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Juho Pekkarinen

Intertwining Science and Politics

Foreign Scholars of Finland and Their Finnish Collaborators, ca. 1870–1920

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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ABSTRACT

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The Finns had been an overlooked subject of scientific inquiry for a long time, but during the nineteenth century, and especially the latter half of the century, Finnish people, culture and language started increasingly to interest European researchers outside Finland. This thesis examines five of them, British folklorist John Abercromby, Italian scholar Domenico Comparetti, Swedish anthropologist Gustaf Retzius, Danish linguist Vilhelm Thomsen and German anthropologist Rudolf Virchow, who were some of the most prominent non-Finnish researchers studying Finns during this era. The five non-Finnish researchers did not work alone but were keen to collaborate with Finnish researchers who could advance their own personal and national goals by becoming associated with their European colleagues.

To study the actions of the non-Finnish researchers, this study not only investigates their scientific output but also thoroughly analyses their correspondence with the Finnish scientific community to find out more about how they conducted their studies and to what extent different social norms affected their scientific work and interactions with other researchers. As a social group, the researchers of the nineteenth century were not separated from broader society but were influenced by the ideological currents and political events of their time, which are visible in their scientific work and their activities outside the sphere of science.

Although the researchers generally viewed themselves as members of the international scientific community, they did not seek to relinquish their national identities; rather, in most cases, they acted as representatives of their nations, even in scientific settings. Many of the researchers were politically active and took part in political life. This thesis especially examines the ways in which the non-Finnish researchers contributed to the political developments in Finland during an era when the autonomous position of the Grand Duchy of Finland became increasingly challenged in the Russian Empire and the Russifying policies in Finland received international attention.

Keywords: history of science, nineteenth century, transnational, international science, correspondence, Finland

TIIVISTELMÄ (ABSTRACT IN FINNISH)

Pekkarinen, Juho
Tieteen ja politiikan yhteen nivoutuminen: Suomea tutkineet ulkomaalaiset tutkijat ja heidän suomalaiset yhteistyökumppaninsa
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Suomalaiset olivat pitkään sivuutettu tutkimuskohde, mutta 1800-luvulla ja etenkin vuosisadan jälkipuoliskolla kiinnostus suomalaisia, Suomen kulttuuria ja suomen kieltä kohtaan lisääntyi Suomen ulkopuolisten tutkijoiden keskuudessa. Tämän väitöstyön kannalta keskeisiä ovat heistä viisi: brittiläinen folkloristi John Abercromby, italialainen eepostutkija Domenico Comparetti, ruotsalainen antropologi Gustaf Retzius, tanskalainen kielitieteilijä Vilhelm Thomsen ja saksalainen antropologi Rudolf Virchow, jotka edustivat tuon aikakauden keskeisimpiä suomalaisten tutkijoita Suomen ulkopuolella. Nämä tutkijat eivät työskennelleet täysin yksin vaan pitkälti suomalaisten tutkijoiden avustuksella, joita kiinnosti edistää omia henkilökohtaisia ja kansallisia pyrkimyksiään näiden ulkomaisten kollegojen avulla.

Tämä tutkimus ei keskity tarkastelemaan vain näiden viiden ulkomaalaisen tutkijan tieteellisiä tuotoksia vaan myös analysoi heidän kirjeenvaihtoansa suomalaisten tutkijoiden kanssa ymmärtääksemme paremmin, miten he tekivät tutkimuksiaan ja minkälaiset sosiaaliset normistot vaikuttivat heidän toimintaansa. Tutkijat eivät olleet irrallaan yhteiskunnasta vaan heihin vaikuttivat aikakauden aatteelliset virtaukset ja poliittiset tapahtumat, jotka näkyivät myös heidän tutkimuksissaan ja toiminnassaan tieteellisen maailman ulkopuolella.

Vaikka tutkijat yleensä mielsivät itsensä kansainvälisen tiedeyhteisön jäseniksi, he eivät olleet luopuneet kansallisista identiteeteistään vaan katsoivat edustavansa kansakuntiaan myös tieteellisissä yhteyksissä. Useat tutkijoista olivat poliittisesti aktiivisia ja tämä tutkimus on kiinnostunut erityisesti tarkastelemaan, miten edellä mainitut viisi ulkomaalaista tutkijaa vaikuttivat poliittisiin tapahtumiin Suomessa aikakautena, jolloin sen autonominen asema oli uhan alla ja venäläistämistoimet saivat myös kansainvälistä huomiota osakseen.

Asiasanat: tieteen historia, 1800-luku, ylirajaisuus/transnationaalisuus, kansainvälinen tiede, kirjeenvaihto, Suomi

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1 INTRODUCTION

The latter half of the nineteenth century was marked by an increase in scientific activity that can be easily seen in the development of new scientific disciplines that became increasingly visible in European society, not least because of the many international scientific congresses that were frequently visited by local elites, including many heads of state. In addition to the grand posturing of the newfound importance of science to economic and social progress in Europe, these events were also an expression of the centuries-long traditions of scientific cooperation across national borders that had become more feasible with technological and communicational changes, which had made the transportation of people and messages easy and affordable across the continent. This transformation had also made previously rather peripheral areas, such as the northeastern part of Europe, including Finland, increasingly accessible and available for scientific research from European centres of science.

The scientific interests of the non-Finnish researchers towards Finns became intertwined with the aims of the Finnish scientific community, which was enthusiastic to help their foreign colleagues and further their own ambitions to find acceptance among the wider sphere of European scientists. In addition to ongoing scientific debates and a general desire to fill in blank spots in the map of scientific knowledge, the research focused on Finns by both the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers was motivated by different national questions that had made many of the scientific disciplines interested in the human past inseparably intertwined with the politics of the time.

To unravel the dynamics of conducting scientific inquiry during the increasingly politically charged time in Europe, in this doctoral thesis, I examine five non-Finnish researchers who studied Finns and their culture from anthropological, linguistic and cultural points of view. These researchers are Gustaf Retzius (1842–1919), one of the leading doctors and anthropologists of Sweden who wrote several books about Finnish skulls and culture; Vilhelm Thomsen (1842–1927), a Danish linguist interested in the German and Baltic loanwords in the Finnish language; Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902) from Germany, one of the most renowned medical and anthropological authorities in Europe and

a leading liberal politician in Reichstag who studied Finns to counter the claims, propagated by some French researchers, that instead of German stock Prussians were of Slavic-Finnish origins; John Abercromby (1841–1924), a British nobleman and an independent scholar fascinated by Finnish culture and folklore; and Domenico Comparetti (1835–1927), an Italian scholar and senator, who wrote a study about the national epic of Finland, the *Kalevala*.

These five researchers wrote most of their studies about Finns in the late nineteenth century, but this dissertation also examines their actions, especially in relation to the struggle for Finnish independence in the early years of the twentieth century. Although these researchers were at the time some of the most noteworthy researchers outside Finland interested in the scientific questions related to the Finns, the aim of this study is not merely to examine a previously little-studied area of Finnish history but rather to use the interactions of these five non-Finnish researchers and their Finnish colleagues as a case study to bring light into more general aspects of the scientific world of late-nineteenth-century Europe.

The political situation of the Grand Duchy of Finland and its perceived remoteness from the scientific centres of Europe were not totally unique, as the conditions in Norway, Poland, Hungary and Russia's Baltic provinces could be said to have been somewhat comparable. None of these polities enjoyed total national independence at the time, but they were not isolated from the rest of the world. Particularly in scientific matters, these areas could have greater prominence than in matters of international politics.[1] Examining how science gained special political importance in these subject nations because it could be used as a nonthreatening form of national expression and how researchers from these "peripheral" countries interacted with the wider scientific community of Europe are important topics that have not received enough interest from historians of science or political historians.

In this thesis, I focus on five researchers from different European countries who were interested in Finns for their scientific research. The reason why these five researchers are valuable to this study is not due to their relevance for the fields of science today – nor are they especially relevant for understanding the development of their disciplines.[2] In this study, they are important representatives of the scientific community of their time as men from a privileged social class, a mix of amateurs and professors who used the scientific methods and theories of their time and, at the same time, were influenced by contemporary ideologies and worldviews in their activities.

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[1] For example, scientific internationalism was very important for the Polish scientific community during the partition and interwar years; see Steffen and Kohlrausch 2009 and Kreuder-Sonnen 2016.

[2] That being said, some of these men, such as Virchow and Retzius, were important figures in their fields and are important to know to understand the histories of their disciplines, whereas Abercromby can also be seen as a representative figure of British folklorists, but in the end, his own contributions had little effect in Britain or Finland. Of these men, Thomsen most likely has had the most lasting impact with his research, as many etymologies for the loanwords he proposed are still accepted.

These activities set them apart from most other European researchers who were usually quite uninterested in issues related to Finland or Finnish people, but relations and scientific activities with the Finnish scientific community were also established by Hungarian researchers, such as Pál Hunfalvy (1810–1891), József Szinnyei (1857–1943) and Bela Vikar (1859–1945), to whom learning Finnish language and culture was linked to their own national interests to study Hungarian language and its connection to related languages.[3] Although the Hungarian researchers studied Finns to a comparable extent to the five researchers chosen here, their role is not examined in more detail in this study, as the relationship between Finnish and Hungarian researchers has already received considerable attention from historians.[4] Furthermore, the motivations for Hungarian researchers to study Finland and Finns differed from most of the other non-Finnish researchers, as they felt a national kinship to the Finns and, as such, differed from the non-Finnish researchers who lacked this association. Including Hungarian researchers would, therefore, make this present study a bit too complex for its scope, which focuses on the five researchers partly to answer the question of why they studied Finns despite not having this obvious national connection to Finns as Hungarians.

In addition to Hungarians, the lack of Russian researchers might seem quite glaring, as the Grand Duchy of Finland was part of the Russian Empire during this era. It seems that the activity of Finnish researchers to study their own people was so significant that Russian researchers rarely conducted notable studies of Finnish people. Russian researchers were more productive with studies of Finno-Ugric groups located in Russia rather than in Finland or the Baltic region more generally, and through the shared interest in these people, Finnish researchers were in frequent communication with their Russian colleagues. The other reason for not including the Russian scientific community in this study is that the relationship between Russian and Finnish scientific communities was not always unproblematic, as Finland became subject to repressive minority policies of the Russian Empire and the Finnish researchers felt increasingly distrustful of the Russian intelligentsia, whom they saw representing this oppressive regime. The relationship with the Russian scientific community would be, therefore, different compared with these researchers from Western Europe who could cooperate without these obvious political tensions.

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[3] Good overview of the relationship between Finnish and Hungarian researchers can be found in Nagy and Numminen (eds.) 1984, also in English (Numminen & Nagy (eds.) 1985), especially in chapters by Korhonen, Tervonen and Kodolányi. For later scientific relations since 1920 between Finland and Hungary, see Anssi *Halmesvirta's Rakkaat heimoveljet: Unkari ja Suomi 1920–1945*. The idea that Finnish and Hungarian languages were related was already put forth by eighteenth century researchers such as Leibniz, but as there was no consensus about the relationship between Uralic, Mongolian and Turkic languages, many Hungarian researchers, such as Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913), supported the idea that Hungarian was more related to Turkic languages than to Uralic languages such as Finnish. The scientific debate culminated in the "Ugric–Turk War" that was waged in the Hungarian scientific community.

[4] In addition to the works cited in previous footnotes, much of the correspondence between Hungarian and Finnish researchers has been edited and published by Viljo Tervonen; see, for example, Tervonen 1987, 1989 and 1999.

1.1 Time Frame and Main Research Questions

As noted in the title of this thesis, this dissertation focuses on the activities of the five non-Finnish researchers during the last three decades of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century. This time period encompasses roughly the years when they actively interacted with Finnish and studied Finns, but during this time period, the active research concerning Finns usually encompassed only a few years of their lives, whereas their relationship with Finnish researchers could continue decades after the end of their studies. All of them had finished their research before the turn of the century, so their activities during the twentieth century represented continuing relationships and later interactions based on their research years before. Although their activities cover years both during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these researchers are predominantly referred to in this study collectively as "(late) nineteenth-century researchers" or "researchers of the (late) nineteenth century", as they were most active during this century and better represent the scientific ethos and paradigms of the nineteenth than the twentieth century. In this sense, the time frame correlates with the concept of "the long nineteenth century", although an important part of the analysis in this thesis is the immediate aftermath of the First World War when Finland emerged as an independent nation and the non-Finnish researchers found their Finnish colleagues in a totally new political environment.

This timeframe, based on the years when these researchers studied Finns and on their later interactions with Finnish individuals, also quite neatly overlaps with the era of nationalism that E. J. Hobsbawm has described as being marked by a more intense interest in and use of ethnicity, language and a shared culture as a basis for national identities and nation-building processes. The scientific preoccupations of the researchers relevant to this study were therefore of great interest and importance for the politics of this era and showcase how deeply intertwined the scientific and political spheres were at the time.[5]

The central aim of this doctoral thesis is to paint a multifaceted picture of the actions of the relevant researchers of this era. This study, therefore, delves into different questions relevant to the history of science, social history, political history, cultural history and other disciplines interested in historical study. The central questions that examine these different aspects of the researchers of this thesis are as follows:

1. What can the activities and interactions of the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries tell us about the transnational world of science and the ways in which researchers operated in an international environment that was increasingly challenged by the political and national tensions of the era?

2. What purpose did the research of Finns serve among the more general scientific interests of the European scientific community of the late nineteenth and

[5] Hobsbawm 1992a, 101–130.

early twentieth centuries? How were these studies connected to the political debates and aims of the era?

3. How did the researchers form and maintain transnational relationships through correspondence and other interactions? What benefits did these connections bring to their scientific work?

4. How did the scientific and political spheres overlap in the studies and activities of the researchers? How did the researchers negotiate the cosmopolitan ideals of science and the strong national identities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

These questions form the basis for the main chapters of this study (Chapters 2–6). Question 1 represents the main themes and issues of this thesis that are examined from different points of view in each chapter. As the question itself is quite extensive, Questions 2, 3 and 4 help to focus the analysis on more manageable topics that help to illustrate the primary question. These questions are present and guide the analysis of each part of this thesis, although their importance to the issues and details of each chapter varies.

In Chapter 1 (Introduction), I clarify, in different sections, the relevant theoretical and methodical approaches that are utilised in this thesis, introduce the primary sources and the state of earlier historical research on these topics and people, define some key concepts of this research and how I use them, inform the reader about the scientific discourse on Finns at the time, introduce the main actors of this research in more detail and, finally, explain how the multilingual material has been used.

Chapter 2 (Finns Represented in the Works of the Non-Finnish Researchers) is the first main chapter of this study and focuses on the scientific output of these researchers. Instead of following a chronological timeline or examining the works of these researchers one by one, the chapter uses thematic sections to highlight relevant topics and themes that are evident in the works of all these non-Finnish researchers from different nationalities and disciplines. The different themes that this chapter focuses on are how the non-Finnish researchers conceptualised Finns, how their research was influenced by the ideologies of the late nineteenth century, what role theories of social evolution and degeneration played in their studies and how these researchers tried to aim for objectivity in their methods and scientific descriptions. Although this is the only chapter that focuses almost exclusively on their scientific output, later chapters will provide more information about the contexts in which these works were produced and the significance that scientific networks had in the process.

Chapters 3 (Men of Letters and Conventions) and 4 (Practicalities of Transnational Interactions) address how the researchers formed and maintained their professional relationships to build useful scientific networks. Chapter 3 examines the issue from a concrete point of view by focusing on the practical matters of their correspondence, especially on how they used the medium of the letter by following specific social and literary conventions. Chapter 4 builds on the more hands-on examination of letters in Chapter 3 by analysing different social aspects that the letters and other sources detailing the interactions of researchers can reveal. The different sections of this chapter investigate the ways

trust and exchange helped to form useful social relations, what kind of scientific networks the non-Finnish researchers formed with their Finnish colleagues and how these men interacted with Finnish people of different backgrounds that they met during their research.

Chapters 5 (International Ideals and National Roles of Researchers) and 6 (Scientists in the Midst of Political Turmoil) look into how the researchers interacted in the international scientific community and what role politics played in their actions. Chapter 5 examines how changes in travel, communication and the new practice of organising international scientific congresses changed the ways the scientific community in Europe interacted, but the meat of this chapter is the analysis of how the researchers conceptualised themselves in this international community while identifying with the growing trend of nationalism. Chapter 6 shows that the researchers not only dabbled in politics in their personal thinking but often took an active part in their national politics without completely discarding their scientific roles. This chapter also investigates the role these non-Finnish researchers played in the political events in Finland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Finnish politics related to the Russian regime were increasingly polarising and received international attention.

Chapter 7 concludes this thesis by summarising the main points of the previous chapters and presenting what the actions of the five non-Finnish researchers and the Finnish scientific community during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can reveal about the scientific world of their time.

1.2 Theory and Methods

Instead of a single method or theoretical model, this work uses different approaches from the fields of history of science, transnational history, historical sociolinguistics and sociology to examine the complementary aspects of the five researchers and the wider scientific community of late nineteenth century Europe.

Scientific research has been studied by historians for a long time, but traditionally, the focus has been on the history of a single discipline or a single researcher. Historians of science have usually been most interested in the natural sciences, so there is, to some extent, a lack of research about different disciplines of the social sciences and humanities. However, during the past decades, there has been increased research examining the field of humanities, with one important development being the establishment of the Society for the History of the Humanities and its academic journal, *History of Humanities*.[6] Besides new scientific journals and societies, there have been new overviews of the fields of humanities and human sciences that try to find unifying lines between their

[6] The role of the history of humanities in relation to a more general study of the history of science has also been examined in the Focus section of the academic journal *Isis* in June 2015 (Isis June 2015, 106:2, 337–390).

development and the analytical methods used in these fields.[7] The point of view of the whole field of humanities is, of course, too wide for this research and does not fully reflect the full scientific discussion on Finns. The approach to examining unifying factors between different disciplines and the exchange of scientific ideas is, on the other hand, a model worth emulating.

The categorisation of scientific research into neat disciplines would also be somewhat anachronistic, as many of the disciplines were still developing during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and many of these disciplines had their first academic chairs during this period.[8] The study of human matters was also of interest to the general public, and many researchers contributed to the field as amateurs. The cross-pollination between different areas of study was more of a norm than an exception. For example, classifications from linguistic studies offered terminology and a basis for anthropological studies where categories such as "Aryan" evolved to include new qualities foreign to the original use of those terms.[9] The romantic and nationalistic ideals of the time affected the whole field of human study, so the national agendas and interest in the past also bound the different disciplines together.

Because this study examines the actions of five researchers from different European countries and especially their interaction with the Finnish scientific community, it is quite natural to pay attention to different international and transnational aspects that come to the surface. The study of history has traditionally conceptualised history using the national framework and focusing especially on political events deemed important for the development of a specific nation. The interaction of different national actors, especially diplomatic activity, has been part of the study of history since Ranke, but during the past few decades, new transnational points of view have challenged some old presumptions and emphasised actions by individuals and groups that cross national borders in ways that cannot be conceptualised neatly using the old national frameworks. The interest in these transnational subjects developed simultaneously in North America, where the movement of people across the Atlantic offered many topics of transnational interest, and in Europe, where it developed from older comparative and annalist historical research.[10]

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[7] Bod 2013; Turner 2014.

[8] For example, the renowned philologist Friedrich Max Müller saw the study of language to be both a historical and physical science, with aspects that were closer to natural sciences than other areas of study interested in human culture (Bosch 2002, 213–219).

[9] For the development and use of Aryan in different fields of research, see Arvidsson 2006. Linguistic studies, such as comparative philology, also influenced the early evolutionary biologists as in how the tree diagram used to portray lineages of language families inspired tree diagrams that portrayed the evolution of biological species; see Alter 1999.

[10] Some leading figures in North America include Pierre-Yves Saunier and Akira Iriye, who have done a lot of groundwork introducing terminology and approaches to this relatively new historical point of view; see, for example, Iriye and Saunier (eds.), 2009, Saunier 2013 and Iriye 2013. In Europe, transnational history was used widely first studying the relationship between Germany and France during the centuries. Before the widespread use of the term "transnational history", some of this research was done under names such as "entangled history", "*Transfergeschichte*" and "*histoire croisée*". Lately, other geographic areas, such as Central Europe, as frameworks for historical study, have also gained prominence. Some of the works exploring these themes are as follows: Lepenies (ed.) 2003; Cohen and

Rather than following a single clearly defined methodological approach based on transnationalism, I use transnational history as an adaptable approach and more as a point of view to recognise patterns that have been missed by previous researchers who have approached the subject from a more national-oriented perspective. The international features of the scientific field have been recognised in previous research on the history of science, focusing on the mobility of scientists and the interactions between different national scientific communities.[11] Transnational aspects between individual researchers have also been studied, especially in the context of the Republic of Letters during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. [12] Considering this present study, transnational aspects are especially evident in international congresses for different scientific topics, in the exchange of ideas between researchers of different nationalities, in the shared belief in the universal nature of scientific knowledge and in the international Pro Finlandia petition. The international petition was signed in 1899 by 1,063 scientific and cultural figures from 12 European countries addressing Tsar Nicholas II and urging him to retain the national privileges and autonomous status of Finland, which were under threat, as Finland was being integrated more closely into the rest of the Russian Empire as a part of the more general Russification policies of the era.

On the other hand, international events, such as congresses, served as platforms for national rivalries, as scientific achievements were also seen as accomplishments of the respective nations. National prestige was seen as extremely important for the competition of nations and empires during the nineteenth century, and the projection of might through scientific and economic successes was seen as an alternative to military triumphs. These rivalries and strained relations between different nations were also reflected in the cooperation between individuals and the scientific communities of differing nations. Particularly relevant for this study are the national animosity between German and French scientific communities after the Franco-Prussian War and the different national reasons that affected how much support international figures were willing to give to the political aims of Finnish activists.

To analyse different scientific, social and political actions among different individuals, I pay special attention to the networks of different researchers and to the ways these relationships were used by all participants. As the existence of relationships between Finnish and non-Finnish researchers is taken as the starting point for this research, I do not quantitatively examine the extent of these networks or even how they compare to the other international relationships of the researchers in this study. Instead, I focus on the nature of the relationships by investigating the purpose of their correspondence and the different social aspects that guided the interactions between different individuals. The matters of trust,

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O'Connor (eds.) 2004; Werner and Zimmermann (eds.) 2004; Curthoys and Lake (eds.) 2005; Haupt and Kocka (eds.) 2009; Laqua 2011; Rodogno, Struck and Vogel (eds.) 2014.

[11] See, for example, Crawford 1992; Crawford, Shinn and Sörlin (eds.) 1993; Simon, Herran, Lanuza-Navarro, Ruiz-Castell and Guillem-Llobat (eds.) 2008; Ellis and Kirchberger (eds.) 2014; Fox 2014; Rebok 2014; Rayward and Black (eds.) 2014.

[12] See note 14 for more information on the literature on the Republic of Letters.

exchange of assistance and material and personal relations are of prime importance. These social aspects of scientific networks have been studied especially by different Swedish historians, who have used the theoretical frameworks of French anthropologist Marcel Mauss and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu.[13]

Matters of proper conduct and reciprocity were especially important in "the Republic of Letters" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which connected different scholars and learned individuals in Europe and, to a lesser extent, persons on other continents. The members of the Republic shared some ideals of universalism, and the individuals of this network often corresponded across religious and national boundaries. Typical of the Republic was the circulation of handwritten letters and manuscripts that allowed the diffusion of knowledge, even without published scientific research. The development of learned journals and encyclopaedic projects were also accomplishments of some leading members of the Republic.[14] The development of nationalism and nation states in the nineteenth century changed the environment of the international scientific community in Europe, as national identities and nationally structured institutions, such as new learned societies, academies and universities, became more prominent venues for scientific inquiries than in the previous century.

The change was not, of course, total, and the social aspects of interaction in scientific communities did not disappear but transformed to fit the new environment and social norms. The way these identities and ideals were present in the actions of nineteenth-century researchers are examined in a way that is, to some extent, inspired by the work of Benedict Anderson [15] but adapted significantly to fit the analysis of the scientific community, so I have no qualms to come to conclusions that are different from Anderson's.

My intention is not to argue that Anderson's model of how national identities are constructed through imaginary communities is the only or the best way to describe the development of national identities but rather that it is the most useful model for the purposes of this thesis because its flexibility also allows me to examine the construction of identities in another context – that of the idealised communal and cosmopolitan identity of nineteenth-century researchers. Anderson's model, therefore, serves primarily as a helpful guide to pinpointing specific aspects that contributed to the construction of a shared

[13] See, for example, Gunneriusson 2002a and Gunneriusson 2002b (ed.). In the Finnish context, Timo Vilén has used these theoretical models in his study about the Nobel career of scientist Ragnar Granit (Vilén 2013). These social elements have not only shaped the scientific activities of the past two centuries as Biagioli (1993) has shown that the act of gift-giving and the importance of social roles played a huge part in how Galileo Galilei acted as a courtier and scientist during the seventeenth century.

[14] The following monographs and articles give a good look into the aspects of the Republic of Letters and have been a great help in understanding the transnational networks that predate the time frame of this present study: Brockliss 2002, Dalton 2003, Daston 1991, Goldgar 1995, Goodman 1994, Kronick 2001, Mauelshagen 2003, van Miert 2016 and Wildmalm 1992.

[15] Particularly his *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Anderson 2006 [1983], rev. ed.)

identity of the European scientific community and to examining its possible primary or subsidiary role in the national identities of the researchers.

The less central focus on the ideas of other theorists of nationalism, such as Anthony D. Smith's theories of the ethno-symbolic basis of nationalism[16] or E. J. Hobsbawm's ideas on the importance of invented traditions in nationalism,[17] stems primarily from the fact that the way I examine political aspects in this thesis is rooted in my empirical findings. Even in the case of the national identities of the researchers, I take it as a given that most of the educated researchers of the late nineteenth century had developed strong national identities, and it is not necessary here to examine if this nationalism was a product of modernity, industrialisation or perennial nations. Concerning the national identities of these researchers, I will instead focus on how they interplayed with their other possible identities as professional researchers and members of the transnational scientific community. I will, therefore, not engage in an active conversation with the theories of nationalism of these other writers, although they have also had an influence on how I think about nationalism in general and how I approach the empirical examination of my sources in relation to these themes.

Anderson's ideas of national identities are contrasted with the ways cosmopolitanism and universalism also shaped how researchers of the late nineteenth century identified themselves. To unravel these complex identities, I examine the language the researchers used, especially related to nationalism and internationalism, by focusing on the rhetorical uses of these concepts, much in line with the research done by conceptual historians, as in the recent volume *Nationalism and Internationalism Intertwined: A European History of Concepts Beyond the Nation State* (2022), edited by Pasi Ihalainen and Antero Holmila.

This current study owes a lot to the field of sociology of science, especially to the approach of the "strong program" that emphasises the effect of social factors and cultural contexts on scientific research and even sees the study of "failed" scientific theories as worthwhile for understanding the underlying thought patterns that shape how people perceive the world.[18] Through this approach, politics and science can often be intertwined in surprising ways. For example, Simon Schaffer and Steven Shapin have shown in their book *Leviathan and the Air-Pump* (1985) how the political circumstances of seventeenth-century England affected the ways in which knowledge in the natural sciences could be acceptably produced. The scientific disciplines relevant to the present study and its time in history make it almost impossible to detach political aspects from scientific developments and the social environment in which the researchers worked. The disciplines of anthropology, philology, folklore and others also had national and imperialist relevance, as the research was used to construct different national identities and hierarchies. Examining researchers as only scientific actors would also give a very one-sided picture of them, as they were often very politically conscious and often used their academic status and scientific renown

[16] Smith 1991 and 1999.
[17] Hobsbawm 1992b and 1992c.
[18] One of the key contributions of this approach is David Bloor's *Knowledge and Social Imagery* (1976).

to further their political views, frequently as members of parliament or comparable legislative bodies.

These overlapping and sometimes conflicting roles were especially evident in the correspondence between researchers of different nationalities. The different scientific topics connected these individuals and compelled them to exchange ideas, but at the same time, they were increasingly conscious of their national identities and often commented on national and international political topics that were important to them. The letters sent and received by historical people have been an important primary source for historians for centuries. As the researchers of earlier times were often active letter writers, and as they kept a lot of other textual material, a lot of their correspondence has been preserved in different archives. These unpublished forms of text have contributed significantly to understanding the ways in which researchers produce their knowledge and how they operate as social actors. For example, British historian Laurence Brockliss has examined the correspondence of scholar Esprit Calvet (1728–1810) to showcase his role as a middleman between the scientific community of metropolitan Paris and the provincial amateurs of Southern France.[19] The letters exchanged by one of the most famous scientists of his time, Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), have also been analysed in many studies noting especially the cosmopolitan nature of his correspondence.[20]

Historical letters have not only been of interest to historians, as the field of historical sociolinguistics has increasingly started to analyse these historical texts using methods from the field of sociolinguistics. Part of this work consisted of collecting preserved letters into different corpora, which could then be analysed using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Using these vast collections of letters has allowed historical sociolinguists to map out the different conventions and characteristics of different letter-writing groups at different times.[21] As their research is primarily focused on how people use language, whereas historians have usually been more interested in the content of letters, this field provides new insights into how historical letters can be examined. By combining the points of view of different fields, we might come to a better understanding of what the full story letters can tell us as historical artefacts. In this study, I examine the letters exchanged by researchers using tools provided by historical sociolinguistics with more traditional historical analysis through close reading.

[19] Brockliss 2002.
[20] Haberland 1999; Schwarz 2002; Päßler 2008; Rebok 2014.
[21] For books showcasing some of the research done in the field of historical sociolinguistics, see the following: Dossena and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (eds.) 2008; Dossena and Del Lungo Camiciotti (eds.) 2012; Nevalainen and Tanskanen (eds.) 2007).

1.3 Primary Sources

My two sets of primary sources are the scientific publications by these five non-Finnish researchers about Finns and archival material related to their research and collaboration with Finnish researchers, which is composed primarily of correspondence between the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers and the minutes of Finnish learned societies that interacted with Abercromby, Comparetti, Retzius, Thomsen and Virchow. To support these other sources, I also use relevant articles from contemporary newspapers and magazines about these five researchers and their research. To provide better insight into how these men viewed the relationship between science and politics, some of their texts that have no direct relation to Finland are also used.

Most of the researchers wrote one or two major works about Finns and some derived works and articles. None of them devoted their entire academic career to studying Finns, but all of them had at least one decade of their career when researching Finns was a major or even the primary subject of their scientific output. These publications, which are given a brief overview in the brief biographies of the non-Finnish researchers in the text below, form the main source of analysis of their scientific outlook on Finns, but their other works and select publications of other researchers are also occasionally analysed to contextualise their scientific claims to the more general scientific debates about Finns.

The main archival sources for this research are the personal papers of these five non-Finnish researchers and archival documents of Finnish individuals and institutions that were in contact with these researchers, which can be found in different Finnish archives. The personal papers of these men are located in different archives in Europe, the archive of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences in Stockholm for Retzius, the Royal Library in Copenhagen for Thomsen, the archive of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Berlin for Virchow, the collections of the University of Florence for Comparetti and the collections of the Edinburgh University Library for Abercromby. The most important Finnish archives are the National Archives of Finland and the archive of the Finnish Literature Society, both located in Helsinki. The National Library of Finland in Helsinki and the Åbo Akademi University Library in Turku also hold relevant material. The most relevant documents in these Finnish archives are letters sent by the five non-Finnish researchers to their Finnish colleagues.

As the five non-Finnish researchers examined in this study and many of their Finnish colleagues, or their relatives, have bequeathed many of their textual documents to archives, these epistolary connections and the nature of this correspondence can be reconstructed quite well. Nevertheless, as the non-Finnish researchers exchanged letters with multiple Finnish individuals, the correspondence is usually more complete in the archives of the non-Finnish researchers compared with the letters they sent to Finland, which are scattered

in several personal archives or, in some cases, lost when their correspondent has not left archival documents.[22] It is probable that most of the personal archives that hold these documents are incomplete, as there are several cases in which a person refers to a previous letter that cannot be found in the archives. In the case of some researchers, such as John Abercromby, their archives hold significantly fewer letters addressed to them compared with how many letters sent by them are found in other archives.[23] The reasons why some archives are more incomplete than others are varied but largely stem from the different habits of these researchers to save their correspondence during their lifetimes, which, in some cases, might have developed into conscious efforts to preserve these documents for posteriority. The perils for letters were manifold, from fires to being lost during moving to a new house and from accidental discarding to conscious efforts to save only those letters that would paint a desirable picture of the person.

Even though every letter between the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers has not survived, a large portion of them seem to have ended in various archives, and we can therefore make quite detailed assumptions based on these letters and use them as representative of their correspondence. The typical correspondence between a Finnish researcher and one of the five non-Finnish researchers was usually quite limited and usually contained fewer than 10 letters. Each of the non-Finnish researchers had several Finnish correspondents from whom we have extant letters, so we can conduct a multifaceted analysis and compare different kinds of letter writers in each of their cases. Each of the correspondences offers a window into a unique relationship between two researchers, so they reveal different aspects of the scientific world of late nineteenth-century researchers. Although there are ample amounts of letters related to each non-Finnish researcher, and they can be analysed effectively together, it is worth pointing out that Vilhelm Thomsen's correspondence stands out due to its wealth, as letters related to him represent over two-thirds of all letters analysed in this thesis. The letters exchanged between Thomsen and Finnish linguist E. N. Setälä (1864–1935) represent the majority of the letters connected to Thomsen and showcase a particularly active relationship among the researchers examined here.[24] The analysis will not be, nevertheless, overtly skewed towards Thomsen's correspondence, as many of these letters are quite similar in content, and the correspondence of the other non-Finnish researchers have lots of fascinating content and showcase features of letter writing that are not found in letters related to Thomsen.

[22] See Appendix A for a table containing numbers on how many letters of non-Finnish and Finnish researchers have been found in archives and used in this research.
[23] The lack of corresponding letters in Aspelin's archive has already been noted in previous research by Salminen (2014, 14).
[24] Besides the fact that the two researchers did communicate quite frequently in scientific matters, there were also many other reasons for their correspondence, not the least because Thomsen became Setälä's father-in-law after he married Thomsen's daughter and much of their later correspondence was composed more of family matters than scientific discussions.

In addition to scientific publications and archival documents, contemporary newspapers and magazines have been used to provide additional information about these researchers' activities. The press sources include several articles written by the non-Finnish researchers on different topics and texts by Finnish researchers about their foreign colleagues. The press material for Finnish papers has been collected through the digital collections of the National Library of Finland, which contain all the relevant Finnish newspapers of the time period.[25] To find relevant press articles from this database, texts were searched using the names of the selected researchers and by choosing significant articles from the search results. This method has brought from around 100–200 articles related to each non-Finnish researcher, which have been used in varying detail based on how relevant these texts are to contextualise the actions of these individuals. Many of the "search hits" contain articles that mention these figures only briefly and often do not give much relevant information. There is also a possibility that the search terms used do not bring out all possible articles because of computer errors in reading the original printed text or that the newspaper has used a nontypical way to write the name of a researcher.[26] As the digitised press sources of many of the other European countries are incomplete or are not located in one easily accessible database, the newspapers or magazines in the home countries of the non-Finnish researchers are not used as thoroughly. The press sources from these countries have been primarily found through mentions in primary sources or in the research literature and typically offer information on a specific topic that has been analysed.

1.4 Previous Research

Traditionally, many areas of study have written histories of the main developments and major figures of their disciplines. These overviews usually canonise specific paradigms and important researchers who have significance to the writer and to the current self-understanding of the field. Despite some biases in these works, they are usually the first attempts to map out the developments of these disciplines and offer a lot of information on some important individuals

[25] The Digital Collections of the National Library of Finland, https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi. I do not include the mention of the Digital Collections of the National Library of Finland further on when citing Finnish newspapers and magazines from this collection not to make the footnotes too cramped, but all press sources from this collection are listed in sources at the end of the dissertation. As a rule, the Finnish newspapers and magazines before the 1930s that are cited are from the Digital Collections of the National Library of Finland. Some Finnish scientific journals, such as the publications of the Finno-Ugrian Society (*Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, *Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen* & *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*), are not part of the collections and are therefore accessed by other means, usually read as physical copies.

[26] Many of the Finnish newspapers in the nineteenth century also used the Fraktur type, which is somewhat harder for the algorithms to decipher. Many of these possible pitfalls of text search have been taken into account by using different search words and the collected articles give a representative sample for further analysis.

and their contributions to the field. For example, the publication series *The History of Learning and Science in Finland 1828–1918* includes many good overviews of disciplines in Finland during the time period of this study.[27] Some institutions, such as the Kalevala Society, have also published many relevant works that examine important researchers in their fields.[28] Some more recent studies include works by Timo Salminen that explore the Finnish archaeological field and the history of the Finno-Ugrian Society.[29] Some important Finnish researchers who interacted with the non-Finnish researchers examined in this thesis, such as linguist Emil Nestor Setälä, have warranted biographies that provide some information about their interactions with the non-Finnish researchers.[30] Scientific research in Finland has also been a subject of more general histories, such as the four-volume *Suomen tieteen historia* [The History of Finnish Science] (2000–2002) or *Research in Finland: A History* (2006).

There have been some biographical works of the researchers in this study, but these do not usually give much attention to their research on Finns. On the other hand, the non-Finnish researchers have occasionally been examined in more general studies about how Finns were perceived during the nineteenth century. Some relevant works for the present study include *Mongoleja vai germaaneja? – Rotuteorioiden suomalaiset* [Mongols or Germans? – The Finns of the Race Theories] (1985) and *The British Conception of the Finnish 'Race', Nation and the Culture, 1760–1918* (1990) by Anssi Halmesvirta.[31] There are also some scattered mentions of these five researchers in other studies, but studies that specifically examine their research on Finns are scant. Some Finnish researchers, such as Hannes Sihvo and Juho Rauhanen, have examined the scientific expedition of Retzius in Finland, and the racial debate concerning the ancestry of Prussians, in which Virchow participated by studying Finns, has received some attention from historians such as Helga Jeanblanc and Chris Manias.[32]

Other works that examine the non-Finnish researchers, usually from a biographical point of view, include Erwin H. Ackerknecht's *Rudolf Virchow: Arzt, Politiker, Anthropologe* [Rudolf Virchow: Physician, Politician, Anthropologician] (1957), Kurt Winter's *Rudolf Virchow* (1976), Heinrich Schipperges's *Rudolf Virchow* (1994), *Gustaf Retzius: A Biography* (2007) by Thomas Lindblad et al. and Nils Uddenberg's *Skallmätaren: Gustaf Retzius - hyllad och hatad* [Gustaf Retzius – Famed and Hated] (2019). These works do not usually provide much information on the research concerning Finns, which is not surprising in the case of Retzius and Virchow, as their contributions to other topics were more significant. Benoit Massin's text "From Virchow to Fischer: Physical Anthropology and Modern Race Theories in Wilhelmine Germany" (1996) also gives good insight into the

[27] For example, Hautala 1969, Aalto 1971 and Korhonen 1986.
[28] The Kalevala Society has published over 100 "yearbooks" since 1921, which examine different themes and topics relevant to the study of folklore in Finland.
[29] Salminen 2008.
[30] See Karlsson 2000 and Vares and Häkkinen 2001.
[31] Relevant to this research are particularly chapters by Aro, Halmesvirta, Kemiläinen and Kilpeläinen. Many of these finds have been also summarised in English by Kemiläinen in *Finns in the Shadow of the "Aryans": Race Theories and Racism* (1998).
[32] Sihvo 1977; Ruohonen 2021; Jeanblanc 2004; Manias 2009.

state of anthropology during this era, including how significantly Virchow shaped the development of the discipline in Germany.[33] Generally speaking, the two anthropologists have been the focus of more intensive historical studies than the other researchers, who have usually been mentioned only briefly in overviews of the histories of specific disciplines.

Finnish and European connections have been studied more generally in the context of Russification policies in Finland in the late nineteenth century, which led to more active international actions by Finnish individuals. These events have been analysed in particular in the exhibitions held by the National Archives of Finland that have been collected as the four-volume *Pro Finlandia* series and in Ville Kajanne's doctoral thesis *Suomen puolesta, Euroopan edestä, Venäjää vastaan?: Kansainvälinen vuorovaikutus ja yhteistyö vuoden 1899 kulttuuriadressissa* [For Finland, For the Sake of Europe, Against Russia?: International Interaction and Cooperation in the Cultural Address of 1899] (2020) that examines the international cooperation that led to the creation of the Pro Finlandia petition in 1899. Other researchers, such as Louis Clerc, have also examined the international networks in which Finnish activists participated. [34] I have personally made a small contribution to this discussion with my master's thesis on John Abercromby's research on Finns.[35] These international activities are not, of course, separate from the wider political events and circumstances of Finland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which have been examined in many works by researchers from Finland and elsewhere.[36] These events and conditions are also linked with the experiences of the other scientific communities in the empires of Central and Eastern Europe that have recently been studied by many researchers, such as Jan Surman.[37]

The interest in the origins of different people did not end with the researchers examined in this dissertation, although the previous paradigms changed dramatically and the different disciplines grew more distinct. The evolution of research methods in different disciplines, especially breakthroughs in DNA sequencing, have made it possible to answer questions that have been under speculation for centuries. During the past few years, works considering these matters, such as *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World* (2008), *Ancestral Journeys: The Peopling of Europe from the First Venturers to the Vikings* (2013) and *Who We Are and How We Got Here: Ancient DNA and the New Science of the Human Past* (2016), have become bestsellers and show that the contemporary readership has many interests alike to the reading public over hundred years before. The current research on ethnic Finns has also been under study in publications such as *Fibula, Fabula, Fact: the Viking Age in Finland* (2014) and *Homo Fennicus:*

[33] Massin 1996.
[34] Clerc 2010.
[35] Pekkarinen 2019.
[36] Copeland 1973, Huxley 1990, Polvinen 1995 [1984], Tommila 1999 and Jussila 2008, among others.
[37] For a good overview of the historical research on imperial sciences of Central and Eastern Europe, see Surman 2022.

Itämerensuomalaisten etnohistoria [Homo Fennicus: Baltic Finnic Ethnohistory] (2020). A common feature of these recent works is that they combine results from different disciplines, such as linguistics, archaeology and genetics, in a similar fashion to the researchers of the nineteenth century. Compared to how the different scientific fields became more insular during the twentieth century, the new cross-disciplinary trend echoes a more holistic approach to these questions, as had been practised by nineteenth-century researchers interested in the prehistory of the human past.

This thesis does not aim to directly challenge how the non-Finnish researchers have been studied previously but rather expand the analysis by comparing their actions with the scientific trends of the time and using them to examine aspects of the scientific community of Europe more generally. In contrast to earlier research, the actions and events related to specific individuals are de-emphasised, as studying these five researchers together reveals that many of their decisions and ways of conducting research mirrored each other, not least in the way they interacted with many of the same Finnish individuals. On the other hand, as the non-Finnish researchers represented many different fields, studying them together makes it possible to highlight their individual roles, as they are not studied through the lens of specific disciplines where they would be seen as part of some scientific canon.

1.5 Defining Relevant Concepts

'Science' in the Context of This Research

In the English language, the word science is usually used to refer to the natural sciences and sometimes also to disciplines of the social sciences. Scientific study is also often juxtaposed with the humanities, which are seen to offer knowledge through other kinds of methods. This dichotomy does not exist in some other languages, such as Finnish and German, where the concept "science", "*tiede*" in Finnish and "*Wissenschaft*" in German, usually includes all the disciplines of the humanities, natural sciences and social sciences.[38] In the nineteenth century, many fields of study now considered humanities strived for scientific approval and used methods that contemporaries considered scientific. For example, folklorists in the United Kingdom adapted methods and vocabulary from geologists, archaeologists and anthropologists so that they could approach their topics in a more "scientific" way.[39] From this point of view, it might be appropriate to call each of the five individuals chosen for this study a "scientist",

[38] The differences between English "science" and German *"Wissenschaft"* have not always been as distinct, as Phillips (2015) has shown that the differences between these two terms were quite small for much of the nineteenth century and only the increasing tensions between Britain and Germany during the 1890s and early twentieth century led to clearer differences between the uses of the two terms.
[39] Bennett 1994.

even though from the point of view of the current academic categorisation, especially in the English language, this would be debatable. It should also be noted that it is likely that these men considered their own research to be scientific through this more general understanding of the term that was common at the time.

The unproblematic use of the word "science" by late nineteenth-century researchers, even in such an "unscientific" context as oral poetry, as in Andrew Lang's introduction to Comparetti's work *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns* (1898), shows quite well how much scientific research encompassed at the time:

> The question of the origin and growth of national epics may seem to have no practical importance. […] but as a question of critical science it is highly important, for, if we are to have critical science at all, nothing can be so essential as that this science should be scientific. […] We do not need mere "ingenious" hypotheses, formed in ignorance of the truths of history and of human nature; we need facts and the comparative study of these facts; we need soundness of method.[40]

Despite the undeniable differences in the fields of research relevant to this present study, archaeology, comparative philology, anthropology and folklore, they also had many features that linked them together. Despite methodological differences, these disciplines shared a common interest in the study of human prehistory and contributed to the same debates concerning human ancestry and the way in which these studies were used for national narratives of the nineteenth century. The output of these areas of study was also of interest to the broader reading public, who usually did not place these disciplines in hierarchical opposition based on their sources or on how they used scientific methods. Nevertheless, there were national differences based on which disciplines were seen as most useful for national purposes. For instance, the study of folklore was especially prominent for Finnish nationalists, as the lack of written historical sources meant that oral culture gained a more prominent position in the national-building project than in many other European countries. These different fields also had many commonalities in the ways in which they were organised into scientific and learned societies, which interacted on a larger scale in international scientific congresses. Most of these scientific fields were relatively new, so only a few disciplines, such as comparative philology, could claim an established presence in European universities.

In this study, I predominantly use the term "researcher" when I address these men, as it is a more neutral term than "scientist" and encompasses relevant scholarly and scientific fields.[41] In many cases, the primary sources might use different terms that I cite accordingly.

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[40] Comparetti 1898, xi.

[41] It should be also noted that even in nineteenth-century English, the term "scientist" is somewhat anachronistic as many researchers preferred alternative terms such as "man of science". On this topic see Barton 2003.

'Finns' and Other Ethnonyms

The object for Abercromby's, Comparetti's, Retzius's, Thomsen's and Virchow's research was 'Finns', be it that some of them focused on the culture produced by Finns, the language spoken by Finns or the physical characters of Finns. This apparent uniformity of their core topic hides the fact that the ethnic characteristics important for one of them might not cleanly match with "Finns" examined by the other researchers or with how Finnish people would define themselves at the time. Cultural attributes, such as religion and language, had been traditional ways of classifying people into ethnocultural categories, but in the nineteenth century, characteristics such as physical features and material culture began to be examined in an allegedly more scientific fashion and formed a new basis for classifications. Emphasising different categories could link or separate different groups. Orthodox Karelians and Lutheran Finns could be seen as one group from a linguistic perspective, and by emphasising differences in material culture, researchers could dissociate agrarian Finns and nomadic Sámi despite their linguistic relations. By measuring differences in skull shapes, one could conclude that neighbours who lived in otherwise similar ways could represent two racially distinct populations.

The present study focuses on research examining "Finns" as defined by these non-Finnish researchers. The five researchers investigated here paid some attention to the Sámi, Estonians, Hungarians and other groups linguistically related to Finns but usually in comparison to the people they defined as "Finns", who were the most prominent subject of their inquiries. The term "Finns" was often used as an ethnonym to represent all linguistically and culturally related Finnic people, so the use of the term did not always mean only the Finns of Finland. The strictest definitions of Finns typically included groups such as Savonians, Tavastians and Karelians, including Karelians living in Russia outside the Grand Duchy of Finland, which constituted the "historical" tribes of Finland as defined by Finnish nationalists. Besides Karelians, Estonians were also often seen as a subcategory of Finns. The Sámi, on the other hand, were commonly juxtaposed with Finns to highlight the more "developed" and "civilised" qualities of Finns.

