet, leveät kasvot." (Topelius 1981, 128).
141 "nuorin ja tyhmin sisaruksistaan" (Topelius 1981, 174).
142 *Fyren* 18 July 1908.
143 Kemiläinen 1998, 163.
144 *Fyren* Easter issue 1910.

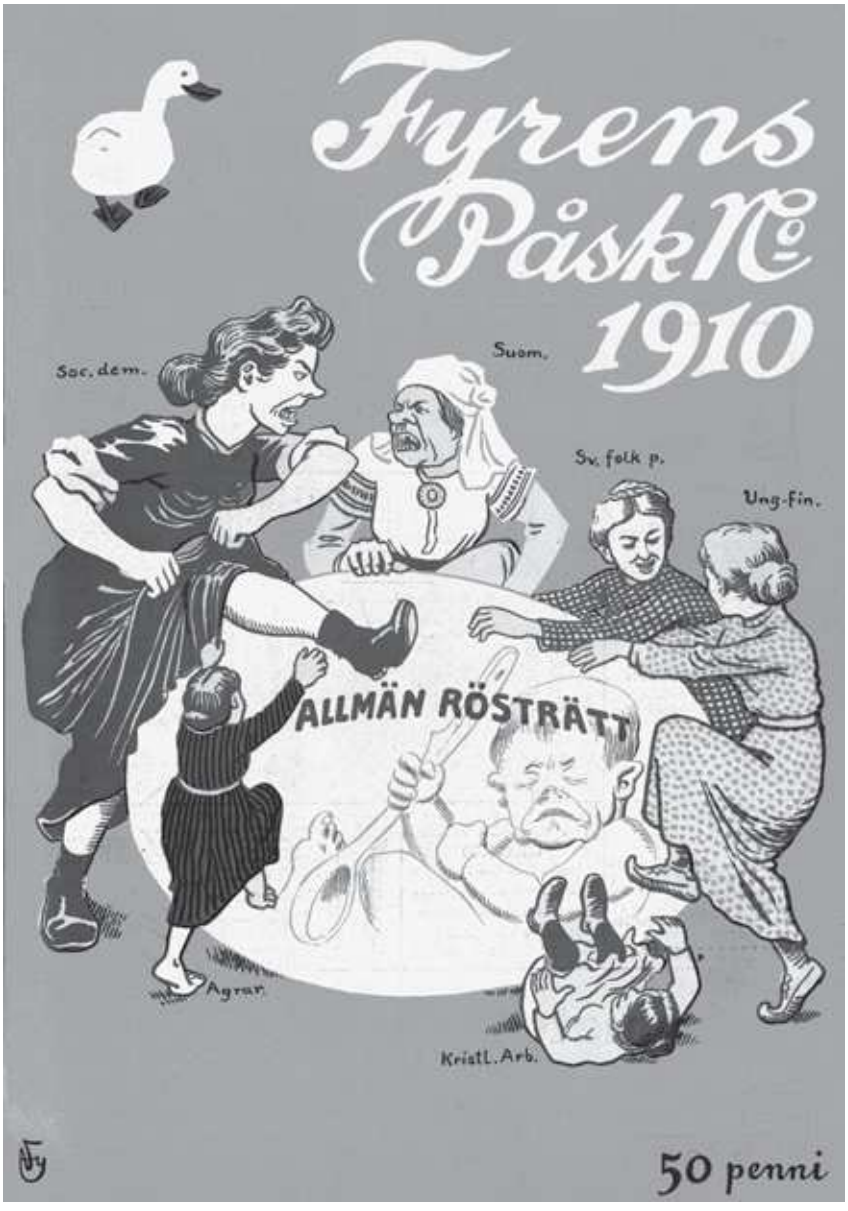

Figure 77. Alexander Federley: Universal franchise. Fyren *Easter issue 1910.*

women and a young girl, each personifying a political party and trying to climb on top of a giant Easter egg, i.e. the universal franchise. All the other characters except for the Suometar-Mamma are pleasing to the eye. Their long hair, a woman's crown, is slightly wavy and twisted in a bun at the nape of the neck. Even the Social Democrat is not particularly ugly; she is just big and strong, a somewhat masculine woman. Their appearance is chaste; only the Social Democrat shows more leg than would have been acceptable from a respectable bourgeois woman.