The Swedish-speaking population of Finland also received some attention, particularly from Retzius, who was interested in how they were racially related to Finns, but the contemporary Swedish-speaking population of Finland was usually ignored by these researchers, as they were more interested in studying the culturally, ethnically or linguistically "pure" Finns. For instance, Retzius writes:

> However, one must not therefore draw the conclusion that all Swedish speakers are, ethnically speaking, pure Swedes. Regardless of swedishised Germans, there is an almost incalculable amount of swedishised Finns. When traveling in Finland, you often meet Swedish-speaking people with Swedish names who are of a fully Finnish [racial] type. But even among the Finnish-speaking and Finnish-named inhabitants, it is not

> uncommon to meet people with a Swedish [racial] type and a Swedish skull formation.[42]

Compared with the Finnish-speaking population of Finland, who were seen as culturally and ethnically quite uniform, the Swedish-speaking populace was considered a product of the long period when Finland was part of the Kingdom of Sweden and many Swedish-speaking people migrated to Finland, especially to the coastline and cities. Due to the privileged status of the Swedish language, many Finns and migrants to the area, such as German traders, adopted it to advance in a society in which Swedish was the language of the educated classes. Swedish-speaking individuals could therefore represent people from very different ancestries and backgrounds compared to the Finnish-speaking majority, who were not considered to be influenced to such an extent by the movement of people and cultural ideas. There might be potential for research focusing on the representation of these other groups, especially the Sámi, by using these sources, but this is beyond the scope of this research.

As "Finns" were a constructed category used by researchers to describe one group, they also used other ethnonyms for other groups. Some of these ethnonyms, such as "Lapp/Lappen" for the Sámi or "Gypsies/Zigeuner" for the Romani, are nowadays considered derogatory, but when referring to the views of the researchers, I use these terms to represent their thinking so as not to whitewash the discriminatory views of the time and the unequal status the researchers had compared with the people they wrote about. To highlight that these are the views and terms of these researchers, rather than my own, I use, outside direct quotations, these terms in quotation marks. When I refer to these people in my own analysis, and I do not repeat the stereotypical views of these researchers, I write about Sámi and Romani people. The terms used by the researchers were not always used in a consciously pejorative way, but they do reflect hierarchical and stereotyped ideas internalised by the researchers. In most cases, these terms were the most commonly used names for these peoples in major European languages, and the use of exonyms reflects the typical worldview of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, in this study, I focus on the overall way the researchers describe different people instead of just analysing their word choices.

In this research, I use the word "Finns" to refer to the main group the non-Finnish researchers studied, as characterised by them. The researchers had differing boundaries for "Finns", so I use the grammatical article "the", as in "the Finns", only when the researchers clearly refer to the ethnic Finns living in Finland and use "Finns" without the article when they refer to a more general or vague group. Besides the object of scientific study, the Finnish people were also active historical participants, and as the term "Finns" is isolated to refer only to

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[42] 'Emellertid må man däraf icke draga den slutsats, att alla svensktalande äro, etniskt taget, rene svenskar. Oafsedt försvenskade tyskar finnes en nästan oberäknelig mängd försvenskade finnar. Man träffar ofta under resa i Finland svensktalande och med svenska namn försedda personer af fullt finsk typ. Men äfven bland de finsktalande och finska namn bärande inbyggarne träffas icke sällan personer med svensk typ och svensk hufvudskålsbildning.' (Retzius 1881, 131–132).

the scientifically constructed picture of the Finnish people, in my own analysis of the historical actors in the area of Grand Duchy of Finland, I refer to these people as Finnish, as in "Finnish peasant" or "Finnish researcher".[43] By this, I make no judgement about how the people categorised themselves, as I use the term just to denote the origins and societal framework with which the people were most connected. This artificial way of making such a distinction between "Finns" and "Finnish" might make the language at times more cumbersome than it otherwise would be, but hopefully, it brings some clarity by making a clearer distinction between the scientifically constructed way the non-Finnish researchers saw their subject ("Finns") and the real historical actors who lived in the area of Finland ("Finnish").

It should be noted that the question of ethnic identity was sometimes heated in the upper levels of Finnish society, particularly in academia. Some of these people might have identified as Finns, even though many of them came from Swedish-speaking families. The "national awakening" of Finland started first in the Swedish-speaking elite, and many of the leading "Fennomans", who were proponents of the broader use of the Finnish language in Finnish government and society instead of the traditional literary language of Swedish, came originally from Swedish-speaking families. Their identity might have also clashed with how foreign scientists categorised their Finnish colleagues, but this might be hard to assess, as most of the research of these non-Finnish researchers focused on people from lower social backgrounds who were seen as closer to the typical Finnish identity from anthropological, linguistic and cultural points of view. The ways in which the five non-Finnish researchers conceptualised Finns are examined in detail in Section 2.1.

The adjective "Finnish" is also occasionally used to express the way the contemporary researchers characterised some cultural features, such as "the Finnish oral culture", which often also included materials from peoples that would not be seen linguistically or culturally as "Finnish" today, such as the Karelians of Russia. The use of such terms is, therefore, a reflection of the views the late nineteenth century held towards Finnish culture. Nowadays, it would be more correct to characterise these as Finno-Karelian oral culture or even more generally as the oral culture of the Baltic Finns. Over a hundred years ago, these different, although connected, cultural practices were typically characterised by elite researchers and writers all as "Finnish", and much of the contemporary and preceding research underemphasised these differences and the roles played by groups other than the Finnish. For the sake of simplicity and to reflect the contemporary views of the researchers, the *Kalevala* is typically characterised as "the national epic of Finland", but it should be noted that much of the contents came from areas outside the Grand Duchy of Finland, such as White Karelia and Ingria, and that the work is also seen as a national epic of Karelia.

[43] To some extent, the distinction between Finns and Finnish is comparable to the differentiation of the terms Lapps and Gypsies, used by the researchers, from Sámi and Romani, as used in my own analysis.

Internationalism, Cosmopolitanism, Universalism and Transnationalism

Although many of the topics of this thesis are linked to the study of Finnish people and Finland, the primary focus is on the actions of the non-Finnish researchers and on their relationship with the Finnish scientific community, so instead of a national point of view, this research examines the transnational activities and networks of these researchers. Although concepts such as "nation" and "nationalism" can be used to examine most topics related to these concepts, the semantic field related to international and transnational topics is more complex.

The concept of "transnational" has become a central analytical concept of historical research during the past few decades.[44] As its widespread use is relatively recent, it was not in contemporary use by researchers of the late nineteenth century; therefore, it is used in this thesis only as a modern analytical tool. As a concept, "transnational" is strongly related to "international", but whereas the concept "international" refers primarily to the interactions between nations/states or representatives of these nations/states, the term "transnational" can be used to analyse movements and interactions across borders where the actors do not always represent their nations as strongly.[45] In many cases, these two concepts are highly intertwined, and historical actions can contain both international and transnational elements. In contrast to "transnational", "international" was used widely by nineteenth-century researchers to refer to their interactions with their foreign colleagues, so besides its analytical use, "international" also has relevance as a contemporary concept through which people conceptualised their actions.[46]

Although "international" was the most widely used concept in this context, other related concepts, such as "universal" and "cosmopolitan", were also employed from time to time. "Universal" and "cosmopolitan" were widely used during the eighteenth century; therefore, in the nineteenth century, they retained some connotations of the previous ideals and ways of international interaction, whereas "international" was seen as a more neutral concept.[47] In this thesis, concepts such as "cosmopolitan" or "cosmopolitanism" are used as shorthand

[44] For some discussion and debates related to "transnationalism", see Clavin 2005, Bayly et al. 2006 and Turchetti, Herran and Boudia 2012.
[45] Many researchers, for example, take a transnational point of view on the study of immigration, as this helps to better examine the transfer of people and information between countries, although the immigrants are still linked to their native communities through family and social ties, which might not become as distinctly evident in research with a more international point of view.
[46] For the development of 'international' during the nineteenth century, see Marjanen and Ros 2022.
[47] For the development and use of "universal" and "cosmopolitan" during the eighteenth century, see Wolff 2022 and Pestel and Ihalainen 2022. The neutral use of "international" would change after the First World War, as the term became increasingly associated with socialist internationalism and as much of the idealism related to international ideals was shaken by the war and the conscious isolation of some countries, such as Germany, from international organisations during the early interwar period. For more information about these conceptual developments, see Kettunen 2022 and Ihalainen and Leonhard 2022.

terms to refer to the outlook of an ideal scientific community originating primarily from the Republic of Letters of the eighteenth century.[48] Although these terms were still used during the nineteenth century, "universal" and "cosmopolitan" are primarily applied in this text as analytical concepts to refer to idealised conceptualisations of science rather than to the contemporary use of these concepts by the researchers. Although the use of these concepts significantly overlaps, "cosmopolitan" is employed especially to refer to the influence of Enlightenment ideals, whereas "universal" is used in a more general sense, as the term "universal" was also a common adjective related to the internationalism of the nineteenth century, for example, in the contexts of "universal expositions" or for the aspirations for "the universal language".

These concepts are not completely interchangeable, but they are strongly connected and intertwined. To illustrate some of their specific characteristics, especially the use of these concepts in this thesis, it is worth examining them in relation to scientific congresses common to the late nineteenth century. The official names of these congresses usually included references to their international natures, as in "the International Congress of Orientalists". The use of "international" is important, as it referred to how these events were between nations or national representatives, as the participants typically represented their native associations and therefore indirectly also their nations. The basis for these events lies in the conceptualisation of scientific inquiry as a "universal" endeavour through which researchers form a "cosmopolitan" community that freely shares scientific findings and information. The realities of scientific research and national tensions during the nineteenth century challenged these ideals in practice, but the rhetorical use of these concepts was common. Even though the researchers were representatives of their nations in an official context, these congresses also created possibilities for them to interact face-to-face as individuals where national signifiers would have less meaning. The unofficial interactions during congresses are usually absent from any published proceedings of these events, but they were an important reason for international communication besides the official features of these events.

1.6 The Wider Scientific Context and Research on Finns

This section presents the general intellectual currents and developments that influenced the state of science in relevant fields during the latter half of the nineteenth century in general and the scientific context of the research on Finns by the five non-Finnish researchers in particular. The purpose of this section is to give some general information to contextualise the research of these non-Finnish researchers, but this is in no way an exhaustive presentation. The relevant contemporary debates and contexts are analysed more thoroughly in later chapters and are therefore mostly absent from this section.

[48] For the cosmopolitan ideals of the Republic of Letters, see Daston 1991.

Wider Scientific Context

Before examining the research focused on Finns, it is worth briefly examining the wider scientific currents that affected the research done in the nineteenth century. Many areas of study originated in the nineteenth century, but they often developed from the intellectual discourses of the previous century.[49] To understand their contemporary civilised societies, the Enlightenment writers compared their living conditions to more primitive and ancient times, which also often included speculations about the theoretical "state of nature". This "study of man" often included observations of contemporary groups that were still considered to represent these "primitive" or "savage" stages of society.

Echoes of these discussions can still be found during the nineteenth century in British cultural anthropology based on the ideas of Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917), who also influenced many British folklorists. Many of Tylor's ideas, such as the uniformity of human nature, the stadial evolution of human cultures and the way different human cultures and groups could be comparatively analysed, were based on the frameworks of the "conjectural historians" of the Scottish Enlightenment, such as Adam Smith (1723–1790), Adam Ferguson (1723–1816), John Millar (1735–1801) and Lord Kames (1696–1782).[50] Attempts to explain differences between peoples were also made by many thinkers, such as Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Carl von Linné (1707–1778), who classified human groups hierarchically and speculated on the effects of climate and local circumstances on the differences between populations.[51] Many of the suppositions and methods used by nineteenth-century anthropologists differed from the speculations of previous scholars, but the hierarchical classification continued the common trend of classification and taxonomy established by eighteenth-century scholars.

Some thinkers, such as Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), offered a different outlook that celebrated vernacular languages and expressions of popular culture instead of the ideals of Antiquity, which were the major inspirations for most of the philosophers of the eighteenth century. Many European peoples who could not derive their national past from the revered cultures of Romans or Greeks were influenced by Herder and nineteenth-century Romanticism, which fed these new nationalistic sentiments. Herder also inspired the study and collection of folkloristic materials, which were often used to construct an "original" or "authentic" image of a nation's past and culture. In Germany, this is best seen in the collection of folk tales by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, who inspired other collectors in many other countries, including Finland,

[49] The developments in many disciplines of the humanities and social sciences were distinct from the natural sciences, which had their roots in natural philosophy, but many changes related to the institutionalisation and professionalisation of researchers are comparable. For the state of these different disciplines of natural sciences during the nineteenth century, see Cahan (ed.) 2003.
[50] Stocking 1987 14–19; Trigger 2006, 99–105; Meek 1976, 99–130, 150–173.
[51] Keevak 2001, 4–69.

where the materials of traditional oral culture were used by Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) as the basis for the *Kalevala*.[52]

What unites these different ideological approaches is the desire to explain the current state of humankind and different peoples. After many explanations based on climate and other natural reasons lost their importance as the main reason for these differences, researchers began to pay more attention to the historical past of these peoples. The biggest breakthrough in understanding the movements of different groups before written histories was the newfound understanding that many languages, ranging from Europe to India, shared some linguistic characteristics that could not be explained in any other way than by the languages stemming from the same root. The key to this discovery was the old liturgical language of Sanskrit, which had been used continuously by the Indian brahmins for thousands of years. Comparing Sanskrit to European languages, such as Greek, Latin and Gothic, made it possible to conjecture relationships between different languages and groups. These theories of historical linguistics brought together many European groups that had previously been seen as very distinct from each other. On the other hand, languages such as Basque, Finnish and Hungarian, which did not share characteristics of the Indo-European languages, also became objects of lively debate. During the nineteenth century, the comparative methods used to study Sanskrit and European languages became increasingly refined, and many linguists started to approximate when different languages diverged from the same stem.[53]

The developments in comparative philology and linguistics coincided with the origins of prehistoric archaeology and physical anthropology as areas of study that shared the same questions about the historic human past. The relationships between these different disciplines also became relatively complex, as many linguistic groupings were borrowed to identify groups from archaeological findings.[54] Some linguists were opposed to the way people outside their discipline linked terms such as "Aryan" to some identifiable racial classifications outside the scope of original linguistic debates. For example, German-born philologist Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900) voiced his opinion on the issue as follows:

> To me an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes, and hair, is as great sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar. [...] We have made our own terminology for the classification of

[52] Saarelainen 2020; For a more general look at Herder's ideas on Finnish thought see the different articles in Ollitervo and Immonen (eds.) (2006).
[53] For an overview of the development of comparative (historical) philology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Jankowsky 1995, Collinge 1995, Turner 2014, 125–146, 236–253 and Griffiths 2017, 477–482.
[54] Besides identifying findings to belong to a specific language group (as in "Indo-Europeans" or "Turanians"), categorisation could be based on many other things, such as an era (as in "Neolithic man"), initial find (as in "La Tène culture"), a modern ethnic group living in an area (as in "the ancestors of Scandinavians" or "proto-Scandinavians") or a typical find (as in "Linear Pottery culture"). For the development of the archaeological discipline in Europe during the nineteenth century, see Klindt-Jensen 1975, 46–87, Trigger 2006, 121–157 and Stiebing 1994, 40–54.

> languages; let the ethnologists make their own for the classification of skulls, and hair, and blood. [55]

As philologists were identifying archaic survivals in contemporary languages, anthropologists also tried to find shared physical features between the old skeletal findings and the current European populations through anthropometry. The most important part of the human body to be measured was the human skull, not only because the shape of the skull could, allegedly, be linked to specific mental capabilities, a view held by the phrenologists, but also because the human cranium was seen to be less influenced by external factors, such as the health and nutrition of the individual, which could significantly affect a person's height or weight.[56] The related phrenological study stemmed from the same interests, but most anthropologists tried to find, through their measurements, characteristics typical of some group instead of theorising about an individual's psychological qualities.

The cranial index developed by Swedish anthropologist Anders Retzius (1796–1860), which measured the relation between the width and length of a human skull, became the foundation for craniological study throughout the nineteenth century, even though earlier cranial measurements had also been done by previous racial theorists, such as Blumenbach. With this index, Retzius divided humans into dolichocephalic (long-headed) and brachycephalic (short-headed) groups, but anthropologists often also included other measurable qualities in their categories, such as the colour of the hair and the skin or the protrusion of the jaw, which Retzius preferred to use in his categories.[57] As many of these qualities are much harder to measure from skeletal remains, the cranial index has become particularly used in the study of prehistoric remains. [58] Craniological categories did not replace previous racial classifications, as they were, in many cases, adapted as a part of newer theories. The use of the cranial index did not always produce as conclusive results as the theorists of race hoped. The distribution of various skull types among humans did not appear to follow a clear pattern and, for instance, long-headedness, which was thought to be typical of Germanic peoples, was also commonly found in many Africans, although researchers tried to differentiate these results by asserting that instead of the frontal growth typical for Europeans, African skulls were dolichocephalic due to expansion in the back of the skull.[59]

The origins of humans were also under passionate debate during the nineteenth century, as people started to become more critical of using the Bible as a definite textual source of human ancestry. This led to a split in the anthropological community between monogenists, who believed that all humans descended from the same origins as in the Biblical genesis story, and polygenists, who believed that human groups had different origins and even represented

[55] Müller 1888, 120–121.
[56] Manias 2013, 238–241.
[57] Brown 2010, 43–47; Manias 2013, 55, 77–78, 243–244.
[58] On the use of craniology compared with other possible methods of measurement, see Manias 2013, 115–121.
[59] Manias 2013, 312–313.

distinct species.[60] The debate between monogenists and polygenists is not analysed in this study, as none of the researchers examined here engaged with these debates and classifications in their works related to Finns, although the racial views of the five non-Finnish researchers were more in line with the opinions of the monogenists.[61]

The notion that climate and environment could affect even the qualities of human populations had been present since the antiques, but the explanations for these perceived changes became more detailed through the theories of scientists, such as Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744–1829) and especially Charles Darwin (1808–1882).[62] Despite the growing interest in the mechanics that led to changes in different human populations, there was little consensus among anthropologists and race theorists about which theory or view of human development was correct. Because of this, much of the coherence in these fields relied on their practical interest in measuring and categorising human groups.

One of the biggest intellectual changes from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century was that the past was no longer conceptualised as a philosophical matter open for speculation but as a scientifically measurable fact that could be explained by the new philological, archaeological and anthropological methods. This interest in the past had a huge intellectual influence on how Europeans conceptualised things, not least through the growing sense of nationalism that defined the century. Ideas about human progress and social evolution from the previous century were not completely forgotten, as they were one way to look at the different historical developments of human groups. On the other hand, some people saw the past as a more ideal state than the "civilised" present and thought that current societies were declining and that human nature was degenerating, compared with its past purer state.[63]

Previous Scientific Studies of Finns

Finns were of little interest to European writers before the latter half of the eighteenth century. Before that, the origins of Finns were theorised mainly by scholars of the Kingdom of Sweden, who, in the seventeenth century, usually

[60] Ibid., 78–80.
[61] For Virchow's views on monogenism, see Massin 1996, 86–88. On Retzius' part, he quite freely categorised people as long- or short-headed but did not see any problem with racial groups mixing, and he did not make strong hierarchical lines between different groups based on their racial characteristics at the time he studied Finns. Related to the monogenist–polygenist debate, the racial views of the other non-Finnish researchers are harder to assess conclusively, but the absence of staunch polygenist claims seems to indicate that they all supported the unity of humankind and the general monogenist view.
[62] Massin 1996, 95–100; Isaksson 2001, 85–92. Zack 2002, 27–31, 43–44; Brown 2010, 52–55; Manias 2013, 54, 233–234, 306.
[63] The intellectual currents of the time could feed both the pessimistic and optimistic views of the world, but the degenerative views were generally more common among people who identified with the more aristocratic order of the past compared with the more middle-class writers who saw the change in the society as a more positive development. The degenerative views of writers such as the Frenchman Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882) would become more prominent in the early twentieth century with more pessimistic ideologies, such as Nazism, that took influence from them.

derived the origins of Swedes and Finns from figures of the Old Testament and ancient Goths.[64] In the eighteenth century, the idea that Finns descended from the ancient Scythians became more prominent as the linguistic connections between Finns, Hungarians and some ethnic groups living in Russia were noticed and old biblical origins had become less fashionable.[65] Even some relatively famous writers, such as Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), took part in this linguistic theorising, but Finns rarely received more than marginal attention. To many educated Europeans, the Sámi people might have been more familiar than Finns, as the ethnographic work *Lapponia* (1674) by the German-born Johannes Schefferus (1621–1679) was widely read in Europe and translated from the original Latin to English, German, French and Dutch. Later, travel literature by European travellers, such as Frenchman Jean-François Regnard (1655–1709) and Italian Giuseppe Acerbi (1773–1846), kept the image of Lapland in European consciousness, but their accounts also sometimes gave brief information about the conditions of Finns.

Racial theories of the late eighteenth century sometimes included Finns, and the racial classifications of Blumenbach, in which he categorised Finns as part of the "Mongolic race", were particularly influential for how Finns were conceptualised all the way to the twentieth century.[66] Finns were also studied racially by Anders Retzius, who described them as having similar short-headed (brachycephalic) skulls to Mongols, divided into different groups based on how prominent their jaws were.[67] Grouping Finns with Asian people also led to the view that the Finnish language might be related to Mongolic languages, which shared with the Finnish language some characteristics, such as agglutination. Some of these ideas were linked to the previous theories of the Scythian origins of Finns, but more modern comparative methods used to establish this relation by linguists, such as Danish Rasmus Rask (1787–1832), gave this view new prominence.[68] This scientific debate inspired Finnish researcher Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852) to make two long expeditions to study previously relatively unknown languages in Russia thought to be related to Finnish.[69] From his studies, Castrén came to the conclusion that Uralic, Mongolic and Turkic languages comprised a larger Ural-Altaic language family and that the *Urheimat* of Finns was located near the Altai Mountains. The material collected by Castrén became an important source for later theories about Finns.[70] Some linguists, such as Friedrich Max Müller, called Ural-Altaic languages Turanian languages. Turanian languages were sometimes also linked to European languages that lacked any obvious linguistic relatives, such as Basque and Etruscan, and to

[64] Tommila 1989, 23–27.
[65] Kemiläinen 1993, 68–69.
[66] Kilpeläinen 1985, 169–171.
[67] Retzius 1843, 4. Other ethnic groups, besides "Finns and other Chudish people", which were also categorised as "*Brachycephlæ Orthognathæ*" included Slavs, Afghans, Persians, Turks and "Lapps, Yakuts etc."
[68] Ibid., 166.
[69] Before Castrén, Finnish linguistic Anders Johan Sjögren (1794–1855) had already done some research about these groups and advised Castrén on his early research.
[70] Kilpeläinen 1985, 169–171, 189; Kemiläinen 1998, 64–66.

theories which proposed that the speakers of these different languages were related to the original inhabitants of Europe predating the arrival of Indo-Europeans.[71]

The *Kalevala* compiled by Elias Lönnrot from Finnish, Karelian and Ingrian oral poetry was of much interest to European readers after it was translated into other languages, such as Swedish, French and German.[72] The *Kalevala* was itself a product of Romanticism, and some of its popularity in other European countries can be attributed to the general romantic currents of the time. Besides translations, the work also received attention from being commented on by major European scholars, such as Jacob Grimm, who, in his lecture *Über das finnische Epos* [About the Finnish Epic] (1845), examined the philological, mythological and aesthetic aspects of the epic. He also compared the *Kalevala* to other renowned epics, such as the *Nibelungenlied*, the songs of Ossian, and epics from Antiquity.[73] Through commentators such as Grimm, the *Kalevala* started to be analysed together with other epics and because of its origins as oral poetry compiled by Lönnrot were known, the *Kalevala* also interested scholars as an example of how other older epic poems might have developed. After Grimm, most of the later major commentators of the *Kalevala* outside of Finland were also Germans and included writers such as Franz Anton Schiefner (1817–1879), Wilhelm Schott (1802–1889) and Wilhelm Johann Albert von Tettau (1804–1894).

The different areas of research spearheaded by Castrén were developed further by different Finnish researchers, who, in many cases, were the real founders of these fields in Finland. Many of them, such as archaeologist Johan Reinhold Aspelin (1842–1915) and linguist Otto Donner (1835–1909), followed Castrén's example and organised scientific expeditions in Russia to better understand the origins of Finns. Much of their research was directed towards the broader European scientific community, as they often published their findings in German or French and frequently participated in international scientific congresses.[74] Through the importance of the *Kalevala* to Finnish scholars, active folkloristic research was conducted on epic and related oral poetry. Major figures in this field were Julius Krohn (1835–1888) and his son Kaarle (1863–1933), who together developed the so-called historic–geographic method that was used to trace the original version of a story or a poem from its many variants. This was one of the leading methods used by folklorists all the way to the latter half of the twentieth century.

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[71] Kilpeläinen 1985, 167–168.

[72] The *Kalevala* is typically expressed in this text as being 'the national epic of Finland', based on 'Finnish oral poetry', which was the view typically shared by the late nineteenth-century researchers, but it is more correct to view it as being composed of separate poems from Finland, Karelia and Ingria. These differences were underemphasised for the purpose of building a shared Finnish national consciousness. Many of the central poems of the work were collected from Karelia, especially from the area of "White Karelia" (Vienan Karjala in Finnish), and Karelia is also seen as the national epic of Karelia. Besides this original oral poetry, Lönnrot also compiled his own verses and heavily modified the original poems to fit his purposes.

[73] Alhonniemi 1990, 234–235; Voßschmidt 2012, 154–158.

[74] Salminen 2003, 62, 98–100.

Finns became a subject of special scientific attention in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War in the early 1870s. This was due to the claims made by French anthropologist Jean Louis Armand de Quatrefages (1810–1892) in his study *La Race Prussienne* (1871), in which he argued that Prussians were not German people but descendants of a Slavo-Finnic race. He also linked the alleged atrocities of the Prussian army to their racially more barbaric origins. In the English translation of his work, Quatrefages also included a detailed description of the bombardment of Paris as additional proof of the Prussian nature, although this underlines quite well the political motivations behind his work. His views on Finns were based on previous writers, such as anthropologist Franz Ignaz Pruner (1808–1882), who asserted that Finns or Turanians represented the indigenous people of Europe. From this, Quatrefages concluded that Prussians were especially influenced by these older peoples, which he saw as closely related to Finnic people, particularly the Estonians. These allegations were taken as insults by the German scientific community, which was keen to prove Quatrefages wrong. For some decades, much of the special anthropological attention to Finns was derived from this international scientific debate. This also served as a motivator for the two anthropologists of this study, Retzius and Virchow, who are examined more closely later in this chapter.[75]

1.7 Brief Introduction to the Non-Finnish Researchers of Finns

Vilhelm Thomsen

Vilhelm Thomsen (1842–1927) was a Danish linguist whose main works examined Finnic and Turkic languages. He studied Finno-Ugric languages already at the University of Copenhagen, and after receiving his degree, he travelled to Finland in 1867 to develop his skills in the Finnish language. During this trip, he also established a close relationship with the Finnish scientific community that would last his lifetime. In 1869, he published his doctoral thesis *Den gotiske Sprogklasses Indflydelse på den finske* [The Influence of Gothic Language Classes on Finnish], which examines Germanic loanwords in the Finnish language. In 1887, he became a professor of comparative linguistics at the University of Copenhagen, and in 1889, he published his other major work about the Finnish language *Berøringer mellem de finske og de baltiske (litauisk-lettiske) Sprog* [Contacts Between the Finnish and the Baltic (Lithuanian-Latvian) Languages], which investigated Baltic loanwords in Finnish.[76]

[75] A good overview of this scientific debate, especially on its political and wider implications, has been given in an article by Chris Manias (Manias 2009).

[76] As the details of these five non-Finnish researchers given in this section are based on a relatively diverse set of sources, including their publications, correspondence and contemporary newspaper articles, I do not generally cite any sources as these details are examined in more detail in other parts of the thesis. Nevertheless, I give information about more general biographies of Retzius and Virchow so that one can examine their actions in more detail. The other non-Finnish researchers seem to not have warranted proper biographies

Besides his research on the Finnish language, Thomsen gave a lecture series at the University of Oxford that was later published as *The Relations Between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia, and the Origin of the Russian State* (1877). Thomsen is most renowned for deciphering the "Orkhon inscriptions" in erected stones containing Chinese and a then-unknown language, which he managed to interpret as an ancient Turkic script. These stones were brought to Western knowledge by Russian and Finnish scientific expeditions, and Thomsen chose to publish his translation through a publication connected to the Finnish expedition. In 1912, Thomsen made his only other visit to Finland when he gave a series of lectures about his Turkic studies.

For his doctoral thesis, Thomsen was awarded the Bopp prize by the Berlin Academy of Science, and in 1911, he was invited into the *Pour le Mérite* by the king of Prussia for his Orkhon studies. Besides his scientific studies, he also supported Finns through other causes, such as organising donations to Finland during the famine of 1868 and signing the Pro Finlandia petition in 1899. Thomsen was also associated with many Finnish learned societies by being a corresponding or honorary member, including the Finnish Literature Society, the Finno-Ugrian Society, the Finnish Antiquarian Society and the Kalevala Society. He was also an honorary member of the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, the oldest scientific academy in Finland.

Gustaf Retzius

Gustaf Retzius (1842–1919) was a renowned Swedish anatomist who specialised in histology. Besides being a talented anatomist, his status as one of the leading physicians in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Sweden and Europe was assisted by his wife's wealth, which allowed him to focus on scientific work after leaving his professorship, and by the reputation of his father Anders Retzius, who had been an acclaimed anatomist and contributor of craniological methods to anthropology. Gustaf followed his father in the study of anthropology and used his father's craniological methods to particularly study Finnish and Swedish skulls in his works *Finska kranier jämte några natur- och litteraturstudier inom några andra områden av finsk antropologi* ["Finnish skulls among with some studies of nature and literature in some other areas of Finnish anthropology", hereafter referred in the text only as *Finska kranier*] (1878), *Crania Suecica antiqua* [Ancient Skulls of Sweden] (1889) and *Anthropologia Suecica* [Anthropology of Sweden] (1902). Anthropology was not his main scientific occupation compared with his other anatomical and biological studies, but he established himself with these works as one of the leading anthropologists in Nordic countries.[77]

His studies about Finland and Finns were based on a scientific expedition to Finland in 1873 that he made with his friends Christian Lóven and Erik

during their time or later, beyond some shorter biographical accounts that, in the case of the Finnish scientific community, usually examined the circumstances of their research on Finns.

[77] There are many biographies about Retzius – his posthumous autobiography Retzius 1933 and Retzius 1948 – and more recent works Lindblad et al. 2007 and Uddenberg 2019.

Nordenson. They were accompanied by the Finnish "student E. Solin"[78], who worked as a translator and guide on their journey. They travelled through the Finnish provinces of Tavastia, Savonia and Karelia, taking measurements from living people and excavating skulls, taking photographs and collecting ethnographic material. Retzius continued his journey to the city of Kazan in Russia. Retzius wrote about the findings of his journey in multiple publications, in which he engaged with the full spectrum of anthropological interests, from ethnographic observations of Finnish living conditions to folkloristic speculations of the *Kalevala* to deductions of the physical anthropology of the racial characteristics of Finns. Of these works about the Finns, the *Finska kranier* is the most thorough and includes most of the information used in the preceding and later publications.

Retzius was a corresponding member of the Finnish Literature Society and the Finno-Ugrian Society and one of the signatories of the Pro Finlandia petition. In 1911, he was invited into the *Pour le Mérite* by the king of Prussia for his histological and anthropological research.

Rudolf Virchow

Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902) was one of the leading physicians of the nineteenth century, making significant contributions to the fields of pathology and social medicine.[79] He was the director of the Institute for Pathology in the university hospital Charité and professor of pathological anatomy and physiology at the Friedrich Wilhelm University of Berlin. As a proponent of social medicine, he thought that the best way to combat many ailments was through social and political reforms, which he advocated as one of the leading liberal politicians in the Prussian House of Representatives and the Reichstag. Virchow was also interested in prehistoric research, and his studies established him as the leading anthropological authority in Germany. His anthropological works are sometimes remembered for his staunch opposition to Darwin's theory of evolution, which was supported by other German biologists. He was also an opponent of many extreme racial ideals of contemporary anthropology and often came to conclusions in his studies that emphasised the lack of pure races and instead portrayed most Europeans as a mixture of different races.[80]

After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, bellicose animosity also extended to scientific arenas, as French anthropologist Jean Louis Armand de

[78] Most likely Ernst Adolf Solin.
[79] There are several biographical works detailing Virchow's scientific and political activities; see Ackerknecht 1957, Winter 1976 and Schipperges 1994.
[80] Many scholars, such as Benoit Massin, see Virchow's anthropological work as anti-racist, especially compared with the anthropologists who preceded and followed him, but his works did not lack hierarchical categorisations of different peoples based on their racial features. Although he was a quite vocal opponent of antisemitism, some researchers, such as Andrew Zimmerman, argue that the extensive survey of the racial character of German schoolchildren directed by Virchow led many Germans to see their nation from a more prominent racial point of view and that by differentiating students of Jewish background in this survey, he indirectly contributed to later German antisemitism, despite his own views and intentions for this study (Zimmerman 1999).

Quatrefages denied the German origins of Prussian people in his book *La Race Prussienne* (1871) and instead claimed that they were primarily descendants of "the Slavo-Finnic race". These claims were argued against, especially on the pages of *Die Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, the leading anthropological journal in Germany. Virchow was particularly active in his rebuttal, attacking the methods and sources used by de Quatrefages. As the scientific knowledge of Finns was relatively scarce in Germany at the time, Virchow also relied on Finnish and Baltic informants before he had the opportunity to visit Finland in 1874 and personally make some craniological measurements. Besides using these findings to disprove the French anthropologists, Virchow also pointed out to his countrymen that Finns were predominantly fair and blue-eyed, compared with the stereotypical view of Finns having a darker complexion and more "Mongolian" features.

Like Retzius and Thomsen, Virchow was also one of the signatories of the Pro Finlandia petition and connected to learned Finnish organisations as an honorary member of the Finnish Antiquarian Society and the Finno-Ugrian Society.

John Abercromby

John Abercromby (1841–1924) was a Scottish nobleman who, after his military career, devoted his time to the arts and scholarly activities. As an amateur researcher, he was active in the Folklore Society and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Abercromby's first contact with Finnish culture was through the *Kalevala,* as he was interested in learning an agglutinative language as a change from classical and European languages in which he was already well versed. Through this linguistic activity, he found a wealth of oral materials that had been collected by Finnish scholars such as Elias Lönnrot. Besides the general study of the Finnish language and especially its dialectic forms used in oral poetry, his main focus was to study magic charms collected by Lönnrot in *Suomen kansan muinaisia loitsurunoja* [The Ancient Magic Charms of the Finnish People] (1880).

To better learn the Finnish language and to create the necessary connections with Finnish researchers who were most knowledgeable on these subjects, he made several trips to Finland in the late nineteenth century. He spent many months mainly in the city of Sortavala (Sordavala) in Finnish Karelia, which was close to the areas that were considered to have the richest oral materials. Abercromby himself did not personally collect new material, but he was in close contact with people who did and personally witnessed some folk singers reciting this traditional poetry. Most of his folkloristic research was published in *The Folk-Lore Journal.*

In the 1890s, Abercromby became more interested in archaeological studies and made long trips to Sweden, Germany, the Baltic provinces of Russia and the Russian interior to get to know the research done in these countries about groups related to Finns. This research culminated in his work *The Pre- and Proto-Historical Finns – Both Eastern and Western, with the Magic Songs of the West Finns* (1898), which was published in two volumes. In this book, Abercromby combines

anthropological, archaeological, folkloristic and linguistic research on Finns and related people, such as Sámi, Estonians and Mordvins. After this publication, instead of continuing to study Finns, his scientific attention was directed primarily to the archaeological study of the British Isles. Besides his own studies, Abercromby supported the study of Finns by donating money to the Finno-Ugrian Society to sponsor research trips to study different Finno-Ugric groups in Russia. He was a corresponding or honorary member of several Finnish learned societies, including the Finno-Ugrian Society, the Finnish Literature Society, the Finnish Antiquarian Society and the Kalevala Society.

Domenico Comparetti

Domenico Comparetti (1835–1927) was a renowned Italian scholar with a primary interest in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. He was a professor of Greek at the universities of Pisa and Florence and, in 1891, became a senator in the Senate of the Kingdom of Italy. His classical research includes commentaries on Sappho, Oedipus, Greek dialects in South Italy, the Book of Sinbad and the influence of Vergil in the Middle Ages.[81]

Comparetti's fascination with the Finnish *Kalevala* might at first seem like an odd detour when compared with the rest of his body of work, but as his research on the *Kalevala* focuses on how the work should be understood in comparison with other world epics and how it has value on the Homeric question concerning how the ancient epics had been born from oral materials, it is in line with his other research concerning ancient epics. Comparetti presented his research on the *Kalevala* at the annual meeting of the Accademia dei Lincei in 1888, and he published his *Il Kalevala e la poesia tradizionale dei Finni* [The Kalevala and the Traditional Poetry of the Finns] three years later. His work was not only of interest to the Italian audience, but it was also translated into German (1892) and English (1898).[82]

Before publishing his research, Comparetti made a total of four visits to Finland from the 1880s onwards, travelling at least once more extensively in the interior of the country. He stayed most frequently in Helsinki (Helsingfors), where most of the learned Finns lived and worked. After the publication of his book, he visited the city at least three times and kept somewhat in contact with the Finnish research community. He was an honorary member of the Finno-Ugrian Society and the Kalevala Society. Comparetti was also a signatory of the Pro Finlandia petition and the only non-Finnish researcher examined here to be honoured by the Finnish state, which, in 1923, awarded him the mark of the First-Class Commander of the White Rose of Finland, the highest honour that could be awarded to a foreigner who was not a head of state.

[81] For a biographical overview of Comparetti, see Carratelli 1982.
[82] The English translation is used primarily for the analysis of Comparetti's research, although the original Italian text is referred to occasionally when the original terms and concepts are analysed.

1.8 Notes on Translations

Most of the direct quotations cited in the text are in English, either in their original form if written in English or as my translations if not otherwise specified. Concerning quotations from published texts, such as the publications of the researchers, newspapers and magazines, the original non-English text is not quoted in the footnotes. As archival sources usually represent unique documents that are not as easily available as printed texts, the original untranslated portions are quoted in footnotes when my translations are used in the analysis. As these archival documents, especially letters, were written in a more informal way and represent more varied sources with the possibility of providing some personal flair, translating these texts is not always unproblematic, and readers are not restricted to my choice of translations and can make their own interpretations based on the original language of the archival sources.

As many of these archival documents were written during an era when spelling in various languages was variable and the proper orthography had not yet been assigned, many of the letters contain spellings that are not accepted these days. Due to this variety, the original form of the writing is copied to the footnote as accurately as possible and "sic" is used quite sparingly, as there was often not much agreement as to what the conventional contemporary spelling should have been.[83] There are some recurrent "incorrect" practices, such as the tendency of many Finnish researchers not to capitalise nouns in their letters in German, which are usually just noted in the footnotes instead of correcting the writing more widely.

In cases where there are different versions of published texts, usually the original work and contemporary translations of it, the original text is typically the primary version cited in this thesis, although later versions are also analysed for their choices in translating the concepts and phrases of the original text. Occasionally, these later versions also have additional content that is analysed along with the content of the original work. The only deviation from this is the English version (*Kalewala and the Traditional Poetry of the Finns*, 1898) of Comparetti's *Il Kalevala e la poesia tradizionale dei Finni* (1891), which is primarily cited in the analysis instead of the original Italian version or its German translation, as this thesis is also written in the English language and the differences between the different translations are small. On some occasions, the original Italian version is also cited when it is informative to examine Comparetti's choice of words and expressions in the original Italian form.

[83] For example, the Swedish preposition "av" was often written as "af" until the spelling reform of 1906 and the Standard German was agreed upon only in the German Orthographic Conference of 1901, which followed the failed conference in 1876 where agreement could not be found. For written Finnish, the challenges were even greater, as it was still a relatively young literary language. For instance, the first novel in Finnish was published only in 1870. Many of the most vocal supporters of the use of Finnish had learned the language only as adults, and it lacked a lot of necessary vocabulary, especially technical and scientific terms.

Concerning the names of geographic locations mentioned in this thesis, the English name is typically used if an established term exists, for example, “Saint Petersburg” or “Karelia”. In the case of locations that have different names in different languages, typical for many Finnish cities, with no “third option” in the English language, the Finnish name, which nowadays is usually better known in English, is usually given first and the Swedish name in brackets, as in “Helsinki (Helsingfors)”. Both names are given when the location is mentioned for the first time, but in the case of locations that are mentioned repeatedly, only the Finnish name is used. Direct quotations follow the naming choice of the original author, and locations are rarely translated, except the names of countries.

2 FINNS REPRESENTED IN THE WORKS OF THE NON-FINNISH RESEARCHERS

This chapter thematically analyses different relevant aspects and characteristics that represent the research and scientific debates of nineteenth-century Europe. There are some unique aspects due to the special focus that the five non-Finnish researchers placed on Finns, but for the most part, their research gave expression to the scientific methods and points of view shared by most researchers in their disciplines at the time. In the first part of this chapter, I examine how these men categorised Finns in relation to different European and Asian peoples by using prevailing classifications and theories. The second section investigates different ideologies of Orientalism, Romanticism and Nationalism popular in the nineteenth century and assesses how much influence these had in the work of the five non-Finnish researchers. Further, I consider how the theoretical models and concepts of cultural evolution were reflected in their studies and how the hierarchical models ingrained in this point of view became evident. Finally, I analyse the different ways in which these five researchers tried to ensure the scientific quality and objectivity of their research using the methodological and theoretical models of the time. We see how the non-Finnish researchers argued for their merits against other researchers of their time and how they tried to contribute to the scientific debate. Through all this, it becomes evident that these researchers shared many common ways of doing research, in addition to many general assumptions and ways of thinking common to the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, we also become aware of the small differences based on their nationalities and their origins in different disciplines, which led them to different conclusions on some matters.

2.1 Conceptualising Finns – European or Asian?

In this section, I examine how Abercromby, Comparetti, Retzius, Thomsen and Virchow categorised Finns using the concepts and theoretical models of their time. Through their research, we come to understand how the theory of the Turanian language group, which included eastern groups, such as Finno-Ugric and Mongolian people, and sometimes other peripheral European groups, such as Basques, became less relevant as a category and subject of scientific debate during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Instead, the precise relationship between Finns and the other Finno-Ugric groups became the most important question of categorisation. Finns were also conceptualised by comparing them with groups in their geographic proximity, such as the Sámi, Romani, Balts and Germanic people. With these comparisons, the researchers tried to place Finns in relation to "civilised" Europeans and other groups in their vicinity.

The researchers of previous centuries and decades had provided only vague findings and theories about Finns, so there was a need for a more thorough empirical analysis of these northern people. The ongoing debates about the possible Turanian origins of the indigenous Europeans and the "*race prussienne*" controversy, which linked the origins of Prussians to Finns, especially fuelled the interest for Finns in the European centres of knowledge.[84] For example, Retzius brought up this debate as the primary reason why the study of Finns and "Lapps" was important for the ethnological research of the time.[85] On the other hand, many disciplines, such as anthropology and linguistics, have attempted to map out the relationships of all human groups, past and present, by collecting as many measurements and specimens as possible. Although scientifically a relatively unknown people, the fact that Finns were seen to be linguistically and racially different from most of their immediate neighbours piqued the interest of European researchers during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and scientific comments on Finns started to become more frequent.

It is possible to follow through the research of these more meticulous researchers of Finns and see in their publications spanning from 1869 to 1898 how the researchers referred to these theories of Turanians as the original Europeans in different times and disciplines. Thomsen mentions Turanians in *Den gotiske Sprogklasses Indflydelse på den finske* (1869) as a synonym for the Ural-Altaic

[84] The theoretical Turanian language family included Finno-Ugric, Turkic and Mongolian languages and sometimes some language isolates of Europe such as Basque. For more information on the Turanian theories and the origins of the "*race prussienne*" controversy, see Section 1.6. Disputing the Europeanness of a nation by claiming that it had its origins in Turanian people was not only limited to Quatrefages's claims towards Prussians as this rhetoric was more commonly used towards Russia, which had plenty of "Turanian peoples" (Finno-Ugrians and Turkic peoples) among its minorities and neighbours. In the same way that the Turanism of Prussians was used by Quatrefages as a vehicle to criticise German belligerence, Turanian arguments towards Russians were linked to the political condemnation of autocracy and repressive policies of the Russian Empire by European intelligentsia (Laruelle 2004).

[85] Retzius 1878, 2–3.

language group, which some linguists used as a category for Samoyed, Tatar, Mongolian and Tungusic languages, together with "the Finnish or Finnish-Hungarian language family". Thomsen himself does not support this relationship outright but mentions it as more or less likely.[86] As Thomsen published his work before the Franco-Prussian War, the theory of the Turanian people as indigenous Europeans was not yet such a central part of the scientific debate as it would become for the next couple of years. Thomsen does not mention this theory or the Turanian language group at all in his second work about the Finnish language *Beröringer mellem de finske og de baltiske (litauisk-lettiske) sprog: En sproghistorisk undersøgelse* (1890), where he instead analyses different dates for the arrival of Finnish groups to the area of Baltic Sea, making it clear that he does not believe them to be indigenous to the area, so he evidently did not believe the basic assumptions related to the theory.[87]

Unlike Thomsen, who was driven by his linguistic interests, Retzius and Virchow were directly motivated in their anthropological research to partake in the ongoing and heated debate on the ethnic origins of Finns. As was previously briefly noted, Retzius mentioned in *Finska kranier* (1878) the debate as to the primary reason why Finns were valuable for ethnological study, but he did not come back to these arguments later in his work. Retzius suggested that Finns came to Finland around the seventh and eighth centuries, so he clearly did not support the theory of the Turanian race as indigenous Europeans.[88] His craniological measurements were also more in line with the earlier research of his father compared with the claims of French anthropologists. The origins and racial characteristics of Finns were also of interest to Retzius's Swedish audience, as Swedes and Finns shared a long history, which included many Finns emigrating to Sweden and vice versa.

Retzius seems to have used the ongoing debate as an opportunity to publish about a subject that was of high interest in broader anthropological circles, but this controversy was more immediate to Virchow, as he saw the French claims that Prussians descended from Finns as an attack against the German nation and even science itself. He wrote about his views on the French scientific community, accusing them of revanchist attitudes and mixing national attitudes with science.[89] Most of his studies about Finns can be seen through this debate, which was born from the French animosity towards Germans, but he had also measured some Finnish skulls before the Franco-Prussian War, and some of his later research about Finns can also be seen in contexts other than the *race prussienne* controversy. Virchow tackled the question of Turanians or Finns as original Europeans most directly in 1872 in the meeting of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte and the Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin:

[86] Thomsen 1869, 1.
[87] Thomsen 1869, 103–104; 1890 36–39, 148–152.
[88] Retzius 1878, 153.
[89] Virchow 1871.

> For the time being, we can only discuss the question of whether the Estonian skulls we know have a similarity to the prehistoric skulls in our area. According to the figures I have given, it is obvious that there is no such resemblance. […] none of them matches well enough with the Finnish or Estonian, and I may add, with the Lappish or Magyar type that a relationship could be established. Mr de Quatrefages did not bother to present scientific facts to his readers for his theses; it is enough for him to collate all sorts of psychological dreams in connection with historical data that relate less to Prussia than to the Russian Baltic provinces. When I restricted myself to reporting only factual information, it was not just to mark the German method as opposed to the French, but also to pave the way for our own research.[90]

Virchow aimed his attacks quite directly towards the arguments made by Quatrefages and some of his sources, such as Franz Pruner-Bey (1808–1882). Virchow presented his results primarily to the German scientific community, so his studies were not an attempt to form a direct and constructive scientific dialogue with French anthropologists aimed at concluding this debate. In Germany, the debate brought to the surface how little was known about Finns, and to remedy this, Virchow returned to the "Finnish question" (*Finnenfrage)* many times during the 1870s, usually to show in more detail how groundless Quatrefages's arguments were.

The controversy seems to have died out before the 1890s, as Comparetti only briefly referred to these claims in 1891: "[I]t is no longer believed, as it was not very long ago, that these people [Lapps, Finns and Esthonians] inhabited Europe in remote or prehistoric times, before the coming of the Aryans; it is thought, on the contrary, that they entered it long after the Aryans were settled there."[91] Abercromby did not even refer to these ideas in 1898, either because they had been debunked a long time ago or because these kinds of fringe theories were of little interest to the British folkloristic readership.