The Suometar-Mamma, on the other hand, is her ugly self; big blunt nose, wrinkled face and an uneven row of teeth. The cover is exceptional in the sense

that it features other female figures at the Suometar-Mamma's side; usually the Suometar-Mamma was surrounded only by male figures, as if to underline her character as a prostitute or to stress the manly qualities of the representatives of the magazine's politics. In *Fatherland's shield in 1908*, which had the more common setting, the vileness of the Suometar-Mamma was accentuated by the two noble characters, the Svecoman Axel Lille of the Swedish People's Party and Heikki Renvall of the Young Finns, in the foreground. There was of course the party-political message, but there was also the politics of their bodies. Lille and Renvall were portrayed as having classical facial features: an evenly shaped and strong face, a straight nose, determined eyes. Both exemplified the kind of masculinity and controlled masculine body that was needed to guard the fatherland's future. The ideal national beauty and body were therefore not solely symbolized by female icons, such as the Maid in bear skins or Snooty Stina, but by actual, historical men of the elite.

After independence, when the notion of Finns as Mongols needed to be dispelled, beauty contests were organized to show the nation and the world that Finns were not of Asian origin. In the first competition of this kind, organized by the magazine *Maailma* (The world) in 1919, it was stressed that classic Greek looks were not Finnish but foreign. Finns were beautiful in their own distinctive way; the task was now to find the woman who best embodied the ideal and would be "an awakening for the encouragement and improvement of the people".[145] The writers referred to the Gibson Girl, an early twentieth century prototype of American beauty: the representatives of that ideal type have "then as the wives of healthier and wealthier citizens been the most appropriate ones to carry the race forward on the road of bodily and intellectual improvement".[146] There was a clear eugenic goal, in which women with their reproductive capabilities played a central role.

Six years later, in 1926, a similar competition was organized by another magazine, *Suomen Kuvalehti* (Finnish pictorial magazine), which expressed its concern over the disappearance of racial and national distinctions:

> [w]e would like to continue to see in women, whom we look at with the great and admiring interest they deserve, nationally correct racial characteristics. […] women have been the real guardians of national culture.[147]

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145 "heräte kansan kannustamiselle ja jalostamiselle." Quoted in Hietala 1985, 423. Hietala 1985, 423–424; Hietala 1996, 200–201. I have translated 'jalostaminen' improvement but the Finnish original would allow also 'breeding'.

146 "sittemmin joutuneet terveluontoisempien ja varakkaampien kansalaistensa vaimoina parhaiten viemään rotua eteenpäin ruumiillisen ja sielullisen jalostumisen tiellä." Quoted in Hietala 1985, 424.

147 "Naisissa taas, joita ansionsa mukaisesti katselemme suuremmalla ja ihanteellisemmalla mielenkiinnolla, tahtoisimme edelleen nähdä kansalliset oikeat rotupiirteet. […] naiset olivat olleet aiemminkin kansallisen sivistyksen todelliset vartijat." Hietala 1985, 426–427. Quotation p. 427.

According to the magazine, genuinely Finnish-looking women could be found only in the rural areas among the land-owners. This time eugenics was the *primus motor*; behind the contest were the Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia (Finnish Academy of Sciences) and the Kansallismuseo (National Museum), and among the jury were Yrjö Kajava, Professor of anatomy, and U.T. Sirelius, Professor of ethnology. The organizers hoped that all the participants would waive their rights to the photographs submitted to the competition and allow the magazine to donate them to Finnish eugenic science.[148] At the same time that the quest for the ideal female characteristics took place among real women, the fictional Maid acquired a taller and more slender figure in contrast to the dark and slant-eyed Russian.[149]

Masculinity celebrated

I have separated party-political and cultural aspects in the character, but only for purposes of analysis. In the Suometar-Mamma politics and culture were intertwined, reflecting and reproducing each other. Political decay meant cultural degeneration as well, and every caricature featuring this character could be interpreted as having both elements. Political decay and cultural and racial degeneration found their expression in the Old Finns, while the other Fennomans, the Young Finns, were seen as Scandinavian. The other political characters, while they were caricatured both in *Fyren* and *Kurikka*, were not usually marked nationally, although *Kurikka* did use sometimes a horned Viking helmet for the character symbolizing the Swedish People's Party.[150]