As none of the researchers was a proponent of Finns as the indigenous Europeans, it does not come as a surprise that all of them were supportive of the idea of the Asiatic origins of Finns, albeit with some uncertainty.[92] Due to this assumption, some of them also argued that Finns had some connection to other Asiatic peoples, such as Tatars and Mongols. These arguments ranged from Virchow's occasional classification of Finns as a Mongolian people to more frequent mentions of linguistic connections, including how Comparetti's voiced his surprise '[…] that there is among them no trace of the word bogatyr, hero, so common under various forms among Mongolic and Tataric peoples, and extremely frequent among the Russians, who learnt it from the Tatars. We might have expected the Finns to bring it with them from Asia.'[93] Comparetti also frequently referred to the shamanistic religion of the ancestral Finns, which connected them to other shamanistic peoples, such as Mongols, Turkic peoples and other Finno-Ugrians.[94]

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[90] Virchow 1872a, 84.
[91] Comparetti 1891, 31–32, translation from Comparetti 1898, 41. Hereafter the English translation is predominantly cited unless the specific original Italian word choices are relevant for the analysis.
[92] Ibid.; Retzius 1878, 7; 1909, 295; Abercromby 1893, 26, 146
[93] Virchow 1875a, 25; Comparetti 1898, 230.
[94] Comparetti 1898, 24–25, 27, 41–42, 171–174.

None of the researchers suggested a precise date for when the ancestors of Finns might have arrived in Europe, but they placed it quite far in the prehistory and usually assumed that the ancestors of Finns lived in areas close to the Ural Mountains and the River Volga, where many of the other Finno-Ugric groups were located during the nineteenth century.[95] This was also more or less the consensus among the Finnish scientific community at the time, which produced many of the works that the non-Finnish researchers used for their claims. The researchers were more daring with the suggestions about the arrival of Finns to the Baltic region and Finland, with some consensus that this happened around the eighth century AD.[96] There was a relatively strong consensus among the researchers that, before the arrival of Finns to Finland, Germanic people lived in the southwestern parts of the country and "Lapps" occupied most of the Finnish wilderness, living in areas much further south than their contemporary nineteenth-century herding areas in Lapland.[97] In addition to being a scientific claim, the presence of Germanic, and presumably Swedish, groups in Finland also had political implications in Sweden and Finland. The argument that the Swedish population had preceded the arrival of Finns was, at times, used by some Finnish Svecomans as an argument to support the privileges of the Swedish-speaking population in Finland, but at the same time, the Fennomans were most inclined to emphasise that there was not enough proof of continuity between the prehistoric Germanic people in Finland and later Swedish immigrants since the Middle Ages. Swedish archaeologist Oscar Montelius (1843–1921) also argued that there had been a continuous Swedish population in Finland since the Stone Age, so this debate was not limited to only Finnish researchers.[98]

The juxtaposition of European and Asian peoples was not central for any of the five researchers, but the underlying assumptions of the distinction between these two peoples were highlighted occasionally when the researchers referred to an unspecified "European" race, people and languages in contrast to Finns.[99] It should be also noted that the origins of the Indo-European people and the ancestry of original Europeans were open questions subject to a lively debate at the time and in this atmosphere the migratory past of Finns in their prehistory did not make them automatically inferior compared with the "Europeans".[100]

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[95] Retzius 1878, 8; Thomsen 1890, 32; Abercromby 1898, 84–86.
[96] Thomsen 1869, 103; 1890, 38; Retzius 1878, 153; Virchow 1874, 187; Abercromby 1898, 102–103, 139.
[97] Thomsen 1869, 106; 1890, 24; Retzius 1878, 14–17; Comparetti 1898, 42; Abercromby 57–58. Based on his travel to Finland where he saw many ruins attributed to "Lapps", Retzius was sceptical about the arguments for the southern reach of "Lapps", although he stressed the uncertainty of the matter, Retzius 1878, 148–152.
[98] A brief account of these debates has been given in Tommila 1989, 116–117.
[99] See Comparetti 1898, 24,30, 171; Abercromby 1892a, 313; 1898 1–2, 63, 149.
[100] On the other hand, some linguistically oriented researchers, such as Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) and Friedrich Max Müller, were uninterested in the racial origins of peoples and formed their hierarchies based on how "developed" different languages were. In these theories, the agglutinative languages, such as Finnish, were used as a primitive "Other" to Indo-European languages that either reflected that Indo-Europeans had an inherent superior quality in them or that their more developed language allowed them to develop into cultural people. See Arvidsson 2006, 28–32, 46–58, 76–78.

The implied hierarchies and assumptions related to this juxtaposition of Asian and European peoples are nevertheless analysed in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

As is evident, the larger categories such as "Turanian", "Mongolian" or "Asian" were not the primary lenses through which the researchers conceptualised Finns. Contrary to the popularity of these concepts in physical anthropology earlier in the nineteenth century, Retzius and Virchow most often classified Finns using the categories Anders Retzius presented in association with his skull index. They both came to more or less the same results as Anders Retzius that Finns were generally brachycephalic (short-headed),[101] although not as extremely so as the "Lapps".[102] As this linear classification could not definitely indicate that two groups with a similar skull index were directly related, the craniologists also used linguistic relationships to establish which groups were most closely related to Finns, even if the findings from these two fields did not always fit neatly together.

The practice of identifying Finns with other groups of the Finno-Ugric language family was shared by all five researchers, despite their very different disciplinary backgrounds. As the other Finno-Ugric people were even more unknown to these researchers than the Finns of Finland, they were, to a large extent, seen as extensions of Finns, at least conceptually. This was most evident with Abercromby, as he called all non-Ugric[103] groups of this language family Finns, dividing them geographically into Western and Eastern Finns.[104] Comparetti, on the other hand, represented the other extreme, as he reserved the term Finns (*Finni*) only for the Finns and Karelians living in the area of the Grand Duchy of Finland and Russian Karelia and made a clear distinction between groups as closely related as Estonians and Finns. This was most likely a result of his focus on Finnish poetry, which he saw as more sophisticated than the equivalent Estonian oral traditions.[105] Depending on one's focus, a researcher can associate or disassociate people in many ways. In categorising Finns, Abercromby was more in line with continental researchers than the few British who had commented on Finns. In these works, Finns were not usually the central object but rather a small part of their general presentations about different human

[101] The leading way to categorise different skull types was to use the cephalic index created by Anders Retzius, where the skull is measured from its maximum length or width, or from some other established points from these extremes, and the resulting width would be divided with the length of the skull. These indices were most often categorised as dolichocephalic (long-headed), mesaticephalic (medium-headed) and brachycephalic (short-headed) skulls. As the "long" dolichocephalic skulls were seen as typical for Europeans and especially the Nordic people and as the "broad brachycephalic skull was often seen as typical for Asians, the theoretically objective and value-free categorisation was inherently shaped by the racial views and biases of its users.

[102] Retzius 1843 2, 4; Retzius 1878, 169–170; Virchow 1870 63, 78; 1872 80; 1874 189.

[103] The Ugric branch of the "Finno-Ugric" people was usually thought to be composed of Hungarians and the Khanty and Mansi people residing in Central Russia whereas the rest of the language family was considered more closely related to the Finnish. The exact relationship of these languages and how they are situated in any proposed continuum were, and still are, contested.

[104] Abercromby 1898, v, 1–2.

[105] Comparetti 1891, 33–36; 1898, 44–48.

societies. This was reflected in their vague categorisation of Finns as part of the Mongolian race or as some kind of transitional group between Europeans and Asians.[106] For example, British anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor, whose works influenced Abercromby, categorised Finns as part of a "Tatar race".[107]

Compared with Comparetti's strict use of the term 'Finns', most of the researchers used it to signify the groups that Abercromby classified under the Western Finns, which besides the Finns of Finland included other closely related people in the vicinity of the Baltic Sea, such as Estonians and Veps. Karelians were quite universally considered Finns by researchers of the nineteenth century.[108] From a linguistic point of view, "Lapps" were sometimes included in this group, but this could vary even between the publications of a single researcher as Thomsen in his *Den gotiske Sprogklasses Indflydelse på den finske* saw Finns and "Lapps" as parts (*stammer*) of the same people (*folkeklasse*), but in his *Berøringer mellem de finske og de baltiske (litauisk-lettiske) Sprog*, he made a clearer distinction between these two people.[109] Even when the researchers placed multiple groups under the moniker "Finns", they usually focused on the language, culture and physical features of the Finns of Finland, which they might separate from the wider group by adding some adjective such as "actual" in "the actual Finns" (*die eigentlichen Finnen*), which Virchow frequently used.[110]

Furthermore, the Finns of Finland were usually divided into two branches: the Tavastians and the Karelians. Particularly for Retzius, they were two racially distinct groups from which he could find clear racial types.[111] However, characterising Tavastians and Karelians as the two main branches of the Finns of Finland was not the invention of these non-Finnish researchers, as it was based on the descriptions and classifications of these two "tribes" by previous Finnish researchers and writers, such as Carl Daniel von Haartman (1792–1877) and Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898).[112]

These relatively inclusive classifications of "Finns" can, to some extent, be explained by the unclear dividing lines between dialects and languages that Thomsen pointed out, but the Finnish researchers, whom most of the non-Finnish researchers used as sources, often emphasised their kinship to other Finno-Ugric peoples.[113]

In this context, portraying Finns as an archetype for the other related groups was not just a simplification by the non-Finnish researchers but, to some degree, an intentional point of view propagated by the Finnish researchers, which they managed to pass on to the broader European audience.[114] Even though many

[106] On British racial views on Finns see Halmesvirta 1990, 88–129, 167–180.
[107] Tylor 1865 208, 212, 267, 297; Tylor 1871 I, 103; Tylor 1881, 98, 161–162.
[108] This is comparable to the modern classification of Finnic/Fennic people.
[109] Thomsen 1869, 9; 1890, 25–31.
[110] Virchow 1870, 77; 1872, 75, 83; 1875a, 25; 1875b, 34, 36, 38.
[111] Retzius 1878, 161–162.
[112] Kemiläinen 1993, 92–96, 103–106; Kemiläinen 1998, 161–164.
[113] Thomsen 1890, 19.
[114] Even though Finnish researchers were not completely dismissive towards other Finno-Ugric groups, they perceived themselves, and Hungarians, as the vanguard of other Finno-Ugrians towards progress and cultured civilisation. Therefore, Finnish researchers often referred to these people with terms such as '*suomensukuiset kansat*' [people related to Finns]

leading Finnish linguists were also supportive of grouping Finno-Ugric languages with Turkic and Mongolian language families, this claim was less frequently repeated in the publications of the non-Finnish researchers. There were some similarities between these languages, which led many linguists to believe in theories about this relationship. However, most Finnish researchers did not take this information as negative news, indicating that they were not part of the more "civilised" Caucasian race. Instead, they tried to put a positive spin on it, as exemplified by one of the leading Finnish nationalists, Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806–1881) in 1857:

> As a Finn, one can be well indifferent to the honour of belonging to the Caucasian race. It would be a greater honour for the Finnish people to stand as factual proof against their claims, which teach that only the Caucasian race entails the ability of higher civilisation and unlimited spiritual development.[115]

The results of historical-comparative linguistics and anthropological craniologists brought forth new categorisations based on empirical measurements, which, at least in the scientific discussions, became more important than the vaguer theoretical classifications of previous decades. Particularly in craniology, the analyses were still based on a rather limited number of skulls, even though the measurements had increased to tens of skulls typically examined in a study compared with previous research, which was usually satisfied by making conclusions based only on a couple of specimens. To fill the huge gaps in craniological data, researchers often tried to correlate their anthropological types to established linguist groups. Although these categories of craniology and linguistics were internally coherent with the findings of their disciplines, problems arose when researchers tried to combine racial and linguistic groupings. Based on craniological measurements of the time, the Finns of Finland were predominantly brachycephalic (short-headed), whereas linguistically related groups such as the Ceremis (now referred to as Mari) were generally dolichocephalic (long-headed).[116] This was a challenge for craniologists, such as Virchow, who were unsure of how to unravel this problem, which was further complicated by claims from other disciplines, such as history:

> If it is confirmed, what Mr Kopernicki indicated, that the Chudian peoples on the Volga were dolichocephalic that would indicate a completely unheard-of changeability of the Finnish race. This is indeed a difficult problem, and it must be conceded that this is a question that has not yet been solved. I would like to mention that the Finnish question is even more complicated in relation to the Magyars since the Finnish origin of the Magyars in Vienna has recently been contested for historical reasons by Mr Obermüller. If he were right, this would create a new problem, in which the case would arise that a people who could be brought into a close relationship with another for

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that emphasised the almost familial connection where Finns represented the more developed brother or cousin.

[115] 'Som Finne kan man vara bra likgiltig för hedern att tillhöra Kaukasiska racen. Det vore en större heder för Finska folket, att framstå som ett faktiskt bevis mot derast påståenden, hvilka lära, att endast Kaukasisk race medför förmåga af högsta civilisation och obegränsad andlig utveckling.' J. V. Snellman (1857), Om Finska stammens race. Litteraturblad för allmän medborgerlig bildning, 01.12.1857, 12, p. 387.

[116] Abercromby 1898, 38–39

> linguistic reasons, with whom they also correspond physically, for historical reasons should be separated from the same.[117]

Abercromby tried to solve this conundrum by theorising about two distinct racial groups that had originally migrated from the East, and over time, the language of one group had become predominant, leading to two racially different groups that nevertheless were linguistically connected.[118] On the other hand, anthropological research and assumptions had changed a lot in a couple of decades since Virchow's comments, and in the late 1890s, Abercromby could claim that 'the craniological and physical differences between any two Finnish groups is very much less than between the Latin and the Teutonic groups', highlighting the new anthropological consensus about multiple racial types in Europe.[119] Abercromby also referred a lot to the many archaeological findings of the past few decades but could not produce clear links to any ethnicity, although some researchers, such as the Finnish archaeologist J. R. Aspelin, were more keen to link archaeological findings in Russia to groups related to Finns.[120] As the Finns were seen as relative newcomers to the area of Finland, many of the local findings were linked by contemporary researchers to Germanic peoples, who had lived in Finnish coastal areas, and to "Lapps", who were thought to have populated the Finnish interior.[121]

Even the racial relationship between people as closely related as the Finns of Finland and Estonians could be seen as somewhat complicated by Virchow, who had compared some skulls from these two nationalities and found certain differences.[122] On the other hand, the differences between Finns and "Lapps" were not seen as problematic because the peculiarities in their languages, looks, cultures and ways of life made it easier to explain these differences by divergent ethnic origins. Comparing Finns to "Lapps" was also a way for these non-Finnish researchers to see Finns as more relatable, as any peculiarity found in the Finnish language or culture or in their physical features was usually even more extreme and pronounced in "Lapps". Agricultural and steadily industrialising Finland was also seen in a completely different light compared with the inhabitants of Lapland, who, with their "primitive" pastoral and nomadic way of life, seemed more foreign to the Europeans who wrote about them. The process of "othering", which Finns were usually spared, was instead directed towards "Lapps" who were at the time even brought to the cities of Western and Central Europe as popular exhibitions.[123] Sometimes, these individuals would also be brought to be

[117] Virchow 1872a, 83.
[118] Abercromby 1898, 40, 86.
[119] Ibid., v.
[120] Aspelin's pet theory was the so-called "Permian Bronze Age" that was based on his idea that the bronze materials in large parts of Russia had belonged to Finno-Ugrian peoples that had lived in these areas. Aspelin's theory and archaeological research in Russia have been thoroughly detailed in Salminen 2003, 43–96.
[121] Retzius 1878, 9–10, 148–153; Aspelin 1885, 30–33, 54–59; Montelius 1898.
[122] Virchow 1875b, 34, 38.
[123] See note 131 for more information.

examined by local scientists, who analysed and measured them as live specimens, as Virchow did with his colleagues in 1875.[124]

Although "Lapps" were seen as linguistically related to Finns, their physical characteristics led many researchers, including Virchow, to classify them as racially different to Finns: '[…] I must therefore admit that one is justified in linguistically viewing the Lapps as a Finnish tribe. From a physical point of view, however, there can be no question about this. There is, in fact, no greater difference than that between the Finnish and Lappish skulls […]'[125] These views were also sometimes repeated by researchers outside the anthropological discipline, such as Comparetti, who decades later wrote about the same distinction between Finns and Lapps: '[...] the Lapps, although speaking a language closely akin to the Finnic, are people of another race (Finno-Mongolic). It is certain that they originally spoke another tongue, but how or when they became Finns in language it is not possible to determine […]'[126]

Out of the five researchers, Virchow went most in-depth in his analysis of "Lapps", as it was important for him to show how racially different from Germans they were in order to undercut Quatrefages's arguments yet again. "Lapps" might have been to Virchow blonder than expected and showed traits that could not be classified easily as Mongolian, but he nevertheless described the "Lapps" whom he examined in person as 'ugly (*hässlich*) and unsightly (*unansehnlich*)'.[127] Virchow also saw them as racially stunted people due to their harsh environment, reminding him of the Bushmen of Africa.[128] "Lapps" were seen by all these non-Finnish researchers as culturally less developed than Finns, not only due to their "primitive" way of life but also because their mythology and poetry were seen as less developed. These views are examined further in later sections of this chapter.

The representations of Finns were remarkably absent of overt "othering" or explicitly negative portrayals. The extent to which Finns were mildly "othered" usually resembled the way in which Retzius commented on the physical beauty of Tavastians: '[…] at any rate one very rarely finds people, who according to *our usual criteria of beauty* [emphasis mine] can be called so.'[129] Here, Retzius identifies with Western beauty standards and sees no problem valuing the aesthetic qualities of a human group from this point of view. This relatively positive way of portraying Finns among the five non-Finnish researchers can be partly explained by the active work of Finnish researchers, which gave them agency in crafting how their nation was seen by the international audience, but the presence of a people more extreme "Other" to these Europeans also presented a convenient target for any prejudice when the cultural superiority of Europeans

[124] See Virchow 1875b and the other texts based on the lectures given in the meeting of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte and Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
[125] Virchow 1872a, 83.
[126] Comparetti 1898, 42.
[127] Virchow 1875b, 32.
[128] Virchow 1875a, 5; 1875b, 33–34.
[129] '[…] man finner åtminstone mycket sällan personer, som kunna efter våra vanliga skönhetsprinciper kallas så.' Retzius 1878, 162.

needed some affirmation. The contrast between Finns and "Lapps" also showed the potential of Finns, who had advanced their society in a familiar and appropriate way to these Europeans, compared with the seemingly stagnant "Lapps". This was made even more prominent by the fact that none of the five men travelled in Finnish Lapland but used modern means of travel by railroads in southern Finland and saw the effects of industrialisation in Finnish cities, such as Tampere (Tammerfors). "Lapps", on the other hand, were voiceless in this scientific discussion, and the researchers depended on sources produced by other educated men outside the Sámi culture.[130] The few times that the researchers personally met any Laplanders were mediated through other people, and the otherness of the "Lapps" was often deliberately emphasised for the amazement of the educated audience.[131]

Another group that was sometimes portrayed negatively against Finns was the Romani people living in Finland. Retzius mentioned "Gypsies" (*zigenarna*) briefly as wandering people that could be found 'quite often strolling around on the roads, but even more easily in prisons and jails, where their thieving and other bad habits often take them.'[132] Virchow also referred to "Gypsies" (*Zigeuner*) during his travels in Finland, noting how different they were in appearance from the blond Finns and that even "Lapps" had a lighter colour of hair: 'There is no resemblance between the glossy, pitch-black hair of the Gypsies and the matte brown or black-brown hair of the Lapps that is strongly lightened in the air.'[133] The way Romani were "othered" and viewed negatively as stereotypical "Gypsies", compared with that of Finns, can be partly explained as a consequence of the ongoing debate between the French and German anthropologists, as is directly evident in Virchow's argument:

> This [blondness of Finns and Lapps] is quite remarkable insofar as, as you will remember from literature and from our earlier debates, it is precisely on the part of authoritative circles of anthropology, especially the French, where it is always emphasised with a certain confidence and consistency that members of the Turanian race are

[130] European researchers were especially fascinated by Lapland during the eighteenth century when many studies and accounts of the region were published, see Pihlaja 2005.
[131] Abercromby met some Sámi people during his trip to Swedish Lapland, but a more common way to observe Sámi for most Europeans was through the "human zoos" that were used to exhibit authentic customs of many "primitive" groups. The "Lapps" examined by Virchow were brought by "Magyar linguists", so they were likely brought originally to help Hungarian linguists to learn the Sámi language. It should be noted that contrary to many colonial people who were exhibited in similar ways, the Sámi were usually paid for their services and visited European countries of their own will. Cathrine Baglo argues in her doctoral thesis about live exhibitions of the Sámi people in Europe and America (Baglo 2011) that these exhibitions should not be seen as unilateral exploitation as the Sámi also had a lot of agency in these circumstances and that these exhibitions also had positive aspects, as the Sámi were able to travel in foreign countries and enjoy the local culture and places, which most likely would not have been available for them otherwise. The interest in the Sámi people was not, of course, always based on innocuous curiosity as particularly in the Nordic countries where they lived, the study of the "Lapps" was linked to the process of nation-building where the Sámi and their culture were oppressed; see Isaksson 2001 for racial research on Sámi people, especially in Finland, Mattson 2014 for the use of lappology in Sweden and Lehtola 2022 for a more general overview about the study of the Sámi people and the use of their culture in Finland.
[132] Retzius 1878, 154
[133] Virchow 1874, 186, 188; 1875b, 32

> essentially dark, while the Aryan or Indo-European peoples are essentially blond and light. One only needs to have seen this contrast between the Gypsies, whose Aryan descent will hardly be disputed, against the Finns and the Lapps, to have the indelible impression of how little such a general assumption applies and how little it is justified to even make such a general statement as given in the formula: Everything that is blonde is Aryan and everything that is dark is Mongolian. This is pure fiction.[134]

To Virchow, one way to, yet again, undermine the authority of French anthropologists, and particularly Quatrefages, was to show that Finns were physically entirely different from their portrayal by the French and that the simplified classifications used by Quatrefages were scientifically invalid. This passage also shows how complex and sometimes arbitrary the different anthropological categories were, as the physical diversity inside "Aryan" and "Turanian" races could be utilised to support different scientific conclusions, depending on the goals of the writer.[135] Besides its relevance for the current debate, the "othering" of Romani in Europe, including Finland, had long roots, and the comments from both Retzius and Virchow reflected the racist and discriminatory views they shared with many of their contemporaries.

Compared with the Romani and the Sámi, Baltic and Slavic groups were usually portrayed in these studies neutrally or on equal terms with Finns and, particularly in the prehistory of Finns, as neighbouring cultures that had transferred many new technological and cultural innovations to Finns. Balts and Slavs were seen as linguistically and racially different from Finns, but researchers noted that there had been a lot of intermarriage and exchange of ideas, which was especially evident in loans of new words related to topics such as agriculture, dwellings or tools.[136] For many of these researchers, the contacts between Finns and Germanic people were much more interesting than the interactions with Balts. The primary reason for this was that the five researchers of this study include a German, a Swede and a Dane – but no researcher of Slavic descent – and that by studying Finns, they were also trying to bring forth new information about the past of their own nations.

The Germanic people were usually portrayed as culturally more advanced than Finns, to whom they had transmitted not only cultural terms, such as the words borrowed from the Balts, but also concepts about their higher social order, such as kingship, and technological innovations, such as metalworking. The connections between Germanic people and Finns were examined most extensively in Thomsen's dissertation *Den gotiske Sprogklasses Indflydelse på den finske* about Germanic loanwords in Finnish, where he also made assumptions about the prehistory of Germanic peoples, such as Goths, based on which words

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134 Virchow 1875b, 32–33.

135 The research focusing on Indo-Europeans or "Aryans" has been analysed thoroughly by Stefan Arvidsson, who, in his book *Aryan Idols. Indo-European Mythology as Science and Ideology* (2006), examines the different academic disciplines from the eighteenth century to the late twentieth century that have taken the people referred to by these terms as the focus of their studies. In many of these theories, groups that often also included Finns were used as an "Other" to better understand and represent more favourably the Indo-Europeans or "Aryans" who were the focus.

136 Thomsen 1890, 145–152; Retzius 1878, 20–26; Comparetti 1898, 37, 171, 263–265; Abercromby 1898, 48, 242–249, 257–260.

were adapted into Finnish.[137] Virchow and Retzius frequently compared Finnish and Germanic skulls, stressing how different they were based on the skull index. It was particularly important to Virchow to rebuff the French claims that Finns could be ancestors of Prussians, and to prove this, he tried to sever many assumed links between these two people. This could sometimes lead to new controversies, as Virchow implied in his text titled *Ueber einige Merkmale niederer Menschenrassen am Schädel* [About some characteristics of lower human races on the skull] (1875) that certain characteristics in the skulls of Australians, Melanesians, Finns and Magyars differentiated them from "the higher races".[138]

This led some anthropologists, such as the Baltic-German Ludwig Stieda (1837–1918), to criticise the low number of skulls from which Virchow derived these conclusions and to claim that these features found in "lower races" could also be found in larger proportions in German skulls.[139] Gustaf Retzius also referred to this debate and noted that in his measurements of Finnish crania, only one skull out of ninety showed the feature noted by Virchow and even then it was debatable if the skull even represented Finns, as it originated from Finnish Lapland.[140] The fact that Virchow wrote of "lower races" should not be taken as proof that he held very strong hierarchical notions concerning different races, as Virchow, and the contemporary German anthropological community more generally, was relatively moderate on this matter and, for example, held much more positive views on groups such as Africans and Australians than many British or American theorists.[141]

This debate shows how, despite the perceived objectivity of methods such as the skull index, those methods of measurement did not always come without problematic results. One reason Virchow might have desired to find new features for hierarchical categories was that the skull index itself could not bring the clear outcomes he was looking for in his arguments. The Scandinavians were usually seen as a prime example of the dolichocephalic race, but to the surprise of many anthropologists, most of the inhabitants of Germany were brachycephalic.[142] This was one of the reasons Quatrefages could claim any kinship between Finns and Prussians in the first place, but it also meant that German anthropologists could not easily attribute racial negative attributes based on the skull index alone.

The categorisation and conceptualising of any group, such as "Finns", was always a negotiation with different stereotypes and contradictory facts.[143] Taking this into account, we should not pay too much attention to their classifications solely on the basis of scientific logic. Instead, we should also examine the

[137] Thomsen 1869, 105–109. Comparable research was also done by some Finnish linguists such as August Ahlqvist, whose *De vestfinska språkens kulturord* (1871) also examines the loanwords Finnish language received from Germanic and Baltic language groups.
[138] Virchow 1875a, 50–51.
[139] Stieda 1879.
[140] Retzius 1878, 172–173.
[141] Massin 1996, 94–106.
[142] Manias 2013, 132–134.
[143] It is also worth noting that these non-Finnish researchers used the term "Finns" only to denote the ethnic group and at no point used it to refer to all the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Finland.

different ideologies that helped these researchers fill the inconvenient gaps threatening their neat theories. These ideologies, such as Orientalism, Romanticism and Nationalism, shaped their thinking in many conscious and subconscious ways, as these were inherent parts of the zeitgeist of the nineteenth century that influenced many contemporary aspects of European thought. In the next section, I examine their prominence, focusing especially on how they affected the different ways in which the researchers saw Finns and Finnish culture.

2.2 Orientalism, Romanticism and Nationalism

The disciplines born in the nineteenth century did not develop in an intellectual vacuum but as a direct result of contemporary ideological currents. The archaeological pioneers in Scandinavia and folklorists all over Europe were particularly inspired by the Romantic movement and put new emphasis on the nation, its language, culture and past in their studies. Even the triumph of comparative philology and its seemingly non-nationalistic interest in the ancient Indian language Sanskrit was incited by the language's key position in unlocking the past of the Indo-European languages and, therefore, the prehistoric past of most European peoples by linking them to "Aryan" peoples.[144]

The study of Sanskrit was part of broader Oriental studies, which was a loosely specified area of study linking different disciplines interested in the "Eastern cultures" of Asia and Northern Africa. Scholars interested in the Orient were often connected to the imperial organisations of the time, but researchers specialising in Biblical studies and ancient cultures of the Middle East, such as Egypt and Assyria, often also associated themselves under the umbrella of Oriental studies. The range of different studies meant that there could be very little uniting these researchers, but the prestige of Oriental studies at the time and its connection to the wider imperial interests of European states helped keep the scholarly field intact and prominent. Particularly important for the coherence of the field were the International Congresses of Orientalists, which, besides expert scholars, were also attended by politicians, members of royal families, administrators, business figures and missionaries.[145]

Despite the high status of Oriental studies in the late nineteenth century, it seems that the non-Finnish researchers interested in Finns were not inclined to conceptualise Finns through the lens of Orientalism, despite their presumed Asian origins. The closest the researchers got to any Orientalist notions was when they speculated about the connection between Finns and the Mongolian and Turkic peoples of Central Asia and especially their shared shamanistic traditions, but this point of view was not particularly central for any of these men. Comparetti also made some comparisons between Indian Veda poetry and the

[144] Rocher 1995, 188–191; Trautmann 1997, 131–142; Turner 2014, 96–99, 127–134.
[145] Servais 2014, 89.

Finnish "*runo*", as he called Finnish poems in his work, but he also compared Finnish poetry with the oral traditions of Scandinavia, Russia and even the ancient societies of Rome and Greece, undercutting the argument for a conscious, emphasised Oriental angle.[146] The researchers were, on the contrary, more pronounced against some Oriental views concerning Finns, as Retzius criticised previous anthropological research for associating Karelians with the Bedouin people.[147] He also did not repeat his father's view that Finns descended from the ancient Scythians.[148]

Instead of the cardinal direction of "east", to which the term "orient" refers, Finns were usually portrayed as northern people from the point of view of European cultures.[149] This was highlighted by Comparetti, who playfully referred to the people whom he visited in Finland as "excellent hyperborean people" (*buon popolo iperboreo*) and by Virchow's comments on the speculations of Scandinavian researchers about the indigenous inhabitants of their region: 'It is understandable that the main focus of attention has been on the three well-known tribes of the north, the Finns, Eskimos and Lapps […]'[150] This shows how flexibly the researchers conceptualised Finns and highlights that there was no ready-made mould for how Finns could be characterised.

One contributing factor to why Finns were not tarred with Orientalist attitudes was that there were very few readily available Oriental stereotypes about them. This stood in clear contrast to how Eastern Europe, especially Russia, had at times been portrayed by Western Europeans as the Oriental other or, at the very least, as the hinterland between civilisation and barbarism.[151] Finns also did not represent a traditional subject nation to these researchers, compared with the German attitudes towards Poles, Balts and Estonians, as even during the Swedish regime, Finns and Swedes had, to a large extent, shared equal rights.[152] In short, there was little historical basis for the "othering" of Finns to support any unequal power relationship with Finns. On the other hand, these attitudes were present in how some Russians perceived Finns, but in this context, Finns were usually "othered" by the Russians by emphasising the Western, Swedish influence on Finns, such as their Lutheran faith, in contrast to the more relatable Orthodox Karelians, who shared a long cultural history with Russians.[153] On the other hand, even the Lutheran Finns could be positively portrayed by the Russians compared with the rebellious Catholic Poles.[154]

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[146] References on Vedic poetry Comparetti 1898, 28–29, 62, 186, 281, 342.
[147] Retzius 1876a, 21.
[148] Retzius 1843, 29.
[149] For more information on European views of the "North" and Northern Europe, see Peter Stadius's studies on the topic (Stadius 2002, 2005a & 2005b).
[150] Comparetti 1891, 7; translation from Comparetti 1898, x; Virchow 1872a, 74.
[151] On Oriental perceptions of Eastern Europe see Wolff 1994 and Neumann 1999, 65–112.
[152] These rights were nevertheless limited to the male Lutheran population of ethnic Swedes and Finns, which meant that there were many ethnic and religious minorities that lacked these rights. To some extent, the equality of Finns was built on the fact that the Swedish state had many other groups it could discriminate against and define its identity in contrast with.
[153] Leskinen 2009, 60–63, 73–74.
[154] Ibid., 73–74.

Even though Finns were not studied through an Orientalist lens (in the Saidian sense), research about Finns and other Finno-Ugric people was sometimes presented as part of Oriental studies. This was particularly common for Finnish researchers, such as Otto Donner, who were active participants in the International Congress of Orientalists. In addition, the Finno-Ugrian Society, founded by leading Finnish researchers, can be seen to have used the platform of Oriental studies to make their research, which usually examined Finns, more interesting for a broader European audience. As the research of the so-called Altaic languages was also a priority for the society, many of the researchers were happy to see some connections to the Orient through the presumed relationship with the peoples of Central Asia. The emphasis on linking Finno-Ugric studies with more general Orientalist studies was most evident during Otto Donner's de facto leadership of the Finno-Ugrian Society from 1889 to his death in 1909.[155] In many of his opening addresses in the society's meetings, he encouraged Finnish researchers to extend their investigation to other Asian cultures that could have some relevance in better understanding the ancient past of the Finno-Ugric peoples and their connections with other Asian peoples.[156] There was also a clear attempt by Donner to establish Finnish researchers as active members of these networks of Oriental studies, as can be seen in how he closed one of his addresses: 'Our linguistic and literary work is thus extended to *l'extreme Orient* [emphasis mine].'[157]

Compared with Orientalist attitudes, which were not significantly present in the works of the non-Finnish researchers, their work was more in tune with the romantic notions of the time. The materially simple way of life of most Finns was not, in this light, proof of racial or cultural inferiority but a demonstration of how Finns lived in harmony with their national customs and traditions. *The Kalevala* and the oral poetry of Finns were well known and admired in Europe, particularly in circles that paid special attention to the ideals of the Romantic movement. This was especially evident in the research of Retzius, as his approach to the study of Finns included all aspects of ethnology, which, besides anthropologic measurements, manifested themselves in ethnographic descriptions of Finnish agrarian society and the folkloristic analysis of the

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155 Salminen 2008, 44–45, 94–95. The Finno-Ugrian Society was a product of Donner's initiative, but to acquire political support for the new society, Senator Clas Herman Molander (1817–1897) to become the first president of the society and to find wider support for the project Donner asked his scientific rival August Ahlqvist to become the vice-president of the society, while Donner became the secretary. Molander did not actively participate in the scientific side of the society, so the aims and priorities of the society were initially a compromise between Ahlqvist's and Donner's ambitions. Ahlqvist's death in 1889 made it possible for Donner to become the undisputed scientific authority of the society, although he was afterwards initially only a vice-president of the society from 1889 to 1893 until Molander's retirement made him the president of the society that lasted to Donner's death in 1909.

156 Donner's Orientalist focus is particularly clear in the society's journal's (Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja, SUSA, Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne in French) volumes XV to XX and XXIV.

157 'Meidänkin kielellinen ja kirjallinen työvainiomme ulottuu siten l'extreme Orient'iin saakka.' 'Esimiehen, Otto Donnerin avajaispuhe' SUSA XVI,3 (1899), pp. 29–32. It is noteworthy that a French term for "the Far East" was used in otherwise Finnish text.

Kalevala. Even in his magnum opus about Finns, *Finska kranier*, out of the 175 pages that represent his arguments, only 23 deal directly with craniology and the physical characteristics of the Finns.[158] To understand the early history and culture of Finns, Retzius was much more extensive with the analysis of the *Kalevala* and ethnographic details of the traditional Finnish way of life. His interest in Finnish folk characters and other romantic elements is best seen in his reaction to witnessing, for the first time, a real Finnish folk musician who later played some old folk songs with the traditional stringed instrument *kantele* to Swedish travellers:

> We are gripped irresistibly by this revelation. It was as if an apparition, a ghost, appeared before our eyes. It was as if a hazed figure from the past as if Väinämöinen [the main hero of the Kalevala] himself stood before us. Slowly and solemnly, he progresses, unconcerned about the noise from the surrounding crowd, who apparently could no longer grasp this remnant of past times […][159]

Retzius considered the encounter with this old man[160] as one of the high points of his travels in Finland and the picture of this seemingly ancient figure playing his instrument under a birch tree was striking enough that he used it on the title page of *Finska kranier*. He was deeply appreciative of the *kantele* that the man gave to them, as Retzius was especially interested in finding and collecting original *kantele* instruments.[161] To his dismay, most of the Finnish had discarded the *kantele* on behalf of more modern musical instruments, such as the accordion. To Retzius, this was a horrible consequence of modernity:

> Here, as everywhere, the originality is displaced by the soulless machines of modern industry: *kantele* by the persistent accordion, which in Finland, as well as in Sweden's districts, does not fail with its unbearable noise to weary the ear of the traveller seeking the remnants of authenticity.[162]

Besides his fascination with Finnish oral traditions, Retzius also had romantic notions about Finnish nature that he described with praise. The forests, lakes and other natural features of Finland seemed very pleasing to him, although even here the supposed progress of modernism was not absent. Retzius noted with some disappointment how the beauty of the rapids of Kyröskoski (Kyrofors) was somewhat disturbed by the construction of sawmills on its rocky shores that used water as the source of power.[163] He ended his portrayal of Finland's nature by connecting it with the people in a proper romantic fashion: '[…] what we have seen might be enough to grasp the magical power with which Finland has bound

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158 Retzius 1878, 153–175.
159 Ibid., 136.
160 According to Hannes Sihvo, the folk musician was Jaakko Parppei (1792–1885), who was a relatively well-off and respected member of the local community (Sihvo 1977, 164–165), contrary to Retzius's portrayal, where he is contrasted to the perceived signs of modernity among the local people by emphasising some of his characters that made him a personification of the old simpler traditions. One way this is expressed in Retzius's actions is in that he took two photographs of Parppei playing a *kantele*, one where he sits under the birch tree in nature and one where he sits indoors in a chair wearing a top hat that is missing in the other photograph (see Sihvo 1977, 162–164).
161 Ibid., 136–138.
162 Ibid., 137.
163 Ibid., 91.

the hearts of its people so firmly and faithfully that it does not want to exchange its poverty at home for the gold in other countries.'[164] Retzius also felt at home using, in his scientific work, multiple quotations from the Finnish national-romantic poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804–1877), whose poems about Finland were well known in Sweden, as they were written in Swedish. The poetic descriptions of Finnish nature and the way of life of its people were used by Retzius as objective portrayals to the extent that Runeberg could be called one of the most important sources of Finnish nature and landscape for the Swedish anthropologist.

Some impressions influenced by Romanticism can also be seen from time to time in the texts of the other non-Finnish researchers, but these are not as frequent as with Retzius. A more critical position towards Finnish oral poetry can be found in the writings of Comparetti and Abercromby, which will be analysed in more detail later. The lack of inherent romantic vocabulary can be seen as a conscious choice for other researchers or as a mark of changing stylistic ideals in scientific writing, but that did not mean that Romanticism could not come out in other ways in their actions. Abercromby travelled in Finland at least as extensively as Retzius, and the reasons for some of his travels were clearly recreational, motivated by the romantic ideals of travel in faraway places. Abercromby's many excursions in Karelia among the Finnish folk poets can be seen through this lens, but there might also be some influence of romanticism in his choice of transportation during his trip from Hanko (Hangö) to Oulu (Uleåborg) and from there to Sortavala. Travel from the southern coast of Finland to the edge of Lapland was made easier in the 1880s by the newly built railroad that Abercromby was keen to test. Disappointed by the slow train journey, he decided to travel hundreds of kilometres from Oulu to Sortavala by sleigh during the winter through the hinterlands of Eastern Finland.[165] The primary motivation for his mode of transportation was practical, but it also echoed the same ideals of experiencing untainted nature that attracted people to travel to the Swiss Alps and to other destinations that embodied the pure nature revered by the Romantics.

A certain romantic interest in Finnish oral culture and its folkloristic uses seems to have been what initially drew Abercromby to study Finns. These motivations might have influenced Comparetti, although his interest in the *Kalevala* was also part of the current academic debates in his field. This neutral scientific curiosity was not the case with Thomsen, Retzius and Virchow, who were also motivated in their research by its national significance. As we previously saw, they paid special attention to the contacts between Finns and Germanic people and often compared these two groups in their analysis. The influence of Germanic people was also part of Abercromby's and Comparetti's analysis but not to the same extent as with the two Scandinavians and the German. The focus on this matter was clear in Thomsen's *Den gotiske Sprogklasses*

[164] Ibid.
[165] KA OD, Correspondence, 8 Received letters (1850–1909), Abercromby to Donner, 17.12.(1886), SKS KIA JK, Collection of letters 350:1:4, Abercromby to Krohn, 17.12.(1886)

Indflydelse på den finske, which examines the direct influence of Germanic peoples on the Finnish language, especially in the parts where Thomsen uses these linguistic loans as historical proof of a Gothic presence in the Eastern Baltic.[166] This instrumental use of the Finnish language to support nationalistic speculation was also present in his *The Relations Between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia, and the Origin of the Russian State* (1877), in which he argued that the Finnish name for Sweden (*Ruotsi)* shared its etymological root with the ethnonym "Russ", proving the link between Scandinavians and the founders of the Russian state. He was somewhat unsure about what the original Swedish term from which the Finns derived this name may have been, but he was critical of the theories that it derived from the location of Roslagen that had been proposed by some previous researchers.[167] Any competing arguments claiming that there was no link between Sweden and the ethnonym "Russ" he dismissed in quite a clear nationalistic language:

> Several other hypotheses have been made with reference to the name Russ, especially on the side of the anti-Scandinavian party, which, of course, will not acknowledge any connection whatever between this name and the Finnish *Ruotsi*. But none of them will hold good against scientific criticism.[168]

There was a strong consensus among the five researchers that the Germanic people had had a huge influence on Finnish culture, but even the Scandinavians were not completely blinded by their nationalism, as Thomsen could also criticise one Swedish researcher for claiming that "Finland received its entire culture from Sweden."[169] It was also possible for Retzius to feel some sympathies for the Finnish settlers in Sweden who had emigrated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and had faced persecution and discrimination but who, he now believed, were bound to lose their distinct culture and language:

> What is of particular interest in this matter, however, is to see how this small Finnish tribe, which, as mentioned above, for a couple of centuries, in spite of often harsh and unjust treatment, maintained its former nationality, now, on the other hand, under mild laws and through the equalising influence of a rising culture and rapidly increasing means of transportation disappears or, rather, merges with the surrounding peoples.[170]

Nationalism was most evident in the writings of Virchow, but in those arguments, Finns only played an accessory role. Because his interest in Finns stemmed from the scientific debate between French and German anthropologists after the Franco-Prussian War, his targets were the French scientific community and the French nation as a whole. This debate, on the other hand, made Prussians and Finns, in the eyes of Virchow, fellow victims, as he criticised Quatrefages: 'First you make the Prussians into Finns and then you heap an anthology of worst qualities on the Finns, without making a single serious attempt to prove one or

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166 Thomsen 1869, 105–109.
167 Thomsen 1877, 92–97.
168 Ibid., 93.
169 Thomsen 1869, 7.
170 Retzius 1870, 147.

the other.'[171] This shared victimhood was also a significant reason why Virchow did not portray Finns in an overtly bad light, even though he tried to dissociate Germans and Finns, as describing Finns in a neutral way and emphasising their qualities that deviated from the negative portrayal of Quatrefages could only undermine the arguments made by the Frenchman.

Much of the outright nationalistic reasoning of Virchow had to do with the juxtaposition of French and German claims for nationhood, as Quatrefages's main argument was that the German state could not be built on a non-German base of Prussians. The contradictory labels of nationality were prime targets for Virchow:

> Why are the French a Latin race? perhaps due to ancestry? Doesn't every Prussian province have the same, indeed a greater right to count its population in the German race as France counts itself in the Latin races? In all our provinces, they speak German and not Prussian; in France, however, they speak French and not Latin.[172]

> Where would European politics lead if the formation of states were to take place due to long-lost tribal characteristics (*Stammeseigenthümlichkeiten*)? What would become of France if the Franks and the Burgundians, the Celts and the Basques, the Romans and the Ligurians were brought into the field? Would Switzerland be preserved for only one day? Wouldn't Britain be immediately disassembled? Herr de Quatrefages knows this quite well […]. But does the learned professor of anthropology fail to understand that German unity is no more based on ethnology than French.[173]

The influence of nationalism does not automatically mean that the research on these men was scientifically less valid, but it is important to remember that their interest in Finns was not motivated by pure and neutral curiosity. On the other hand, there was a lot of admiration from these men towards Finnish culture and many of them felt that the collected folk poetry was the highest national achievement of Finns, as proclaimed by Thomsen and Comparetti in their works:

> […] these poems are not only the most beautiful and magnificent product of the Finnish people but also a telling proof of how pure the real core, the national spirit of the Finns, has always been after so many contacts with strangers.[174]

> […] the Kalevala will remain, a national monument of patriotic import for the Finns, an attractive study for themselves and for others. We, too, far removed as we are by birth and race, feel its spell.[175]

The different ideas of Orientalism, Romanticism and Nationalism can be seen from time to time in the research of these five European researchers, but there are also many examples in their contemporary scientific community in which these ideas guided the research even more directly. For example, the Finnish scientific community, which produced much of the research on which the non-Finnish researchers based many of their arguments, represented many of these ideas in their excursions and research amidst the Finno-Ugric peoples of Russia. As the

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[171] Virchow 1872b, 304.
[172] Ibid., 318.
[173] Ibid., 301.
[174] Thomsen 1870, 127. It is interesting to note that this part was not present in Thomsen's original Danish work but only in its German translation where Thomsen most likely had an opportunity to expand his thoughts.
[175] Comparetti 1898, 73.

perceived kinship to these peoples was based on the shared origins of their languages, the ideas of romantic writers, and Herder in particular, were evident. This romanticism was heavily intertwined with nationalistic ideals, as Finnish researchers also perceived their actions to be beneficial for the people they studied and for their eventual national awakening.[176]

Nevertheless, there was an unarguable power imbalance between the Finnish researchers and the local Finno-Ugric people, which corresponds with the situation of many Orientalist scholars from European countries. Many of the people whom the Finnish studied did not see a similar kinship to the educated researchers in their Western attire, and they often perceived them as agents of the Russian regime.[177] The Finnish researchers also occasionally used in their research language and vocabulary that was not too dissimilar to how Orientalists and imperial researchers talked about their scientific subjects, for example, by conceptualising their area of research in Russia and Siberia as a Finnish "scientific conquest" (*tieteellinen voittomaa*).[178] This quite colonialist wording did not mean that the Finnish had their own colonial ambition, as they were very reliant on a good relationship with Russian colleagues and officials, and this language is best understood as a reflection of how thoroughly the colonialist frame of mind had shaped the scientific research of foreign people in the nineteenth century. During the twentieth century and especially after the independence of Finland in 1917, the research became much more linked with the nationalistic aims of a "Greater Finland", but this kind of thinking was not yet prominent during the nineteenth century when Finland was still part of the Russian Empire and its populace still had some reverence and loyalty towards the emperor. This rhetoric nevertheless shows that there was a certain top-down point of view by the Finnish researchers towards many of the other Finno-Ugric peoples of the Russian Empire that they studied.

The Finnish researchers recruited locals as their language teachers and had some close contacts that could help them witness taboo subjects, such as particular rituals. Despite the perceived kinship, the nature of this relationship was quite paternalistic, and Finnish attempts to civilise these people reflected typical colonial attitudes and practices of the time. This was shaped by the common view that the "primitive" peoples of the world would all eventually disappear and assimilate into the more "civilised" majority; in the case of Finno-Ugric people in Russia, they were expected eventually to assimilate into Russian culture. One motivator for Finnish researchers to conduct studies among these people was to document them before this and to preserve as much of their culture as possible to posteriority. The Finnish researchers saw themselves as natural inheritors and safekeepers of these peoples and there were also some ideas about establishing a central museum of Finno-Ugric cultures in Finland. However, as the material was collected in a relatively sporadic way, the idea never came to fruition, and the eventual National Museum of Finland had a much narrower

[176] Salminen 2008, 33–35, 206.
[177] Ibid., 33.
[178] Salminen 2003, 80, 142.

scope, focusing primarily on the material culture of Finland.[179] One aim of the study of these other Finno-Ugric people was to find information about the prehistoric past and culture of the Finns.