The significance of the Suometar-Mamma becomes comprehensible when we remember, first of all, that national identity is not merely an experienced commonality with others; it also includes differences between 'us' and 'them'. These differences are constructed with narratives of common origin ('Swedish' or 'Scandinavian' roots vs. 'Finnish' ones) and common destiny (agents of Western culture, possible extinction) as well as other identity narratives (morally upright politics). An important and often mobilized element in this process is ethnicity.[151]

Ethnicity is not necessarily something that easily comes to mind in discussing Finnishness, especially in the early twentieth century. At most the term could be used in association with such ethnic and religious minorities as the Gypsies, the Sami, and – in the context of the turn of the century – the Jews.[152] Ethnicity,

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148 Hietala 1985, 426–427.
149 Reitala 1983, 134–135.
150 See for example *Kurikka* 1 November 1910; *Kurikka* 15 May 1911.
151 Yuval-Davis 1998, 43–44.
152 Although there was a small Jewish population living in Finland during the Autonomy, the Jews did not have an official right to live permanently in the country. Their status was under debate throughout the autonomous period, and they were finally given civil rights in 1917 when Finland gained independence. (Torvinen 1989, 32–98.)

however, is not specific to minority groups of darker skin color. As the sociologist Nira Yuval-Davis points out, there are hegemonic ethnicities, and one of the measures of their success is that they have naturalized their social and cultural constructions. Thus Finnish-Finnishness and Finnish-Swedishness can be construed as ethnic or racial concepts. Ethnic projects relate to the politics of group boundaries, and to the promotion of the collectivity or to the enhancement of its advantages by accessing state and civil society powers. Consequently, ethnicity is a political process which utilizes political, economic and cultural resources; the last-mentioned include language, customs and memories.[153]

In the battle over the right to define Finnishness, these resources were mobilized in both inclusive and exclusive ways. The Suometar-Mamma functioned as a kind of double negation. First of all, she signified the political and cultural Other, 'them'. In addition, the character was used to reject the already existing Fennoman negation. The Fennoman national movement had created a liminal and ahistorical Finland; "Swedes we are not, Russians we will not be, let us be Finns!"[154] The Svecoman movement rejected this, and proclaimed: "but *we* are Swedes!" The Socialists in turn were more ambivalent. They rejected Fennoman nationalism, but also dodged the question over national identity. Hence I have interpreted *Kurikka*'s Suometar-Mamma as more party-political than cultural signifier. Whatever the reason for the fewness of national insignia, the fact is that she was not as nationally marked as the Suometar-Mamma in *Fyren*.

The second point to keep in mind is gender. The body of the Suometar-Mamma was grotesque and abject, both of which are coded feminine. She was a political prostitute and a mother of bastard children, against which her opponents could define themselves as upright men. I will end my discussion of the Suometar-Mamma by focusing on the celebration of masculinity that was ingrained in the caricatures. It is apparent that through the figure of the Suometar-Mamma the perceived fickleness and lack of political backbone were feminized, but the symbol carries even more complex meanings. Volatility and spinelessness were qualities that were already coded as feminine or at least as non-masculine, and the degenerate Suometar-Mamma simply exploited and reproduced negative notions of femininity. Consequently, I argue that to fully understand the figure's significance for gender and politics it also needs to be seen in a context of masculinity. I suggest that through the Suometar-Mamma political opponents were feminized and one's own masculinity was reinforced. The visual feminization of *Uusi Suometar* was obviously aided by the linguistically feminine form (*-tar*) of the newspaper's name. In fact, the name of the paper could be translated as 'Maiden Finland', as Kemiläinen has done.[155] However, when we bear in mind that the caricatures not only reflected reality but also constructed it, this feminized symbol of political and cultural negation

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153 Yuval-Davis 1998, 44; Tervo 2002, 336.
154 About the liminality of Finland see Anttonen 1996.
155 Kemiläinen 1998, 115.