The non-Finnish researchers were influenced by the ideological currents of the nineteenth century to different extents, although the "othering" of non-European peoples by Orientalism examined in the works of Edward Said seems to have been absent in these works. Instead, the traditional agrarian society of Finland and the living oral traditions could rouse romantic feelings in the non-Finnish researchers. The influence of Romanticism would weaken as the century came to an end, and even oral traditions would more often be analysed in a relatively critical light rather than just being celebrated for their naturalness and traditional form. On the other hand, the influence of nationalism was felt throughout this time period, and research on Finns was heavily influenced by specific national interests and major international events, such as the Franco-Prussian War. This was especially evident in the works by the Germanic researchers, as the Scandinavians could link the past of their ancestors to interaction with Finns and as the "*race prussienne*" controversy brought the racial links between Germans and Finns to the forefront of scientific debate. At the same time, the Finnish researchers were also influenced by these ideas, and as the works of the Finnish scientific community were used as important sources by the non-Finnish researchers, these ideologies also had an indirect influence on their research.[180] The way the researchers conceptualised themselves through their national identities and how nationalism guided their work is examined in more detail in Chapter 5.

These ideologies had some underlying assumptions about how cultures and societies had changed compared with their past and the development of other peoples. These "isms" usually portrayed the past in a positive light, but there was also another current of thought, born in the Enlightenment, that emphasised the progress of human societies and the ways in which this process of evolution, or the lack of it, could be seen in different cultures.

2.3 Social Evolution and Degeneration

The belief in cultural progress had been common in European thought since the Enlightenment, and during the nineteenth century, it offered a useful argument for European imperialism and the continent's leading position in the world.[181] This belief was reflected in how the non-Finnish researchers conceived the changes in the culture and language of Finns and the ways in which they saw Finns in contrast to the neighbouring "European" people and the "Lapps". This

[179] Salminen 2003, 63–65, 180–184; Koivunen 2015, 110–126.
[180] For Finnish nationalism and the construction of ´the national past of Finland, see Fewster 2006.
[181] See, for example, Patrick Brantlinger's examination of race and empire in nineteenth-century Britain, Brantlinger 2011.

paradigm was more central to some of the non-Finnish researchers, whereas with others, only some glimpses faintly allude to it.

One of the most common ways to conceptualise the development of Finnish civilisation and culture was to examine from which groups Finns had adopted words for new concepts, tools and practices. The typical interpretation based on linguistic material was that the cultural evolution of Finns occurred largely due to contact with more developed groups from which Finns adopted innovations through cultural diffusion. As most of the people with whom Finns or their ancestors interacted were Indo-Europeans, who had been the special focus of linguists, the researchers of the late nineteenth century could easily come to similar conclusions about the Finnish language having layers of vocabulary stretching from its deep prehistory to the Middle Ages: original words common to all Finno-Ugric languages, loans from Proto-Indo-European language, Aryan (Indo-Iranian) languages, Baltic languages, Germanic languages and later influences, especially from Russian and Swedish during the historical era. The contacts with Baltic and Germanic peoples were particularly interesting to these researchers, as those helped to date when Finns arrived in the Baltic region and as the contact with these two peoples had created an interexchange of a lot of words related to new ways of life that could give evidence about the cultural level of Finns.

The researchers did not see a significant difference between the civilisations of the Baltic people and the Finns, as both were seen to have been in the Neolithic stage of civilisation during their presumed contact.[182] The reason both of these groups were seen as materially primitive was that the archaeological findings in the Baltic provinces had been rare, and there were even theories that the region had been uninhabited during earlier parts of the Stone Age.[183] Nevertheless, there was some consensus that Finns learned from the Baltic people's skills related to pastoralism and agriculture.[184] The Germanic people, on the other hand, represented a much more developed group from whom Finns learned words for many metals, such as "iron" (*rauta*) and "gold" (*kulta*), but the most significant were the concepts related to government and a more developed societal order, such as "king" (*kuningas*) and "collection of villages based on pledges" (*kihlakunta*). To these researchers, these typified the development of a more complex society that was, in many cases, seen as a more important event for the evolution of the civilisation of Finns than mere changes in material culture.[185]

Some of the conjectures made from these loanwords show how much of this construction of the prehistoric civilisation of Finns was just assumptions and pure guesswork. For example, Abercromby's proposal for the reason why the Finns had derived their word for "iron" (*rauta*) from the Proto-Scandinavian word for red iron ore, haematite (*rauði*), and not the refined metal (comparable

[182] Thomsen 1890, 148–152; Abercromby 1898, 48–52, 242.
[183] Abercromby 1898, 84.
[184] Thomsen 1890, 145–152; Abercromby 1898, 246.
[185] Thomsen 1869, 103–105; Thomsen 1890; 148–152; Retzius 1878, 17–18, 25–26; Abercromby 1898; 251–254.

to the Swedish word *järn*), was that the Finns had their first contact with iron as captive workers in Scandinavian haematite mines and had not come into contact with the processed metal. This claim was an extremely far-fetched idea derived from just the etymology of one word, with no other sources supporting it.[186]

Of the five researchers, Abercromby's writings represent the most coherent use of social evolution. He was highly influenced, as the folkloristic circle in England as a whole, by the ideas of British anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor, who typified the paradigm of cultural evolution that became the main theoretical model for British anthropology until the twentieth century. Tylor borrowed many ideas from eighteenth-century thinkers, who perceived the civilising process of societies as progressing through stadial systems, such as the tripartite categorisation of societies into savagery, barbarism and civilisation, the quadripartite categorisation of societies as hunting-gathering, nomadic pastoralism, agricultural and mercantile or the binary categories of primitive and civilised. Tylor's model of cultural evolution was very central to Abercromby, as can be seen in the preface to his book, in which he explained his intent to '[show] the various stages of civilisation to which they [Finns] successively advanced after contact with higher civilisations, at different periods of their evolution from neolithic times to the middle ages.'[187]

The progress of Finns towards civilisation was presented by Abercromby as a gradual process of westward migration that brought Finns into contact with more developed groups of people, such as the Baltic and Germanic peoples. In his view, through these contacts, there arose differences between Western Finns and their Eastern cousins, whose societies at some point in the past fell behind and came to represent more "primitive" ways of life so that they could be used as possible sources to examine the more original beliefs of Finns.[188] Abercromby, as was previously established, also examined Finns from the perspective of physical anthropology, but he did not make any direct comparisons between the physical characteristics of Finns and their cultural development.[189] Despite the advancement of the culture of Western Finns, there were still residual aspects in their culture that represented "survivals" from their previous, more "primitive" stages of culture. This can be seen in how Abercromby conceptualised the Finnish magic songs he studied: 'But though their dress belongs to recent times, many of the ideas they [the Finnish magic songs] embody diverge so greatly from the modern standard of physical law and of reason, that some of them may be regarded as survivals from an older stage of mental development.'[190]

The model of cultural evolution based on Tylor's ideas was not as widespread in continental Europe, but it did affect how British readers conceptualised the research done in other countries, as the introduction, written

[186] Abercromby 1898, 254.
[187] Ibid., vi.
[188] Ibid., 156–157, 166–168.
[189] This fact has also been noted previously by Anssi Halmesvirta: 'For Abercromby the cultural evolution of the Finns was largely independent of their physical (craniological) development though it supported his overall generalisation.' Halmesvirta 1990, 203.
[190] Abercromby 1892a, 310.

by British Andrew Lang (1844–1912), to the English translation of Comparetti's work on Finns shows:

> We now examine the development of society and of civilisation by comparative observation of tribes in the earliest actual stage; thus the scrutiny of tribal society leads us on from the lowest known peoples to the feudal ages, and so to the organisation of our modern times. Everywhere we find gradual adaptation, modification, evolution, survival and perhaps reaction.[191]

The ideas of cultural evolution were not as structurally present in Comparetti's *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns* as Lang makes it seem, but many of Comparetti's arguments were influenced by more general strains of cultural evolution, which made it possible for British readers to perceive this work through a methodological language more familiar to them. In contrast to the quite all-encompassing stadial theories of the British, Comparetti used the vocabulary of cultural evolution primarily for the development of oral poetry and beliefs, which were the main topics of his work. The connection between beliefs and poetry is central to Comparetti's arguments:

> "The magic song, or magic rune (*loitsuruno*), is the fundamental product, the distinctive characteristic of this poetry; it is the rune par excellence; it is imbued with the life of the people, with its religious past, with its memories, with its ideals."[192]

> The same influences which gave rise to the development of poetry and of myth caused among the Finns a considerable evolution in the religious idea, even before they adopted Christianity.[193]

The traditional Finnish poems that he called 'runes' (s. *runa*, pl. *rune* in Italian)[194] were to him not just popular entertainment but a manifestation of national character and beliefs. From this point of view, changes in Finnish oral traditions and beliefs could be seen as even more significant expressions of national development than changes in material culture. In Comparetti's view, the Finns developed their shamanistic beliefs and crude poetry through contact with more civilised European peoples, but he also noted that their form of poetry had developed into something new and original to the Finns.[195] This evolution of poetry and myths had made the Finns superior to groups related to them but still inferior to the more developed mythology of Indo-Europeans:

> If Finnic mythology be compared with that of the Greeks, of the Scandinavians, or in general with that of the Indo-European nations, it will be found that the development of the myth from the naturalistic idea was, among the Finns, very much smaller than it was in India, in Iran, as well as in Greece, Italy, and among the Scandinavians. It stopped short at a lower grade; it may be called even elementary beside its lofty, broad and complete elaboration among the peoples just named. But if a similar comparison is made with other Ugro-Finnic peoples, a superiority of development will be observable that may even be called wealth beside the poverty of the myth of these peoples, who have remained almost entirely in their primitive condition of untempered

[191] Comparetti 1898, xi-xii.
[192] Ibid., 23–24.
[193] Ibid., 265.
[194] This use was not especially uncommon as the Finnish word for poem *runo* is borrowed from the Proto-Norse word for rune and this use was already attested in Finnish scholar Henrik Gabriel Porthan's *De Poësi Fennica* (1766) where he writes about "*Runae Fennicae*".
[195]Comparetti 1898, 39.

> naturalism. The Lapps themselves, so near to the Finns linguistically, have a mythology scarcely worthy of the name, so poor is it in names and in mythic conceptions properly so called; and this although they remained shamanists longer and more entirely than the Finns. This superiority is due to the production among the Finns of a special poetry, peculiar to themselves, in the bosom of which the naturalistic idea, poetically worked out, could ripen into varied and manifold personifications and, up to a certain point, develop into myth.[196]

The evolution of Finnish beliefs from their shamanistic roots was important for Comparetti, and he often contrasted the oral poetry and myths of Finns with the primitive stage of "Lapps", who had not evolved from their crude shamanistic beliefs. Contrasting Finns and the "Lapps" was not solely a feature of Comparetti's research, as we have seen how these two peoples were viewed through the lens of physical anthropology. The culture and way of life of the "Lapps" were also commented on by the other researchers, usually in the same way as Comparetti: Finns and the "Lapps" might have a shared ancestry, but through contacts with civilised Europeans, Finns had attained a comparably developed status in their material culture and society. Many of the features of contemporary Sámi culture were seen as a window into how Finns used to live in their prehistoric past. For example, the Finnish outdoor building *kota*, which was typically used for cooking, was seen as a remnant of their original nomadic way of life that could be seen in the temporary dwellings of the "Lapps" that shared the conical shape of the Finnish *kota*.[197] Besides the African Bushmen, whom Virchow had compared to the "Lapps", other groups considered primitive, such as the "Eskimos" and Samoyeds, were also noted to have similarities with the culture of the "Lapps".[198]

The hierarchical categorisation of people and cultures into different stages did not only offer the framework to chart the development from primitivity to civilisation; the other way to look at evolution was to see it as negative degeneration, in which the qualities of people and cultures become less sophisticated with each passing generation. Degeneration was favoured by some race theorists, such as Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882), who had a significant influence on the racial thinking of the early twentieth century, but some people also adopted the social Darwinist view that individuals and societies could evolve in a way that was inferior to their previous state.[199] Researchers other than race scientists could also believe in degeneration. For instance, the famed German-born philologist Friedrich Max Müller suggested that the development of myth was born from metaphors for natural events, such as the concept of a "bright sky" that later acquired supernatural meanings and eventually developed into a belief in a sky god, such as Zeus. To Müller, this was a corruption of the previously more rational view of the world, and he famously called mythology 'a disease of language'.[200]

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[196] Ibid., 185–186.
[197] Retzius 1878, 93–95; Abercromby 1898, 198.
[198] Comparetti 1898, 42, 172.
[199] Herman 1997, 54–75; Hawkins 1997.
[200] See Carroll 1985 for a thorough historiographical look at Müller's ideas.

The five non-Finnish researchers in this study all had a predominantly positive view of cultural development, and none of them believed that Finns lived in some kind of perfect natural state as noble savages before they were influenced by other cultures. Instead, the consensus was that the path taken by Finns to adopt European cultural influences was positive, and this was reflected in the ways in which Finns were written about in contrast to the "Lapps", who were deemed not to have adapted to a more civilised way of life. Considering the past of Finns, they were usually portrayed in a hierarchical way as inferior to the European groups with which they interacted, but by adapting their civilised methods, the difference between Finns and Europeans became hard to differentiate.

Conceptualising the differences between Finns and the "Lapps" was the only place in which discussion of degeneration was present. To explain the physical differences between the Finns and the "Lapps", Virchow mentioned that the "Lapps" could be seen as a "pathological race" who had changed their features due to the unfavourable living conditions in Northern Europe. To Virchow, these changes in the "Lapps" were an interesting subject of study, as one could explore how the influence of natural selection expressed by Darwin could be seen in the human race.[201] This is especially interesting, as Virchow was famously sceptical of Darwin's ideas and was usually opposed to the German proponents of Darwinism.[202] In the end, Virchow himself admitted that this was just speculation, as he could not prove the gradual change and transition in the "Lapps". Nevertheless, he did mention his view that 'the Lapps had a better organisation in the older times'.[203]

One contributing factor to why the views of the five non-Finnish researchers on social evolution were more optimistic than those of many of their contemporaries, who favoured a pessimistic belief in degeneration, was probably their familial background in the middle classes, apart from Abercromby, who came from British nobility, which, as a social group, had been favoured by the changes in the nineteenth century, compared with the European nobility, which generally had a more pessimistic outlook on the recent social changes. These researchers also seem to have favoured liberal political views, which would correlate with a more positive outlook on the developments between past and current societies. The relative backwardness of Finland compared with their home countries might have enforced their belief in the cultural evolution of Finns, as the recent positive changes in industrialisation and other aspects of society highlighted the ability of these people to progress. Their faith in the positive evolution of societies might also have been influenced by their role in the world of science, where the progressivist perspective was dominant. The ways in which these scientific beliefs and methodologies were evident in their works are examined more closely in the next section.

[201] Virchow 1870, 74; Virchow 1872a, 83.
[202] Massin 1996, 114–120.
[203] Virchow 1875b, 37.

2.4 In Search of Objective Science

The perception of science during the nineteenth century was shaped by how new findings and innovations changed technology and the way in which people perceived the world. This sustained the positivistic faith in scientific progress and researchers generally believed that by amassing more data through research and by refining instruments and theoretical models, the last unanswered questions in any field would finally be solved. These positivistic attitudes and a thoroughly scientific approach were also clearly seen in the research examining Finns. The five researchers were established figures in their fields, and they did not deviate significantly from the contemporary paradigms. In the introduction of this doctoral thesis, I described the use of the word "science" in contemporary English, but it should yet again be stressed that this narrow view of the term "science" had not yet been adopted by these nineteenth-century researchers, who all had a firm belief that their area of study was, or at least could be, as objective and scientific as any discipline of the natural sciences.[204] The historians of science Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison have noted, based primarily on an analysis of scientific atlases, that objectivity as a scientific norm became established only during the middle of the nineteenth century but quickly became a dominant ideal among researchers. This means that the era in which the non-Finnish researchers examined here conducted their own research using sets of practices marked by this aim for objectivity.[205]

Even disciplines such as Abercromby's folklore and Comparetti's scholarly philology, which would not nowadays be typically classified as part of the sciences in English-speaking academia, were seen to have the same scientific basis and validity as other scientific approaches of the nineteenth century. One of the reasons why these varied disciplines could be seen as scientific was that they shared many assumptions about empirical research and methodological tools with the disciplines of the natural sciences. Many of the disciplines were also relatively young and had no problem associating with other related disciplines, leading to a cross-pollination of methods and ideas. The institutionalisation of scientific research that started during this century would eventually lead to many of these disciplines innovating their own approaches and growing apart from each other. This has led to the current situation in academia, where researchers go to great lengths trying to pursue cross-disciplinary research, which was innate to these nineteenth-century researchers.

The drive for empiricism can be seen particularly clearly in the anthropometric measurements done by nineteenth-century anthropologists. As many anthropologists, including Retzius and Virchow, were also physicians, the approach to examining and measuring the physical features of humans was

[204] In Comparetti's, Retzius's, Thomsen's and Virchow's cases, their native languages do not even make such a clear difference between humanist and natural "scientific" research, and they most likely conceptualised their fields as a branch of the general "science" as in most cases this distinction was even more negligible during the late nineteenth century.
[205] Daston and Galison 2007, 27.

methodologically very scientific, although there were some competing views about which parts of the human body were most important for these measurements. The cephalic index pioneered by Anders Retzius was particularly favoured, but there were some disagreements about whether the measurements should be taken from the longest and widest parts of the skull or whether some other points of the skull close to these extremes should be used instead. This led to some discrepancies between different anthropological schools and undermined the universal use of this data, as one always needed to take into account the specific methods of any given researcher, as Abercromby had to remind his readers:

> In comparing [Gustaf Retzius's] measurements with those of Russian anthropologists it must be remembered that he uses the maximum height to obtain the vertical index, whereas the Russians use the bregma height recommended by Broca; his vertical index is therefore higher than it would be if using the French method.[206]

Vague descriptions of the measurement methods used could make indexes and charts completely useless for other researchers, so accurate and thorough accounts of one's methods were highly valued. The attention to detail gave Retzius's *Finska kranier* extra value, as the descriptions of his methods were extremely detailed, and he and his companions took tens of measurements from 92 living individuals in Finland.[207] To Retzius, the research trip to Finland was also an opportunity to establish new methods for anthropological fieldwork, and the Finns functioned as a convenient case study for studying living specimens using methods of physical anthropology.[208] These measurements were detailed in a few page-long tables, but to make the interpretation of other anthropological matters possible to the reader, the work also contained nearly 30 portraits of Tavastians and Karelians, which were based on photographs taken during his travels. In addition, Retzius included detailed drawings of 30 skulls that he had excavated.[209]

The use of detailed pictures in printed research was not particularly common in the 1870s due to the high cost of taking photographs and reproducing them for printing, so going the extra mile in his research was an opportunity for Retzius to make a name for himself in the anthropological community and prove himself to be a worthy successor to his father's research. The extra attention devoted to the presentation of the book was also evident in its large physical size, as the book was printed in a folio format, as opposed to the more typical quatro or octavo formats.[210] The size of the pages made it possible for the included pictures to be even more detailed and visually striking. These kinds of detailed measurement tables and drawings of skulls can also be found in the works of

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[206] Abercromby 1898, 33–36.
[207] This was most likely a significant reason to why Retzius's work attracted a lot of attention and was so well received (Lindblad 2007, 55).
[208] Lovén, Nordenson and Retzius 1876, 6–7.
[209] Examples of these drawings can be seen in the appendices of Retzius's *Finska kranier*.
[210] In the folio format the printed page was folded only once, whereas in quatro, the page was folded twice and in octavo thrice, meaning that a folio page was twice the size compared to quatro and four times the size compared to octavo.

Virchow, but his lectures given in the meetings of the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* about Finns were usually more modest and only occasionally included any pictures.[211]

The use of photography, especially its "objective" portrayal of the world, when compared to scientific pictures done by hand, was a new development in science during the latter half of the nineteenth century and provides a good example of the so-called "mechanical objectivity" that Daston and Galison see marking the late nineteenth century.[212] However, the use of new mechanical tools and striving for objectivity did not replace the strong trust in the expertise and ability of a researcher to make confident interpretations. For instance, many areas of study at the time tried to categorise their findings by defining specific and distinct types that could be used as the basis for these categories. Rather than using statistical methods, these types were often based on the interpretations of a researcher. In the case of the non-Finnish researchers, this is most evident in how Retzius identified specific and quite detailed characteristics that allegedly typified Tavastians and Karelians.[213] He had such faith in his skill to spot these characteristics that in his work, he claimed to be able to recognise individual passers-by that characterised the racial types to which he Retzius had assigned them.[214]

92. Tavastländsk ansigtstyp.
Efter fotografi.

TABLEAU N° 2 DES MESURES
Femmes finnoises

Numéro, nom, âge, lieu de naissance.	Mesures de la tête. Circonférences. Horizontale.	Transverso-verticale.	Longueur. Sagittale.	Diamètre antéro-postérieur maximum.	Largeur. Diamètre bi-pariétal maximum.	Diamètre bi-mastoïdal.	Diamètre frontal.	Rayons. Ophryal.	Pariétal.	Coronal.	Frontal.	Glabellaire.	Fronto-nasal.	Sous-nasal.	Alvéolaire supérieur.	Alvéolaire inférieur.	Mentonnier.	Mesures de la face. Hauteur du front.	Longueur du nez.	Diat. de la racine du nez à l'épine nasale.	Diat. de la racine du nez au bord alvéolaire supérieur.	Diat. de la racine du nez à l'angle post. de la mandibule.	Diat. de la racine du nez à l'angle ant. de la mandibule.	Longueur des ouvertures des yeux.	Distance entre les ouvertures des yeux.	Diamètre bizygomatique.	Distance entre les angles de la mandibule.
1. Henrika Nyström, 23 ans, par. de Tammela	523	350	340	172	173	147	119	107	93	134	135	119	100	90	92	91	90	105	49	41	34	45	89	116	38	32	127	111
2. Maria Vilhelmina Flink, 26 ans, par. de Tammela	575	365	376	194	193	157	129	114	105	138	135	115	103	97	98	100	105	118	70	50	47	64	102	126	32	39	145	108
3. Gustafva Vennerström, 21 ans, ville d'Åbo	530	340	340	175	178	142	130	106	94	128	130	113	101	95	96	99	101	112	68	50	51	62	110	118	29	33	130	102
4. Vilhelmina Abrahamsdotter, 22 ans, par. de Kuru	575	390	385	192	188	166	130	115	109	139	154	119	106	97	86	86	89	103	57	52	48	63	110	120	25	36	140	112
5. Vilhelmina Gedda, 19 ans, par. de Lampis	545	355	345	185	174	144	130	101	111	134	141	121	117	99	103	104	105	124	60	46	42	56	105	120	26	38	133	111
6. Carolina Davidsdotter, 22 ans, par. de Akkas	570	350	345	178	174	147	123	96	89	129	129	114	97	92	95	97	99	112	51	—	41	—	101	114	—	—	131	103
7. Vilhelmina Buiter, 38 ans, par. de Urdiala	530	320	350	181	176	145	114	104	98	118	127	117	98	93	95	94	100	120	60	—	42	—	100	111	—	—	134	110
8. Ida Enoksdotter, 22 ans, par. de Urdiala	538	360	360	178	180	152	127	110	94	136	139	126	110	99	99	107	107	117	59	49	44	56	116	120	28	32	135	112
9. Vilhelmina Sederholm, 22 ans, par. de Somero	542	355	343	180	179	153	128	107	110	139	140	129	108	99	89	89	91	106	83	50	46	55	104	126	29	34	138	112
10. Vilhelmina Virkman, 21 ans, par. de Orihvesi	550	350	355	179	183	155	134	108	109	137	134	117	102	93	87	89	97	114	60	49	46	60	110	120	24	33	136	110
11. Lovisa Lindell, 24 ans, par. de Tavastkyro	560	360	355	181	181	155	131	106	110	136	137	121	102	93	92	92	100	113	60	47	43	54	104	116	30	32	137	110
12. Hilma Carolina Kanametta, 20 ans, par. de Kihkois	532	340	340	183	180	147	125	110	125	144	141	125	110	101	96	98	102	112	67	44	43	58	105	120	30	35	137	112
13. Maria Jakobsdotter, 20 ans, de Lohtek, gouvernement de Wasa	560	350	350	185	187	153	131	110	108	132	135	118	108	98	95	94	99	118	61	50	51	56	110	122	26	35	135	116
14. Hilma Aulio, 21 ans, par. de Ruovesi	575	395	375	190	182	160	130	112	107	139	142	127	109	97	93	95	102	116	69	51	50	64	113	131	30	34	137	105
15. Alexandra Tulo, 19 ans, par. de Kangasala	520	350	335	177	176	149	139	108	106	137	138	118	105	94	90	91	95	109	59	50	50	60	118	120	25	33	135	112
16. Vilhelmina Henrikadotter Vastamäki, 43 ans, par. de Birkkala	540	350	335	183	184	152	134	109	111	137	138	126	107	99	95	98	99	112	60	50	49	62	113	122	30	33	133	110
17. Maria Eriksdotter, 19 ans, par. de Virdois	539	360	333	180	183	151	123	103	108	138	136	124	108	98	98	99	104	110	63	47	47	60	103	120	30	34	137	107
18. Hilma Lindell, 22 ans, par. de Karkku	540	350	332	181	178	145	128	112	111	136	138	122	108	101	95	94	95	108	54	48	48	55	106	119	28	35	137	105

Pictures 1 & 2 Two ways to bring objectivity to research: accurate pictures based on photographs and tables marking measurements from different individuals. Pictured on the left is "Tavastian face type" and on the right is a table of measurements of Tavastian women, both by Retzius. The original table is cut for space showing now only the measurements taken from the head, the other half shows

211 Virchow *Ueber einige Merkmale niederer Menschenrassen am Schädel* (1875) is a good example of the more detailed and thorough anthropological works of Virchow.
212 Daston and Galison 2007, 115–190
213 Retzius 1878, 161–162.
214 Lovén, Nordenson and Retzius 1876, 13.

> more measurements taken from the body and details on the hair and eye colour. (Retzius 1881, 135; Retzius 1876a, Table 2.)

During the nineteenth century, there was a concerted drive for anthropologists to learn more about the different human groups of the world, and even Retzius presented his work as a significant contribution to the study of previously quite unknown European people. In contrast to the expectations of most anthropologists, the increase in data did not bring theoretical clarity but even more conflicting findings, which did not fit into the previous theoretical frameworks. Even the empiricism of measurements was challenged, as Hungarian anthropologist Aurel von Török (1842–1912) made multiple measurements of the volume of one skull and found huge variations between the different available methods.[215] These problems and uncertainties have led to a crisis inside the anthropologic community. For example, in Germany, this led to more extreme and racially charged anthropological theories after the passing of many central figures, such as Virchow, who had supported the more moderate theories and paradigms with their authority.[216]

Studying living people, instead of measuring skeletons and skulls, was not totally foreign to the physical anthropologists of the late nineteenth century, but for a long time, the main focus of their study had been the measurements of excavated skulls. Virchow's and especially Retzius's measurements of living people in Finland can be seen, to some extent, as a small break from this contemporary norm that would eventually lead to their more extensive measurement projects of living people in Sweden and Germany, such as the investigation directed by Virchow, in which the skin, hair and eye colour of 6,758,827 German school children were studied.[217] The growing ambition and scale of these measurement projects can also be seen in the call Retzius made in *The So-called North European Race of Mankind* (1909):

> […] regarding the investigations of the recent race-elements we ought to continue to collect all the testimonies which are of value for the solving of the problems, i.e., the testimonies in the graves as well as among the living peoples.
>
> As to the latter I want to repeat the proposal which I have already made here, that in every country there ought to be arranged every 25th or 30th year a thorough anthropological scientific investigation of the population, as extensive as possible — and above all on the fullgrown [sic] men —in order to investigate what changes it has undergone during the preceding period [emphasises by Retzius]. And then in every country the anthropologists also ought to choose some special fields for their investigations and there particularly investigate those portions of the nations which possess the purest racial characters.[218]

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[215] Massin 1996, 107.
[216] Ibid., 106–114.
[217] Although Virchow was not directly influenced in this survey by the measurements he did in Finland, as he had proposed the survey already in 1873, a year before his visit to Finland, both projects can be seen as indicating the turn among practitioners of physical anthropology from a limited quantity of skulls to making statistical measurements from larger swathes of the population. On Virchow's school survey and especially its implications for later racial studies in Germany, see Zimmerman 1999.
[218] Retzius 1909, 313.

These samples, in turn, would work as models for even more extensive projects measuring the racial qualities of nations linked to the racial hygiene and eugenic policies of the early twentieth century.[219] Although the measurements of Finnish people by Retzius and Virchow were linked to these later racial projects, we should be cautious about seeing many of the most negative aspects of these projects already in the measurement of Finnish individuals, as although there were certain nationalistic objectives behind their actions, the aims and motivations of Virchow's and Retzius's research did not yet exemplify the most objectionable racial views and uses of racial studies in state projects that became possible during the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, there is a certain link between their measurements of living people in Finland during the 1870s and their focus on conducting extensive studies with living people, which became increasingly common for them in later years.

The question of scientifically appropriate anthropology was important for Virchow in the *race prussienne* debate. Besides arguing against the Quatrefages's descriptions of Finns, Virchow also attacked the methodology and scientific manner of the Frenchman. His overall argument was that the French were guilty of mixing politics with scientific matters, but he also attacked Quatrefages's methods in more detail. In Virchow's own words, 'My main attack on Mr de Quatrefages's method was that I accused him of having provided no actual evidence to support his allegations or having done any investigation.'[220] Virchow confessed that he did not have enough material to make any certain claims about Finns himself but emphasised that at least he 'turned to Helsingfors and Dorpat [modern Tartu in Estonia] for more precise information.'[221] At the same time, the sources that Quatrefages used were deemed by Virchow to be inaccurate, and he chastised the Frenchman for referring so much to secondary and tertiary sources on "fundamental elements" (*éléments fondamentaux*).[222] On top of all this, Virchow placed the burden of proof on Quatrefages to demonstrate any connection between "the Quaternary races" (*die quaternären Racen*) and modern people such as Finns, claiming that the manner in which Quatrefages approached the issue was not 'a scientific method'.[223] It would be dishonest to claim that Virchow criticised Quatrefages and the broader French anthropological community only on a scientific basis, as the nationalistic and political issues in the background influenced Virchow as much as they did the French. The weak methodology and lack of empirical research, on the other hand, made it possible and to some extent easy to poke holes in Quatrefages's claims, and the anthropological communities in other European countries generally sided with Virchow in this debate.[224]

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[219] For more information on the development of European racial sciences, see McMahon 2007, especially Chapter 3 (pp. 187–351).
[220] Virchow 1872b, 306.
[221] Ibid., 314.
[222] Ibid., 311.
[223] Ibid., 308–309. By linking Finns, and therefore also Prussians, to "the Quaternary races", Quatrefages had associated them with the negative attributes in which the Europeans viewed these prehistoric peoples. These views would later develop into the stereotype of a primitive stone-age caveman.
[224] Kilpeläinen 1985, 178–180; Manias 2009, 752–753.

Nevertheless, Virchow himself was not without his own controversies concerning methodology and the study of Finns. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, some German anthropologists, especially the professor of anatomy at the University of Dorpat, Ludwig Stieda, criticised Virchow's claim that many of the Finnish skulls had features that were characteristic of lesser races. The most significant problem that Stieda found in Virchow's research was the low number of skulls he had used to make these wide-ranging claims:

> I cannot ascribe the slightest value to Virchow's calculation and therefore to the conclusion drawn from it, simply for the reason that the numbers drawn are far too low. It is an indisputable principle to use the largest possible numbers in all statistical calculations in order to arrive at the most reliable conclusions possible. Only under the observation of the law of large numbers are the sources of error excluded, which randomness causes when using smaller numbers.
>
> From the investigation of the small amount of material from 16 Finns and 10 Magyar skulls, Virchow draws the conclusion that Finns and Magyars are lower than Germans and Slavs![225]

Stieda followed this by examining the German skulls available to him and concluded that they had the same features as the Finnish or Magyar skulls in even higher numbers.

Virchow responded to Stieda's criticism of his methodology by pointing out that it was often necessary to interpret limited numbers of objects to make progress in new areas of science. He compared his position to that of Blumenbach, who was one of the founders of physical anthropology in the eighteenth century and noted that even though Blumenbach made many of his interpretations based on examinations of only a few skulls, the foundation of craniology would otherwise have been laid much later to the hindrance of general interest in ethnology.[226] Virchow also noted how hard it was to get representative numbers of skulls from most groups, especially from past eras, so waiting for comprehensive materials was an unfeasible ideal:

> But can one demand that ethnologists should now abandon all those investigations for which they cannot rely on comprehensive material? This would close off almost the largest part of its present field to prehistoric ethnology. And how small would the number of ethnic groups become for whom there is even an approximately large amount of material to draw permissible conclusions! We should therefore, it seems to me, not ask for more than can be achieved. Neither prehistoric nor ethnological research can wait until comprehensive materials have been collected for each tribe.[227]
>
> Mr Stieda must know that it is impossible, even with the greatest exertion of all strengths, for every tribe or even for every nationality, to bring together 1000 skulls and that it is an entirely inadmissible requirement to transform the research in the field of ethnology into a pure mass investigation. At what time should it be possible to collect 1000 Australian skulls? Or who could believe that 1000 Tasmanian skulls would ever be brought together?[228]

[225] Stieda 1879, 119.
[226] Virchow 1880, 4.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Ibid., 9.

This methodological debate shows the underlying contradiction in the field of physical anthropology between amassing measurements for scientific accuracy and only being able to construct functional theoretical assumptions if the number of skulls measured remains quite limited.

As there had been only a few archaeological excavations in Finland in the nineteenth century, and the historical records mentioning Finns only dated back to the twelfth century, traditional Finnish oral poetry, especially the *Kalevala,* was used instead as a window into the clouded past of the Finns. The epic was also relatively known in Europe and had shaped perceptions of Finns. Of the researchers examined here, Retzius felt a strong romantic enthusiasm for the *Kalevala*. Besides its aesthetic qualities, the *Kalevala* was also valuable to Retzius as a historical source of the traditional Finnish way of life. He referred to the epic in his ethnographic descriptions of contemporary agricultural Finnish society by pointing out commonalities between poetic descriptions and what he observed in Finland. To Retzius, the stories of hunting portrayed in the *Kalevala* were descriptions of the authentic Finnish hunting customs, and during his expedition in Finland, he remarked on many features of the Finnish countryside, such as the equipment and tools made from birch bark, the traditional boats and typical buildings that were familiar to him from the epic.[229]

He set the events described in the *Kalevala* to Lake Ladoga based on frequent boat-faring and descriptions of the environment, which reminded him of the conditions of that area.[230] It seems that Retzius thought that some locations in the epic, such as "Pohjola" and "Kalevala", had a historical basis and referred to real locations, although he mentioned these places had also obtained some mythical elements.[231] He also saw anthropological value in the *Kalevala* and was keen to use it for his race theories. Using the descriptions and attributes of the main characters of the *Kalevala*, Retzius came to the conclusion that Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen and especially the cheery Lemminkäinen represented the racial type of the Karelians, whereas the blond and gloomy Kullervo was more representative of the Tavastian type.[232] The mythical and poetic origins of these attributes seemed secondary to Retzius, who perceived the poems as objective descriptions of these characters and their racial features. Even some contradictory descriptions of the colour of Ilmarinen's hair changing between "golden locks" and dark hair could be explained by the "forgetfulness of the singer", instead of any flaws in his own literal interpretation of this poetic source.[233]

Taking the poetic text as an objective source for racial characteristics, instead of acknowledging the other possible reasons why certain attributes were associated with certain characters, blatantly shows how some researchers could see parts of the epic as a relatively accurate source for historical interpretations. Nevertheless, Retzius did not differ from many of the Finnish researchers who also used the *Kalevala* as a historical source in a similar manner. The historical

[229] Retzius 1878, 85–88, see frequent mentions of the *Kalevala* in 97–107.
[230] Ibid., 34–37.
[231] Ibid., 35.
[232] Ibid., 38–39.
[233] Ibid., 38.

value of the epic was especially important to the Finnish researchers, as there were no old annals or chronicles about the past of Finns before the Swedish reign, so the mythical role of the *Kalevala*'s poems was sometimes sidelined in favour of parts that could be interpreted as being about the prehistoric past of Finns. Abercromby and Comparetti had a more critical view of Finnish poems, and they mainly focused on their mythological value. The *Kalevala* served as the main source for Comparetti and the Finnish magic songs for Abercromby. Comparetti went as far as to portray the epic as an ahistorical work that did not contain any mention of real historical events, places or people. To Comparetti, the *Kalevala* lies outside of history and '[h]e who seeks a historical kernel in the *Kalevala*, will find the nut empty: the epos of the Finns is not, like that of other peoples, a product of the historical sentiment'.[234]

One reason why Comparetti was so vehemently against the idea of the *Kalevala* as a historical epic was that some researchers, such as Wilhelm Johann Albert von Tettau (1804–1894), saw it as being on par with epics, such as *Iliad* and *Nibelungenlied,* and thought that it could shine light on the so-called "Homeric question" concerning how epics were formed from previously scattered oral sources. This led Comparetti to examine the Finnish epic in relation to the poetic traditions of other nations and to conclude that the *Kalevala* did not fit into this epic tradition and failed to provide useful information for understanding the process of how the other epics were born:

> […] after having studied the songs in their essence we pass on to consider who Lonnrot is, and to study his poem at close quarters, we not only see that all this is a hallucination, but we come to see the vanity of the theory that would explain in this way the origins of the great national epic cycles.
>
> Those who have thought that ancient epics of this kind are a mechanical agglutination of songs originally produced by an anonymous collective poetry, fall into an error which we may define as an anachronism.[235]

He also critically analysed the role of Lönnrot in constructing the epic and, unusually for non-Finnish researchers, used the original collected oral materials as his source and therefore did not just depend on the final published work, unlike many other previous researchers. Comparetti also was not afraid to criticise the Finnish scholars who helped him in his research and his work is in many ways independent of the contemporary Finnish views about the *Kalevala*.

The critical scientific approach was also evident in how Abercromby approached Finnish magic songs. He portrayed his translations of the poems as made for folklorists, so they would be 'as literal as possible'.[236] In the same vein as Comparetti, Abercromby was critical of Lönnrot's role as a collector, as the poems were not presented in their original form but were constructed from different variants.[237] In Abercromby's eyes, '[t]his doubtless diminishes the value of Lonnrot's edition.' [238] To Thomsen, the *Kalevala*, or Finnish poetry more

[234] Comparetti 1898, 61.
[235] Ibid., 338.
[236] Abercromby 1898, vi.
[237] Abercromby 1898, vol 2, 1–2.
[238] Ibid., 2.

generally, was not an important source, and its value in his research was limited to how it could help date late Russian influences in the Finnish language.[239]

The attitudes towards the *Kalevala* thus varied from the naivety of Retzius to the textually critical approach of Comparetti. The epic and Finnish poetic traditions were important sources for the researchers, but the approaches differed based on whether the poems were used only as a source for interpretation or whether the researchers also practised source criticism. Retzius's uncritical use of the *Kalevala* was in line with his romantic reaction to Finnish nature and poetry, which presented a significant contrast to the more analytical practices of Abercromby's and Comparetti's use of poetic sources.

What united all these scientific approaches, from craniological measurements to linguistic loans and from epic analysis to ethnographic descriptions, was the use of comparative methods.[240] The use of comparison was particularly central for philologists,[241] who by comparing words in different languages, had, during the past century, been able to map out the genealogies of many languages, especially in the Indo-European language group. They also found some general shifts in how the pronunciation of certain sounds changed, which allowed for the formulation of "laws" in the same way as in the natural sciences. Thomsen followed in the footsteps of previous philologists, such as his countryman Rasmus Rask, who had formalised an early version of Grimm's law[242] and had also done some research on the Finnish language.[243] Using comparative methods of philology, Thomsen could trace the Germanic and Baltic roots of many Finnish words to the extent that many of his propositions for etymological roots are still accepted today.

The comparison of measurement data was also the basis for all the craniological theories, as the aim was eventually to chart all peoples anthropologically. The need for systematic tools and methods to ensure the reproducibility of previous measurements was important, but as we have seen, the disagreements in the field and the inaccuracies arising from varied methods led to problems. In contrast to physical anthropology, where the use of comparison was used as a method without wider theoretical assumptions, in British anthropology, and British folklore influenced by its associated field, the use of comparative methods was central in the theoretical framework devised by

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[239] Thomsen 1870, 126–127.
[240] For a good overview of the common comparative nature in different scientific fields of humanities and social sciences during the nineteenth century, see Griffiths 2017.
[241] The philologists of the nineteenth century often called themselves as comparative philologists to separate themselves from the other philological traditions, such as textual philology, that would be closer to the research tradition represented by Comparetti.
[242] Grimm's law describes changes in some Proto-Indo-European consonants that developed into Proto-Germanic. The finding of these regular shifts in pronunciation helped to study relationships between different related languages and shaped much of the linguistic research of the nineteenth century.
[243] Thomsen's approach was also, in many ways, in line with his contemporary German neogrammarians who further developed the sound laws of previous linguists and focused on the historical change of languages. His doctoral thesis was also translated by German philologist Eduard Sievers (1850–1932), who was one of the leading neogrammarians. For a general overview of the neogrammarians, see Jankowsky 1972.

Edward Burnett Tylor. He argued that every culture progressed through the same stages of civilisation, with specific cultural features associated with each stage.[244] By the logic of this theory, anthropologists or folklorists could, by studying specific traditions of any primitive or civilised group, discover cultural features that would be universal and comparable with other human societies of the same evolutionary stage. This was one of the reasons why British folklorists, including Abercromby, could be motivated to study Finnish culture, as the collections of oral traditions of Finns could be used to understand the comparable traditions of other cultures. Abercromby's use of comparative methods to categorise these poems and to place them in Tylor's universalist framework is evident in the following excerpt:

> When arranged in systematic order, they [the Finnish origins] form a series, progressing from those that consist of one central thought, of one single germ, to others that exhibit various degrees or modes of development by means of an accompanying narrative. And in order to show the universality of these threads of thought or categories, as we may now call them, they have been illustrated, whenever I could do so, by examples drawn from the origin-stories and myths of other peoples in different parts of the world.[245]

Besides applying comparisons to determine the place of Finns in Tylor's unilinear cultural evolution, Abercromby also used comparative methods to establish how cultural exchange changed the culture of Finns. The consequences of cross-cultural interaction were evident to Abercromby in the foreign influences on the Finnish language, material culture and beliefs. By comparing these to the corresponding features in their neighbouring cultures, he could make assertions about how these groups positively influenced the civilisation progress of Finns, as shown in the previous section.

The way in which Comparetti compared Finnish poetry in the *Kalevala* to other epics also has an underlying assumption that there was a universal form of epic that could be analysed. In his research, Comparetti compared Finnish oral traditions with many European and Indian traditions and concluded that the *Kalevala* did not reach the qualities of a proper epic and that it instead represented a body of poems produced from a poetic tradition that had not yet reached the stage where an epic could be organically produced. Comparetti argued for this outcome by comparing the Finnish oral tradition to corresponding ancient and foreign traditions:

> The Kalevala is not the Big-Veda, the laulajat are not the rishis.[246]
>
> [The Finnish word for nature *'Luonto'*] does not contain the idea of being born, as do *φύση,* Lat. *natura*, Russ. *priroda*; rather it approaches the idea of efficacious action expressed by the German *schopfen, schaffen*, Slav, *tvoriti* […][247]
>
> This is a stage which primitive poetry reaches also among other peoples. Of the same nature are the origins of the gods, of men, of things, which formed in early Greek

[244] On Tylor's influence on British anthropology, see Burrow 1966, 234–259 and Stocking 1987, 158–164, 190–197, 299–302, and on folklore, see Dorson 1968, 187–201.
[245] Abercromby 1892a, 310.
[246] Comparetti 1898, 62.
[247] Ibid., 220

> poetry the subject of the hymns of Apollo: the wisdom and science of that time, as this of the *tietäjät* appeared and still appears to the Finns.[248]

The basis for Comparetti's comparisons was, of course, not free from his values, as the Indo-European cultures represented for him the high point of literature, while the products of other cultures could only reach a level comparable to the early forms of Indo-European culture.

Despite the different reasons and motivations for their research, each of these researchers interested in Finns had a serious scientific approach, albeit one influenced by their biases and subjectivities. The study of Finns was not an anomaly, but part of the wider empirical and theoretical debates of the time and the published research examined in this chapter shows how the wider contemporary limitations and expectations influenced how these researchers approached their work. These men interacted with many different people in Finland, but despite the fact that they usually depicted the "typical" Finns or the Finnish culture represented by the agrarian population of the country, their most important contacts and assistants were their educated Finnish colleagues rather than the individuals who more closely typified their object of research. To some extent, these common people were othered by the non-Finnish researchers, and their simple traditions could be criticised when they interfered with research and the expectations of modern society. For example, Retzius criticised Finns for grave robbery and the use of human remains for different superstitious magical rituals, whereas his own excavations in Finnish graveyards for anthropological research were valid and unproblematic.[249] The practical aspects of the non-Finnish researchers' scientific work in Finland and their interactions with Finnish individuals of different backgrounds will be analysed more thoroughly in the following chapters.

2.5 Conclusions

The ways in which Finns could be scientifically perceived became much more diverse and empirically based during the latter half of the nineteenth century, compared with the scarce mentions of the previous decades and centuries. The developments in different disciplines offered more tools to study different peoples and their cultures, and the growth in scientific institutions and the professionalisation of scientific research increased the number of researchers. The first studies of Thomsen and Retzius on Finns can be seen as attempts by young researchers to establish themselves as reputable experts to attain salaried academic positions, whereas Virchow and Comparetti worked on their studies only after they had established themselves comfortably and could have the freedom to veer into these kinds of topics outside their main areas of expertise. Of these five men, Abercromby was the only one without an academic career and,

[248] Ibid., 228
[249] Retzius 1878, 127–128.

as a financially independent gentleman scholar, could devote his free time to scientific studies. As Abercromby's example shows, an academic position did not have to be an end goal for an interested researcher, and as it also entailed many responsibilities, relinquishing one's academic chair was not uncommon. Indeed, Retzius and Comparetti both chose this option later in their careers by continuing their work as independent researchers outside academia.

There had also been a change in the activity and agency of Finnish researchers, as after the example set by figures of the first half of the nineteenth century, such as Anders Johan Sjögren and Matthias Alexander Castrén, a new generation of researchers had become active in studying the language, culture and past of Finns. They were also active in publishing their works in widely understood European languages, mainly German and French, and actively networked with their international colleagues, for example, in scientific congresses. This activity will be examined more thoroughly in the following chapters, but it is worth pointing out here that the availability of recent research and of cooperative local colleagues made research into Finns much easier for the non-Finnish scholars in the latter half of the nineteenth century than it had been only a few decades before.

The influence of Finnish research is one of the reasons why Finns were portrayed more favourably in the work of these five non-Finnish researchers than had been the case in earlier studies. Despite the perceived eastern origins of Finns, there was not a clear aim to depict them as an oriental "Other". Rather, Finns were typically portrayed as industrious and adaptable people who, through the influence of more civilised Europeans, had advanced to their current status, although the researchers also noted many traces from the less developed past in contemporary Finnish culture.

In addition to the research done by Finnish researchers, the non-Finnish researchers were also aware of the research done by the other non-Finnish researchers. Almost all of them referred to the works published previously by the other men, and even the research of physical anthropology by Retzius and Virchow was used by Comparetti to establish the context for his own culturally oriented analysis. Abercromby's research could be called the most unoriginal, as he used so many secondary sources, and the works of the other four men, among others, were heavily cited by him. It is also likely that some of the men might have met at the scientific congresses that they frequently attended and at least some of them corresponded with each other and met occasionally, which will be examined more thoroughly in a later chapter. The familiarity and closeness of these men, of course, varied, and sometimes, they favoured the research of Finnish researchers instead of the writings of their "fellow" outsiders, as in when Retzius mainly referred in linguistic matters to Finnish linguist August Ahlqvist (1826–1889) rather than to Thomsen's more recent research. Overall, this awareness of each other and the common Finnish sources made their research uniform in many matters, despite the different points of view of their disciplines.