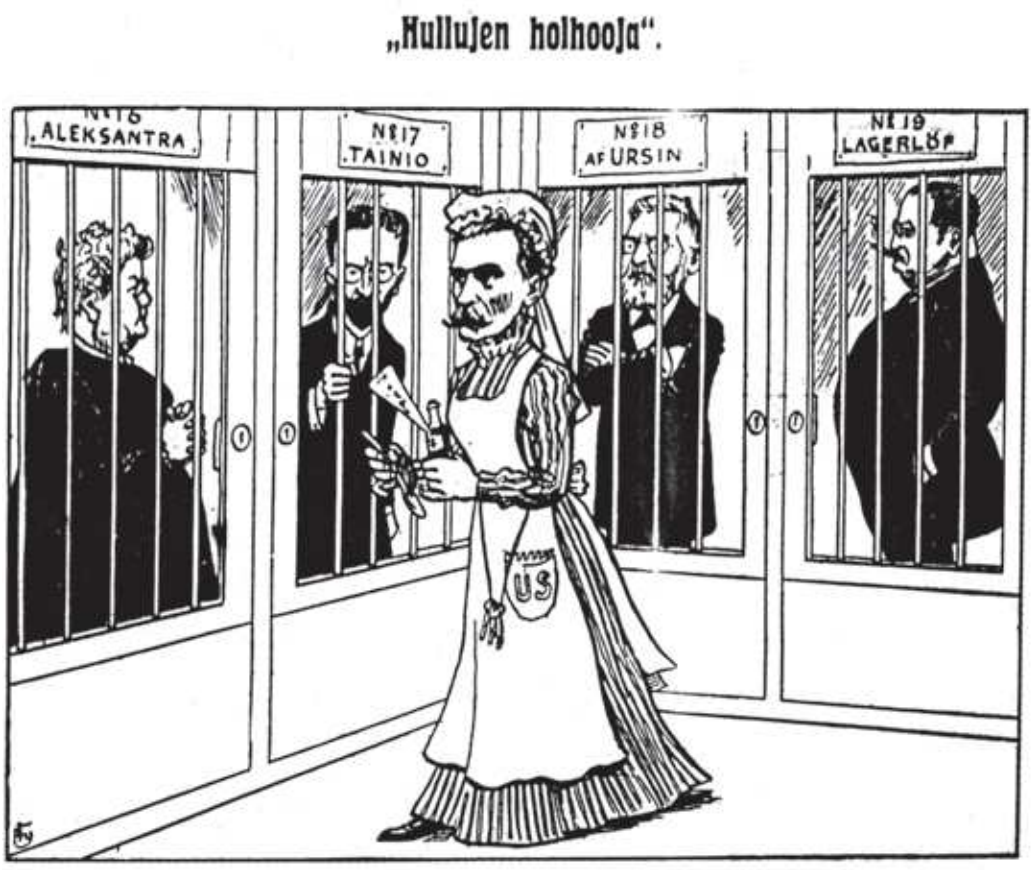

Figure 78. Alexander Federley: "The guardian of the insane". Velikulta *16 April 1908.*

emerges as a more complex and significant phenomenon than a mere linguistic cause and effect. More interesting than looking for reasons for the gendering is to consider the various connotations produced by the feminization of the newspaper and of politicians.[156]

The feminization of the opponent started already before the initial appearance of the Suometar-Mamma. In *Fyren*, real historical male personas representing the newspaper were often dressed as women. One of these male figures was J.V. Miesmaa (previously Messman), *Uusi-Suometar*'s sub-editor,[157] who at least in one front-page caricature was dressed in women's clothing.[158] Other magazines also used feminized men: in *Velikulta* Nevanlinna was pictured guarding the insane in a long skirt and bonnet (Figure 78); in

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156 Also, at least in occasion another newspaper *Uusi Aura* was depicted as an old woman in a national dress. The name of the newspaper does not imply femininity. (*Fyren* 5 August 1916. See also *Kurikka* 1 June 1913).

157 'Toimitussihteeri' in Finnish.

158 "Lika barn leka bäst". Messmann dressed in a skirt, shawl and an apron with the text 'Uusi Suometar' danced with a man, also dressed in skirt. The man was possibly Komaroff, the editor-in-chief of *Svjät*, a Russian nationalist newspaper, dressed in similar fashion. (*Fyren* 23 March1901).