The stimuli for these studies differed among the researchers. For Retzius and Virchow, the debate started by Quatrefages was a direct motivation for their

trips to Finland and their published texts. Comparetti was incentivised by the Homeric question and the place of the *Kalevala* in this debate, but it is impossible to say if this was the main motivation or if he was also interested in the *Kalevala* for different reasons that he just does not mention in his work. For Abercromby and Thomsen, the initial motivator for their research seems to have been a curiosity about the Finnish language, which was fuelled by the helpful attitude of Finnish literati, who helped them learn the language and assisted them in their studies, as will be seen in more depth in the following chapters.

Despite the differences among these five men, none of them represented a radically new point of view, and their research concerning Finns was very much in line with the scientific paradigms of the time. Virchow had already established himself as one of the foremost German anthropologists, and as Gustaf Retzius followed many of his father's ideas, Virchow and Retzius can be said to have been two of the most representative members of the discipline of physical anthropology of their time. Nevertheless, they were not just static and passive practitioners, but through their work, they challenged some of the prevailing assumptions and ways of doing research. Retzius's fieldwork in Finland and measurements of living subjects were, to some extent, innovations in the field of physical anthropology, which had traditionally been conducted in institutions with extensive collections of dead specimens. The way in which Retzius and Virchow studied Finnish people in the 1870s can in some ways be seen as paving the way towards their later, more extensive studies of the populations of their own countries. However, we should not read back all the racial views and motivations that led to these studies and the projects focusing on eugenics and racial hygiene in Sweden and Germany during the early twentieth century.

Thomsen's work was also indebted to the ideas of previous researchers in the field of linguistics, but his approach towards the Finnish language was as much representative of the new theoretical developments that researchers, such as neogrammarians from Germany, had contributed to this area of study. In addition to his studies, he indirectly contributed to this field by assisting and mentoring younger Finnish researchers on these new theoretical approaches.[250]

The study of Finnish oral culture, which was the focus of Abercromby's and Comparetti's works, had its roots in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the epic *Kalevala* was produced and translated into Swedish, German and French. Eminent figures of the time, such as Jacob Grimm, also contributed to the scientific discussion about this epic, and it was a relevant object of study for many researchers outside Finland. The different contexts in which the *Kalevala* was discussed also have roots in this period. Comparetti is representative of the researchers who were interested in the *Kalevala* as a literary epic and examined it alongside the Nibelungenlied and Homeric epics, which motivated him to tackle the *Kalevala*'s role in the Homeric question. The British folklorists were much

[250] See Korhonen 1986, 177–180 for Thomsen's influence on the Finnish linguists. Out of the younger cadre of Finnish linguists influenced by Thomsen, E. N. Setälä and J. J. Mikkola were the most important, and as both achieved professorships in their disciplines, Setälä in Finnish language and Mikkola in Slavic languages, Thomsen's research indirectly shaped the education of Finnish linguists for decades.

indebted to the work of German scholars, such as the brothers Grimm, but they were also influenced by British anthropologist E. B. Tylor's cultural evolutionism, which offered much of the theoretical framework for Abercromby's studies. Abercromby's work is also a good example of an attempt by British folklorists to bring forth material from previously unfamiliar cultures and sources, such as Finnish magic poems, rather than focusing on the better-known *Kalevala*.

Each of the five men also interacted with Finnish researchers and sources, so their research is, in many ways, much in line with the views of the Finnish scientific community, although the non-Finnish researchers did not hesitate to criticise the views of Finnish scholars, and their works are more representative of their national and disciplinary characteristics than of any Finnish influence. When comparing their output with the other research done about Finns at the time, the non-Finnish researchers were empirically very thorough and collected a lot of new material. Common to all these men, and their disciplines, is the importance historical developments had on their subject matter. None of them was primarily interested in the contemporary Finns as they lived in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Rather, their focus lies primarily on the historical past of these people and on what it could reveal biologically, linguistically and culturally about the prehistoric past.

As many of these researchers were representative of the different paradigms of their fields, their research could also be seen as representing the last stages of the prevailing paradigms. Physical anthropology, as represented by Retzius and Virchow, became more radically racial in the twentieth century, and as the underlying theoretical assumptions of British folklore came under harsh criticism only a couple of decades after the publication of Abercromby's work, the ways in which these disciplines would be practised in the twentieth century became very different from studies done during the late nineteenth century. In a way, the exhaustive measurements, and the aspiration to collect as much data as possible, became the downfall of these disciplines, as the more information was accumulated, the more evident it became that the central theoretical assumptions of physical anthropology and British folklore did not match the empirical findings. On the other hand, the changes in Thomsen's and Comparetti's disciplines were not as extreme, and their research contributed more to the debates of the twentieth century.

The published studies of these non-Finnish researchers were the result of work that, in each case, occupied years of their scientific lives. To fully understand how this research came to be, we need to investigate what took place before and after they had finished their publications. Most of the material related to this process has been lost, but the correspondence that they had with their Finnish colleagues can reveal many aspects that are not evident in more public sources. The ways in which the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers used correspondence and its conventions to communicate are examined next, in Chapter 3, whereas their interactions more generally will be analysed in Chapter 4.

3 MEN OF LETTERS AND CONVENTIONS

This chapter examines, in detail, the multifaceted nature of the correspondence between Finnish and non-Finnish researchers by focusing on examining letters more as a genre and as physical objects rather than analysing their contents, which will be explored more closely in the coming chapters. The conventions, formulas and other characteristics guiding letter writing have been studied by many historians, but this chapter also owes a lot to the approaches used in the field of historical sociolinguistics. By examining how the researchers used their letters as a mode of writing and communication, this chapter shows how these letters reflected not just their personalities and habits as letter writers but also the social hierarchies and conventions of the European scientific community of the late nineteenth century.

The first section gives a brief overview of letter writing up to the late nineteenth century by putting forward some social circumstances and ideologies that shaped how correspondence was used in Europe during the late modern period. The different ways and circumstances that shaped how the researchers initiated their correspondence are addressed in the second section. The third section examines how the researchers started and closed their letters using specific conventional formulas and what these conventions reveal about their social relations, such as how the researchers tried to position themselves vis-à-vis the recipients of their letters and what kinds of relationships they formed. These themes are further analysed in the fourth section, which investigates the less formulaic contents of the letters and the ways in which these reflected conventions of letter writing and social etiquette among the educated classes. The variety of languages the researchers chose to use in their letters is examined in the fifth section, which also delves into what choices influenced how the text of the letter was expressed. The sixth section analyses the general contents of the letters and the conventions and circumstances that influenced the balance and proportion of conventional expressions, the social contents and the scientific topics in these letters.

Chapter 4 will then pay more attention to the contents and social uses of these letters, whereas the present chapter focuses more on the genre and textual

side of the letters. As the nineteenth century marked a certain change in the nature of correspondence from a primarily elite practice to a much more widespread form of communication, many of the ways in which the researchers used letters might seem obvious or unsurprising to us. Nevertheless, bearing in mind that at the time some letters were still written following the conventions of the previous centuries and that letters were also written by the newly literate lower classes, with varying degrees of experience, examining the correspondence of the late nineteenth-century researchers in detail contributes to a general understanding of how letters were written at the time. As there was no one norm for writing, it is valuable to examine the ways in which researchers used this medium to suit their social and scientific purposes.

3.1 The World of Correspondence in Europe Before the Nineteenth Century

Writing letters had been an important form of communication in Europe for centuries, but the establishment of national postal services and the developments in transportation during the nineteenth century meant that sending mail, even abroad, became faster, more reliable and relatively affordable.[251] The effects of these changes in communications and travel are further analysed in the coming chapters, but it should be noted that these material changes also influenced the manner in which letters were written, compared with the conditions of the eighteenth century, when people often had to rely on the honesty of strangers or pay high prices for official courier services to transport their mail.[252] Compared with the eighteenth century and its Enlightenment mores, the expected form and rhetoric in letters had changed towards a more spontaneous and natural way of expression favoured by nineteenth-century Romanticism. [253] This chapter therefore focuses on examining how the correspondence between non-Finnish and Finnish researchers can showcase the different conventions that shaped how the letters could be appropriately used during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[254]

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[251] For an overview of the development of scientific correspondence, especially in Europe, see Ogilvie 2016.

[252] See Brockliss 2002, 96–104 also for a more general look at the conditions of letter writing in France during this era. People were keen to circumvent these problems and often sent letters through travelling friends or relatives or tried to abuse the systems in place, as in how members of British parliament had the privilege of free postal services from the mid-seventeenth century to 1840, but the privilege was widely abused as the MPs sent letters by their relatives and constituents or sold this service to businesses. The privilege ended when the affordable Penny Post was introduced.

[253] Ruberg 2011, 24–26. The "natural" way of letter writing, as also Romanticism as a whole, had its roots in the late eighteenth century but was canonised into more general practice only in the nineteenth century. For some general information on nineteenth-century letter writing, see Baasner 1999, 1–36 and Gay 1996, 310–329.

[254] The ways in which letters were used varied at different times and by different peoples, so all of the research examining correspondence and epistolary culture cannot be applied to late nineteenth-century researchers. These different studies have nevertheless given good

Different letter-writing manuals were common in the nineteenth century, but epistolary skills were also taught to the children of middle- and upper-class families as part of their basic education.[255] The social networks important for these classes were maintained primarily through letters, especially if the contacts were outside the immediate sphere of their daily interactions. Letter writing was also strongly influenced by gender, as the letters sent by men and women followed different conventions to some extent.[256] There was also a lot of variation depending on the purpose and situation in which the letters were sent. Even letters exchanged by the same correspondents could differ depending on whether the letter was a private one addressed to the person or an official letter addressed to the position held by the person, for example, as secretary of a learned society.

There were also many limitations and expectations related to establishing correspondence between strangers, which were even more prominent if these people lived in different countries, as this made it even harder to initiate contact and start correspondence. One way to establish this relationship was to meet in person before continuing the relationship through mail. In previous centuries, the tradition of young members of the upper class, particularly from Great Britain, going on a "Grand Tour" across Europe to the Mediterranean to marvel at the sights of Antiquity and the Renaissance had, besides its educational purposes, an element of networking with renowned individuals along the route.[257] Meeting a person face-to-face made it possible to assess their personality and reliability better than if the only interactions were through text. It also made it easier to use the rhetoric of friendship in subsequent correspondence, as a relationship based only on correspondence might stay more distant, although many people formed close relationships based on correspondence without ever meeting each other in person. The circumstances that led the five non-Finnish researchers of the late nineteenth century to start correspondence with their Finnish colleagues are examined in the next section.

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ideas that have helped me notice relevant aspects of letters as a medium and a cultural object. For further reading, see Barton and Hall (eds.) 2000; Brownlees, Del Lungo and Denton (eds.) 2010; Dossena and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (eds.) 2008; Dossena and Del Lungo Camiciotti (eds.) 2012; Matthews-Schlinzig and Socha (eds.) 2018; Nevalainen and Tanskanen (eds.) 2007.

[255] Whyman 2009, 19–45; Frances Austin notes that formulaic opening formulas were starting to be seen in the nineteenth century as a mark of an uneducated writer and that especially 'men of letters did not generally use formulas themselves', Austin 2004. For more information on letter-writing manuals of the nineteenth century, see Fens-de Zeeuw 2008; Romani 2013, 34–56; Martyn 2007, 25–27; Mahoney 2003. Letter writing was an especially important form of communication for historical elite groups in Europe, so parents went to great lengths to ensure that their offspring would learn appropriate conventions and sociability that marked their position as members of the social elites (Hasselberg, Müller and Stenlås 2002, 24).

[256] Goodman 2009, 133–157; Whyman 2009, 132–156.

[257] For some general information about the Grand Tour, see Black 1992, Chaney 1998 and Sweet 2012. People also, of course, travelled during previous periods of history, although this was not as a widespread cultural tradition as the Grand Tour would later become. Travelling scholars, for instance, would follow many of the same network-building strategies during the early modern period that would become more common in the coming-of-age ritual of young eighteenth-century noblemen, see Mauelshagen 2003, 10–14.

3.2 Starting Correspondence

Each of the five non-Finnish researchers travelled at least once to Finland, and besides conducting their research, they reinforced and made new social contacts with Finnish researchers during their visits to the country.[258] Forming social contacts first in person usually created good conditions for a relationship that could later be continued in correspondence. This was the way Vilhelm Thomsen started his relationship with many of his Finnish correspondents when he first came to Finland in 1867 and was warmly received by many relevant Finnish academics. Many of them had Fennoman[259] leanings and were very supportive of Thomsen's study of the Finnish language for their political interests to prove that the language was worthy of use in scientific literature and that it was possible to learn for people who did not speak it natively, a contentious point used by many members of the Swedish-speaking minority of Finland who opposed the demand that they should learn the language of the majority. Thomsen had been in contact with some Finnish individuals before he came to Finland, but his correspondence with Finnish researchers caught on after he had met them personally.[260]

A safe and effective way to start a relationship between two strangers was to establish a connection through a common friend who would write a letter of introduction, which made it easier to make a good first impression and establish oneself among trusted social networks. This was the manner in which Abercromby became acquainted with Finnish researchers when he first came to Finland in 1884. The previous year, Otto Donner had attended the tercentenary of the University of Edinburgh, where he had met the principal of the university, Alexander Grant (1826–1884), who had written a letter of introduction for Abercromby, pointing out his philological interests and the fact that he was a brother-in-law of the earl of Glasgow. To reassure him of his own connection to Donner, Grant also referred to their meeting and thanked Donner for his monograph about Scottish families in Finland and Sweden.[261]

Through this recommendation and introduction, the social link between Donner and Grant was strengthened, but, most importantly to Abercromby, he was now established as a reputable member of this scientific network and did not even need to allude to his other qualities as a relatively well-off nobleman,

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[258] For the importance of travel in forming international connections among researchers, see the comparable situations during the scientific revolution described in Lux and Cook 1998, 183–191.

[259] The Fennomans were members of the Finnish elite who, influenced by the national currents of the time, wanted to promote the use of the Finnish language in Finnish society and government. They were opposed by the so-called Svecomans, who favoured the traditionally privileged position that the Swedish language and Swedish-speaking elite had held in Finland, especially in the government and the university.

[260] Thomsen was at first in correspondence with Finnish teacher Fredrik Vilhelm Illberg (1836–1904), and his interest in the Finnish language had been even publicised in the Fennoman newspapers, making him a relatively known figure in Finland even as a student.

[261] KA OD, Correspondence, 8 Received letters (1850–1909), Alexander Grant to Otto Donner, 14.5.1884.

which might have made interacting with him even more appealing, but, at the same time, could have undercut his credibility as a researcher.[262] Having a recommendation from a person of as high a status as Alexander Grant would also give great initial trust to Abercromby, as it was always a risk to recommend a person, as any negative action by Abercromby would negatively reflect on Grant's reputation and diminish his social capital. The risk of losing "face" in this manner was a guarantee for the trust given, but on the other hand, Grant could also expect Abercromby, or someone else from his close family, to repay the favour in some form. The Finnish researchers would probably have been willing to assist Abercromby, even without this introduction, as helping a foreign gentleman in his studies in Finnish could further the Fennoman interests that many of the researchers held.

As was the case with Abercromby, the letter of introduction worked as a shortcut for a new person to join a social network by establishing their reliability and status through an individual who was already known to people within the network. This was also the way in which many of the younger generations of Finnish linguists made their first contact with Vilhelm Thomsen in Copenhagen by having with them letters of introduction written by the Finnish researchers whom Thomsen had met during his trip to Finland in 1867. The way these scientific contacts were inherited by the younger researchers was an ongoing process and in the case of Thomsen, this kind of generational continuity can be seen especially well. One of the young researchers who formed contact with Thomsen through a letter of introduction was E. N. Setälä (1864–1935), who eventually became the closest Finnish researcher with whom Thomsen exchanged letters. As Setälä came with the recommendation written by Finnish folklorist Julius Krohn, he would later write letters of introduction to the next generation of young Finnish students and other individuals who would come to visit Thomsen.[263]

These first contacts could, of course, also be initiated by Finnish researchers and even predate any interest these non-Finnish researchers had in this peripheral country. This seems to have been the case with the Finnish doctor, and later professor of pathologic anatomy at the Imperial Alexander University in Finland,[264] Otto E. A. Hjelt (1823–1913), when in the 1850s, he exchanged letters with Rudolf Virchow related to Hjelt's medical studies in Germany and a dispute concerning filling an academic chair in Finland in which Virchow's outside opinion might be asked. Virchow's position as one of the foremost physicians in

[262] During most of his travels in Finland, he was referred to in Finnish newspapers only as 'Mr John Abercromby', with no notice of his background in British nobility. Being associated with Abercromby proved very worthwhile for the Finnish scientific community later, but this was based on the trust that was formed by the Finnish researchers treating him as an equal colleague, not as a possible patron that needed some positive reinforcement.
[263] SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen (undated letter) for the introduction of Iida Hannikainen, 20.11.1891, for the introduction of "maisteri Knaapinen", and 24.10.1898 for the introduction of Wincenty Lutoslawsk.
[264] The university was originally founded in 1640 in Turku/Åbo but was renamed and moved to Helsinki in 1827. Nowadays the university is known as the University of Helsinki.

Europe made him an important figure to the Finnish even before his research on the Finns was compared, which formed a contrast with the other four non-Finnish researchers, who became known and relevant to the Finnish researchers only after they had shown interest in the study of Finns.

Many of these relationships between Finnish and non-Finnish researchers were also formed after the non-Finnish researchers had made their active studies about the Finns, and the researchers had become more well known through their published works than their active interest in Finns. Gustaf Retzius did much of his research related to the *Finska kranier* independently of the Finnish research community, so he became known to many only after he started to present his findings. Retzius also used his book in a way comparable to the letters of introduction by sending it to some prominent Finnish researchers, showcasing his scientific merits and as an invitation to start deeper correspondence. One of these individuals was the famed Finnish poet Zacharias Topelius, who had just recently retired from the Imperial Alexander University, where he had been the professor of general history and had served as the rector for the past few years. As the gifted work was not a formal request to start correspondence, Topelius only replied to this gift five years later with a letter positively commenting on Retzius's work, but despite this delayed start, the two men formed a warm relationship, and later, Topelius even visited Retzius's country home in Sweden.[265]

The circumstances and reasons behind the start of any correspondence were of course unique and the non-Finnish researchers featured as both composers and recipients of the initial letters. The ways in which these relationships could be started, and how they continued, were shaped by many unwritten rules related to the positions of the participants in their societies and communities, general politeness, styles of writing letters and many other conventions that moderated this interaction.[266] At the same time, the letters had practical functions. Some of the clearest examples of these conventions, and how people used them to further the purpose of the letter, were the formulaic salutations and closing words used in the letters, which are examined in the following section.

3.3 Salutations and Closing Formulas

One way in which these conventions manifested themselves was how the recipients of letters were addressed in the salutation. These varied from very formal official titles to informal and even familial language, based on how close a relationship the two correspondents had, what the purpose of the letter was and how the participants were situated vis-à-vis each other based on different

[265] KVA CV GR, Topelius to Retzius 11.1.1884 and 28.12.1888.
[266] For a comparable case about the conventions of letter writing during the nineteenth century, see Marina Dossena's research about the correspondence of Scottish emigrants that showcases how social networks could be maintained in different transnational circumstances; Dossena 2007 and Dossena 2016.

social hierarchies, such as those reflecting status and age. As salutations were usually quite short and contained only a few words, their possible variations were limited. In the letters between non-Finnish and Finnish researchers, they usually consisted of a salutation (usually an adjective such as 'dear'), an honorific and the addressee's name. A typical example is how John Abercromby started all his letters to Otto Donner with the salutation 'Dear Professor Donner'. In practice, there could be variations in all these components (salutation, honorific and name) that can give us information about the relationship of the writer and the addressee or rather about how the writer wanted to convey this relationship to the recipient of the letter.

One formal way to address a person was to have no salutation and just to address the person by honorific and name. In these letters, this was a relatively uncommon practice, present only in a few letters sent to Vilhelm Thomsen by researchers who had not met him previously and exchanged letters with him for the first time.[267] This also includes Gustaf Retzius's first letter to Thomsen, in which he addressed him, '*Herr Professor Vilh. Thomsen!*'[268] By using this kind of neutral salutation, the writers seemed to emphasise that they did not want to presuppose the nature of the relationship that might develop between them and Thomsen. Sometimes, this neutral way of addressing could become a typical form between the correspondents, as in the letters between Thomsen and Finnish art historian Eliel Aspelin (1847–1917), but after the initial letter, correspondence could develop into more typical forms of address with a complete salutation.

The conventions related to salutations were cultural and language-dependent, so it is not surprising that there were big differences in how formal or informal common salutations usually were. The letters written in English, usually by or to Abercromby, and French, usually by or to Comparetti, had quite informal salutations, such as '*Dear Professor X*' or '*Cher Monsieur*', whereas letters written in German or in languages which were strongly connected to the German cultural sphere, including Scandinavian languages and Finnish, usually preferred more formal salutations such as '*Hochverehrter*', '*Högtärade*', '*Kunnioitettava*', which could be translated as '(Highly) Honoured/Respected'. As these conventions were very language-dependent, clear comparisons of formality and informality between letters written in different languages are hard to make. Better comparisons can be made by analysing letters written in one language at a time, especially if the focus is on how the preferred salutation changed between specific correspondents as their relationship developed.

As this formal and respectful tone common in the German cultural sphere seems to have been the baseline for communication in these letters, it is worthwhile to examine when people deviated from it. Compared with all the Finnish individuals with whom Rudolf Virchow exchanged letters, he had a significantly higher status as one of the most respected physicians of the time. Therefore, it is not surprising that in most of their correspondence, the Finnish researchers referred to Virchow in this respectful, conventional way.

[267] For example, Hjalmar Appelgren and Eliel Aspelin used primarily such greetings.
[268] KB VT, Retzius to Thomsen 22.9.1881.

An example of this can be seen in the correspondence between Virchow and Otto Hjelt, who was the Finnish researcher closest to Virchow but still usually used salutations such as *'Hochverehrter Herr Professor!'* [Highly revered/adored Mr Professor] in his letters. Virchow, on the other hand, used more familiar salutations, such as *'Lieber Herr Doktor'* [Dear Mr Doctor] and later '*Mein lieber Freund*' [My dear friend]. In a similar way, Retzius addressed Virchow in his letters by salutations such as *'Verehrter Herr Geheimrath'* [Revered Mr Privy Councilor], whereas Virchow used more familiar salutations such as *'Mein hochverehrter Freund'* [My highly revered/adored friend] in his letters to Retzius. The reasons why the salutations between correspondents differed so much seem to stem from the difference in status, whereby Virchow could use familiar salutations without losing any face, whereas Hjelt and Retzius, as his juniors, felt more comfortable using more formal salutations and referring to Virchow by his titles. This practice, where social superiors can use more familiar terms in their letters, was quite a widespread feature in the Western epistolary tradition and has also been found in letters related to patronage in the late seventeenth century and correspondence between Catholic clergymen during the eighteenth century.[269]

Continuing to use Hjelt as an example, we can also find an interesting use of salutations in his correspondence with Gustaf Retzius. The most striking in these letters is the total lack of formal forms of salutations, as both Hjelt and Retzius used informal, even familial, language. Hjelt usually addressed Retzius as *'Högtärade vän!'* [Honored friend!], terms that he did not dare to use with Virchow, whereas Retzius referred to Hjelt as *'Högtärade Farbror!'* [Honoured Uncle] or *'Bäste Farbror!'* [Best Uncle]. The familiar way of speaking, especially Retzius's use of uncle (literally father's brother), can be partially explained by Hjelt's previously established relationship with Gustaf's father Anders Retzius, who at the time of their correspondence had already passed away. Here we can see how people could inherit relationships and social networks, although, contrary to Gustaf's use of familial language, Anders had used more formal greetings, such as '*Högstärade vän'* or *'Gode vän'* [Good friend] in his letters to Hjelt. Retzius's use of 'uncle' in his greetings could also be read as a respectful way of addressing Hjelt's seniority in the field of medicine; although "uncle" is a familial term, it does not indicate as close of a relationship as "brother", which was often used between researchers with more equal status and age.

The relations between researchers could also be more equal, as was the case with the correspondence between Thomsen and the many Finnish researchers he had met when he visited Finland as a student. Based on the way these men addressed each other, it seems that they perceived each other as social equals, and as Thomsen had personally met them, the salutations could be very informal. These men included such figures as Julius Krohn, Otto Donner, August Ahlqvist and D. E. D. Europaeus (1820–1884), who in their correspondence usually addressed Thomsen as their 'Dear Friend' or as 'Dear Brother', which were salutations that Thomsen also reciprocated. Besides using warm salutations, the

[269] Garrioch 2014, 193; De Toni 2020, 43–44.

lack of honorifics and not addressing Thomsen by name also show that these relationships were perceived as close ones. As Thomsen continued to have frequent connections with Finnish researchers, he also came to engage in correspondence with Finnish researchers whom he had not previously met and with whom he often represented a more senior figure by his age and academic status. In these letters, the writers used more formal salutations that were appropriate for their different social statuses.

By adopting a more informal salutation, the social inferior could highlight his wish to continue the relationship on a more personal footing, although this approach could have risks if the writer overstepped his bounds and the addressee refused the invitation to start such a close personal relationship. As we saw in the case of Virchow, it was more appropriate and risk-free for a social superior to start using informal language. Despite these possible risks, it seems that after meeting Thomsen and his family for the first time in Copenhagen, young Finnish linguist E. N. Setälä dared to use the salutation *'Rakas Herra Professori'* [Dear Mr Professor] in his first letter to Thomsen.[270] This familiarity would, of course, be based on how close Setälä perceived their connection to be after meeting Thomsen, and as he also wrote in his letter that he wished 'that their new connection would not break',[271] he was quite direct with his intention to form a more lasting relationship with Thomsen. In this case, Setälä seems to have read the budding relationship correctly, as Thomsen became his closest role model and mentor in linguistic research, and their relationship would continue until Thomsen's death almost forty years later.

Despite their very frequent letters and their close relationship, Setälä kept using the honorific '*Herra Professori*' for most of their correspondence, and Thomsen responded to this in an equal manner, addressing Setälä as *'Kære Dr. Setälä!'* [Dear Dr. Setälä] and later as *'Kære Professor Setälä!'*. This shows that a close personal connection did not always mean that correspondents would throw away all formalities; in this case, it seems that both Setälä and Thomsen wished to maintain a level of professionalism in their letters. Although this initially highlighted their unequal status in academia, after Setälä acquired his professorship, this manner of address later became a sign of their comparable stature. Setälä and Thomsen would drop titles out of their salutations only after Setälä married Thomsen's daughter Kristi in 1913 and the relationship between these two men became truly familial.[272]

As can be seen from these letters, the salutation reflected choices made by the correspondents, but due to their shortness and formulaic nature, the writers were very limited in how they could express themselves. The formality or informality of salutations was also guided by conventions, and it is hard to say when writers consciously bent these conventions and subconsciously changed their manner of address. As the son of a baron, Abercromby did have a higher social position than most of the other researchers, but in his letters, he adopted a

[270] SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 6.5.1888.
[271] '[…] toivon ett'ei alotettu yhteytemme tule katkeamaan.' Ibid.
[272] Setälä started to use forms such as *'Rakas Appeni!'* [My dear Father-in-law] whereas Thomsen began addressing Setälä as *'Kære Emil!'*.

style of writing that did not significantly differ from the other researchers. In fact, rather than highlighting his background, he usually downplayed it and was usually addressed by salutations such as *'Dear sir'* or '*Arvoisa Mr Abercromby*' [Honoured/Revered Mr Abercromby].

One of the few times that Abercromby's higher social status was potentially noted in these letters was when he was addressed as 'John Abercromby Esq.' in the letter that informed him that the Finno-Ugrian Society had elected him as a corresponding member of the society.[273] Even then, it is uncertain if this referred to his nobility, as the honorific "Esquire" was already used more broadly at times and given 'by courtesy to all persons who are regarded as "gentleman" by birth, position or education'.[274] Nevertheless, this shows that in more formal official letters, writers usually aimed for as respectful a tone as possible, although in the case of Abercromby, even these official letters typically addressed him by these vague honorifics, such as *'Korkeasti Kunnioitettava Herra!'* [Highly respected sir] and *'Monsieur'* rather than by a more accurate noble title.[275] It is possible that the Finnish researchers did not address him with the more appropriate British honorifics for his rank because they were uncertain about the proper use of these titles, but it is also possible that they followed Abercromby's practice of not paying too much attention to these issues and treated him as another respectable man of science rather than a member of nobility.

The part of the letter most like the salutation in its function and role is the closing formula before the signature. In the same way, in which one could infer the relationship between the addressee and the writer from the salutation, based on the choice of words in addressing the recipient, the closing formula can show how familiarly or formally the writer wanted to represent their connection.[276] Usually, the closing mirrored the wordings and formality in salutation relatively closely; for example, salutation such as 'Dear friend' would often be accompanied with closing words such as 'Your affectionate friend', and a more formal salutation, such as 'Honourable Mr Professor', would be followed by 'With great respect'. As in the case of salutations, some writers would come to prefer a specific type of closing that they would use in almost all of their letters, while others would use the freedom of the form more freely.

For example, in the correspondence between Thomsen and Setälä, the Danish linguist rarely changed his salutations, whereas his Finnish colleague was more flexible and used a variety of salutations. Besides personal preferences, this can also indicate that there was less need for Thomsen to emphasise his messages

[273] UE CRC JA, Donner to Abercromby, 20.6.1888.
[274] "Esquire." A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, 1897, volume III. D and E, Oxford University Press.
[275] UE CRC JA, Wichmann to Abercromby, 29.1.1903 and Karjalainen to Abercromby 15.10.1911.
[276] In previous centuries, the closing of letters was more codified and usually was done using specific concluding formulas, although by the nineteenth century, especially by the end of it, these had dropped out of style among educated writers who followed a more "natural" way of writing, influenced by romanticism. Therefore, there was much more room for variety when concluding letters, although this was still very much influenced by the conventions of the time. This follows the same development as formulas at the beginning of letters, see Austin 2014.

by adjusting his salutations, whereas Setälä, who was more commonly requesting assistance from Thomsen, most likely was more ready to use all the rhetorical methods in his communications with his senior colleague.

Generally speaking, there was more variation with closing formulas than with salutations, as whereas the salutation was limited by the character of the addressee, the closing reflected how the writer wanted to portray themselves and could therefore be more open and informal. As the closing followed the body of the letter, it was often much more reflective of the tone and content of the letter than the salutation. For example, if the primary content of the letter had to do with how appreciative the writer was of the favour the addressee had done, the writer could close the letter with 'your grateful'.[277]

The closing was also dependent, in a similar way to the salutation, on the cultural norms that varied, based on the language in which the letter was written and the nationality of the writer, although in the end, it was all about how the writer wanted to follow these norms and conventions.[278] Some of the closing formulas were more universal and common in many languages, such as closing one's letter in a formal manner with 'your devoted' or 'with respect'.[279] If the researchers used a more informal tone in their salutation, then the closing was usually a variation of 'your friend' or 'with friendly greetings'. These were especially common closing formulas with Retzius, Thomsen, Virchow and the Finnish researchers. Comparetti also used these forms, but he rarely used the same variations and generally liked to mix how he closed his letters. One striking feature in Comparetti's closing formulas is the variations of the form *'Je vous serre la main bien cordialement'* [I shake your hand very cordially], which is reflective of the traditional idea that personal correspondence is a substitute for physical presence and face-to-face discussion.[280]

Abercromby also deviated from the forms favoured by the other writers, although, in this case, it is also hard to separate his own choices from the influence of typical British norms for letters. All of Abercromby's letters written in English ended with a closing, assuring his sincerity and honesty. Despite using only one general type of closing, he did mix it up by using different formulas, such as 'yours sincerely', 'yours truly' or 'yours faithfully'. He also usually reinforced this assertion by adding 'Believe me' and the intensifier 'very' to the

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[277] For example, it was common for Hjelt to end his letters to Virchow with closing *'ihr dankbaren'* [your thankful/grateful].

[278] The influence of education and class, which of course also influenced the learned norms related to letters, is in this case quite negligible, as the researchers interacted in related social positions. Even Abercromby, who by his noble birth likely had learned many other norms concerning letter writing, underplayed his background and had adopted a very similar language and way of portraying himself in letters as the other researchers.

[279] Thomsen almost always used the relatively formal closing formula *'deres hengivne'* [your devoted] in all of his letters, whereas in his salutations and general he could be more informal. It is important to remember that sometimes the use of a specific formula was more of a matter of preference and habit than based on any conscious choice. Thomsen's choices could also reflect his relatively high status among the Finnish researchers, which meant that he would have had less need for modifying small details in his letters than a person with lower status who had an overt aim for writing a letter.

[280] SKS KIA JK, Comparetti to Julius Krohn, 1.9.1887 and 9.7.1888; KA ENS, Comparetti to Setälä 30.8.1900 and 15.1.1901.

message, as in 'Believe me – yours very truly'. This illustrates well that there were many things that one could add or subtract in closing formulas, depending on personal preference, although it seems that the shorter forms in the closing were favoured by most researchers and only Abercromby, and Comparetti to some extent, habitually used the longer forms.

Asserting a writer's sincerity in letters was not a unique feature of the English tradition but a formula that had been used in different European languages during the preceding centuries, although its lack of use in other letters by these researchers leads to the supposition that it had dropped out of common use in other languages, at least among this highly specific group of researchers.[281] It was relatively common for specific phrases and formulas to drop out of use or change over time due to becoming too hackneyed and passé. It should also be remembered that these closing formulas and salutations favoured by late nineteenth-century researchers are only a snapshot of specific social norms and fashions of letter writing used at this specific point in history. Nevertheless, their correspondence is historically very valuable, as it provides insight into how different social hierarchies and relationships manifest themselves in letters. More significantly, the letter-writing conventions reflected the larger traditions and norms of this community. These conventions and appropriate etiquette are examined more generally in the next section.

3.4 Conventions and Etiquette

The body of text in a letter is usually composed of typical "building blocks" that follow a certain order.[282] In the beginning, the writer usually refers to the state of their correspondence, and if they reply to a letter, they generally allude to the content of the previous letter. As the relationships between different researchers varied, as did the reasons for the current correspondence, the primary content of a letter could be anything from personal news to a scientific discussion to practical matters, for example, concerning publishing their research. Despite these differences, the main topic of the letter usually started in a similar way after initial comments about the previous correspondence and comprised the majority of the letter's total length. After this, the letter dealt with more personal matters of the writer and their family, often about their immediate plans for the future. Despite the practical function of a letter, it almost always also had a social aspect, and only in letters that were exchanged in an exceptionally frequent manner due to some shared project could the personal and social content of the letter be waived.

[281] About expression of sincerity in European letters, see Fitzmaurice 2016, Sikora 2020, and especially the contributions in Multilingua's volume 39 issue 1: Fitzmaurice and Williams (2020), Williams (2020), De Toni (2020), Thomas (2020), Shvanyukova (2020) and Tamošiūnaitė (2020).
[282] For more information about these standard parts of letters, see Ruberg 2011, 91–92

The typical order of these building blocks made the letters more uniform and helped the reader follow them. These different parts also had their own functions derived from the medium of the letter. For instance, as the letters had to traverse an uncertain journey from writer to recipient, they were lost in the mail from time to time, and even in the best case, the journey took several days or weeks. It was also not certain that the addressee could read the letter when it arrived or reply to it immediately. This uncertainty seems to have been the primary reason why the letters almost always started with thanking the addressee for the last letter so that the other correspondent could be sure that it had arrived safely. As a quick reply was the preferred norm, the writers were very apologetic if they were not able to respond with appropriate promptness and usually provided reasons for this oversight. Only after these formalities could the letter go into other topics – a fact that was occasionally also alluded to in the letters, as can be seen in this letter from Thomsen to Setälä:

> As usual, I have for a long time intended to thank you for your letter; I now seize the opportunity to write to you, although it will only be short, as I am very busy.
>
> Only now - after thanks for the letter - a heartfelt thanks also to you for the invitation to your upcoming wedding which was included with the transcript.[283]

Here, we can also see that the beginnings of letters often also referred to the contents of the previous letter before continuing to more present matters. The letter could, of course, be just a reply and have no content related to other subjects. Besides thanking for a received letter, a letter could also begin with the writer inquiring about why they had not received any replies to their previous letters. Circumstances where one of the correspondents had not replied to several letters made up the few cases in which there was clear annoyance in the tone of the letters compared with the usual friendly or formal way in which these letters were written. For example, a more annoyed tone was clear when Europaeus started his letter to Thomsen in 1870 by noting that 'I cannot understand what the problem is that I have not received from You, my Brother, any response after several letters and deliveries'.[284] Writing a letter was always a commitment, and thanking for letters received or becoming irritated by getting no response to this time investment provide evidence of how important the practice of exchanging letters was perceived to be during this time.[285] Many prolific letter writers took full advantage of the efficiency of late nineteenth-century postal services and the ease of sending letters, but some people could also dislike the practice and

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[283] 'Som sædvanlig har jeg i lang tid sagede Dem tak for Deres brev; jeg griber nu lejligheden til et sætte mig til et skrive til Dem, skönt det kun bliver kort, da jeg er meget optagen. Först da nu - næet efter tak for brevet - en hjertelig tak også til Dem for den med Deres udskrift medtagne indbydelse til Deres forestående bryllup.' SKS KIA ENS Thomsen to Setälä, 31.5.1891.

[284] 'En minä nyt voi ymmärtää mikä se haittana on, kun minä Sinulta, Weljeni, en monen kirjeen ja lähetyksen päälle ole saanut mitään vastausta.' SKS KIA F-III, D. E. D. Europaeus to Thomsen, 22.11.1870. The previous letter in Thomsen's archive from Europaeus is dated in July 1870, so it is possible that Thomsen did not just receive any of Europaeus's letters, as he later presumes in his letter.

[285] For more information on the conventions and expectations related to prompt replies to letters see Baasner 1999, 17–19.

consider themselves to be begrudging writers. For example, in one of his letters, Thomsen excused his late reply by commenting in an exaggerated and self-deprecating manner that 'as a correspondent, I am a big *lurjus ja laiskuri* [miscreant and slob]'.[286]

The way in which the researchers addressed each other in the body of the text correlated closely with how they had previously addressed the recipient in the salutation. If the relationship between them was a formal one, they generally used more formal pronouns and in the case of a friendlier relationship, more informal ones. Of course, there were huge differences in how these different formalities were applied in different languages. In French, which Comparetti used, and German, which was used when corresponding with Virchow, the researchers always used the formal pronouns *"vous"* and *"Sie"* instead of the informal *"tu"* and *"du"*. In these languages, informal pronouns were rarely used outside the immediate family, so the way in which the researchers addressed each other in these languages was not out of the norm of everyday polite conversation. In English, there is no difference between the formal and informal "you", so we can infer very little from the pronouns used by and to Abercromby, but in the few letters that he wrote in Finnish, he always used the formal pronoun *"Te"*.

In letters written in Danish, Swedish and Finnish, there was more variance in the different pronouns, as they were not used in such a strict manner as in French and German, although these languages also had many rules that limited which pronouns were appropriate in which situation. Formal pronouns, such as *"De"* in Danish, *"Eder"* in Swedish and *"Te"* in Finnish, were used when the correspondents did not know each other well or if there was a clear difference in their status. Informal pronouns, such as *"du"* in Danish and Swedish and *"sinä"* in Finnish, were nevertheless commonly used when the researchers had a more equal status and a close relationship, as was the case between Thomsen and many Finnish researchers. However, even then, this was not a given, as in the correspondence between Thomsen and Setälä both usually used formal pronouns. As was the case with salutations and ending formulas, it seems that the way the researchers addressed each other in letters was most reflective of what they felt was socially appropriate for their relationship. It was rare to address a stranger, especially a social superior, in any way other than formally, but it is much harder to make any conclusions about intimate relationships and possibly warm feelings between correspondents based only on their use of pronouns.

The strict adherence to conventions was not only based on how the writer wanted to be perceived by the addressee, as letters could potentially have a much larger audience.[287] In particular, the personal and family content in letters could be written with the whole family of the recipient in mind, and these parts of the

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[286] '[…] jeg som korrespondent er en stor lurjus ja laiskuri.' SKS KIA ENS, Thomsen to Setälä, 20.7.1888. Note Thomsen's use of these Finnish terms to emphasise and personalise this message.

[287] For comparable cases where people worked around these private and public roles of letters, see Ruberg 2011, 36–37 and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006, 253.

letter were often read aloud to the relevant parties. On the other hand, content related to business and research could also be forwarded to other interested or relevant persons. At the same time, letters were an opportunity to engage in the shared social network of the correspondents, of which the writer took full advantage by sending greetings to their shared friends. These greetings to third parties were particularly common in the postscript. It was also not uncommon to write a personal letter directly to, for example, the president of a learned society, even when the writer wanted to address the whole society. In cases where the content of the letter was more widely relevant, it was often read aloud in society meetings, meaning that a letter could easily have an audience of tens of people instead of just the one person to whom it was addressed. In extreme cases, letters could find even larger audiences, as was the case during the 1860s, when a couple of Thomsen's letters were published in Fennoman Finnish newspapers as proof that learning Finnish was not an insurmountable challenge for speakers of Scandinavian languages. [288] Some of Thomsen's early letters would be republished in Finnish newspapers and magazines on several occasions during later decades – typically with no apparent permission from Thomsen.[289] This shows that if letters became public for some reason, they became normalised written sources that newspapers and other publications could cite for their own uses time and time again.[290]

Letters were always written in one context, but as they could be kept safe for years and decades, there was always a chance that the letter would be read in different contexts by different people, so for the writer of a letter, it was always safer to write in an appropriate manner and to follow conventions. It is also possible that the letters written in a more conventional manner without any controversial content were more likely to be saved for posteriority and to represent a much larger portion of the archived letters than they would otherwise. Therefore, even though the letters sent and received by these researchers have survived in large numbers and we can make many general claims about them, they might still be somewhat skewed by the different choices made by the recipient, their descendants and other people before the letters have found their way to the archives. As these letters have been archived in such numbers, it is also likely that the researchers, at least later in their lives, were aware that their correspondence might be archived for posteriority, and this knowledge might

[288] "Ilo-mielin on warmaan jokainen." *Mehiläinen*, 1.3.1862, 3, p. 76; "Miten ulkomaalainen suomea kirjoittaa." *Suometar*, 7.11.1862, 44, p. 3.
[289] "Miten Vilh. Thomsen oppi suomea." *Uusi Suometar*, 3.5.1892, 101, p. 2. Concerning this republication of Thomsen's letter, Setälä hopes that Thomsen is not offended about that as, according to Setälä, Finnish readers were very interested in the contents of the letter and Thomsen's ability to learn so easily Finnish. SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 15.6.1892. Setälä himself was not totally innocent concerning the privacy of Thomsen's letters as, although he did not publish their personal letters, he did publish some of Thomsen's letters to Finnish individuals in the magazine *Valvoja* that he edited. Some of the letters had been previously published in newspapers, but some, according to Setälä, had not been published before. Setälä, E. N., "Vilhelm Thomsen. Ääriviivaiskuvaus." *Valvoja*, 1.1.1912, 1, pp. 14–19.
[290] In some extreme cases, letters could be anything but a form of private correspondence, as can be seen in how Voltaire used the forms of letter writing in several ways, see Cronk 2018.

have made them more inclined to write in a way that would leave an appropriate image of them. The aim to please subsequent secondary or tertiary readers was not, of course, the main reason the writers made choices concerning the readability of their letters, and the different ways in which the researchers accommodated their language and text for the reader are examined in the next section.

3.5 Language and Text

Living at a time when people usually write domestically in their own vernaculars and communicate internationally in English, it is important to remember that this was not so common during the previous centuries. Latin had been the language marking the educated elite for centuries, and it held its importance in international communication, even after vernaculars had become more common as languages of writing.[291] By the seventeenth century, French had surpassed Latin as the language of diplomacy, and many people opted to use French in their communications to show their class and education.[292] In the nineteenth century, Germany had become the leading scientific centre in Europe, and as a language of science, German held a similar status to French and English. Due to centuries-old developments of German-speaking settlers moving to Eastern Europe and Germany's cultural influence around the Baltic Sea, the German language was used as lingua franca in many parts of Europe where French was not so commonly spoken.[293] Besides these cultural languages, many vernaculars of Europe became more common during the nineteenth century as written languages, due to the nationalistic sentiments of the time.

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[291] As Latin was, in many countries and universities, a required subject even in the nineteenth century, it was sometimes the only language that individuals from different countries had in common. It was also an easily chosen common language among the educated elite even during the first half of the nineteenth century. For example, Louis Léuzon Le Duc (1815–1889), who made the first French translation of the *Kalevala*, wrote in 1850 to Elias Lönnrot, the collector of the epic, a letter in Latin to ask for details about the origins and the ages of the poems (Itkonen-Kaila 2012, 104). For a more general history of the use of Latin in science, see Gordin 2015a, 23–49 and Kamusella 2008, 86–99.

[292] For example, in the Netherlands during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, French was sometimes used instead of the native Dutch by the local elite; Ruberg 2011, 68–75.

[293] Ammon 2001, 32–34; Darquennes and Nelde 2006, 61–63; Kamusella 2008, 139. See also Surman 2012 for the conflicting interests to use national and "international" languages among the minorities of the Habsburg Empire during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even in nineteenth-century Russia, where French had established itself as the language of the court and was arguably the dominant Western language among the Russian elite, German was the primary scientific language, eclipsing both native Russian and elite French (Gordin 2015b, 427–428). This is partly explained by the presence of large numbers of native German speakers among the academic elite, many of whom were Baltic Germans, although many also arrived as immigrants seeking patronage and salaried positions. To some extent, this also reflects the heightened status of German as the language of science that paralleled the prominence of Germans in several fields of science during this time.

Due to these different developments, the use of a specific language in letters was not only a matter of communicating thoughts as clearly as possible but also an opportunity for the writer to indicate their political leanings, cultural preferences and social position. By the end of the nineteenth century, the use of Latin in correspondence had become obsolete, so writers had to choose their language of choice from the different available vernaculars. The languages were, of course, not equal, as languages such as German, Swedish and Finnish had different preconceptions linked to them depending on an individual's nationality, education and social class, irrespective of the fact that these languages had vastly differing amounts of native speakers and varying levels of established written forms.

Most of the researchers of late nineteenth-century Europe were multilingual and could converse in languages other than their native tongues. In the correspondence examined here, the Finnish researchers were generally more inclined to write in the addressees' native language or to make more compromises when they had to use a language foreign to both parties. As many of the Finnish researchers who most actively interacted with the non-Finnish researchers were linguists, they often had a good understanding of other languages, not least because Finnish researchers generally had to understand several foreign languages to follow the relevant scientific discourse in their fields.

Nevertheless, as Abercromby, Comparetti and Thomsen had learned the Finnish language for their studies, Finnish researchers also had the opportunity to write in Finnish to these men. This does not seem to have been inappropriate in most cases, as can be seen from Comparetti's instruction to Finnish archaeologist Aarne Michaël Tallgren (1885–1945): 'You can write to me in Finnish; I know this language well, but I'm not used to writing it.'[294] The use of the Finnish language could also come from the writer's own initiative, as in the case of E. N. Setälä's first letter to Thomsen: '[...] because You understand flawless Finnish as well as bad Swedish, I shall use my mother tongue in my letter.'[295] Setälä's letter also shows well that when given a chance, writers preferred to use the language in which they were most comfortable. On special occasions, such as when the correspondents shared no other language, the non-Finnish researchers could also use Finnish in their letters to Finnish persons, although this was especially rare.[296] There is no obvious evidence that any of the non-Finnish researchers treated or perceived the Finnish language as inherently inferior, so its lack of use in most of the correspondence suggests instead that Finnish was not an efficient language to use in international correspondence among educated Europeans and that Finnish researchers were usually quite willing to accommodate and adapt another language in their correspondence. It also seems

[294] Vous pouvez m'écrire en finnois; je connais bien cette langue, mais je n'ai pas l'habitude de l'écrire. KK KK AMT, Comparetti to Tallgren 17.12.1920.
[295] [...] koska Te ymmärrätte yhtä hyvin virheetöntä suomea kuin huonoa ruotsia, niin kirjoitan kirjeessäni äidinkieltäni. SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 6.5.1888.
[296] The researchers could usually communicate with their colleagues using some more widely used language, such as German, but especially in letters to less educated Finnish individuals, the non-Finnish researchers who had studied Finnish, such as Abercromby and Thomsen, would occasionally write in Finnish.

that the non-Finnish researchers were, in most cases, more hesitant to use their imperfect Finnish than Finnish researchers were to use languages in which they were, in a similar way, not completely competent.

The choice of language was usually easiest in cases when both writer and addressee shared a common language, such as when Finnish researchers conversed with Retzius in Swedish and Virchow in German. These two anthropologists, of course, were also the ones with the least proficiency in Finnish, but it was most likely that Finnish researchers did not feel too troubled by writing to them in their native languages, as Swedish and German were almost universally known among Finnish researchers. When correspondents were both able to write comfortably in their native languages, letters sent and received in different languages seemed more of a norm than an exception. This was particularly the case with Thomsen's correspondence with Finnish researchers, as he usually wrote his letters in Danish, which, in written form, is almost mutually intelligible with Swedish, and the Finnish researchers wrote their letters in Finnish or Swedish. The Finnish writers usually preferred Swedish if they came from Swedish-speaking families or did not yet have an established relationship with Thomsen. The individuals who typically chose to write in Finnish came from Finnish-speaking families, such as Setälä, or used Finnish as a demonstration of their nationalistic preference towards the Finnish language, which could also at times be expressed as clear hostility towards the Swedish language.[297] The questions related to the use of Finnish or Swedish in different spheres of Finnish society were a central political issue in Finland and will be analysed in more detail in the following chapters.

In the case of Abercromby, it seems that he corresponded most actively with Finnish researchers who could write and read English, but it is hard to estimate how conscious this choice was, as these men, Julius Krohn, Otto Donner and E. N. Setälä, were at the same time some of the most connected and leading figures in the scientific fields in which Abercromby was most interested. Nevertheless, Abercromby was lucky that many Finnish researchers could communicate with him in his native language, but, as in the cases with German and Swedish that the Finnish researchers used to write to Retzius, Thomsen and Virchow, these were languages that the Finnish researchers used often.

As the Italian language did not have the same standing among the Finnish researchers, Comparetti solved this problem by using French in his letters, in which he, as a learned scholar, was proficient. French was not as well known among the Finnish scientific community as Swedish and German, but it was, to some extent, a language comparable to English, based on how often the Finnish researchers used it in their letters or publications.[298] As the French language or

[297] The strong dislike towards the Swedish language was more common among the older generation of Fennomans, such as Europaeus and Julius Krohn, than with younger researchers, who, despite their domestic political views, did reject on the use of Swedish in their letters as strongly.

[298] Although many members of the Finnish scientific community could read English, it was rare for them to publish longer scientific texts in that language. For instance, the first English doctoral dissertation in Finland was published by Edvard Westermarck only in 1889, whereas French and German had been common languages of dissertations since the 1870s,

Comparetti's native Italian were not universally known by the Finnish researchers, their letters to Comparetti represent a more varied array of different languages as, depending on the linguistic abilities of each writer, they were written in Italian, French, German, English, Swedish and Finnish. This was made possible by Comparetti's proficiency in many languages, but it also shows that the Finnish researchers were less able to make accommodations for his preferred languages, Italian and French, compared with the other non-Finnish researchers. The only Finnish researcher able to write to Comparetti in Italian was Emil Zilliacus (1878–1961), who would later become a professor of classic literature at the University of Helsinki. Julius Krohn and Werner Söderhjelm were the only Finnish researchers who wrote to him primarily in French, whereas in the case of most researchers, the common language of choice was German.

It would be wrong to speak of these letters only as monolingual texts, as they could also have words, phrases and longer parts of text written in another language. The longest segments written in another language were usually instances in which the writer directly cited some other text that the addressee could presumably also understand. Single words and phrases were used when the writer wanted to express an idea that would not be so easily translated into the primary language or when they wanted to add more flair to their text. In these letters, the Finnish language in particular was used in this way, although in many cases, this could also be seen as an expression of the underlying sympathies that the writer had towards the Finnish people. This might have been less overt in Thomsen's letter cited in the previous chapter, in which he called himself *'lurjus ja laiskuri'* [miscreant and slob], but it was more evident when Comparetti closed one of his few letters written in Italian in the following way:

> E chiudo questa mia lettera esclamando: terve Suomi ja Suomalaiset, veli kulta veikkoseni, kaunis kasvinkumppanini!
>
> vaka vanha Kalevalainen Komparettsinen[299]
>
> [And I close this letter of mine by exclaiming: Hello Finland and Finns, dearest friend, and much-loved, brother, best beloved of all companions!
>
> old steadfast Komparettsinen of Kalevala][300]

It is noteworthy here that Comparetti adapted these few lines in Finnish from the *Kalevala,* which he had previously studied intimately for his work examining traditional Finnish oral poetry. As he directed this message to the Finnish people as a whole – rather than only to E. N. Setälä, to whom the letter was addressed – Comparetti highlighted this connection with Finns through a shared appreciation of this epic.

Besides choosing an appropriate language, the writer could also make their text more easily readable by taking more care when writing by hand. During the

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although during the last decades of the nineteenth century, Finnish and Swedish continued to be the most typical languages of the theses.

[299] KA ENS, Comparetti to Setälä 10.7.1925.

[300] My translations of these phrases and words that Comparetti took from the *Kalevala* follow W. F. Kirby's 1907 English translation of the *Kalevala*.

previous centuries, when writing letters was less common and sending letters more expensive, clear handwriting and penmanship skills were idealised. During the nineteenth century, the practice of writing letters had become more commonplace, and it seems that even among the educated elite, which the researchers represented, their texts reflected their personal handwriting rather than any idealised and expected style, although letters sent in a more official context, such as when a scientific society invited the recipient to become a member, were usually more polished and refined. In addition, letters written by social inferiors often had neater and clearer handwriting than those written by a person with less need to make a good impression.

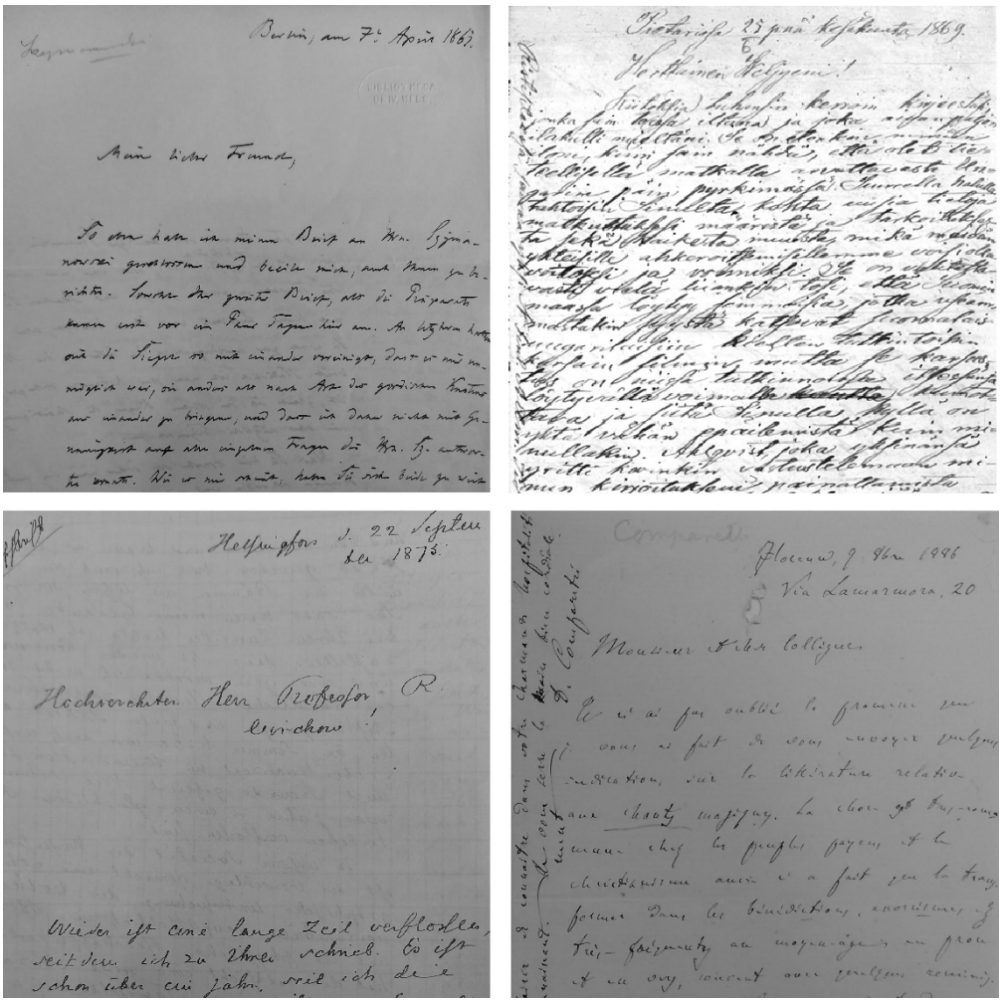
This is especially clear in the correspondence between Hjelt and Virchow, in which Hjelt's handwriting is much more easily readable than Virchow's. This situation mirrors quite well other conventions of letter writing in which the social superior generally has much more freedom to be flexible with the ideal norms and conventions that regulate letter writing. The researchers usually had relatively neat handwriting, which was evidence of good penmanship, but other features that had previously been a sign of an unlearned writer, such as crossing out mistakes or adding words to an already-written text, were common features in their correspondence. There is evidence that they sometimes first wrote a draft before sending a finished letter, but the majority of the letters seem to have been written only once, as they commonly include minor signs of textual editing. It was common for writers to continue writing in the margins when they ran out of space. Partly due to his relatively loose and spacious handwriting, Gustaf Retzius was especially prone to continue to write in the letter's margins, and it seems that this practice, as in Retzius's case and others, was an acceptable personal habit rather than any clear indication of the educational or class status of the writer. There also seem to have been few social repercussions because of this, as it was common practice for many researchers in their letters.[301] Writing in the margins seems to have been more a matter of convenience than a conscious effort to save paper, which was the main reason why people periodically used cross-writing in letters of previous centuries when postal services and paper were more expensive.

As the nineteenth century progressed and particularly after the turn of the century, postcards became increasingly common in the correspondence of these researchers and were used especially for short news and greetings.[302] In the correspondence of the researchers, there were no major differences in how postcards and letters were used, as before the widespread use of postcards,

[301] One other researcher who broke many of the stylistic conventions of the ideal letter by having quite uneven lines and a bad tendency to curve his lines downwards when running out of space was the Finnish linguist D. E. D. Europaeus, but such glaring stylistic shortcomings were most likely beyond the acceptable norm that was allowed for the expression of naturalness when writing letters.

[302] For a brief overview of the use of postcards in the first decade of the twentieth century in Britain, see Gillen 2018. It is important to note that there were clear differences in how postcards were used by different groups and that the way the researchers used postcards differed in some ways from the lower-class writers Gillen largely analysed. The low number of postcards in the correspondence of the researchers also does not give grounds for more general claims about the role of postcards in the communication of the time.

similar kinds of short messages had been communicated with short letters. There was also a variety of ways in which cards could be used as a medium of messages instead of typical letters. Some were officially issued postal cards or letter cards, while others were postcards requiring stamps. There were also many cases in which the sender wrote their message on multiple pieces of cards, which in total could be up to the length of a typical letter and sent in an envelope, similar to a typical letter. The biggest advantage of postcards was that they usually had smaller postal fees and were also cheaper than the high-quality paper normally used for letters.



Picture 3 Cropped pictures from the first pages of letters by four different researchers. From the top left in a clockwise direction: Virchow's letter to Hjelt, D. E. D. Europaeus' letter to Thomsen, Comparetti's letter to Julius Krohn and a copy of Otto E. A. Hjelt's letter to Virchow. Note the variance in handwriting and legibility, line spacing and the practice of writing in margins vertically. For example, margins are seen in Virchow's letter, where he has left space on the left side of the page, but some of his lines turn downward due to the lack of space, expressing the way writers planned ahead in their writing but at the same time could not assess well enough how much space each word would take.

Even though it seems that postcards were not perceived as inferior to letters by these researchers, they did have some of their unique uses after postcards, with pictures being used commonly. As a visually more engaging medium, pictured postcards became especially common for sending seasonal greetings at the turn of the year. Even though letters were still the main form of postal communication, postcards were increasingly common when the researchers wrote from abroad during their holiday trips. Up until the early twentieth century, almost all the letters were handwritten, and although the typewriter became more common during this time, it seems that writing by hand was the expected norm, at least in personal correspondence. The social preference for handwritten letters was evident in Comparetti's letter to Finnish folklorist Julius Krohn, in which he considered it a good sign of his health that Krohn had been able to write his last letter by hand instead of "the machine".[303]

What these letters from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries show us is that as sending letters had become cheaper, easier and more common, some of the aesthetic ideals of letters from the previous centuries had lost their influence. The letter's purpose was to be readable to the recipient, so they were more orderly than some other handwritten documents, such as notebooks, but it is rare to find any letter where the writer had paid special attention to the appearance of the letter. For instance, in previous centuries, writers could signify respect for the addressee by leaving a larger empty space between the salutation and the body of the text.[304] This act was significant, as paper and sending letters used to be much more expensive, although to researchers of the late nineteenth century, this practice seemed very unused. Only Hjelt's early letters to Virchow show this pattern, and as these were written in the 1850s and 1860s, they could also be seen as examples of how this practice and many other superficial aspects of the letter became less important as the century progressed. In addition to industrial production, which made paper more affordable and even more in quality, there was also, according to Rainer Baasner, a collective tendency among nineteenth-century letter writers to be more economically minded, which also affected the importance of many traditionally important aspects of letter writing.[305] These conventions of text and language were, nevertheless, only auxiliary to the real contents of the letters, which are examined more closely in the following section.

3.6 Personal and Professional Content in Letters

As mentioned before, the body of the letter usually contained both professional and personal information. The proportion of these varied in each letter, depending on its main purpose and the relationship between the two

[303] SKS KIA, Comparetti to Julius Krohn, 1.1.1888.
[304] Ruberg 2011, 42.
[305] Baasner 1999, 21.

correspondents. The communication between researchers usually leaned more towards professional content, although they did not want to consider their relationship only along professional lines and almost every letter also included some personal news.[306] The details of personal information were usually higher if the correspondents had previously met in person, especially if they had also interacted with each other's families. The usual personal content of the letters had to do with events that had happened recently and often also described plans for the immediate future.

As even the personal content in letters was, to some extent, guided by the conventions of letter writing, the existence of personal news in the letter should not be read to indicate that the correspondents necessarily had a very personal relationship. The researchers did not want to perceive their relationships only through professional lenses, and there was usually at least the veneer of a personal connection, even if, in reality, their interactions were very formal and professional. Strong personal relationships between the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers were not the norm, and the close relationship between Thomsen and Setälä is the only case in which the personal connection went beyond the usual polite rapport, which was the basis for the typical relationship between these researchers.[307] Their correspondence stands out not only by its quantity and frequency but also because their families were connected further by Setälä naming his first-born as "Vilho" after Vilhelm Thomsen and asking Thomsen and his wife to be the godparents of the boy.[308] Later, Setälä, after his divorce from his first wife, married Thomsen's daughter, making the relationship between the two linguists even closer and more personal.[309] Even with such an intimate connection as these two men had, their letters were still primarily written for professional purposes. What set their letters apart from the personal content of other letters was the warm and very informal tone in which they wrote about their personal affairs and asked about each other's families.

The personal information that the correspondents shared was guided by what was appropriate for their relationship. In most cases, they shared very little about themselves and usually only talked about very safe topics, such as recent weather or what they had done during the summer. One deeply personal and frequently discussed topic was the health and current ailments of the writer.[310]

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[306] To compare the generally quite professional correspondence of researchers to more personal letters, see, e.g., Egan 2018 for correspondence between people of different genders and Matthews-Schlinzig 2018 for correspondence between a father and his children. For a more complete look at personal letters in a family context, see Reetta Eiranen's doctoral thesis on an elite Finnish family during the mid-nineteenth century (Eiranen 2019).

[307] This special relationship is evident already in quite early letters they exchanged with each other, where they assure that their bond is not based only on their shared interest in science and the common pursuit of truth but also on the warm feelings they have for each other. See, SKS KIA ENS, Thomsen to Setälä, 23.11.1891; SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 4.1.1892.

[308] SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 22.4.1892.

[309] Setälä and his first wife divorced in 1913 largely due to Setälä's devotion to his work and his wife Helmi's desire not to compromise his artistic ambitions. Setälä married Thomsen's daughter "Kristi" in 1913.

[310] Writing about health was not unique to researchers of the late nineteenth century but had become a standard part of letters by the early nineteenth century, Ruberg 2011, 91–94.

Illness could be used as a reason for not answering letters at an appropriate time, but it was also linked to the professional work of the researchers, as sickness was often lamented for interfering with their current work. The sickness at hand did not even need to be directly afflicting the writer himself to influence his work, as Abercromby had to cut short one of his trips to Finland after receiving news that his brother had become severely ill.[311] Some researchers were also more prone to illness than others. Thomsen, for instance, quite often mentioned being under the weather, and his generally poor health was one of the reasons why he visited Finland only twice during his life. Even his lecture trip to Finland, which finally took place in 1912, had to be postponed at least once due to his health issues.

Sicknesses and health were in no way taboo subjects for these men, as they shared such information relatively freely and could develop into a common topic in their letters. For example, in Abercromby's letters to Otto Donner, this issue was touched upon quite frequently, as both Abercromby's brother and Donner had some ailments affecting their eyes, and, due to this, they found a personal topic that was relevant for them both.[312] Even some issues of mental health, such as depression, were not beyond the pale, as Setälä mentioned being melancholic and depressed in several of his letters to Thomsen. For example, in one of his letters to Thomsen, he explained, 'I am very depressed and melancholy. The only thing, which keeps me going, is my work.'[313] Setälä's depression led him to visit sanatoriums in Switzerland and Norway, and it was not uncommon for other researchers to mention that they were travelling for health reasons, particularly to Southern Europe.[314] These possibilities were available for these privileged classes and, to an extent, talking about health and the remedies that were available to them was also a possibility to flaunt their status. Health issues were not, of course, only an appropriate and convenient social topic. Many medical innovations were still in their infancy, and as many illnesses that subsequently became easily treatable could still be lethal during the nineteenth century, the news about colleagues' health could be deadly serious. Informing about the passing of a common friend was also a common topic in letters, as colleagues living abroad would not get the news as easily through other means.

As the professional content of the letter was usually the primary reason for writing in the first place, it varied quite a lot depending on the specific matter at hand. Some of these issues, especially how they were related to the nature of interactions between the researchers, are examined more closely in the next

311 KA OD, Correspondence, 8 Received letters (1850–1909), Abercromby to Donner, October 1884.
312 See, for example, KA OD, Correspondence, 8 Received letters (1850–1909), Abercromby to Donner, 28.4.1885 and 2.1.1890.
313 'Olen kovasti masentuneella ja alakuloisella mielellä. Ainoa, joka pitää minut yllä, on työni.' SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 16.5.1912.
314 SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 30.11.1908 and 5.9.1909. The remedial qualities of mineral water had led many locations in Europe near these mineral springs, such as Bath, Vichy, Spa and Baden-Baden, to develop into spa towns. The development of railroads during the nineteenth century made it possible for people from more remote locations, such as Finland, also to visit these destinations. For more information on spas and nineteenth-century health tourism, see Walton 2012 and Wood 2012.

chapter, but some common topics that recurred often and periodically led to more active correspondence are examined here.

As the non-Finnish researchers were primarily interested in interacting and corresponding with Finnish researchers to conduct their own research about Finns, it is not surprising that their letters often included a lot of discussion about scientific topics – in quite a similar manner to if they would have been talking about these subjects in person. The writer would usually point out some issues that he was examining at the moment and ask the addressee's opinion on the matter. The answer would usually be based on the other's more expert knowledge on the matter or their better ability to examine literature about the topic. This kind of discussion was usually most prominent when one of the correspondents was actively writing their research and intended to publish on the matter. This means that any specific topic would not usually be discussed in more than a few subsequent letters. Related to this general scientific discussion, it was also common to write about some scientific publications that the writer had recently read and ask the other's opinions of the works.

One instance that could momentarily produce more active correspondence was when a non-Finnish researcher intended to visit Finland. This would usually lead to active correspondence before the trip to inform any possible contacts about the occasion. During the trip, the correspondent would also frequently send letters to arrange different practical matters and try to organise meetings with colleagues and associates.

Each of the five non-Finnish researchers published their major works about the Finns without direct assistance from the Finnish researchers in the publishing process, but there were surprisingly many cases when the publication of some of their other works led researchers to work with each other. As publishing would happen in conditions where the other participant was living in another country, frequent letter writing was usually the norm when people had to comment on proofreading and other relevant matters. These cases include Retzius working together with Hjelt to republish Hjelt's study of Swedish naturalist Carl von Linné for the bicentennial celebration of his birth held in 1907; Retzius corresponding with Thomsen to organise the publication of a translated version of Thomsen's work about the Scandinavian origins of the Russian state; and Thomsen corresponding with Finnish art historian Eliel Aspelin to publish a biography of the recently deceased Finnish sculptor Johannes Takanen (1849–1885). Thomsen was especially connected to the last-mentioned case, as he had assisted Takanen when the sculptor had lived in Copenhagen, and as the biography was published in Copenhagen in the Finnish language, Thomsen could react to different publishing matters, such as proofreading, much faster than Aspelin from Helsinki.[315]

The most significant publication project that led to cooperation between non-Finnish and Finnish researchers was Thomsen's work on the so-called Orkhon script. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, several

[315] Aspelin especially thanked Setälä and Thomsen in the work's acknowledgements for their assistance in publishing the work.

stone monuments with unknown scripts were found in Siberia and Mongolia. The Finno-Ugrian Society, based in Helsinki, was one of the learned bodies that organised scientific expeditions that brought these monuments to light.[316] The society also published accurate reports about these stones and the script that they contained and sent copies of these publications to interested persons, such as Thomsen and Abercromby, the latter of whom also tried to decipher some of these texts and published a short article about the subject.[317] In the end, Thomsen was the first researcher to decipher the script, which brought much recognition to himself and indirectly to Finnish researchers. More significantly, Thomsen decided to publish his findings through the Finno-Ugrian Society. This required a lot of organising, as the work was written in French, which was not so widely used among Finnish researchers, and it also required custom-made types to make it possible to print the Orkhon script, which Thomsen had demonstrated to be an old Turkic script.[318] Two decades later, the society would also work together with Thomsen to publish his subsequent research on the topic.[319]

It is unarguable that the letters the researchers wrote to each other had distinct professional and personal contents, as the change of topic in letters was usually marked by starting a fresh paragraph. Nevertheless, these different spheres were strongly interconnected. Professional reasons were usually the initiator of this relationship, but as the researchers rarely exchanged any money for their services and help, they had to rely on the good nature of the other person and often owe favours. Working in this kind of social environment required people to conceive of their interactions on personal terms, and even though these relationships rarely developed to close friendships, the correspondents stayed as acquaintances who could be contacted after years of previous interactions. How these researchers interacted in this area between personal and professional social spheres is examined more closely in the next chapter, which focuses on the motivations behind these actions, aspects that facilitated the necessary trust and exchanges that were made possible by these relationships.

3.7 Conclusions

For the researchers of the late nineteenth century, correspondence was a typical form of communication that facilitated scientific networks and was especially useful in transnational contexts, as developments in postal services and transport had made sending letters abroad ever easier and cheaper. Although writing letters had become more mundane compared with the intellectual

316 On Finnish expeditions and research on Yenisei and Orkhon inscriptions, see Aalto 1971 95–100 and Salminen 2003, 80–90, 98–100.
317 Abercromby 1891a.
318 About some of the practical details discussed in correspondence related to the printing of Thomsen's work, see SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 9.5.1894 and 10.1.1896; SKS KIA ENS, Thomsen to Setälä 16.4.1894 and 20.1.1896.
319 Thomsen published with the Finno-Ugrian Society *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées* in 1896 and *Turcica* twenty years later in 1916.

correspondence of the Republic of Letters, nineteenth-century letter writers had inherited many of the previous conventions and ideals, although they were used in a much more relaxed form.

Much of the correspondence between non-Finnish and Finnish researchers developed into vocabulary emphasising equality and friendship, but although the language used in these letters seems less strict and more natural, even this informal rhetoric had created its own typical formulas and conventions that required the same kinds of calculation as letters with more formal language and clearer hierarchies between the correspondents. Formal language was not always an indication that the researchers did not share a warm and close relationship in the same way that informal and familiar language did not inherently indicate a close relationship. The conventions and forms of letter writing were shaped by personal preferences, but they were also tools for constructing a letter in a way that best served the purpose of the writer. The primary motivation for much of this correspondence was the use of these relationships for the benefit of scientific work, either as potential sources of information or as facilitators for practical matters, such as helping to publish research.

The uniformity of these letters is challenged by the fact that the correspondence between the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers represents transnational networks that include participants who speak a variety of languages. This means that many of the researchers often wrote in languages other than their native tongues and therefore could not always completely follow specific conventions that were characteristic of a specific national language or culture. For the researchers, these matters were not particularly crucial, and there is little indication that these cross-cultural challenges impaired these relationships. In practice, they were more of a demonstration of how these researchers navigated in these transnational waters and showed how the Finnish researchers were especially accommodating in often adapting other more widely spoken languages, such as English, German or French, when communicating with their international colleagues. On the other hand, this also highlights the fact that specific European nations were seen as the leaders in science, and people from other countries had to adapt to their ways of staying competitive and participating in this international scientific community.

The conventions of letter writing made the correspondence much more predictable and helped to show whether the writer was part of the in-group and could appropriately participate in the communication. They also helped to make the primary purpose of the letter less overt, and even some bold requests could be represented in a more polite manner by mixing in information about family matters, shared scientific interests and current events. As the scientific networks represented more informal relationships than, for example, business relations, these ways of conveying informality were especially important in supporting the idea that scientific relationships were frequently not built for personal benefit. As the researchers represented educated classes and the elite, these conventions were also part of the polite culture of their social class.

Nevertheless, these conventions and formulas of letter writing were only one of the ways that helped the researchers interact with each other, and their use and meaning were inherently dependent on how the writer wanted to convey their message and get a beneficial outcome from this interaction. These aspects of correspondence served the social dimensions of these interactions, which were usually based on or represented social trust, motivations for these interactions and results that were usually received in a reciprocal form of exchange. The social aspects of these interactions between researchers, the scientific networks based on these connections and interactions between Finns and non-Finns more generally are examined in the next chapter.

4 PRACTICALITIES OF TRANSNATIONAL INTERACTIONS

The researchers of Finns were interested in them for their own reasons, independent of each other and the desires of the Finnish research community. Nevertheless, they did not work in a scientific vacuum but with the assistance of different Finnish individuals and as members of the transnational scientific community. The interactions between different members of this community were based on many unwritten rules and practices that drew on the free exchange of scientific ideas inherited from the Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters of the eighteenth century. This willingness to assist each other in research was not just based on ideals of scientific communality but also on expectations that any help would be repaid in some form in the spirit of reciprocity. Because these interactions were based on the volition of all participants, any one-sided use of this relationship would usually result at the end of cooperation. During the nineteenth century, the scientific environment changed, and many informal features of research were replaced by formal structures, such as scientific journals and universities. The change of centuries also meant changes in manners and social interactions, but the polite culture of the eighteenth century had, in most cases, only developed into slightly different forms that were ingrained in the etiquette of the high and middle classes from which the members of the European scientific community predominantly originated.

The first section of this chapter borrows approaches from the fields of sociology and anthropology and addresses the social nature of the interactions among researchers by examining, for example, what role exchange played in their interactions and how their cooperation was, in many ways, based on the element of trust. The second section more closely explores the connections and networks that the non-Finnish researchers formed among the Finnish scientific community by comparing the different networks of the non-Finnish researchers and drawing conclusions from the group of people with whom they interacted and the frequency of their interactions. The third section analyses the more general way in which the non-Finnish researchers interacted with Finnish individuals by comparing their interactions with their Finnish colleagues and

with people from other backgrounds, such as the agricultural population of the country. This section also addresses the role that different learned societies and other scientific institutions played in facilitating the interactions between Finnish and non-Finnish researchers.

4.1 Trust, Motives and Exchange

The relationship between researchers could be formal or informal, but it was only rarely monetarily transactional. Doing favours, answering questions and just having polite correspondence was common to these people, but none of it was based on direct financial gain. Nevertheless, especially at the start of these relationships, one major motivator for forming new contacts was to obtain some concrete benefit from them. In the case of researchers, this usually had to do with helping their colleagues in one way or another in their scientific or academic work. As money rarely changed hands, the benefit of these relationships was usually indirect, and it could take a long time for both individuals to gain an advantage from a relationship. Among the researchers, there was always an unsaid understanding that these kinds of interactions were reciprocal and that it would be out of the norm if only one of them would profit from the relationship. In such cases, polite friendship could quickly turn sour, and interactions could cease completely unless a new balance was found.

The social dynamics behind these activities have been the object of study for anthropologists, sociologists and historians for decades. The circumstances behind the interactions between researchers are, in some ways, unique, but a lot of insight can be gained by comparing their actions with their contemporaries in different social roles or even cultures vastly different from them in cases where they practise functions that are surprisingly similar in different human societies. Many researchers have studied the role that trust plays in interpersonal relationships, which is especially important in cases where there are no immediate monetary incentives to motivate interactions.[320] As researchers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries rarely exchanged money for their services, their relationship has some characteristics shared with societies that

[320] In sociology, one of the first to pay more attention to trust was Niklas Luhmann (1927–1998), who argued that trust enabled complexity in social interactions and made it possible to make decisions without a full understanding of all the possible variables. See, for example, Luhmann 1979. Trust has also been an important object of study for psychologists and economists. In this research, I do not use terms such as trust, exchange, and gift as strict analytical concepts and I do not engage directly with any one specific theoretical definition of these concepts. I have used these concepts and themes more as a guide to help recognise important social features in my sources and so these concepts are only used, and useful to me, when they can explain some interesting historical aspects that arise from the sources. Steven Shapin's *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-century England* (1994) is also illustrative of the importance of trust for scientific activities and, more generally, of how the social environment based on civility and manners among the educated classes shape scientific interactions, although his analysis is based on the seventeenth-century English gentleman scientists and more on the necessity of trust for knowledge-making rather than on the transnational interactions of late-nineteenth-century researchers.

operate outside the overt economic system where services and commodities are traded directly. These societies usually engaged in a complex system of gift exchange that, in some ways, mirrors how educated nineteenth-century researchers continuously sent different gifts to support the reciprocal nature of their relationships.

The study of gift exchange or a gift economy owes much to the research of French anthropologist Marcel Mauss (1872–1950), who presented his ideas, particularly in his essay *The Gift* (1925). Mauss influenced many later researchers, especially in the fields of anthropology and sociology, including French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002), whose ideas concerning capital help us understand the ways in which late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century researchers used their different assets when operating in the social sphere of the European scientific community.[321] As the researchers avoided interacting in monetary exchange with each other, other social, cultural and symbolic forms of capital became even more important in motivating their interactions and helping them appraise which relationships were worth investing their time and services in.[322] The researchers did not, of course, work outside the monetary economy, so to conduct their research, they had to be independently wealthy, work in a salaried position or have direct funding for their research.

The people of the nineteenth century lived in an environment in which there was limited information about other people, and much of the necessary information about someone's reputation and nature was communicated in the social networks of any given social group. The challenges related to this lack of information were especially strong when people had to interact with a person from another country who, in most cases, was unknown and initially only distantly linked to the social network. Researchers were one of the communities

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[321] Bourdieu never made a theoretical work summarising his different ideas, but in *The Blackwell Companion to Major Contemporary Social Theorists* (2003) Craig Calhoun gives quite a concise and coherent overview of Bourdieu's different theories and ideas that have been widely adopted not only in sociology but also in historical research. For Bourdieu's ideas applied to the study of the history of science, see Tampakis 2016.

[322] Researchers have used these different categories of capital in a multitude of ways and have adapted them to their present problems. Social capital generally means the social contacts a person has and can use. In the context of this study, it is most evident how researchers networked with each other and consciously tried to form new contacts. Symbolic capital represents immaterial qualities such as prestige and honour, which a person can use to his benefit when interacting with people. In the case of researchers, a big part of their symbolic capital is linked to their scientific reputation and merits as a researcher, which determines how their colleagues interact with them. Reputed researchers, such as Virchow, could use their position more easily to ask for different favours than researchers who had a worse reputation or had not yet established themselves. Symbolic capital is in many cases linked to a specific field, and, as in the case of researchers, their scientific reputation would have more worth among the scientific community than, say, among nineteenth-century artists. Cultural capital symbolises things such as education, manners, style of speech, et cetera that a person can use to interact appropriately in specific circumstances. In the case of the researchers relevant to this study, there is not much difference between their cultural capitals, although it partly explains why the researchers usually interacted with each other and did not form strong contacts with people from other social spheres. Specific cultural capital is also evident in how Abercromby generally presented himself in a manner typical for a researcher and did not act as a member of nobility when doing his studies, as that would have been a type of habitus in a different field of social life.

that habitually operated in this kind of environment and that regularly had to interact with their international colleagues. Another such group was the community of international traders and businessmen. Although they operated in the world of business, much of their correspondence and interactions were played by the same social rules as their contemporary researchers. To be able to interact with colleagues whom they did not personally know, both these communities had developed social cohesion, conventions and customs that regulated these interactions and made it possible to recognise that they all shared the same background and understanding of these unwritten rules. Successfully working in these communities required that people occasionally had to take a leap of faith in working with each other, so both in business and research, losing trust or reputation could become a hindrance to further work.[323] In the case of a businessman, people would not want to trade with him, and in the case of a researcher, people would not be interested in cooperating with him in research or in helping him advance in his career. Interaction in both of these spheres was based on reciprocity and expectations of mutual benefit, and as the relationship between different colleagues was, in the end, always personal, even the correspondence business elites had many similar rhetorical features as those analysed in the context of the researchers in the previous chapter.[324]

There are also some similarities to the international relationships of these groups, as both businessmen and researchers formed connections with their non-native colleagues to better exchange items that were not locally available to them. In the case of traders, these were usually some specific material goods, but, as became clear in the previous chapter, researchers, including the five non-Finnish men, could get many benefits from interacting with their colleagues who were more informed in a specific area of study and could consult scientific literature that was not readily available elsewhere. Businessmen and researchers also used their foreign contacts as informants who could pass on relevant information about relevant events in their home countries and forward messages and items to other people in their cities or areas.[325] These advantages, in turn, helped the Finnish scientific community to be less isolated than it might otherwise have been – as a part of the Russian Empire with a relatively peripheral location, compared with the European centres of science. For example, many Finnish researchers were very interested in hearing about any publications or lectures concerning Finns that were produced abroad, so they frequently asked for this kind of information, especially from Abercromby and Thomsen. At the same time, Finnish researchers could readily inform their international colleagues about new research that might interest them. Although many of the latter changed their focus after publishing their research concerning Finns, they were not always keen

[323] For a good overview of this kind of business culture based on the social environment of trust, obligations, reputation etc., see Haggerty 2012.
[324] See Dossena 2010. Leos Müller has also examined the differences and similarities between the fields of business and academia in light of Bourdieu's theories, Gunneriusson 2002c 42–47 and Müller 2002, 85–95.
[325] For the business networks of a nineteenth-century Finnish trader, which operated in very similar ways to the contacts of many Finnish researchers, see Kallioinen 2002.

to take full advantage of the opportunities available through their established contacts with the Finnish scientific community.

How these kinds of relationships and the necessary trust could be formed in the first place had to do with many different things – some of these circumstances have already been mentioned in the previous chapter. Letters of introduction and meeting in person were good ways to get a hint about someone's nature and how reliable they were likely to be.[326] The matter of one's reputation was very important for researchers as a part of their social capital, as it made them valuable as persons with whom to form relationships, but it also had value relating to symbolic capital, as nineteenth-century researchers operated in a public arena through their published research, and besides the immediate proof they presented in their works, reputation and general trust in a writer's word was important. The way Virchow attacked French anthropologist Jean Louis Armand de Quatrefages was not just to argue against his claims but, as already examined in Chapter 2, also to show that he had made unscientific assertions by letting political circumstances influence his views. In a sense, this was *argumentum ad hominem*, but it was not uncommon for the time that scientific theories and claims became strongly associated with the person putting those ideas forward, and as the research done during the nineteenth century was often very competitive, personal reputation became an important asset to cultivate and protect.

The inability to take care of one's reputation could hinder scientific work, career advancement and chances to develop useful professional relationships. The five non-Finnish researchers are great examples of how good networking and acting in an appropriate manner could be a benefit and lead to a respected position in the field of research. Nevertheless, there were also good counterexamples, even among the people with whom they were associated. Finnish linguist D. E. D. Europaeus was, in some ways, isolated from the general scientific circles of Finland and often worked in St. Petersburg rather than Helsinki, where most of the other Finnish researchers resided. He was a relatively active researcher but, in many ways, eccentric, and he made many scientific claims against the consensus of his peers. Of the non-Finnish researchers, he was in especially active correspondence with Thomsen, and despite the generally friendly tone and content of their letters, it seems that there were some inherent problems with the nature of this correspondence.[327] It was quite common for Europaeus to ask for various favours of Thomsen, and although he also did some beneficial things for Thomsen, such as reviewing his work in Finnish papers, there was a distinct lack of any clear favours that Thomsen asked of Europaeus.

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[326] Social capital also had the potential to enhance a person's symbolic capital, as making clear that one was an associate of prominent figures in a specific field could also increase one's reputation in the eyes of other people in the same field (Gunneriusson 2002c, 42). For more information on the interplay between social and symbolic capital, see Gunneriusson 2002a, 18–19.

[327] Europaeus had also written one letter to Retzius, but his untidy and incoherent letter seems not to have left a good impression on Retzius, as there is no evidence of him responding to Europaeus's letter and continuing this correspondence.

For example, Europaeus wrote an extensive and positive review of Thomsen's doctoral thesis in the newspaper *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, which published the text in four parts between 14 and 17 July 1869, but it was more common for Europaeus to ask Thomsen to forward some of his texts or messages to Danish researchers, such as the archaeologist Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae (1821–1885). It might have been somewhat awkward for Thomsen when Europaeus asked him to write a review of his *Die Stammverwandtschaft: der meisten Sprachen der alten und australischen Welt* (1870), in which he tried to show that Finno-Ugrian numerals originated from the same stock as Indo-European numerals, a suggestion that was not supported by the current scientific consensus.[328] With this and other radical arguments made by Europaeus, it might have been hard for Thomsen to write a positive review. Despite his eccentricities and somewhat demanding nature, Europaeus was one of the first Finnish linguists to recognise the worth of Thomsen's research, and it must have been nice for a young researcher to have at least one supporter, albeit a somewhat eccentric one, among the Finnish linguists.

The feeling of not benefiting from this relationship might be one contributing reason why Thomsen did not reply to all of Europaeus's letters, an issue that Europaeus grumbled about from time to time. It could also be that Thomsen did not consider this relationship worthy of investing his time, as Europaeus did not always make the best impression of himself in his letters when rambling about his fringe theories and generally writing in a disorderly manner. It surely did not help that Finnish folklorist Julius Krohn mentioned Europaeus in his letter when he encouraged Thomsen to start studying Baltic influences in the Finnish language: 'Maybe you are interested to take on this task. In Finland, I now know no one who could be expected to do it. Europaeus was the only one; but now he seems to have gone rather mad.'[329]

Generally, the interactions between researchers were relatively balanced and conducted in an appropriate manner, which made participants usually feel that it was worthwhile to work with one another.[330] As exchanging letters was a commitment in itself, they were sent relatively sparingly, and it was common that there were year-long gaps, even between people who had a relatively close relationship with two researchers living in different countries, although this impression is, to some extent, enhanced by the fact that not all of the letters survived. Nevertheless, the relationship between any two researchers, especially their correspondence, was, in most cases, based on the fact that they could find concrete benefits from each other's assistance. Sometimes, this would lead to the

[328] SKS KIA F-III, D. E. D. Europaeus to Thomsen, 4.6.1877.
[329] 'Ehkäpä tekee Sinun itsesi mieli tähän ryhtyä. Suomessa en tiedä nyt ketää, jolta sitä voi toivoa. Europaeus oli ainoa; mutta hän näkyy nyt peräti hulluksi tulleen.' SKS KIA F-III, Krohn to Thomsen 22.4.1869.
[330] To an extent, appropriate manners and conduct were a product of a person's cultural capital, which is composed of the learned social assets from upbringing, education and social skills that the person later acquires. As many of the researchers came from elite families they learned these skills quite easily, but others, such as Europaeus who came from lower social backgrounds, could struggle in finding their place in an unfamiliar social environment.

men exchanging only a couple of letters, and sometimes the use of this relationship would be reactivated from time to time. Even if the relationship was based on one favour and the individuals did not interact after that, this did not mean that the relationship was of no use and that the people failed to develop it further, as just having this new connection and the potential to use it in the future could be valuable. Even though the researchers sometimes formed new connections just for the potential of benefitting from this relationship later, something that in today's parlance could be called networking, it was more common that the correspondence started because the writer needed something that the other person could provide.

In cases where the correspondents did not know each other previously, the favour would usually not be requested directly, and it would take only a small proportion of the total length of the letter. To make the addressee more likely to fulfil the request, much of the letter would usually be composed of the writer introducing themselves, mentioning possible common friends and generally praising the addressee's merits and skills. Sweetening the letter in this way would, of course, make it more gratifying for the recipient to read, but such tactics also affirmed that the writer followed appropriate conventions and did not presume too much. In cases in which the researchers had met or corresponded previously, the writer could be quite direct in the letter. This was the case when Hjelt informed Virchow that, as the highest authority on anatomy in Germany, he might be asked to comment on the question of how the academic chair for anatomy in Helsinki should be filled. Hjelt presented the issue at length, painting it as undue political interference on the part of Russian officials who wished to install a person not favoured by Finnish researchers. He also put himself forward as the choice of Finnish academics and painted the controversy as a question of academic independence in the face of governmental control, appealing to Virchow's liberal tendencies.[331] Their further correspondence does not mention whether Virchow was, in the end, asked to comment on the issue or whether he positively recommended Hjelt, although Hjelt did become a professor of pathologic anatomy in Helsinki three years after sending this letter. Subsequently, Virchow would, for his part, take advantage of this relationship and ask Hjelt to give him some information about historical cases of leprosy in Finland and, later, about the anthropological characteristics of Finns with regard to the *race prussienne* controversy and the *Finnenfrage*, which we already examined in Chapter 2.[332]

This reciprocal nature of exchanging favours was very typical for the relationship of researchers if they found reasons to interact with each other after their initial contact. Helping colleagues was not only a matter of forming new relationships and acquiring social capital, as being known to readily assist others would also be linked to the symbolic capital of a person and be especially relevant in the scientific community, in which communalism and the sharing of information were idealised. These favours in the context of scientific work could

[331] ABBAW NL RV, Hjelt to Virchow 8.4.1857.
[332] KK KK OH, Virchow to Hjelt 17.11.1859, 6.2.1872, 8.3.1872, 14.10.1872.

also translate into other areas of society, as in the case of the non-Finnish researchers, all of whom were also positively inclined to support the political pursuits of their Finnish colleagues, many of whom were active political figures in Finland. The most overt case of political favours was that all of them, except Abercromby, were signatories of the Pro Finlandia petition of 1899, which is examined more closely in Chapter 6. It is important to note that as these favours were intangible, they could not be given clear monetary value and were not expected to be repaid in an exactly proportional manner or in quick order.

The gratitude for having benefitted from a favour would usually translate into a closer relationship between the two parties, and if the beneficiary felt that they should show their appreciation in some way, they could send a present, which, among researchers, was usually a scientific book, often one written by the sender, to highlight their personal connection.[333] In cases where the researchers had a closer relationship, the gift could be even more personal, such as when Setälä gifted Thomsen a rug made by Setälä's first wife after Thomsen had assisted Setälä in pursuing a professorship.[334] Sending and receiving gifts could develop into a reciprocal exchange, where the researchers would continuously send each other scientific literature that they thought the other person might appreciate. It is important to note that gift-giving is primarily not about the exchange of goods or services, but a way to create and maintain useful relationships. Beyond the singular relationship, gift exchange can also confirm the participants' position in a wider social network.[335]

This reciprocal nature of the exchange was often quite evident, as in one of Abercromby's letters to Julius Krohn, in which he thanked the Finnish folklorist for sending one of his books as a Christmas present and assumed that another Finnish book that he had received earlier was also from Krohn. Abercromby then ended the letter by mentioning an English book about Ancient Babylonians that he was going to send to Krohn.[336] Researchers would also quite often ask their colleagues to send them books that they were not able to acquire. However, they were usually unwilling to take any payment in return, especially if the book was sent as an unrequested gift, as when Abercromby responded to Julius Krohn after sending him some volumes: 'You owe me nothing for the books – they are present.'[337]

The exchange of useful scientific information, of which the sending of books is the clearest and most material example, usually produced the most active and continuous correspondence between researchers. As the information and books

[333] In the case of sending a book they themself had authored, the writer could also think that their own research would become more known through the recipient citing the work in their own works, although it is hard to estimate how important these personally sent copies were in this kind of transfer of knowledge, as when the non-Finnish researchers wrote about Finnish topics, the works were usually relatively available in other ways. There were also many cases in which the gifted books made no major appearance in the texts of the recipient, in which case the book may have had value only as an artefact of this personal relationship.
[334] SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 20.11.1891.
[335] Hasselberg, Müller and Stenlås 2002, 20.
[336] SKS KIA JK, Abercromby to Krohn 27.12.(Year undated, but most likely 1886.)
[337] SKS KIA JK, Abercromby to Krohn 14.12.(Year undated, but most likely 1885.)

were typically exchanged without immediate cost to the receiver, they were linked to the person who had sent them and served as a constant reminder of this relationship and the need for a reciprocal gift.[338] In a way, no gift or favour was given freely, as they always created a social tie between the persons and implied an underlying expectation of reciprocal service, although many times, this was left unused when there was no good opportunity to ask for a favour or when the other person died suddenly. In addition, not all gifts were particularly wanted; Retzius asked the Finno-Ugrian Society to stop sending him any new publications that the society produced, as he was trying to focus his personal library on anatomy and physical anthropology.[339] It was most likely also easier for Retzius to make this request to the society that it would have been if he had received the same works directly from an individual.

An interesting feature of the gift exchange between the non-Finnish researchers and the members of the Finnish scientific community is that even though it was asymmetrical in many ways, it was not hierarchical in nature in the sense that the five non-Finnish researchers would have benefitted more from this relationship by taking full use of the need of the Finnish researchers to work with their European counterparts. This is in sharp contrast to how this kind of scientific exchange often operated in natural sciences, where it was often the case that members of a scientific community living in peripheral areas, such as colonies or provinces, would send scientifically interesting findings to their colleagues in scientific centres, who would, in turn, reap the lion's share of prestige by publishing these findings or presenting them at scientific meetings.[340] The relatively equal relationship between the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers might be explained by the fact that there was not as much need for Finnish scholars to enter this kind of hierarchical system, as they were already active participants in the broader community, publishing their own research and participating in international scientific events. An additional contributing factor may have been the fact that in the natural sciences, the article exchanges were usually physical specimens, whereas in the case of the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers examined here, they usually exchanged information that, far from bolstering a hierarchical relationship, affirmed the sender's position as a valuable and respectable expert in their field.[341]

After books and scientific information more generally, the most common items to be exchanged were scientific reviews written by the sender about the other person's work. As the reputation and merits of a researcher – in other

[338] This practice was not unique to the researchers of the nineteenth century, as it had been part of the epistolary culture between European scholars at least from the late medieval and early modern periods when exchanging gifts and information played a very similar role in building trust between participants and was essential for accumulating symbolic and social capital among scholars. See Mauelshagen 2003. Historians have formulated many ways to analyse the operations and logic behind this kind of gift exchange, such as looking at the role that regard played in these interactions, see Offer 1997.
[339] KA FUS, Correspondence 1900–1907, Retzius to FUS 30.10.1906.
[340] For examples, see Valle 2007 for colonial context and Brockliss 2002, 93–94, 258–260 for the scientific relationship between Paris and provinces in 18th century France.
[341] For more views on Finland's position as a periphery in contrast to European scientific centres, see Nygård, Strang and Jalava 2018 and Nygård and Strang 2018.

words, their symbolic capital – were linked to their scientific output, having a publication reviewed somewhere was a good opportunity to get one's research presented to an interested public. The relationship between the Finnish researchers and the non-Finnish researchers had the additional benefit that their colleagues could more easily write reviews in European publications and therefore make it possible for the other person to find a new audience in a foreign country. An international reviewer could also appear to be a more objective critic, as they were not embroiled in local scientific disputes, which were often connected to internal politics and personal feuds and could therefore seemingly examine the work on a scientific basis.