Figure 79. Anonymous: Everyone has some laundry to wash. "There are enough despicable things to go around" – said Matti of Suometar. Kurikka *15 April 1909.*

Pyykkinsä kullakin.

»Kyllä tässä maailmassa vihellälsyyttä riittää» — sanoi Suomettaren Matti.

Tuulispää's "Hyi, kuka on tuhma!" (Fie, who is naughty!)[159] (Figure 18) the male representatives of *Nya Pressen* and *Hufvudstadsbladet* wore upper-class women's dresses, and addressed themselves in the caption as 'aunts'; and in *Kurikka* Danielson-Kalmari was portrayed as the Suometar-Mamma[160] and Matti of Suometar as a laundrywoman (Figure 79).

In a gender order where the feminine is lower and less-valued than the masculine, a man wearing women's clothing is taking a step down in the gender hierarchy. He is laughable, effeminate, weak – not a real man. Following Mosse, the feminized opponent was one type of 'convex mirror', a countertype against which one's own masculinity was affirmed. Men in women's dresses were not women, whose position in the gender system was different. If a woman maintained her respectability and the right kind of femininity, she was not the same as an unmasculine man. The gender order remained intact as long as both men and women knew their place and behaved as was expected of them. But once a man or a woman crossed the line of appropriate gender characteristics, i.e. crossed to the other side, he or she became a countertype to masculinity.[161]

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159 "Hyi, kuka on tuhma!" (*Tuulispää* 2 February 1906).
160 "»Kotimainen» hallituksemme" (*Kurikka* Christmas issue 1909).
161 Mosse 1996, 56–76.

Figure 80. Antti Wanninen: "We don't have any ground under our feet", Suometar-mamma complains nowadays. Kurikka *15 August 1909.*

Federley's front-page caricature *New sotnjetress*[162] – 'sotnje' referred to the 'black sotnjas', a group of Russian nationalists who were loyal to the Czar, followed the Russian Orthodox faith and attacked Russian liberals and Jews[163] – cited Professor Mandelstam's statement that *Uusi Suometar* was not a political party or movement any more than a gang of thieves was a party, but was a clique, just as the Russian 'black sotnjemen' were a clique. Consequently, no party tactics were effective against the newspaper. Mandelstam went on to use a disease metaphor: "[t]his newspaper has to be handled like a sickness, like a cancerous disease, and the cancer must be cut out".[164] In the picture, Mandelstam dressed in a nobleman's suit gallantly tears away the Suometar's royal robe, under which coat and spurs similar to sotnjas are discovered. Under her patriotic robes the Suometar-Mamma is just a Russian lackey. The contrast between the two figures is evident. That Mandelstam is here shown as a nobleman is quite surprising, in that his name, Joseph Mandelstam, connotes Jewishness.

Fyren, *Kurikka* and *Velikulta* did not regard the Suometar-Mamma as a politically omnipotent opponent, something that could not be coped with. Her body was often depicted as frail, and especially in *Kurikka* Wanninen drew the character as a whining, clumsy and incompetent old woman, sliding down to an inevitable political doom (Figures 80 and 81). By feminizing the opponent, it was not merely demonized; it was weakened and emasculated as well. In

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162 *Fyren* 25 January 1908.

163 Luntinen 1986, 290–291.

164 "Denna tidning måste man behandla som en sjukdom, såsom kräftsjukdom, och man måste skära ut kräftan." (*Fyren* 25 January 1908).

Figure 81. Antti Wanninen: On the threshold of the elections: Oh God! The same cold bath again?! Kurikka *1 January 1911.*

contrast to the vile male characters and the Suometar-Mamma were the upright men. In particular the fat personification of the Swedish People's Party, donning a Viking helmet and red-nosed from extensive drinking, was in stark opposition to the muscular male figures symbolizing the Socialists (Figure 82).

Conceptions of the right kind of masculinity differed from one political group to another. On the Swedish-speaking side ideal men portrayed noble and aristocratic qualities and their bodies were upright, lean and tall.[165] Bodily strength was also emphasized among the Socialists, but while the upright Finnish-Swedish men and Finnish-Finnish independent farmers exercised restraint, the male Social Democrat could be violent and aggressive. In *Kurikka* the Social Democrat was a muscular man, usually young, sometimes symbolizing the power of the proletariat[166] and literally beating up the opponents. The man might also be a bit older. In *After the election*, by Eric Vasström, a dignified older man, leisurely smoking a pipe, states calmly "[i]t went just as I thought it would. Our lads won and the Suomettarians lost"[167] (Figure 83).

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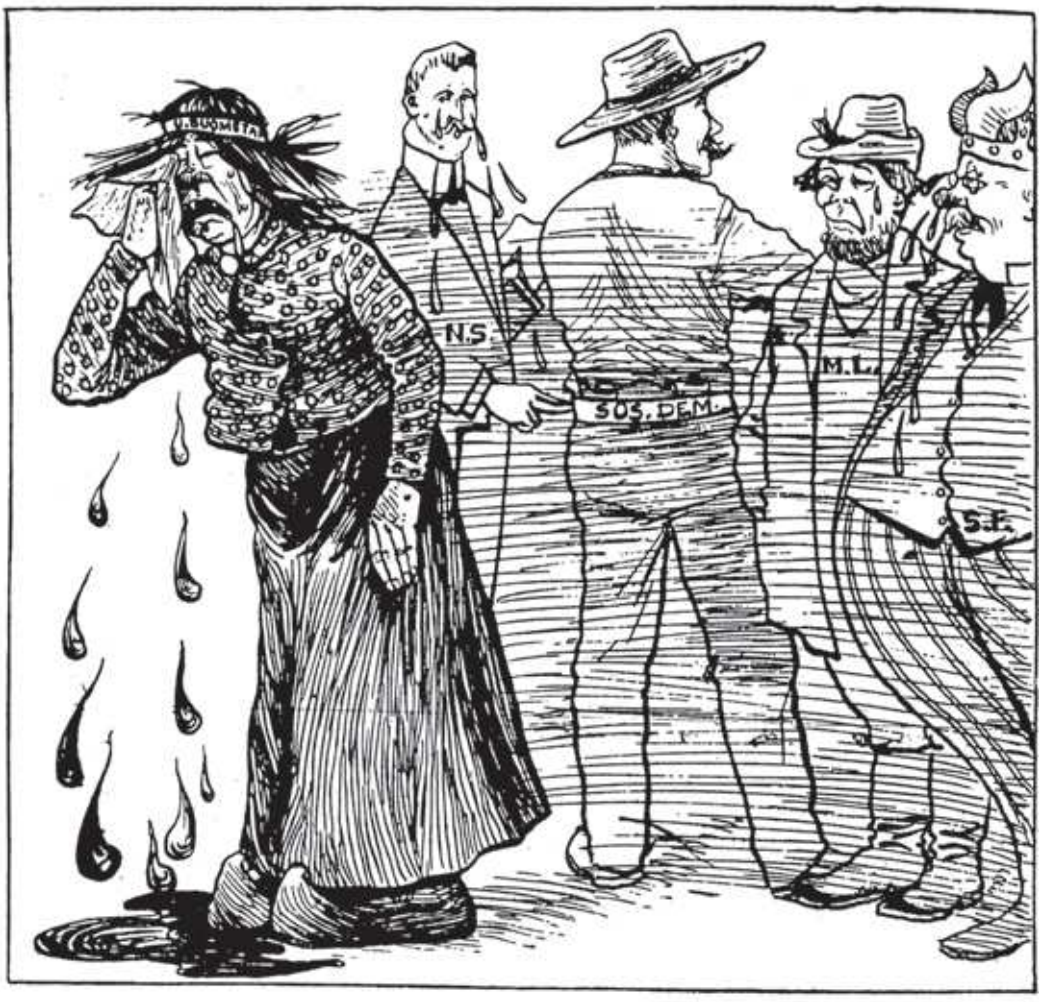
165 For example *Fyren* 27 January 1917.

166 Katainen 2003, 150.

167 "Vaalien jälkeen" (*Kurikka* 15 August 1913). "Se meni juuri niinkuin minä sen arvasinkin. Meidän pojaat voitti ja suomettarelaiset hävis."