Reviews were often written unasked, and the reviewer might subsequently send a letter informing the author of his usually positive review as a kind of gift. In some rare cases, the "exchange" of reviews could be quite direct, as in one of Setälä's letters to Thomsen, in which he directly asked the Dane to write a statement asserting the independence of Setälä's work, which had been accused of being a plagiarism of Thomsen's research. In the same letter, Setälä mentioned that he had been asked to review Thomsen's recent book.[342] As writing reviews in scientific journals was an integral part of working as a researcher and could bring some renown to both the reviewer and the person whose work was critically examined, it was a relatively common feature in the interactions between the researchers and was also within the reach of young researchers who might otherwise have limited means to curry favour with their academic superiors.

It is usually easy to notice when a gift or a favour was given or received in the letters, but it is also important to remember that in the case of these non-Finnish and Finnish researchers, much of their most frequent interactions happened when the non-Finnish researchers visited Finland and the Finnish researchers provided them with the information, services and connections that they needed. It is hard to assess the full extent of this help, but as Retzius was the only one who conducted his research relatively independently of the Finnish scientific community, much of the positive attitude the non-Finnish researchers had towards Finnish researchers can be explained by this "debt". One way for these non-Finnish researchers to pay back this help can be seen in how they willingly assisted Finnish individuals, most of them other researchers, even though many of them were previously unknown to the non-Finnish researchers.

The only clear deviation, and an example of paying back to a larger group of the Finnish scientific community rather than to a single individual, was when Abercromby donated, on several occasions, funds to the Finno-Ugrian Society to conduct scientific expeditions in Russia among other Finno-Ugric peoples.[343] He

[342] See, for example, SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 28.1.1891. The controversy surrounding these plagiarism accusations has been thoroughly examined in Karlsson 2000, 141–155.
[343] The journal of the Finno-Ugrian Society from the year 1894 notes that Abercromby had in total donated 350£ which, at the time, according to the journal, corresponded to 8,815 Finnish marks. In 1894, the average income per head in Britain was 36£ (Feinstein 1972, Table 17), so his donations were quite a significant sum. These funds were used to support the scientific research conducted by young Finnish researcher Heikki Paasonen among the Mordvins in Russia. Later in 1911, Abercromby would again donate 100£ to the society to

did not mention any single reason for his generosity, but the best explanation is that he wished to repay the help given to him by Finnish researchers, many of whom were active members of this scientific society. As a wealthy nobleman, he had the means to do this and was also in a social position where this kind of support might be perceived positively. Abercromby was also, in his own research, very reliant on secondary sources and materials collected by other researchers, so he might have thought that by supporting this kind of basic research, he could pay back part of the research that he would not contribute himself. It should also be remembered that Abercromby could expect to receive some prestige or symbolic capital through these actions and be labelled as a patron to the Finnish researchers, although the matter was not specially advertised, and the information about these matters stayed largely within the society. On the other hand, it could be expected that this generosity would become more widely known through conversations within these social circles.

The reciprocal exchange among the researchers was usually professional in nature, as could be expected, considering that they usually interacted with each other in the context of their scientific work, but there were also ways to express personal connections through gifts if particular individuals had formed closer relationships. This was usually reflected in the language of the letter, as was previously established, but for the researchers of the late nineteenth century, it had also become common practice to send photographs of themselves and sometimes of their families to people with whom they had become close.[344] Usually, the sender would also express their wish to receive a photograph in turn. As photography had become rather common at this point, it was usual, at least to the relatively well-off educated classes, to have their photo every few years and to have copies at hand that could be sent to people.

This ordinariness is reflected in how the researchers frequently commented on the quality of these photographs in their letters rather than being impressed by the technology of photography itself. Photographs had been quickly adopted into the social practices of polite society, and it had become conventional for people to give them to their associates and comment on their quality.[345] In a way, the photograph acted as a physical reminder of the person, which was especially

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support its research, this time among the Samoyedic people. 'Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura. 1894' SUSA, XII,4 (1894), p. 4; KA ENS, Abercromby to Setälä 8.9.1911; KA FUS, C:1–3, Minutes of the FUS from 18.2.1888, 21.4.1888, 2.9.1888, 2.12.1888 and 23.9.1911.

[344] These did not only include the colleagues of the non-Finnish researchers as Comparetti also sent his photograph to Kaarle Krohn's mother, who had been widowed the year before. Krohn's mother's thanks and reciprocal photograph were sent to Comparetti in Kaarle Krohn's letter, as his mother had been sick lately. UF BU DC, Kaarle Krohn to Comparetti 26.5.1889.

[345] As close contact for Finnish researchers of different generations, Thomsen especially exchanged photos with them, receiving photos at least from August Ahlqvist, Otto Donner, his son Kai Donner (1888–1935), J. J. Mikkola and E. N. Setälä. Retzius also had in his archive professional photographs from Finnish individuals he had met during his trip to Sortavala. Besides the exchange of photographs for personal use, Finnish correspondents often asked their non-Finnish colleagues to send them photographs to illustrate different magazine articles about these men. Therefore, the faces of the non-Finnish researchers were relatively well-known to a much larger portion of the Finnish populace than the people they had personally met during their travels.

relevant in the case of these transnational relationships where years could pass between the two people seeing each other. The placement of the photograph could also be an expression of the importance of the other person, as Setälä mentioned in one of his letters that he intended to frame the photograph of Thomsen and place it on his work table instead of putting it in an album.[346] Sophie Baldock has argued that the exchange of personal photographs in the early twentieth century shared many features with the gifting of miniature portraits, which was a common social practice among European nobility in the seventeenth century.[347] Therefore, it should not be assumed that the introduction of photography brought anything new to the culture of social interactions, as these kinds of personal mementoes had previously been a common part of forming relationships and cultivating them through correspondence.[348]

Letters themselves can also be seen as gifts in their own right, as they were usually a positive affirmation of a relationship between two people, and as the writer had to commit their time to writing a letter, the letter was in a sense a reflection of that undertaking.[349] This emotional value of letters might have been more evident in personal letters than in letters written in professional or business contexts, but the general appreciation of letters and the practice of starting a response by thanking for the previous letter were expressions of valuing letters as such, which was an integral part of the conventions and rhetoric of letters. Nevertheless, the development of postal services during the nineteenth century made sending letters more commonplace, which, in turn, might have undercut the perception of letters as a rare gift, but to some, it also brought new value to receiving them, as, since the introduction of standardised stamps, people quickly started to collect them.

Collecting stamps became a very widespread hobby during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Although Thomsen mentioned in his letter to Setälä, in which he asked his Finnish colleague to send him some Finnish stamps, that his hobby might be perceived as unsuitable for a scientist, it seems that it was a relatively widespread practice even among the researchers, based also on the many stamps that had been cut away from the envelopes and postcards that are otherwise preserved in archives.[350] With the growing popularity of collecting postal stamps, exchanging letters gained a new incentive, and especially for active philatelists, their international contacts might become even more valuable, as the letters they received would include stamps that were not so widely available from their native contacts.

The question of reciprocity and equal exchange of favours was irrelevant in contexts where different researchers cooperated directly in their scientific research, as each of them would commit and benefit at the same time. This kind of cooperation could also be seen as the ultimate use of these transnational

[346] SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 5.3.1892.
[347] Baldock 2019.
[348] For more information about the gift exchange of miniature portraits, see Pointon 2001, especially pages 67–68.
[349] About letters as gifts, see Kinder 2015 and Stanley 2011.
[350] SKS KIA ENS, Thomsen to Setälä, 25.10.1891.

professional relationships, although it was much more common for the researchers to work independently or with their local scientific community, whereas the use of international contacts was usually restricted to providing additional information. Interestingly, each of the five non-Finnish researchers conducted much of their research independently from the Finnish scientific community, and their Finnish colleagues had no role as co-authors or publishers of these works. The few cases where there was more active and equal cooperation all had to do with the scientific expeditions Finnish researchers conducted in Central Asia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The most significant of these cases was when Finnish researchers associated with the Finno-Ugrian Society assisted Thomsen with his research concerning the decipherment of the so-called Orkhon script by publishing his two works, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchifrées* (1896) and *Turcica* (1916), on this matter. The Finnish researchers also helped Thomsen by continually providing new information from their expeditions in Siberia and Mongolia, especially in cases in which new examples of the script had been found.[351] The old Turkic scripts were the most significant findings of these expeditions, but the Finnish researchers also excavated many other archaeological findings that were published by the society. One of these publications was *Altertümer aus dem Tale des Talas in Turkestan* (1918) by Heikki J. Heikel (1865–1937), in which he presented details of grave findings from the society's expedition to Turkestan in 1899. To support his presentation of the artefacts found in these excavations, Heikel asked Gustaf Retzius to provide an analysis of the skull remnants found in the graves.[352] Retzius worked with his portion of the study during 1900 and 1901, but it would take Heikel almost 20 years to finish the work, meaning that for Retzius, this collaboration brought scarcely any benefit, as he died only a year after the work was published. In the full scope of Retzius's anthropological output, this occasion was relatively insignificant, and as he did not seem to have actively followed Heikel's progress to finish the work, he probably undertook this task out of obligation to the Finnish research community, especially considering that he was a corresponding member of the Finno-Ugrian Society. Retzius's contribution to this work totals 16 pages, which is not insignificant, considering that Heikel's own analysis takes up only 47 pages of the work.

The non-Finnish researchers were not the only ones valued for their skills, as Finnish researchers were also occasionally asked to write about topics of their expertise. The most interesting example showcasing the interaction between a non-Finnish and a Finnish researcher was Retzius's request from Otto E. A. Hjelt

[351] During the first decades of the twentieth century, a younger generation of Finnish researchers, such as the geographer Johannes Gabriel Granö (1882–1956) and the linguist Gustaf John Ramstedt (1873–1950), continued scientific expeditions in the Russian Far East and, among their other research documented any found inscriptions, although these were not the primary motivator for these expeditions anymore. Out of the Finnish researchers Thomsen corresponded with, especially Otto Donner and Setälä informed Thomsen of these new findings.

[352] Heikel's correspondence with Retzius was relatively frequent, and there are in total 7 extant letters from Heikel to Retzius from the years 1900 and 1901 as organising a joint publication with a lot of pictures was not easy, especially in this kind of transnational context.

to reprint his work about Carl von Linné's importance to medicine for the festivities related to the bicentennial of Linné's birth, which was organised in 1907 by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences.[353] In addition to using much of his earlier work, Hjelt expanded his research on Linné by using new archival material and other sources provided to him by Retzius. This later edition of Hjelt's work was published as part of a collection of other essays that examined Linné's role as a natural scientist.[354] Publishing one's work to such a public was, of course, a huge benefit for Hjelt, but as an emeritus professor, he did not have much need to prove himself or establish himself as a known figure at that point in his career. Hjelt's contribution was rewarded in other ways, as he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Uppsala during the festivities for Linné and was subsequently given the Linné medal in silver from the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences for his work on Linné.[355]

These honours illuminate the different ways in which researchers could reciprocate material help with sources of symbolic capital unique to the field of science. These opportunities were, of course, available only to high-ranking researchers, such as Retzius, who held positions in scientific organisations through which he could influence upon whom this kind of recognition would be bestowed. This is also an example of how personal interactions could bring researchers into contact with large organisations, which, in turn, could hide the original importance of interpersonal activities and the contributions of people other than the final author of a work.

Although many of the interactions of the researchers can be interpreted as them trying to accrue different kinds of capital or advantage for their own purposes, it would be wrong to paint all of their actions as attempts to maximise their own benefit. Part of these social exchanges of favours was that any potential gain might materialise only far into the future. A healthier point of view for these researchers was to act in a manner appropriate for a scientist and to share their knowledge and help readily, without measuring the immediate costs and benefits. Based on the correspondence examined for this study, it was extremely rare for a researcher to outright decline if someone asked for their assistance, and these kinds of one-off contacts were generally more common than reciprocal relationships that lasted for years. It was also not out of order for a researcher to act against their immediate benefit, as happened when Thomsen declined a stipend offered by the Finno-Ugrian Society to help his research. To fight against Thomsen's modesty, Donner had to highlight, and most likely also exaggerate, the pragmatic aims behind this generosity:

> As for the feeling of discomfort of receiving a scholarship from here, which you wrote about in your previous letter, I would just like to emphasise that it is a selfish interest we have in it that you must still maintain health and strength to be able to continue

[353] KK KK OH, Retzius to Hjelt 16.11.1904; Hjelt 1877.
[354] Hjelt 1907.
[355] "Stockholmsbref. Linnéfesten och Barnens dag." *Nya Pressen*, 29.05.1907, 141, p. 4; "Vetenskaplig hedersbetygelse." *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 27.11.1907, 275, p. 2.

> your scientific work and immediately also those which you would perform for us. That the friendship with you also plays a part is not a mistake.[356]

The occasions when the Finno-Ugrian Society partly funded Thomsen's research and when Abercromby donated funds to the society are the clearest examples of money having played part in the interactions of the Finnish and non-Finnish researchers. These cases are also clear outliers and are not representative of the usual personal interactions between researchers. Thomsen's resistance to taking payment for his research shows that he was hesitant to break the usual non-monetary conventions of researchers, whereas the figures of the Finno-Ugrian Society seem to have been more adaptive on this occasion, as intensive cooperation with Thomsen was a rare and valuable relationship for them. As publishers of academic research, they most likely could see past the usual conventions and focus on the practical use of money in this circumstance. In the publishing processes, they had also grown accustomed to the use of money in paying for the printing, translations and other tasks that had to be outsourced. In this light, funding a researcher so they could better focus on their studies would only seem natural, especially as the Finnish researchers could not provide Thomsen with a boost to his academic career, as was usual for many young Finnish researchers who conducted their research under the auspices of the Finno-Ugrian Society.

These outlying cases of monetary exchange show that the researchers could not always operate in an environment outside the economic realities, but they also demonstrate that the use of money required circumstances where research could not be easily conducted without these funds. Even in these cases, the money was not used as payment for earlier services or favours, although these could play a partial role in motivating these moments of generosity, and these personal interactions still largely operated in the spirit of reciprocity via nonmonetary gifts and favours, based on the appropriate social conventions among the researchers.

The different advantages that motivated researchers to form new connections with their international colleagues and the social environment that nurtured the necessary trust allowed the non-Finnish researchers to benefit from their Finnish contacts in several ways. It is important to recognise the importance of this social capital, but it is also worth examining the nature of these social networks in more detail, which is the focus of the following section.

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[356] 'Vad beträffar den känsla av obehag att mottaga ett stipendium härifrån, varom du skrev i ditt förra brev, bill jag endast framhålla, att det är ett egoistiskt intresse vi hava derav, att du må fortfarande behålla hälsa och krafter för att kunna fortsätta dina vetenskapliga arbeten och omedelbart även dem, som du för får skulle utför. Att [unclear word] även vänskapen till dig spelar med, är väl icke ett fel.' SKS KIA F-III, Donner to Thomsen 2.2.1909.

4.2 Scientific Networks

The nature of transnational links between the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers is examined more closely in this section, which investigates how old cultural links and the interests of the non-Finnish researchers shaped their networks with Finnish researchers. As the correspondence used in this research is limited to the letters that the non-Finnish researchers exchanged with each other and with their Finnish colleagues, this part of the thesis does not make claims concerning how these networks fit into the broader scientific networks of the non-Finnish researchers. Rather, this section examines this correspondence more qualitatively and compares the somewhat overlapping networks that the non-Finnish researchers formed with the Finnish scientific community.

Forming transnational contacts and networks was typical for the researchers of the nineteenth century, especially as much of Central and Eastern Europe consisted of multi-ethnic empires and many people had frequent contact with their ethnic kin in other European states. Some of the most connected and widespread of these national groups were the German-speaking populations of Central and Eastern Europe, which were very prominent in urban centres and educated classes, even in the Russian Empire.[357] These German-speaking groups and other people who interacted with the German-language cultural sphere were very interconnected, and for these people, transnational interactions were something of a norm.

Another transnational environment, based on cultural links and language, was in Scandinavia, where, during the nineteenth century, the old animosity and competition between Sweden and Denmark had changed for more constructive cultural and social interactions.[358] There were also strong traditional links between Sweden and Finland, which had been, to some extent, severed after the Finnish War of 1808–1809, when Russia took control of Finland, but as the Finnish elite was primarily Swedish-speaking, contacts between Swedish and Finnish spheres of culture and research were still common. One example of these transnational links is that many Finnish figures, such as mineralogist and polar explorer Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld (1832–1901), had moved to Sweden because

[357] During the first years of the Russian Academy of Sciences, which was founded by Peter the Great and launched in 1725, many non-Russian scholars were invited to join the academy. Many of these scholars, such as the famed Swiss mathematician Leonhard Euler (1707–1783), came from German-speaking countries. The Russian Empire had also a large, educated German-speaking population from the Baltic German nobility, which contributed many scholars to the empire. Even during the latter half of the nineteenth century, many German-speaking researchers, such as the turkologist Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff (1837–1918), emigrated to Russia.

[358] For a good overview of Pan-Scandinavianism and nationalism among the Scandinavian countries during the nineteenth century, see Hilson 2006. For internationalist aspects of the Pan-Scandinavian movement, see Nygård 2022. During the twentieth century, the concept of "Nordic countries" was built on the previous Pan-Scandinavism movement and started to include countries outside Scandinavia, such as Finland and Iceland, more closely to this international cooperation. For some perspectives on the Nordic cooperation and development of the Nordic image, see contributions in Harvard and Stadius (eds.) 2013.

their political activities had been deemed threatening by the Russian regime. In Sweden, Nordenskiöld became a famed explorer who rose to prominent positions in Swedish society, although he continued to have contact with his old compatriots.[359]

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the question of the preferred language became, especially in education, one of the most defining political issues in Finland that divided much of the Finnish elite. Many members of the traditional Swedish-speaking elite supported the status quo, meaning that Swedish would stay the primary language of government and higher education, whereas in the spirit of nationalism, others thought that policies should reflect the fact that the majority of the Finnish populace was Finnish-speaking and that the Finnish language should therefore have an equal or even preferred status compared with Swedish. Many of these pro-Finnish "Fennomans" adopted Finnish as their main language, although many of them came from Swedish-speaking families. Towards the end of the century, as more people from Finnish-speaking backgrounds came to university, the issue was not limited to only the Swedish-speaking elite but started to relate more to the real language boundaries in society. Nevertheless, throughout this time, there were also many moderate voices who spoke for cooperation among the Swedish- and Finnish-speaking groups and tried to find common ground in tackling other political and social issues. Most of this politically active elite in Finland was connected to academia, and these political fault lines could also influence in which learned and scientific societies researchers participated and which disciplines students would study.[360]

For the non-Finnish researchers, these domestic political topics of Finnish researchers were probably not totally evident, but as their interest in studying "Finns" meant that they would work primarily with Finnish individuals most interested in the topic of "Finnishness", the Fennomans and their political aims became intertwined with the scientific inquiries of these non-Finnish researchers. The presence of Fennoman influences was especially strong in the disciplines that formed the Historical-philological section (*Historisk-filologiska sektionen/Historiallis-kielitieteellinen osasto*) of the Imperial Alexander University in Finland, which included most of the culturally or linguistically oriented Finnish researchers who had studied the origins and culture of Finns, the topics that most

[359] Nordenskiöld was not directly linked to the non-Finnish researchers, at least in the context of this research, but there were some interesting links as he was one of the members of the delegation that brought the Pro Finlandia petition to the Tsar in 1899, and, after his death, his place in the Swedish Academy was taken by Gustaf Retzius in 1901.

[360] Katja Huumo has analysed extensively the use of the Finnish language in nineteenth-century scientific discourse in Finland in her doctoral thesis (Huumo 2005). An illustrative example of these disputes is how in 1908 Finnish-speaking researchers founded the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters to compete with the older Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, which favoured the use of Swedish in scientific discourse, arguing that the older society did not reflect well enough the growing use of the Finnish language in society and scientific discourse. A more personal example can be seen in the fact that when August Ahlqvist was deposed from the Finnish Literature Society, he later founded a new learned society called *Kotikielen Seura* (Society for the Study of Finnish) which had many overlapping goals with the older society.

interested the non-Finnish researchers.[361] Therefore, it is not surprising that figures such as Julius Krohn, Otto Donner and E. N. Setälä were some of the most active correspondents with the non-Finnish researchers and had personal contacts with several of them. For example, Otto Donner was the only one of the Finnish researchers of whom we can say for sure exchanged letters with all five non-Finnish researchers examined here, and after Setälä, he was their most active correspondent.[362]

Based on their nationalistic preference for the Finnish language, it could be expected that the researchers with Fennoman leanings would have been insular and focused just on the study of Finnish people, but as many of them represented the traditional elite of the Finnish intelligentsia, they could make use of many of the same transnational social networks and cultural advantages as their Svecoman colleagues. These researchers were also keen to find endorsements for their research among the European scientific community, and many of their findings were consciously presented in ways that would interest their European colleagues. As explained in Chapter 2, the assistance that the Finnish researchers provided to their non-Finnish colleagues can also be partly interpreted as an attempt to forward their own scientific views and, at the same time, to provide more accurate information about the Finnish people, in line with the positive view of Finnish culture that they tried to propagate.

The researchers most strongly influenced by these Fennoman ideals usually worked on the Finnish language, Finnish ethnography and folklore, and Finnish history, which all contributed to the construction of a national identity and a shared past for the Finnish people. Therefore, it is not surprising that Abercromby, Comparetti and Thomsen interacted extensively with researchers such as Otto Donner, E. N. Setälä, Julius Krohn and Kaarle Krohn, who worked in association with the Finno-Ugrian Society or the Finnish Literature Society. Some of these figures, such as Julius Krohn and D. E. D. Europaeus, were among the most vocal Fennomans of their time, but most of the Finnish researchers with whom their non-Finnish colleagues corresponded were relatively moderate on the "language question".

Among the correspondents of the non-Finnish researchers, there was no comparable representation of vocal Svecomans who supported the strong position of the Swedish language in Finland. Compared with the researchers from the previously mentioned academic fields, which had a stronger representation of Fennomans, disciplines linked to elite professions, such as law, medicine and the natural sciences, had proportionally more teachers who only taught in Swedish and therefore proportionally also included more individuals

[361] The Fennoman ethos was especially strong among historians, such as Yrjö Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen, folklorists, such as Julius and Kaarle Krohn, and linguists, such as August Ahlqvist, Otto Donner, Arvid Genetz and E. N. Setälä.

[362] Setälä stands out mostly because of his extremely active correspondence with Thomsen. After him, Donner was clearly the most active correspondent among the non-Finnish researchers, although his activity was largely dependent on his moderately frequent correspondence with Abercromby and Thomsen, whereas his relationship with the Retzius and Virchow was more limited.

who were more strongly supportive of the Swedish language in Finland.[363] Compared with the linguistically and culturally oriented Fennomans who formed the main contacts for Abercromby, Comparetti and Thomsen, Retzius and Virchow interacted more with their colleagues in the Finnish medical field. Virchow's main contact among Finnish physicians was Otto E. A. Hjelt, who was also the most frequent Finnish correspondent of Retzius, although Retzius frequently also exchanged letters with Finnish physician Evert Julius Bonsdorff (1820–1898). Retzius also had zoologists Johan Axel Palmén (1845–1919) and Odo Morannal Reuter (1850–1913) as contacts among Finnish natural scientists. Although all these men came from Swedish-speaking families, only Reuter and especially Bonsdorff could be called Svecomans, as he repeatedly opposed expanding the use of the Finnish language at the university.[364] Palmén, who was Bonsdorff's nephew, had liberal Fennoman attitudes, and Hjelt was also supportive of Fennoman ideas.[365]

There do not seem to have been politically motivated attempts by the Svecomans to use the non-Finnish anthropologists for their own political aims in the same conscious way that the Fennomans actively used the interest shown by the non-Finnish individuals towards the Finnish language and culture in support of their own arguments. After the turn of the century, racial arguments became more common among the Swedish-speaking population to question the ability of the Finnish-speaking majority to participate in politics and government. Although this racial rhetoric was not totally absent during the last decades of the nineteenth century, it seems that Retzius's or Virchow's research was not actively used in this way.[366] Other racial texts were also available that painted a more negative picture of the Finns compared with the relatively balanced presentations by Retzius and Virchow.

The spheres of the humanities and the natural sciences were not isolated from each other, even if we only look at the networks of non-Finnish researchers. This is especially clear in Virchow's research on Finns, as he mostly relied on Hjelt's assistance, but he also corresponded with Otto Donner. When he came to Finland, both Donner and Hjelt assisted him personally. As the networks that these five non-Finnish researchers built with their Finnish colleagues were not very distinct and unique, it might be more worthwhile to conceptualise their social networks as a continuum, from primarily culturally oriented researchers, represented by the Krohns and Adolf Neovius, to more linguistically interested researchers primarily operating in the Finno-Ugrian Society and finally to Finnish physicians and natural scientists. On this continuum, Comparetti interacted most actively with the culturally oriented Finnish researchers, although his contacts were very similar to those of Abercromby, who also

[363] Klinge et al. 1989, 864–865.
[364] Ibid., 426–427, 555–557.
[365] Ibid. 426–427, 556.
[366] For the rise of racial arguments in political rhetoric among the Svecomans, see Engman 2018, 346–351 and Hämäläinen 1985. One of the works best showcasing these new racial arguments is *Svenskt I Finland: ställning och strävanden* (1914), published by Swedish-speaking students at the Imperial Alexander University in Finland.

interacted actively with Finnish linguists. Thomsen's correspondence with Finnish researchers continued for such a long time that he had the most Finnish correspondents among the non-Finnish researchers, although he, too, primarily interacted with the same culturally and linguistically oriented Finnish researchers as Comparetti and Abercromby. However, he differed from these two by having more diverse contacts among Finnish linguists, such as J. J. Mikkola (1866–1946), who did not interact with the other non-Finnish researchers.

Retzius had many contacts among Finnish physicians and natural scientists, but he also exchanged letters with Finnish linguist August Ahlqvist and historian Zacharias Topelius, whereas Virchow was largely dependent on Hjelt. Retzius and Virchow can also be seen as interlinked, as they exchanged several letters, and in a similar way, Thomsen was weakly linked to Retzius, as they also corresponded. The Retzius-Virchow and Retzius-Thomsen correspondences are, in a sense, irrelevant when examining their networks with the Finnish researchers, as in both cases the correspondence was not linked to their studies of Finns. Nevertheless, these connections show how their interests overlapped on different issues, although in most cases, these interactions were quite fleeting.[367] According to Abercromby, he had met Virchow in Berlin during one of his travels related to his studies of the Finns, but the interactions between the non-Finnish researchers were, overall, quite scarce, although they were generally aware of each other's works and cited them.[368] It is also possible that there were more interactions among them, but evidence of these has not been preserved. It was more common for Finnish writers to refer to these non-Finnish researchers than for the non-Finnish researchers to mention any of the other researchers who had studied Finns.

Although the scientific networks of the non-Finnish researchers can be quite neatly arranged into this kind of continuum, this is only possible by excluding Finnish archaeologists, who presented a more complex picture. Compared with the other disciplines, the archaeologists were not the primary or even secondary contacts for any of the non-Finnish researchers, although all corresponded with some Finnish archaeologists. The father of Finnish archaeology, J. R. Aspelin, corresponded with Retzius, Thomsen and Virchow, but it is possible that he also exchanged letters with Abercromby and Comparetti, which just have not survived, for whatever reason.[369] Besides Aspelin, there were also A. M. Tallgren's (1885–1945) letters to Abercromby, Comparetti and Thomsen, Hjalmar

[367] It is also worth noting that, according to Abercromby (Abercromby 1907, 568), he had met Virchow in Berlin during one of his travels related to his studies of the Finns, but the interactions between the non-Finnish researchers were quite scarce, although they were generally aware of each other's works and cited them. It is also possible that there were more interactions among them, but evidence about these has not been preserved. It was more common for Finnish writers to refer to these non-Finnish researchers than for the non-Finnish researchers to mention any of the other researchers who had studied Finns.

[368] Abercromby 1907, 568.

[369] Abercromby mentions meeting Aspelin in a short biographical text about his research in Finland (Abercromby 1907, 565), and it is very likely that Comparetti also met him during one of his visits to Finland, especially considering that he cited several of Aspelin's works in his publications and would have had ample opportunities to talk about these topics while staying in Helsinki.

Appelgren's (1853–1937) and A. O. Heikel's (1851–1924) letters to Thomsen, and H. J. Heikel's letters to Retzius as demonstrations of the contacts the non-Finnish researchers had with Finnish archaeologists. The reasons for each set of correspondence are, of course, unique, but these quite random and variable contacts are a good example of how archaeological study during this time was interlinked with various disciplines, from anthropology to linguistics and ethnography. This all stemmed from the shared interests of these scientific fields in the human past, but as archaeology was a rather young discipline at the time, it was much easier to make conjectures about material findings, compared with its later developments when combining research done in different disciplines, especially in linguistic and archaeology, became more challenged.

This mixing of different disciplines was particularly strong in the Finnish research community, as there were not enough educated researchers to form separate cliques along neat disciplinary lines. In addition, due to their political activities, the researchers interacted frequently, and many of their scientific endeavours were led by the same politically motivated aims rather than distinct disciplinary paradigms. This is highlighted particularly clearly in the case of Otto Donner, who fostered this kind of scientific cooperation, representing the drive among Finnish researchers to interact actively with European researchers without being too bothered by the discipline they represented. The reasons why these networks were relatively similar also stemmed from the fact that the Finnish researchers quite quickly introduced the interested non-Finnish researchers to their own contacts, so in many cases, the non-Finnish researchers only needed to form one link with their Finnish colleagues to become strongly intertwined with the rest of the network. One example of this is how the non-Finnish researchers shared membership in several Finnish learned bodies, a point that is analysed more closely in the next section.

There is one discipline, history, that would be expected to be more represented among the contacts of the non-Finnish researchers, especially considering that all of them shared an interest in the past of Finns. The only Finnish historian who exchanged letters with the non-Finnish researchers seems to have been Zacharias Topelius, who started corresponding with Retzius after leaving his professorship in history at the Imperial Alexander University. Topelius was also not very representative as a historian, as he was more widely known as a playwright and author of historical novels.[370] His position at the university also owed more to his position as a cultural figure shaping public discourse than to his importance as a researcher of historical topics.[371] Compared

[370] Topelius was one of the foremost intellectual figures in Finland between the 1850s and the 1880s and although he wrote in Swedish, his works were patriotic in nature and part of the movement of Romantic nationalism which was popular in Finland during this time. In the context of the "language question", Topelius was relatively moderate and supported the coexistence of Finnish- and Swedish-speaking populations of Finland. His most popular works include the historical novel *Fältskärns berättelser* (1853–1867) and *Boken om vårt land* (1875), in which he portrayed Finnish nature, people, and history.

[371] On Topelius's position in Finnish historiography, see Tommila 1989, 76–77, 87–89. Tommila notes that although Topelius made little contribution to research, his lectures were

with the influence of Topelius, the historical profession in Finland was more significantly shaped during this era by Yrjö Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen (1830–1903, until 1882, Georg Zacharias Forsman), who constructed an independent national narrative of Finland's history, highlighting examples of national events and figures from the time when Finland was still part of the Kingdom of Sweden.[372] Yrjö-Koskinen was the de facto leader of the Fennomans and illustrates well how academic and political life were intertwined in Finland.

It could be expected that the non-Finnish researchers would have some influence from Finnish historians, but it seems that these connections were very rare.[373] Although Finnish historians occasionally wrote about Finnish prehistory, they usually relied on research done by linguists and archaeologists, who were much more skilled in interpreting the findings of these disciplines. The non-Finnish researchers, on the other hand, were not really interested in the national history of Finns based on textual sources and did not pay much attention to the later developments of Finns during the historical era. Retzius and Abercromby made some conclusions based on written sources from Antiquity, Scandinavian sagas and medieval chronicles and very occasionally cited historians such as Yrjö-Koskinen, but these sources were generally auxiliary for their central arguments built from linguistic, folkloristic, archaeological or anthropological sources.[374] It could also be argued that the non-Finnish researchers did not have strong opinions about Finns as a nationality with historical agency and therefore focused primarily on research examining Finns as an ethnic group.

Beyond these discipline-based differences, there could also have been a political undercurrent that indirectly shaped which Finnish researchers became more likely contacts for the non-Finnish researchers. Although their correspondents were primarily Fennomans, they usually represented the more moderate parts of the movement and placed considerable importance on international cultural influences.[375] These people were also politically and culturally relatively liberal and usually favoured progressive ideas, such as Darwin's theory of evolution, which was quite a divisive issue at the time, even in public discourse. Reactions to Darwin's theories were also a good indicator of

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popular, and his popular works had a big influence on the historical understanding of the Finnish populace, who kept reading his books for several decades.

[372] On Yrjö-Koskinen's importance in Finnish historiography, see Tommila 1989, 89–95. It is noteworthy that neither of the professors left a lasting effect on the Finnish historical profession, as newer generations were not so interested in their Hegelian view of history and were more influenced by new currents of historical thought in Europe, see for example Tommila 1989, 135–147.

[373] Although there are no archived letters from Yrjö Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen to Comparetti, Comparetti does name him as one of his close associates in Finland. Toivo Tarvas "Kun Kalevala ilmestyi italiankielellä. Muistelma vuodelta 1910." *Uusi Suomi*, 28.2.1925, 49, p. 13.

[374] See, for example, Retzius 1878, 9–10 and Abercromby 1898, 126–145.

[375] The contemporary political identities and groups were quite malleable, but many of these more internationally oriented, liberal Fennomans were usually called 'the Young Finns' (*nuorsuomalaiset*) and they would officially split from the Fennoman party in 1905. During the tumultuous decades of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Finland, the party allegiances and political identities of many individuals changed, and many turn-of-the-century liberals were staunch conservatives by the 1920s. These political aspects are more closely examined in Chapter 6.

a person's views on other social issues, such as attitudes towards religion, which divided much of the learned elite into progressives and conservatives.[376] The core of the Fennomans, represented by Yrjö-Koskinen, and most of the vocal Svecomans, usually represented more conservative views, which were not typically shared by the non-Finnish researchers. The different political views of the researchers will be analysed in more depth in Chapter 6.[377] The conservative nationalism of the majority of the Fennomans also probably influenced the fact that the Finnish historians were not so active in building international networks compared with the Finnish linguists, for example, who were much more internationally oriented and aimed to further their national goals in the international arena.[378]

The non-Finnish researchers did not deliberately associate with the Fennomans as a group, and the internal Finnish debates about language were not a common topic in their letters. On the other hand, they were aware of the positive views most of the Finnish researchers had towards Finnish culture and people, as their politically motivated interests made them valuable contacts for the purposes of the non-Finnish researchers. Nevertheless, there were some individuals who were staunch Svecomans among the less frequent correspondents of the non-Finnish researchers, and this correspondence is usually related to other contexts, such as the Pro Finlandia petition, which is examined in more detail in Chapter 6.

Although the Svecomans were not strongly represented in the Finnish networks of the non-Finnish researchers, the old cultural links between Finnish and Scandinavian elites were evident in how Retzius could make use of his father's many Finnish contacts when he came to Finland. There was much transnational communication among these physicians, and even Retzius's and Hjelt's later correspondence can be interpreted as an expression of this shared cultural sphere, where it seemed natural that a Swedish physician could ask his Finnish colleague to publish an extensive biography of a Swedish scientist. The other Scandinavian among the non-Finnish researchers, Thomsen, did not exemplify these older networks, as there were not as many traditional interactions between Finland and Denmark. Thomsen also did not use the

[376] In Finland's case, see Klinge et al. 1989, 630–646 and Paaskoski 2002, 25–34. For some further divisions among early proponents of Darwinism in Finland based on these same themes, see Dahlberg 2021, 48–55.

[377] As a short generalisation, it could be mentioned that Abercromby, Thomsen and Virchow were generally relatively liberally oriented in their political views, whereas Retzius was originally very liberal, but during his later life represented more conservative ideas. Comparetti's political alignment is not especially clear, but in his letters to Finland, he usually expressed relatively conservative points of view on contemporary events.

[378] According to Mervi Kaarninen, Finnish historians became increasingly international from the 1860s onwards as, due to the scarcity of historical sources in Finland, many historians frequently visited foreign archives, especially in Sweden, for relevant documents. The Finnish historians also participated in international conferences, but, according to Kaarninen, the height of this internationalism was during the period from 1898 to 1914 (Kaarninen 2019, 401). It is also likely that the Finnish historians did not participate in the same international events as the non-Finnish researchers who did not identify themselves as historians. For the internationalism of Finnish historians during the interwar period, see Jalava 2017.

Swedish networks, which both the Finnish and Danish researchers shared as mediators, but rather showed a strong initiative in contacting Finnish individuals himself, starting when he was only a student. Thomsen's networks among the learned Finnish elite would quickly expand and continue for the rest of his life, but rather than representing traditional bilateral contacts between Sweden and Finland, he stood for new kinds of Nordic interactions that would become common during the twentieth century.

Virchow's contact with Finnish researchers can also be partly explained by the older cultural links. Germany had, for centuries, been the main destination for Finnish students who wanted to expand their knowledge beyond their native academic education, and as German research attained leading status in many disciplines during the nineteenth century, this practice did not change significantly. It is harder to speculate what kind of contact Virchow would have had with Finnish researchers in the context of the *Finnenfrage* if he had not known Hjelt because of his studies in Germany, as he received a lot of assistance from Finnish researchers that he could relatively easily access through these existing contacts. Most likely, his research on Finns would not have been as extensive, but it is possible that he would have just used different sources to find comparable information, for example, relying more heavily on measurements done on Estonians, which he also occasionally used in his research.

Abercromby's situation was also based on this kind of one-off contact, as he managed to open relationships with Finnish researchers relatively easily once Otto Donner had represented his university in the tercentenary of the University of Edinburgh and became known to Scottish academics with whom Abercromby was acquainted, as examined in Section 4.2. Comparetti's case seems to be quite similar to Thomsen's, as he started to form relationships with Finnish researchers for the purposes of his own studies. There do not seem to have been any social networks linking Finland and Italy on which he could have based his interactions.

In short, the non-Finnish researchers had the possibility of making use of previously established traditional networks, as in the case of Retzius and Virchow, took full use of their previous networks, as in the case of Abercromby, and were quite willing to take a leap of faith and try to form new social networks where none previously existed. All five men benefited from the expectations of cosmopolitanism among the scientific community, and as they could relatively easily prove their positions in this community, many of the challenges related to interacting with previously unknown persons were mitigated.

Although the origins of their networks differed, in practice, the networks of the non-Finnish researchers were quite similar. Correspondence with a typical Finnish researcher consisted of fewer than five letters sent or received by them. Each of the non-Finnish researchers had a handful of Finnish colleagues with whom they exchanged five or more letters: three such contacts for Abercromby, four for Comparetti, five for Retzius, ten for Thomsen and one for Virchow. These people could be defined as their main contacts on more than one issue. If we look at individuals who exchanged ten or more letters, the number drops significantly: two contacts for Abercromby, two for Comparetti, two for Retzius, seven for

Thomsen and one for Virchow. Out of these contacts, the relationship between Thomsen and E. N. Setälä is the most striking, as the letters they exchanged totalled more than 300.

Considering that the correspondence between Finnish and non-Finnish researchers usually lasted for several decades, it would be out of order to define any of these correspondences as a strong personal tie, excluding the Thomsen-Setälä case, which is a clear outlier. As these sets of correspondences were transnational, it does not come as a surprise that the interactions fit quite well with how "weak ties" are defined in the scientific literature.[379] Although the interactions based on weak ties are not as frequent compared with interactions based on strong ties, which usually connect co-workers, close family, friends and frequent associates, weak ties usually provide access to new networks that have unique information, compared with the in-groups united by strong links where people generally share a relatively similar set of information. As the main motivator for the interactions between these researchers was the exchange of information, it makes sense that the contacts between the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers were useful, even though they represented weak links, as they were more likely to give the non-Finnish researchers new information unavailable through their colleagues at home, with whom they interacted more frequently but who lacked the required knowledge related to Finns.[380]

Although these links between Finnish and non-Finnish researchers were all weak, with the exception of Thomsen-Setälä, there were differences among minor contacts of the non-Finnish researchers, with whom they usually corresponded only about a single issue, and their major contacts, with whom they corresponded more frequently during different decades and on several topics. To Retzius and Virchow, this kind of major figure was Otto E. A. Hjelt. As the leading individuals in the Finno-Ugrian Society, Otto Donner and E. N. Setälä were the most common correspondents for Abercromby, Comparetti and Thomsen. For Comparetti, Julius and Kaarle Krohn were also important, and Thomsen, too, frequently corresponded with other Finnish linguists, such as Europaeus and J. J. Mikkola. It is harder to assess how much the non-Finnish researchers interacted with their Finnish colleagues in person when they were in Finland or when the Finnish researchers visited them, but based on mentions in correspondence and later accounts of these encounters, it seems that personal meetings were quite typical and that the researchers actively tried to arrange these meetings when they were in the same location. As the correspondence worked in tandem with these personal meetings, as when the researchers had to arrange their arrivals and inform the other party of their plans to visit, it is not necessary to see explicit differences when comparing interactions in person to those communicated through text when examining the nature of their social ties.

It is also worthwhile to note that even though these interpersonal links were usually weak, the Finnish researchers who were part of these networks were not

[379] Granovetter 1973 and 1983.
[380] The importance of networks based on weak ties for the transmission of scientific knowledge and information has been well examined in Lux and Cook 1998.

some middling figures. Most of them were professors, sometimes already at the beginning of these interactions or at least later in their careers. Out of the 30 scientific correspondents examined here, 19 were primary professors in their disciplines, 4 were "personal additional professors" (*extra ordinarie professor, henkilökohtainen ylimääräinen professori*) and one worked as an acting professor at some point in his career.[381] Most of the Finnish researchers who were not professors were at least docents or worked in comparable high positions, such as Hjalmar Appelgren (1853–1937), the state archaeologist. The high representation of professors among the Finnish contacts of the non-Finnish researchers shows that they were able to form relationships with the highest scientific authorities in Finland. It also demonstrates that the young researchers who interacted with these non-Finnish researchers were quite likely to advance in their academic careers to these high positions. This can be explained in part by their conscious efforts to network with international researchers. In addition, these individuals were active in scientific organisations that interacted with the non-Finnish researchers, and advancement in the hierarchies of these organisations was usually indicative of advancement of academic careers as well. As trusted disciples of older researchers, they were usually in a good position to form these international contacts and had the necessary native networks to further their careers.

The only relationship that bloomed beyond the boundaries of weak ties was Thomsen's and Setälä's close interactions from the 1880s to Thomsen's death in 1927. Thomsen's original role was that of Setälä's closest scientific mentor, but their relationship quickly developed into a close friendship and reached its apex when Setälä married Thomsen's daughter. Even though their relationship did not have all the benefits of weak ties, the strong interpersonal ties made it possible for Setälä to open up to Thomsen on many issues, such as when he felt ostracised by many of his Finnish colleagues during the contentious election of the new professor of Finnish language at the Imperial Alexander University. Both parties also benefited from the fact that the other lived in another country and could transfer information about recent events and new scientific findings from their local communities.

Setälä and Thomsen could also write quite frankly about native matters in which the other was not involved; therefore, this transnational relationship could also be a possibility to vent feelings on these topics. Considering that their relationship was already relatively close, there was no significant shift in their interactions after Setälä became Thomsen's son-in-law. Compared with the usual relationships between Finnish and non-Finnish researchers based on weak ties, Setälä and Thomsen could be more forward in their interactions, and Setälä, in particular, dared to place his full trust in Thomsen, compared with the more matter-of-fact relationships of the other researchers.

As the weak ties were, in essence, based on their practical benefit for both parties, it was possible to transfer them from one generation to another in a way

[381] Hjalmar Appelgren and A. O. Heikel were also awarded the title of professor after their careers as archaeologists and organisers of Finnish museums outside Finnish academia.

that the more personal strong relationships could not. One example is how Gustaf Retzius inherited some social capital from his father and could use these relationships in his own research. Sometimes, this transfer was quite sudden, as in the case of the Krohns, when after Julius's sudden death in a sailing accident, his son Kaarle inherited many of his established roles, and a significant part of his own career consisted of editing his father's work and further developing his ideas. As Julius died while Comparetti was still working on his book about the *Kalevala* and Finnish oral poetry, he could rely on Kustaa's assistance and knowledge of this topic to finish his work. As these relationships were professional in nature all along, there was not as much personal baggage related to how these weak links operated.

The intergenerational nature of these social networks was nevertheless clearest among Finnish linguists. In the case of Thomsen, he had initially formed relationships with many established Finnish linguists, but subsequently, he developed much closer relationships with the younger Finnish linguists, such as Setälä and Mikkola, who followed his more modern theoretical approaches, compared with the theoretically outdated older cadre of Finnish linguists. Through the Finno-Ugrian Society, in which most of these linguists were active members, there were also structural roles that supported this inheritance of social ties. Otto Donner had been active in cultivating these international contacts between the society and non-Finnish researchers who had some interest in studying languages related to Finnish. He organised these international contacts first as the secretary and later as the president of the society. Setälä followed Donner in these roles, working as the secretary when Donner was the president and later becoming the president of the society after Donner's death. Setälä was, therefore, able to correspond with many of the society's international contacts on official matters as the society's secretary, and after Donner's passing, the bulk of these international relations was handled solely by him. This change was also perceptible in Setälä's correspondence with Thomsen, as after Donner's death, Setälä started to include official topics in his letters, such as informing Thomsen about Finnish expeditions to the Russian Far East, which used to be a significant part of Donner's letters to Thomsen.

Looking at the frequency of the correspondence between the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers in the following graphs (Graphs 1 and 2), we can see some general trends that all the non-Finnish researchers shared. Although their active research concerning Finns did not always overlap – the 1860s and 1880s for Thomsen, the 1870s for Retzius and Virchow and the 1880s and 1890s for Abercromby and Comparetti – there were some clear similarities and differences when looking at how their correspondence was distributed over the years.