Suometar:
— Minä näytän jo olevan liikaa eivät edes Snellmania nostaneet pyivään nenään!

Figure 82. Antti Wanninen: Suometar*: – it seems that I am too much, they didn't even put Snellman on a pedestal!* Kurikka *15 May 1911.*

Figure 83. Eric Vasström: After the election. It went just as I thought it would. Our lads won and the Suomettarians lost. Kurikka *15 August 1913.*

Petrified Paradoxes of Masculine Enterprises

Some years ago, when I set out to write this book, I planned to study the feminine personification of Finland. My initial purpose was to sort out the various types of the Finnish Maid and their respective political and national meanings. I even harbored the idea of studying the humorous aspects of the Maid caricatures. Little did I know that those questions and answers to them would end up in a single chapter, or would be disregarded altogether, and that I would devote the rest of the study to such themes as masculinity, male homosocial desire and the embodiment and eroticization of nation and national space.

The objective of this book has been to examine the ways in which gender, sexuality and the body figure in the construction of a nation. Although the caricatures and political debates I have addressed date from the beginning of the twentieth century, this study has not been about that era. My purpose has been, through an analysis of performative nationality, public monuments and national landscape as well as poems and caricatures featuring the Maid, to uncover gendered meanings and processes in the construction of the Finnish nation. Similar technologies of sexualization and appropriation of female and male bodies to those I found are still used around the world even today. Usually, however, they touch real historical women and men, not symbolic figures.

A key point has been the concept of gender itself. When I started to do research for this book, my intention was to focus solely on the Maid figure and femininity. I subsequently realized that if I concentrated solely on women and femininities, that is conflate 'gender' with 'woman', certain very important aspects of nationality, nationalism, national hierarchies and politics would go unnoticed and unproblematized. Once we start to pay attention to men and masculinities, the picture becomes not necessarily clearer, but more complex. The position of feminine personifications also appears in a different light. In the end, I was unable to integrate the discussion of masculinities as perhaps would have been appropriate. There are many questions that have not been answered or even raised in this study. For instance, what were the different masculinities in Finnish national and political processes? Evidently there was not just a single masculinity. In addition, some of the male figures, such as the Viking, can be interpreted as male grotesques. I have concentrated on female grotesques, although a closer inquiry into the array of masculinities would make it possible to see the nuances in manliness.

The Finnish Maid and other feminine personifications are paradoxes. Mary Ryan and Marina Warner have both argued that female allegories have been serviceable political and national symbols because women have lacked political power. Thus feminine allegories have not elicited political passions based on

social class, political parties and other groupings.[1] I argue that it is precisely because of their femininity and female bodies that they elicit passions. Those passions, however, are not party-political, but are deeper ones of gender, sexuality and eroticism. Women cast in metal remind us of abstract ideals, such as freedom and equality, which are valued by men and women alike, and that is how they have been seen in many studies not sensitive to feminist theory. If the personifications of nations and states continue to be seen solely as detached and allegorical symbols, their gendered, sexual and bodily aspects are missed.

Feminist inquiry has uncovered how below the surface – behind the stony stare of a monument or the sneering smile of a caricature – one finds these images laden with gendered and sexualized meanings. This study too, by 'undressing' the Maid, has addressed these questions. Nation and nationality are organized under the assumption of heterosexuality, the heterosexual matrix. In its simplest form nation is given a familial order: the heterosexual family is a miniature of the nation. In this order, women as mothers and guardians of collective morals are elevated to a pedestal. What is exceptional in the case of Finland is that, as I have argued throughout this book, the maternal imagery was not transferred to the personification. Although there were some cases where Finland was seen as a mother, the maid theme was far more prevalent. Yet the heterosexual order is as present here as it would be in the mother imagery.

The virginal Maid took many forms: that of the actual female figure, of the landscape, even of real historical women who were seen as embodying the Finnish people. In fact, two processes took place: feminization and embodiment. Both geographical and mental national spaces were embodied by this female figure, and by the negative figure of the Suometar-Mamma which was used as a negation of the young and beautiful Finnish Maid through which Finns were racialized as blue-eyed blondes. The Finnish nation in the form of the Finnish Maid or national landscape was the desired object of intellectuals and artists. I have suggested that we should not see the nation as *symbolized* by a woman, but rather should see the nation *as* a woman, a beloved. Therefore, to say that the nation is gendered as feminine through feminine symbolism misses an important point. The nation was already feminized; it held the position of a woman. The relationship between the Finnish nation and the intellectuals and artists was that of a male lover and a female beloved.

Through bodily metaphors the nation is transformed into a tangible, living being, which can be raped, eaten or annihilated as well as desired. Masculinity too figures in the bodily aspects of the nation. While women are expected to biologically reproduce the nation by bearing children as well as to be symbolic zones and boundaries, men are expected to make the ultimate sacrifice: to relinquish their bodies, to willingly die for the nation. This is their masculine duty. At times of war and other conflicts, active and valorous men defend the passive women and children. Failure to defend women is interpreted in terms of

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1 Warner 1996, 12; Ryan 1989, 150.

losing a man's manliness. When we analyze the caricatures in the context of masculinity production, a certain discrepancy surfaces. That the Maid was under threat but was not rescued is in contradiction with nationalism, which emphasizes masculinity and strength. Furthermore, a more suitable symbol for a nation under duress would have been a mother-figure – or better yet an amazon warrior with a sword of justice, protecting her citizens. The caricaturists, however, introduced a young maiden, whose virginity and purity connoted lofty ideals which men were supposed to fight for and protect. But they failed. They could not protect the Finnish Maid, and she was assaulted time after time. That is another paradox.

Sexuality is a powerful agent in political discourse. The time was marked as sexually immoral and dangerous, and these rather titillating pictures had an apt ground in public imagination. I believe that the historical and political position of Finland helped to construe the imagined position of the country as a helpless victim of oppression, and made it possible to create the type of personification that finally in the 1930s set the standard for the type of the Finnish Maid familiar to Finns today. The Finnish Maid's sexuality was not celebrated; it was not a source of power, but something almost hidden and in need of protection. In this sense too the Finnish Maid is a paradox. She had the potential to become a mature mother-figure, but she never did so. Among many of her mature European counterparts the personification is still an adolescent Maid. Men could not protect her, but neither could they obtain her. She remained unattainable, perhaps because they did not want to shatter their idealized object of desire.

By now it is clear that all the various metaphors of the Finnish Maid – as a bride, a captive, as threatened or at the feet of a great man – became enmeshed in national imagination. All the attributes of the figure were interdependent. If the Finnish Maid had been a warrior amazon, it would have been less easy to fantasize the figure as being under threat. In addition, a young maid did not pose a threat to the homosocial order of national men who were to rule the nation. In this way, the figure manifests the masculine and fraternal ideologies of the nation.

Snellman had maintained that the only area in arts or sciences where women could achieve something was acting, since that is where her feminine characteristics surfaced.[2] When we think about the personifications, they are indeed quite like actresses. They are placed on their pedestals or at the feet of great men to portray men's ideas. They do not represent real historical women. Instead, they are the petrified performers of their creators' hopes and aspirations. The Finnish Maid, the Finnish nation, was desired by male nationalist intellectuals, poets and caricaturists. Various conflicting groups fought their ideological battles on the body of the Maid. In the end, those conflicts were not about the Maid but about the men themselves, their relationships with one another and their power. The figure was an actor, a medium of their "masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope"[3] – and, as I have added, masculinized desire. Nations are indeed, in spite of their feminine personifications, masculine enterprises.

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2 Mantere 1899, 416–420.
3 Enloe 2000a, 44.

Bibliography

ILLUSTRATIONS

All the illustrations are from Finnish and Swedish satirical magazines except,

Figure 4: Reitala 1983, p. 98
Figure 5: Reitala 1983, p. 66
Figure 6: Reitala 1983, p. 62
Figure 7: Reitala 1983, p. 49
Figure 10: Reitala 1983, p. 88
Figure 21: Museovirasto
Figure 24: Lindgren 2000, p. 31
Figure 25: Lindgren 2000, p. 28

HUMOR MAGAZINES AND CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS

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Nya Fyren
1918

Nya Nisse
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