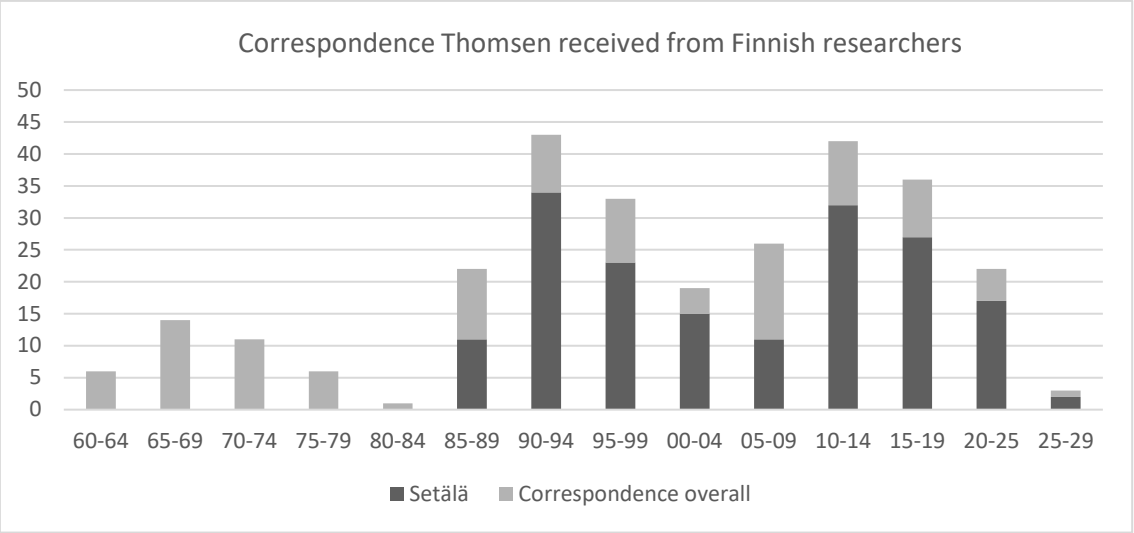

Figure 1 Correspondence Thomsen received from Finnish researchers.[382]

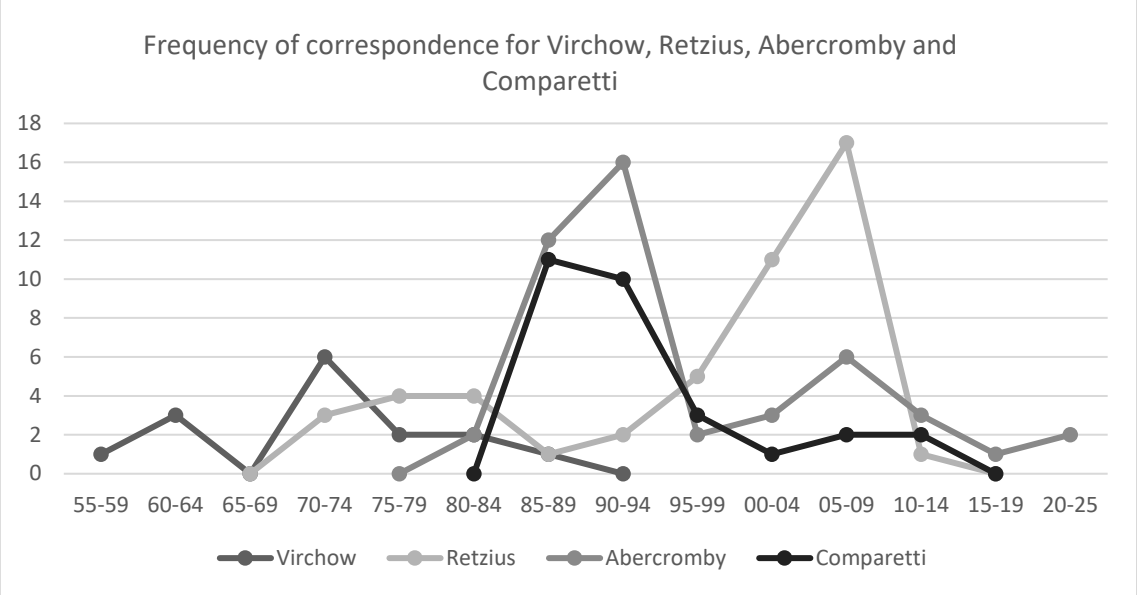

Figure 2 Frequency of correspondence of Virchow, Retzius, Abercromby and Comparetti with their Finnish colleagues.[383]

[382] Note that the graph only includes letters Thomsen received from Finnish researchers, not the letters he himself wrote, as many of the letters written by him have not been archived. The data based on the letters he kept give us therefore less distorted view of the activity of his correspondence.

[383] The years are grouped into sets of five-year periods. For most of the researchers, the letters they sent have been archived in a very uneven manner, so to give a rough estimate on the activity of their correspondence only half of their correspondence (either the archived letters they received or the ones written by them) is portrayed. For Virchow, Retzius and Comparetti, the letters they received from Finnish researchers have been used. For Abercromby, the letters he sent to his Finnish colleagues have been used, as he had kept only a few letters from Finland. This graph does not include one letter to Comparetti that could not be dated or copies of Hjelt's letters to Retzius where there is a possibility that those letters were never sent.

The highest peak for Abercromby, Comparetti and Thomsen's early activity with Finnish researchers matched the years when their research was most active and all of them keenly studied the Finnish language. For Virchow and Retzius, their active periods of research did not produce such active correspondence and did not differ significantly from the other time periods when they corresponded with Finnish colleagues. For Retzius, the period with the most active correspondence was the first decade of the twentieth century, several decades after he had actively studied Finns, when he frequently exchanged letters with Otto E. A. Hjelt concerning the bicentennial celebration of Carl von Linné's birth in 1907. For Thomsen, his correspondence with Finnish researchers started to decline after he published his doctoral thesis on German loanwords in the Finnish language, but from the latter half of the 1880s onwards, he started a new and more active correspondence with his Finnish colleagues. His close relationship with E. N. Setälä was the clearest feature of this later period, but his decipherment of the Orkhon script and his later research on the matter explain many of the letters he received from Finnish researchers after the 1890s, which included active correspondence related to publishing two of Thomsen's books of Turkish languages.

Even though the leading purpose of correspondence was promoting research or publishing the results of such research, many of the letters were written after the turn of the century, at which point all the men had finished their active research concerning the Finns, so to a large extent, the later letters represent subsequent uses of these networks for other matters, such as Retzius's and Hjelt's collaboration concerning the Linné festivities. It is also worthwhile to note that during most of these five-year periods, the researchers exchanged fewer than one letter per year, based on the archived letters. In reality, the correspondence was more active, as many of the exchanged letters have been lost, but the correspondence probably followed the general trend pictured in these graphs, showing that the networks became especially active during times of scientific collaboration. At other times, the correspondence served the maintenance of these networks, such as holiday greetings and family news, infrequent inquiries on some scientific topic and assorted one-off matters, such as the awarding of scientific honours to the non-Finnish researchers. This shows that the relationships did not need especially active correspondence to be maintained and that it was rare for the researchers to write letters for just the sake of it.

The different contexts in which the non-Finnish researchers interacted with Finnish individuals, both researchers and non-researchers, are further analysed in the following section, which also examines more thoroughly the contacts the non-Finnish researchers had with different scientific and learned organisations in Finland.

4.3 Interaction With Finns of Different Backgrounds

As has become evident in the previous sections, the five non-Finnish researchers interacted actively with many different members of the Finnish scientific community, although, due to the specific interests of the non-Finnish researchers, their previous contacts with Finnish individuals and the readiness of specific Finnish researchers to foster these connections, their networks did not form randomly. As mentioned in the previous sections, these researchers were not the only Finnish people with whom the non-Finnish researchers interacted, although they represented a clear majority of the archived correspondence. This section looks more closely into how the non-Finnish researchers socialised with their Finnish colleagues and examines the circumstances in which they interacted with Finnish individuals from other backgrounds.

As shown previously, the researchers did not operate only in the context of their work but also mixed many social and personal aspects in their correspondence. These social aspects were even more important when the researchers met in person, as this allowed them many other ways to further develop their relationships in a personal or semi-formal setting. It was common for researchers to ask their colleagues to visit their homes if they knew that they were in town, and it was also typical for them to contact their friends when they were preparing for a trip to the other's home country. The challenges in meeting one's associates were especially known to Comparetti, as he typically visited Finland during the summertime when most academics were in their summer homes in the countryside instead of Helsinki, and he had to go to greater lengths to organise any meetings with his Finnish colleague.[384] Among the archived correspondences of these researchers, there are many short letters and cards in which the researchers arranged an appropriate time for visiting, demonstrating that these meetings usually followed a certain etiquette and that the researchers did not come to each other's houses without forewarning.[385] Besides these situations, researchers also frequently met with each other at scientific congresses. All of this was very much in line with the norms of their social class, as educated elites and these occasions must have also affirmed their class identity, which also helped them to form relationships with each other.

It is also worth investigating the ways in which the non-Finnish researchers were connected to the Finnish scientific community. Most of the Finnish researchers who interacted with these five non-Finnish researchers held academic positions at the Imperial Alexander University in Finland, which was the only university in Finland until 1919. Based on this fact, it could be expected that the Finnish researchers would have interacted with their international

[384] See, for example, SKS KIA, Comparetti to Kaarle Krohn, 26.7.1890.
[385] The researchers did not usually live with their colleagues when they came to their countries, but usually arranged rooms for themselves in hotels such as the *Seurahuone/Societetshuset* in Helsinki where many of the non-Finnish researchers stayed. It was also typical that the local newspapers, at least in Finland, published lists of the prominent foreigners who were staying in their cities.

colleagues primarily as members of the university and would have used it as the organisation with which they identified most. The Finnish researchers, of course, referred to their academic titles, but it was quite rare for them to interact with the non-Finnish researchers through university pathways. On the other hand, much of the correspondence between Finnish and non-Finnish researchers was done in relation to Finnish learned societies, particularly the Finno-Ugrian Society, which was founded in 1883 and was especially active during the last decades of the century. Many of the Finnish researchers who most actively assisted the non-Finnish researchers were members of the Finno-Ugrian Society and often, as with Otto Donner and E. N. Setälä, held executive roles. The high positions these men held in this scientific society corresponded with the respected positions they held in the wider Finnish research community.

The reason the Finnish researchers interacted with their international colleagues as officials of a learned society rather than as university persons probably stemmed from the independence they enjoyed as members of a learned society, such as the Finno-Ugrian Society, compared with their academic roles. The Imperial Alexander University, as the name suggests, was officially connected to the Tsar, and even though it had some autonomy in relation to the government of Finland, it functioned as an official body where the personnel worked by the grace of the Tsar. The university might have been a liberal and radical bastion in the eyes of the Finnish government led by Russian officials, but on many matters, it had to moderate itself and bend to the will of the Tsar to preserve its autonomous status. As the academic positions that most of the Finnish researchers held meant that they were, in a sense, governmental officials, it makes sense that they would have felt more unrestricted when they acted through a learned society rather than the university. There were some interactions between the university and the non-Finnish researchers, especially when Thomsen gave public lectures on Turkic languages in 1912, but in a general sense, the official contacts between the university as an organisation and the non-Finnish researchers were few and far between. For example, none of the five non-Finnish researchers received any official recognition as honorary professors or in any other manner from the university.

Picture 4

Thomsen's visit to Finland in 1912 was visibly reported in different Finnish newspapers. The picture on the left shows Thomsen receiving greetings from the Finnish student union at the Hotel Seurahuone, where he was residing. The student union addressed Thomsen with a speech celebrating Thomsen's long history with Finland. The occasion at the hotel also included songs and cheers from the students to Thomsen. The Hotel Seurahuone was also a common residence for the other non-Finnish researchers when they stayed in Helsinki. Text: The student union at the 'honour address'. (*Helsingin Sanomat*, 24.9.1912, 220, p. 5., the Digital Collections of the National Library of Finland)

On the other hand, all five men were invited to become members of different Finnish scientific or learned societies, many of which included Finnish researchers who had already interacted with their non-Finnish colleagues in some context.[386] The oldest of these societies was the Finnish Literature Society, which had been the prime force in the study of Finnish language and culture since its founding in the first half of the nineteenth century. It was also one of the most important organisations for early Finnish nationalism and contributed significantly to the linguistically oriented nationalism that, according to Hobsbawm, typified late nineteenth-century nationalism.[387] Although the Finnish Literature Society also had a role in supporting contemporary Finnish literature, many researchers of Finnish oral culture and language were active

[386] For the international networks of Finnish learned societies, especially the international exchange of publications by these societies, see Lilja 2012.
[387] Hobsbawm 1992a, 101–130. The Finnish nationalism of this era is one of the most frequent examples that Hobsbawm uses to argue his case of typical nationalism between 1870 and 1918.

members of the society. The Finnish Literature Society had provided many books of the Finnish language to Thomsen during his early studies, so it does not come as a surprise that he was asked to become a corresponding member of the society in 1874, although the fact that this happened five years after he published his doctoral thesis about Germanic loanwords in the Finnish language might be reflective of how many Finnish linguists did not totally agree with Thomsen's research.[388] Virchow was the only one of the five researchers who did not become a corresponding member of the society, as Retzius was asked to join it in 1881, and in 1891, both Abercromby and Comparetti were sent invitation letters.[389] Thomsen's invitation was suggested by the society's secretary Frans Wilhelm Rothsten (1833–1900), who was not an active correspondent with Thomsen. Retzius's invitation was proposed by Otto Donner, and Julius Krohn put forth the idea of inviting Abercromby and Comparetti to become corresponding members. Both Donner and Krohn were esteemed figures in Finnish research and proof that non-Finnish researchers had found good contacts for their research and networking.

This is further highlighted in that all five men were either corresponding or honorary members of the Finno-Ugrian Society, which was another active society focusing on the study of the Finnish language.[390] The minutes of the society do not always mention who made suggestions about potential international members, but according to the few mentions in the minutes and some notes that have been archived, Otto Donner usually made the proposal in the case of these non-Finnish researchers. [391] The idea of inviting Retzius to become a corresponding member came from August Ahlqvist, who was at the time vice president of the society and, similarly to Donner, one of the most esteemed Finnish linguists.[392] Becoming a member of a learned society was usually a great pleasure and privilege for the non-Finnish researchers, although Thomsen expressed to Setälä some of his critical views on the society's different ranks for members when he was asked to become an honorary member of the Finno-Ugrian Society, in which he had previously the status of a corresponding member[393]:

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[388] Minutes of the society's meetings were printed in the society's publication *'Suomi'*. For Thomsen's invitation and response, see "Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Keskustelemukset v. 1874–1875." *Suomi*, section 2, vol. 12 (1878), pp. 251, 253, 260.

[389] "Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Keskustelemukset v. 1879–1881.", *Suomi*, section 2, vol 14 (1881), p. 503; "Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Keskustelemukset v. 1881–1883.", *Suomi*, section 2, vol 16 (1883), p. 354; "Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Keskustelemukset v. 1891–1892." *Suomi*, section 3, vol 6, (1893), p. 5.

[390] Corresponding members: Abercromby in 1888, Retzius in 1885 and Thomsen in 1884. Honorary members: Abercromby in 1902, Comparetti in 1892, Thomsen in 1892 and Virchow in 1886. KA FUS, C:1–2, Minutes of the FUS from 22.3.1884, 17.1.1885, 18.9.1886, 18.2.1888, 22.10.1892, 2.12.1902.

[391] Donner was the proposer at least in the case of Abercromby (both cor. and hon.), Comparetti and Thomsen (hon.). KA FUS, Fa:1 Correspondence (1872–1899), loose note by Otto Donner dated 21.1.1888; KA FUS, C:2 Minutes of the FUS from 22.19.1892 and 2.12.1902.

[392] KA FUS, Fa:1 Correspondence (1872–1899), loose note by August Ahlqvist dated 2.12.1884.

[393] The ways foreigners and non-locals could participate in different scientific societies differed, but in the Finno-Ugrian Society, international scientific colleagues were usually

> When a society has both "corresponding" (or ordinary) and "honorary members", it will easily depend on a coincidence whether you end up in one or the other of the two classes, as far as they could both include scientists; to me, it would actually seem more natural if all scientific members formed a group of their own, without a difference in rank, and the class of "honorary members", on the other hand, consisted only of such socially superior persons whom the society for some reason might wish to respect, although they are not [emphasis Thomsen's] scientists. However, as this is not the case, I naturally thank the society for transferring me to the highest rank, as a new proof of recognition from fellow researchers, which is precious to me.[394]

Thomsen's views also highlight how some researchers saw the ideal of the scientific community in strongly egalitarian terms, whereas many structures, such as limited memberships in many prestigious scientific institutions or different tiers of memberships in learned societies, could create hierarchies among researchers.

The non-Finnish researchers were also awarded memberships in other Finnish learned societies. The Finnish Antiquarian Society had Abercromby (1913), Thomsen (1913) and Virchow (1901) as honorary members, and the Kalevala Society, founded by E. N. Setälä in 1911, asked Abercromby, Comparetti and Thomsen to become its first honorary members in 1920.[395] Outside the scientific and learned societies, Thomsen was the only one who was asked to become an honorary member of the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, the oldest scientific academy in Finland, in 1904.[396]

As was already examined in the previous section, the non-Finnish researchers shared many contacts in the Finnish scientific community, so it does not come as a surprise that they were also often members of the same scientific societies. Compared with most of the other international members of these societies, these five researchers were relatively unique in that they became associated with multiple different societies, which further highlights their

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given the status of a "corresponding member", and prestigious foreigners, even without scientific qualifications, could be invited to join the society as honorary members. Members who had donated funds to the society were sometimes marked as "supporting" or "founding members". However, this did not give them any special status but just marked their monetary contributions to the society. Abercromby was sometimes noted as one of these "founding members" due to his lavish donations to the Finno-Ugrian Society.

[394] 'När et selskab har både "korresponderende" (eller almindelige) og "æres-medlemmer", vil det jo let komme til at bero på en tilfældighed, et skön, om man optager i den ene eller den anden af de ste to klasser, for så vide som de begge kunne omfatte videnskabsmænd; mig vilde det egentlig forekomne naturligere, om alle videnskabelige medlemmer udgjorde en gruppe for sig, uden rangforskel, og "æresmedlemmernes" [unclear word] derimod kun udgjordes af sådanne i social henseende höjere stillede personer, som selskabet af en eller andre grund kunde ønske at [unclear word] til sig, skönt de ikke ere videnskabsmænd. När det un imidlertid ikke er således, modtager jeg naturligvis med tak selskabets omsførelse af mig til du höjeste rangklasse, som et nyt bevis på anerkendelse fra studiefallers side, hvis den om min virksomhed er mig dyrebar.' SKS KIA ENS, Thomsen to Setälä 22.11.[the year labelled in the letter is 1891, although based on the rest of the correspondence and the contents, the letter has been written 1892].

[395] "M. A. Castrenin juhlallisuudet Helsingissä." *Savon Sanomat*, 5.12.1913, 138, p. 2; "Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistyksen vuosikokous." *Uusi Aura*, 8.5.1913, 104, p. 6; "Rudolf Virchowin 80-vuotisjuhlaan ottawat Suomenkin tieteelliset seurat y. m. osaa." *Uusi Suometar*, 13.10.1901, 239, p. 3; "Kalevalaseuran ensimäiset [sic] kunniajäsenet." *Valvoja*, February 1920, 2, pp. 82–86.

[396] "Suomen tiedeseuran kunniajäseniksi." *Uusi Suometar*, 12.4.1904, 83, p. 3.

unusually large number of Finnish contacts in different fields of research. This was also facilitated by the fact that many Finnish researchers were active in multiple societies and that the research of the non-Finnish researchers had value for many different scientific disciplines, from linguistics to anthropology and from folklore to archaeology. The memberships also show that these non-Finnish researchers were often thought of together when Finnish researchers considered potential new international members. This was most striking with the Kalevala Society, as Abercromby, Comparetti and Thomsen became the society's first honorary members in 1920.[397] As the society was headed by Setälä, this is also an example of how the interest that these non-Finnish researchers showed in Finland was used long after their active studies.

The extent to which these Finnish learned societies were ready to express their respect for the non-Finnish researchers is highlighted by how the Finno-Ugrian Society and the Kalevala Society both commissioned one of the leading Finnish sculptors, Alpo Sailo (1877–1955), to create busts of Thomsen for the Finno-Ugrian Society and Comparetti for the Kalevala Society. Both busts were made from bronze for the use of the societies rather than given to the portrayed men. As Sailo was especially well known for sculptures of cultural figures and oral poets that exemplified modern and traditional Finnish culture, the busts of non-Finnish researchers could also be included in the visual canon of national figures constructed by the Finnish educated elite in their bid to build a national identity for Finland. As both Thomsen and Comparetti made influential and widely read studies concerning Finns in the eyes of Finnish researchers, they also indirectly contributed to the construction of a Finnish national identity. Nevertheless, compared with Sailo's more public works, these busts were seen mostly just by Finnish researchers, for whom they served the more immediate purpose of visually showcasing their scientific networks and international importance. Although Thomsen's bust was revealed with great festivities during his visit to Finland in 1912, the way in which these sculptures were more important for the Finnish researchers than for the non-Finnish researchers whom they represented is evident in how Comparetti was even in 1926, the year before his death, unsure of whether the bust commissioned by the Kalevala Society had ever been finished.[398]

Even though the non-Finnish researchers worked primarily with the Finnish scientific community, this was not a clearly defined group, as Finland had only one university with limited personnel, and many members of the learned elite who actively participated in scientific societies worked as teachers, priests and other professionals unrelated to academia. These people usually did not reach the highest positions in the learned societies, but as they were part of the same networks, many of them also interacted actively with the non-Finnish researchers. These connections were particularly important for Abercromby, as during his several trips to Karelia, he mainly stayed in the city of Sortavala, which

[397] "Kalevalaseuran ensimäiset [sic] kunniajäsenet." *Valvoja*, February 1920, 2, pp. 82–86.
[398] "Professori Thomsen suomalaisten vieraana. Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran juhlahetki." *Helsingin Sanomat*, 24.9.1912, 220, p. 6; L. K. (most likely Liisi Karttunen) "Senaattori Domenico Comparettin luona helluntaimaanantaina." *Helsingin Sanomat*, 6.7.1926, 178, p. 6.

was a regional cultural centre due to a seminar for teachers founded in 1880 and situated close to areas with active traditions of oral poetry. Many of the teachers in the seminar lived in the city, and as some of them were active collectors of oral poetry, they were a huge benefit for Abercromby in learning Finnish, especially the archaic language used in the traditional oral poetry that he studied.[399] Besides the teachers of the seminar, Abercromby also actively interacted and corresponded with the Finnish priest Adolf Neovius (1858–1913), who had collected and published poems from the oral poet Larin Paraske (1834–1904).[400]

When the non-Finnish researchers visited Finland, many of the banquets and other recreational events in which they took part were also attended by people other than the researchers. The occasions where the non-Finnish researchers named and listed their Finnish contacts also included authors, poets, artists, newspapermen and even some industrialists. This is also a reflection of how the circles of the Finnish elite, even in Helsinki, were so small that people from very different fields frequently rubbed shoulders with each other.[401] This tendency and preference to interact primarily with the Finnish elite were common for all the five non-Finnish researchers.

The fact that the non-Finnish researchers interacted with similar groups of Finnish elite can be partly explained by the fact that their Finnish colleagues often acted as the entourage and translators for them when the non-Finnish researchers visited Finland and could therefore influence whom they were introduced, but even Retzius, who conducted his expedition in 1873 relatively independently of the Finnish scientific community with his two Swedish colleagues and a Finnish translator, preferred to stay in the homes of doctors and local officials when

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[399] Persons from Sortavala's seminar whom Abercromby mentioned as close to him include Oskar Adolf Forsström (from the year 1906 onwards Hainari, 1856–1910), Kosti Raitio (1855–1924) and Konrad Alexis Hougberg (later Waaranen, 1849–1923). Many of these men also published the local newspaper *Laatokka* together with the journalist Kaarlo Herman Tiihonen (1858–1940) who was also frequently helped Abercromby with his Finnish studies. Abercromby also contributed some stories about his travels in other countries to the paper, and it frequently wrote about Abercromby's visits to Finland, even though he did not always visit Sortavala. One of the first Finnish contacts for Thomsen was a teacher called Fredrik Wilhelm Illberg (1836–1904), who sent him some books at the start of his studies and was central in connecting Thomsen to the Finnish Literature Society and wider circles of the Finnish learned community. See the article about the Finnish Literature Society's meeting in the Finnish newspaper *Suometar* (4.4.1862, 14, p. 1). In total, Thomsen sent at least 17 letters to Illberg from 1862 to 1864, so Illberg was Thomsen's most significant Finnish correspondent prior to his visit to Finland in 1867.

[400] Neovius, for instance, asked Abercromby to write about these collections in British publications in the hope that this would help with his lack of subscribers. Neovius is also an example of how it is often hard to categorise people of the Finnish learned elite, as, besides working as a parish priest, he collected oral poetry and wrote a few books about historical topics.

[401] As an autonomous region of the Russian empire, Finland was, in many ways, quite insular towards Russia, and only some officers and officials were able to advance their careers in Russian hierarchies and the court. Therefore, even many members of the small Finnish nobility pursued careers in business and academia, so all these social areas were quite close to each other. For the non-Finnish researchers who, except in the case of Abercromby, came from the educated middle classes, it was relatively easy to interact with the Finnish elite who were in tune with contemporary general European political, scientific and ideological discourses. In Bourdieu's terms, these figures all had comparable cultural capital, which fostered social cohesion by excluding people who did not possess that capital.

travelling. This tendency cannot be explained only by the classist attitudes of the non-Finnish researchers, as members of the elite were often, especially in rural Finland, the only people who could speak the same languages as the non-Finnish researchers. The comparable social background and their usually more flexible occupations, which allowed them to accommodate foreign visitors, must have made members of the Finnish elite more approachable contacts than people from lower social backgrounds, even without overt elitism on the part of the non-Finnish researchers.

It is not surprising to note that elite people interacted predominantly with other elite groups, but it is a point worth emphasising, as the non-Finnish researchers were making claims about a more general group of Finns than that represented by the Finnish elite. The non-Finnish researchers were therefore much more separated from their object of study than, for example, the Finnish researchers who conducted fieldwork among the other Finno-Ugric groups by learning their language and living with them for long periods.[402] This late nineteenth-century fieldwork might not have been as immersive as that of twentieth-century anthropologists, but it shows that there were other ways of conducting research in foreign societies than primarily interacting with the local elite. Although the non-Finnish researchers did not exemplify the stereotype of an armchair scholar, they still represented a type of researcher who was detached from his object of study and operated from an elevated social status.

The Finnish researchers were usually quite accommodating to their international colleagues, including when Julius Krohn wanted to host Comparetti with August Ahlqvist in Helsinki. Instead of dining in his home, Krohn arranged for them to eat out in a restaurant, as Krohn was part of the temperance movement in Finland and would not have had the appropriate wine to serve his Italian guest.[403] This also highlights how the interactions between researchers were not complicated by their potentially different social views, as the responsibilities of a host and general polite sociability usually hid any differing notions that the researchers might have had.

Nevertheless, due to their studies, the non-Finnish researchers also sometimes interacted with Finnish factory workers and particularly with the agricultural population outside the cities. This was especially the case with

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[402] The fieldwork was usually done by young Finnish linguists who would stay among the people they studied for months, so they could learn their culture and language to the point that they could work as experts on these people when they returned to Finland. To ensure that the limited resources of the Finnish scientific community would be used most efficiently, it was rare for two young researchers to specialise in the study of the same people. Compared with later social anthropologists, the Finnish researchers did not completely immerse themselves in the local cultures but often relied on local assistants. For more information on the research of Finnish linguists among Finno-Ugric peoples, see Korhonen 1983, 53–174; Salminen 2008, 31–36, 52–81; Kokkonen and Kurvinen (eds.) 2010. Another Finnish researcher who specialised in fieldwork at this time was the sociologist Edvard Westermarck, who spent long periods in Morocco to study local culture and customs. Westermarck had a significant influence on the development of social anthropology in Britain and influenced anthropologists such as Bronisław Malinowski (1884–1942). For studies of Westermarck's research, see Suolinna 1999 and Allardt 2000.

[403] L. K. (most likely Liisi Karttunen) "Senaattori Domenico Comparettin täyttäessä 90 vuotta. Käyntini hänen luonaan kesällä v. 1920." *Helsingin Sanomat*, 28.6.1925, 170, p. 6.

Thomsen and Abercromby, who studied Finnish by immersing themselves in Finnish-speaking communities. Abercromby learned the Finnish language primarily among the educated classes of Sortavala, but he also travelled in the surrounding countryside and participated in local activities, of which the most remarkable was in 1872, when he took part in a bear hunt, although according to later accounts, he could scarcely follow the local hunters, as he was unaccustomed to skiing.[404] Although Abercromby did not try to interact extensively with the practitioners of Finnish oral poetry, he did manage once in Sortavala to hear 'old man Borissa' (Ontrei Vanninen, 1807–1891) perform *kantele*-playing and oral poetry.[405] For Thomsen, the connection to the Finnish rural population was even stronger, as he learned to speak Finnish in Keuruu (Keuru), living on a local farm where his primary teacher was a farmhand called Ananias Rajamäki who later named his son after Thomsen as Vilhelm Ludvig.[406]

Thomsen had very varied Finnish contacts, as he was also friends with Herman Liikanen (1835–1926), who had been a volunteer in the Danish army during the Second Schleswig War in 1864 and had befriended Thomsen during his hospital stay in Copenhagen after getting wounded, although it seems that the two had already met before when Liikanen had brought to Thomsen some materials from D. E. D. Europaeus.[407] After his visit to Finland in 1867, Thomsen was also asked by his new Finnish contacts to act as a guardian for young Finnish sculptor Johannes Takanen, who came to Copenhagen to further his studies, which was supported by many members of the Finnish elite, who hoped that he would become one of the new leading figures in Finnish art.[408] Thomsen arranged many practical things for Takanen, such as his accommodation, and passed on funds sent from Finland to Takanen. Thomsen also took on the role of teaching Danish to Takanen, who could previously only speak his native Finnish.[409] It should be noted that these more unusual Finnish contacts of

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[404] Tallgren 1943–1944, 8–9.
[405] Abercromby 1909.
[406] Hannes Jukonen "Professori Vilhelm Thomsenin suomen kielen opintoajoilta" *Aitta*, January 1929, 1, pp. 26–28.
[407] Thomsen 1924, 116–118. SKS KIA F-III, D. E. D. Europaeus to Thomsen, 15.2.1864. In total, there were 130 letters/cards that Thomsen sent to Liikanen from 1864 to 1916 and 175 letters/cards from Liikanen to Thomsen from 1864 to 1922 that have been preserved and are nowadays in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society and the Royal Library in Copenhagen. Liikanen was therefore one of the most frequent Finnish contacts for Thomsen. Their correspondence has not been examined more closely for this thesis as Liikanen was not part of the scientific community, but just the quantity of their correspondence paints a picture of how there were no inherent reasons why the international researchers could not form close relationships with Finnish people who did not work in research. However, such cases are nevertheless rarer than transnational contacts among researchers. After the Second Schleswig War, Liikanen worked as an accountant at the Mortgage Society of Finland (Suomen Hypoteekkiyhdistys). He was also an active proponent of the Fennoman cause.
[408] Eliel Aspelin's biography of Takanen is the most complete contemporary account of his life and quite well articulates the expectations some Finnish people had for Takanen, which were cut short when he died at the age of 35. Even though there were already many renowned artists in Finland, there was a scarcity of noteworthy sculptors and therefore Takanen was able to get extensive support from figures such as Julius Krohn.
[409] SKS KIA F-III, Krohn to Thomsen 23.12.1867, 8.4.1868 and 6.7.(1868?); Takanen's frequent interactions with Thomsen are very evident in the section, in which Aspelin wrote about the sculptor's time in Copenhagen (Aspelin 1888, 22–57).

Thomsen took place predominantly during the 1860s, when Thomsen himself was only a young student. Once he became a more established figure in research, he mainly interacted with Finnish researchers.

Compared with Thomsen and Abercromby, who had to study the Finnish language for their research, Retzius and Virchow also had to interact closely with Finnish individuals from different backgrounds for their studies. Their learned colleagues were of great help and support to their research, but in their quest to collect measurements from Finnish people, they did not focus on the Finnish intelligentsia, which they probably conceptualised as being primarily of Swedish origin but rather conducted fieldwork in Finnish cities and particularly in the countryside, where they thought they could find the most typical specimens of ethnic Finns. They collected some measures in Finnish cities in places such as prisons, hospitals and factories, but as these included people from varied backgrounds that might not best reflect the typical ethnic Finn, they mainly focused their measurements on the Finnish rural population.[410] Virchow spent only a couple of days in Finland, so he probably could not study or interact with many Finnish individuals from these backgrounds, especially when compared with Retzius, who spent weeks on his expedition.

The researchers of the nineteenth century did not make detailed self-reflective notes on how they interacted with local people, which became the norm in anthropology during the next century, but Retzius commented on these moments on a few occasions in his publications and letters, which shed some light on his interactions with the Finnish populace.[411] As the Swedish researchers had a Finnish translator with them, they could communicate relatively well with the Finnish people whom they wanted to study more closely, but it is impossible to say how well they explained the circumstances behind their measurements and how the Finns would later be portrayed in the research. Retzius collected measurements from several living people, so he did not seem to have had too many problems persuading people to be measured. It is also possible that the objects of his measurements might have received some small monetary compensation, although there are no clear mentions of this in Retzius's notes or published research. Retzius, on the other hand, mentioned some cases of people

[410] Retzius measured people in a prison and a hospital in Hämeenlinna (Tavastehus) and in a hospital and factories in Tampere (Tammerfors), whereas Virchow during his short trip could measure factory workers at least in Tampere. Virchow also mentions the potential of Finnish prisons where there were both males and females available to be measured, but it is unsure if he managed to visit any Finnish prisons (Virchow 1874, 186).

[411] Retzius also kept notebooks during his scientific expedition in Finland, where he made notes and drawings that he would use extensively, especially in his *Finska kranier.* As his activities in Finland are already better documented in his publications and his letters to home than those of the other non-Finnish researchers, I have decided not to examine these documents in a more detailed manner in this thesis, but these will likely be a valuable source for some future research on Retzius's activities in Finland. To my knowledge, there are at least two notebooks from Retzius's travels in Finland, one in the collection of Hierta-Retzius in the archive of The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences and one in the archive of the Finnish Heritage Agency, which recently purchased the notebook, alongside glass negatives of photographs that Retzius took of Finnish individuals. The notebook of the Finnish Heritage Agency has been digitised and is available in Finna (https://finna.fi/Record/museovirasto.b862370b-4bb8-4872-92ea-4f7eac3ba246?sid=3063020770).

declining to be studied, which was a great disappointment for him, particularly in cases where the individual seemed to have been a prime example of his classification of Finns:

> […] one is often not given the opportunity to examine - neither measure nor photograph - the best types; you meet them e.g., in passing on a country road, in a church, at a work they do not want to interrupt, etc.; one sometimes even encounters a definite "no" or has to spend a long time persuading or convincing them that no betrayal is hidden in the investigation so incomprehensible to them.[412]

It also seems likely that people had some possibilities to limit the extent to which the Swedish researchers measured them, as the tables showing measurements from Finnish individuals all have information about the proportions of the head but, in several cases, lack measurements from bodies, which seems to indicate that some people were not willing to undress for the sake of accurate measurements.[413] Although these incomplete measurements are shown in tables of male and female Tavastians, this was more widespread among the measurements taken from men, which might show that Finnish men were more hesitant to be measured or that their social position made them more prepared to limit the examinations. This incompleteness in the tables is seen only in the tables showing measurements from Tavastians, whereas the tables of Karelians show that the Swedish researchers were able to take measurements from every person. The tables of Karelians include fewer measurements from people's bodies, so it is possible that the researchers simplified their process to be less invasive and to make people more willing to participate.

It is also possible that the measured urban population, which usually consisted of occupants of institutions such as prisons, hospitals or factories, might not have been in a position to give their full consent to these studies, although it is hard to say how intrusive they found the measurements to be. It seems that it was generally more important to get permission from the relevant authorities overseeing these institutions than from the people measured, as Retzius noted: 'We first stayed at Tavastehus [Hämeenlinna in Finnish] to take into account the Finnish residents interned in its large prison and hospital who were placed at our disposal with great readiness on the part of the person concerned.'[414]

As is often the case in history, the voices of people from lower social classes have been lost, and there are not even anecdotal accounts of these meetings in newspapers or other publications that could cast some light on the points of view of the people who were studied.[415] The willingness of these people to be

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[412] Lovén, Nordenson and Retzius 1876, 13.
[413] Retzius 1876a, tables 1 and 2.
[414] 'Vi stannade först i Tavastehus för att taga i betraktande de i dess stora fängelseanstalt och lasarett internerade finska invånare, hvilka med stor beredvillighet å vederbörandes sida ställdes till vårt förfogande.' Retzius 1878, 158.
[415] Finnish cultural anthropologist Tapio Tamminen has in his work of popular history *Kansankodin pimeämpi puoli* (2015) [The Dark Side of *Folkhemmet*], which examines the history of the prominence of racial thought in Swedish society, also described Retzius expedition in Finland and has the following description of a meeting of Swedish researchers and Tavastians [my translation from Finnish]: 'In the remote villages of Tavastia people were afraid

measured and the lack of negative comments from Finnish researchers about Retzius's method of conducting his research might be an indication that there were not too many issues, at least compared with the typical ethical expectations for doing such research at the time.[416] Retzius also did not position himself totally above the people he studied, as his notes include lists of Finnish words and their Swedish translations, meaning that, to some extent, he tried to communicate directly with the rural population of Finland. In his letters home, he also noted that the Finns were generally very hospitable and that the researchers were often given coffee by the people they visited.[417]

The following picture is one of the photos that Retzius took during the expedition, but that was not published in his *Finska kranier*. It shows a scene in which the Swedish researchers take head measurements of a young female outside of a farmyard, and the rest of the household is watching curiously. It is likely that the scene of the picture was, to some extent, staged by Retzius, as the composition and framing of the photograph are relatively well done and as it would have been almost impossible to take such a shot impromptu with contemporary photographic equipment. Although the scene might be somewhat artificial, it probably reflects quite well how these occasions looked during the Swedish expedition. The Finnish people seem quite reserved, which was probably accentuated by the fact that they had to pose for the photograph, but there is also a measure of curiosity towards the non-Finnish researchers and their odd activities. For many rural individuals, this was probably the first time foreigners had visited their homes and they saw new technological equipment, such as a camera. The photograph does leave open what motivated the Finnish population to be measured. Were they monetarily compensated? Was there pressure from local notables who might have accompanied the Swedish researchers? Perhaps people felt it was a special occasion to have these foreign visitors, or possibly, people were willing to help based on their notions of

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of the strange travellers and their odd machines. When the villagers heard that the foreigners wanted them to undress for their studies, people were even more puzzled. However, they managed to lure some of the bravest before the camera. Later the villagers allowed the foreigners to do what they wanted. Measurements were taken from everyone's bodies from the exact same 54 spots, 28 of them around the head.' (Tamminen 2015, 52) As Tamminen does not mention a source for this description, I am inclined to think that he has taken some artistic liberties to make a better narrative and bases much of this on pure conjecture. Tamminen's scene is not impossible, but most likely there was a great variety in how people reacted to the Swedish researchers and to their measurements. Without reliable sources, it is impossible to get clear answers on the matter. It is easy to make general assumptions based on how racial sciences are typically understood to have been practiced, but this way we would miss many of the nuances and specific historical conditions that affected each situation.

[416] The contemporary comments and reviews of Retzius's research were generally positive, and criticism was usually directed more at his use of sources than his anthropological methods. See, for example: Aspelin, Eliel "En Skildring af det finska folket." *Nordisk tidskrift för vetenskap, konst och industri*, 1880, pp. 496–510; Koskinen, Yrjö "Suomalaista Anthropologiaa." *Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti*, July 1880, 7, pp. 156–163; Tigerstedt, Robert "Finsk Etnologi." *Finsk Tidskrift*, February 1880, 2, pp. 107–128.

[417] KVA CV GR Gustaf Retzius to his mother (Emilia Sophia) and sister (Anna Elisabeth Charlotta Sophia, "Betty") 17.8.1873 and 12.9.1873, and to his sister 26.7.1873.

hospitality, whereby the non-Finnish researchers were treated as respected guests befitting their social status.

Picture 5 Photograph showing Swedish researchers, likely Christian Lóven and Erik Nordenson, at work measuring the head of a young woman while the rest of the household is watching on the side. Likely taken by Gustaf Retzius. (KVA CV, archive of Hierta-Retzius)

In contrast to how photography and measurements were used in physical anthropology and eugenic research in later decades, Finns were always portrayed in *Finska kranier* clothed and often in the context of some action, such as agricultural work or some cultural practice, although these situations might have been staged to some extent. Retzius also took some "neutral" photographs of people facing or being sideways towards the camera, which later became common practice in racial biology. Nevertheless, there is a stark contrast between Retzius's photos and the later conventions, as it became a norm to picture people nude to show more of their features. The photographs of the later decades have a more dehumanising and clinical tone than the way Retzius portrayed Finns in the 1870s. [418] Although Retzius reproduced some of these photographs as

[418] For later race biological research in Sweden, see Kjellman 2013. Many of Retzius's photographs of Finns are nowadays archived in the collections of the Finnish Heritage Agency and can be seen digitally in Finna (finna.fi) by searching for images by Retzius's name.

drawings in his *Finska kranier*, most of the pictures included in the addendum were detailed drawings of skulls, highlighting the craniological focus of late nineteenth-century anthropology. It is hard to say how much more empathetic Retzius and his colleagues were compared to the later racial scientists using photography or if they would have been equally willing to use these later methods if they would have had them available. Even if we take the most positive view of Retzius's photographs, it is important to remember that these were the first steps towards the more problematic use of photography in racial studies.

The local rural population with which the Swedes interacted was probably not aware that the researchers sometimes also excavated Finnish skulls from abandoned Finnish graveyards, which potentially included their ancestors. The graveyard of the deserted old church of Pälkäne, from which most of the skulls excavated by the Swedish researchers came, was at the time not in an orderly condition, as many graves were partially open and human remains were visible in the open. There were also records that the graveyard was not always respected by the local population, so besides having easily accessible graves, the actions of the researchers might not have been especially alarming, even if seen by some locals. In his recent article, Juha Ruohonen provides a thorough examination of the excavations done by Retzius and his colleagues from the point of view of archaeological research.[419]

On the other hand, it is impossible to refute that the Swedes acted totally without the knowledge of the local people and authorities to conduct these excavations, as there are no written records that would clearly establish these circumstances. In his letters home, Retzius mentions an occasion when some local Finnish notables joined his group on a visit to an island where they tried to excavate some potential burial places. On this occasion, they probably expected to study a prehistoric site, but it is possible that similar curious attendance and assistance by the Finnish populace also occurred during excavations of more modern graveyards, although this is not directly attested in the sources.[420] Because local church officials and secular authorities usually assisted in excavations done by Finnish researchers in comparable circumstances, it is likely that the Swedish researchers had at least the support of the local elite for their activities.[421] The existence of excavated Finnish skulls, which were widely examined in Retzius's work and included information about the municipality from which they originated, was not commented on negatively in the Finnish press or by Finnish researchers. This is quite understandable, considering that this kind of anthropological work was not beyond contemporary norms and that comparable skulls were also collected by some Finnish researchers. Many of

[419] For his analysis of the graveyard in Pälkäne, see Ruohonen 2021, 20–22.
[420] KVA CV GR Gustaf Retzius to his mother (Emilia Sophia) and sister (Anna Elisabeth Charlotta Sophia, "Betty") 17.8.1873. Retzius later asked one of the Finnish authorities, Rudolf Jack (1846–1927), to excavate and send him some additional Finnish skulls and as Jack fulfilled this request, it seems that at least the members of the Finnish elite, in both bigger cities and rural areas, were quite supportive of these Swedish excavations (Ruohonen 2021, 27).
[421] Ruohonen 2021, 34.

these previously excavated skulls were examined by both Retzius and Virchow when they visited Helsinki.[422]

It is worth pointing out that Retzius did not view the abundance of measurements or the skulls he managed to excavate as the only worthwhile results of his expedition. He also mentioned that meeting a real folk musician in Karelia was one of the highlights of his trip. Retzius wrote about this man with utmost admiration and respect, which was not significantly different from the vocabulary used by Finnish collectors of folk poetry when they described these skilled folk poets. Retzius's reaction to the folk musician was in stark contrast with his perception of how the local population treated the old man as a comic figure who practised outdated forms of entertainment, although it is likely that Retzius emphasised this contrast in his work.[423] Nevertheless, it must have been a positive experience for this old man to get the attention of these educated foreigners, especially for his own skills, and Retzius's account that the man gave his musical instrument, *kantele*, as a gift reinforces this interpretation, although the possibility of additional monetary compensation should not be excluded, as during this expedition, the Swedish researchers collected a lot of other ethnographical items that interested them.[424]

Comparetti is the only one of the five non-Finnish researchers for whom the sources give no good account of interactions with Finnish people outside the elite, as even though he visited Finland many times, he did not travel much in the Finnish countryside and usually only visited cities where he already knew some people.[425] This does not make Comparetti atypical, as he was only a more pronounced example of the tendency of the researchers to interact with their social equals, even in circumstances where people were not directly helping in their research.

Interacting and forming relationships with people from higher echelons of society was usually more useful than forming relationships with Finnish individuals from lower social classes, as the elites possessed different forms of social and symbolic capital that might prove beneficial later. The different types of capital of the non-Finnish researchers and Finnish elites would have been similar in kind, so exchanging services would have been easier than with people from different social backgrounds. Members of the Finnish elite were also more

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[422] During the past few years, the skulls Retzius excavated during his trip have received much media attention in Sweden and in Finland, and there has been a public debate about whether the Finnish skulls should be repatriated to Finland from the collections of the Karolinska Institute. Although Retzius did not portray Finns negatively in his research in the 1870s, later anthropological and racial classifications of Finns, and the discrimination many Finnish immigrants to Sweden experienced, have made the existence of racialised Finnish skulls in Sweden a controversial subject.

[423] Retzius 1878, 135–136.

[424] Ibid., 136.

[425] Comparetti might have had the intention to travel in the Finnish interior in 1886, as many newspapers mentioned his intention to visit inland cities, but there are no subsequent accounts to prove that he travelled beyond Southern Finland during that trip ("Vetenskaplig resande", Finland 29.07.1886, 172, p. 3). Most of Comparetti's trips to Finland were limited to the city of Helsinki, where most of the Finnish researchers specialised in the scientific topics in which he was most interested in resided.

internationally connected than most of the Finnish populace, so there were more chances for the non-Finnish researchers to interact with them, even without making new visits to Finland. Despite the scarcity of interactions between the international researchers and Finnish people outside the educated elite, in the few cases of which we have some records, the encounters were usually positive and both parties treated each other with hospitality and respect. Thomsen's experiences also indicate that as the researchers became more established and secure in their own social roles, the occasions where they would interact with people from different backgrounds became rarer, and they were less inclined to leave the social bubble of an educated polite society. To some extent, the interactions between the non-Finnish researchers and individuals from lower social classes were also mediated by the members of the Finnish elite, as these colleagues often acted as translators and hosts, so the tendency of the non-Finnish researchers primarily to meet only members of the Finnish elite was, to some extent, facilitated by Finnish individuals who wanted to introduce their own associates to these international visitors.

4.4 Conclusions

Late nineteenth-century researchers were social beings, and their interactions were based on similar social rules and customs that could be found in other social groups and human cultures across the world. At the same time, their ways of building trust and promoting cohesion in social networks were shaped by European cultural norms that went back decades, centuries and even millennia in some cases. In particular, the cultural conventions of the so-called "polite society", which developed in the early and late modern periods in Europe, influenced how these educated elites perceived themselves and the manners that were appropriate for their station.

These shared norms and customs were important in facilitating the social cohesion required to build and maintain scientific networks and to foster trust in their unwritten rules, which were usually enough for previously unknown people to start cooperating and investing in these relationships. Referring to known authorities or shared acquaintances could initially help establish oneself as part of the scientific community and as a reliable person. Even though these interactions among the scientific communities rarely manifested themselves in monetary terms, the participants always placed their reputation as collateral that limited the temptation to abuse the relationships for short-term selfish gain. The uses of these relationships are well explained through the concepts of social and symbolic capital that the researchers provided to each other and that motivated them to carry out these interactions in ways that would not deplete their forms of capital and would keep access available to what the other person could provide in the future.

In the absence of money, which, in most cases, was not seen as an appropriate medium of exchange, the researchers usually established necessary

equality and reciprocity in their relationships and interactions through varied forms of gift-giving that could consist of assisting the other person when they came to visit, asking for favours, and exchanging books and other scientific publications. These things were not always presented directly as gifts, but looking at all these different interactions, even in cases where one person seemed to be primarily reaping the benefits from the relationship, helps us see that in continuous relationships that lasted for several decades, these gains usually evened out, and just having the opportunity to ask another person for assistance was often enough for researchers to go to considerable length in helping their colleagues' work.

The non-Finnish and Finnish researchers were quite ready to invest in these relationships, as their international colleagues could often provide different services than their native colleagues, who might have been part of their more active networks. The non-Finnish colleagues would also not compete for the same resources in a way comparable to native colleagues, who, in many countries, shared complex cooperative and competitive relationships in scientific organisations and universities. As such, these relationships between non-Finnish and Finnish researchers usually exemplified so-called "weak links" that represent less active contacts in a person's social networks. Although these relationships are generally not as close and frequently used as "strong links", and people would rarely rely on these contacts in most of their problems, these weak links usually provide access to different sources of knowledge than the strong links that typically share the same skills and knowledge. The transnational connections of researchers demonstrate these characteristics of weak links, especially in the ways in which the researchers often requested scientific information from their colleagues or asked for specific scientific literature that they could not access in their home countries. The researchers could also provide information about current scientific breakthroughs and events in their native communities, which were then easily distributed to other scientific communities through transnational links.

These connections were not omnipotent, and with a closer look, they show a considerable lack of diversity. In a sense, it makes sense that the researchers would primarily establish connections with people who shared their interests and could, therefore, most probably assist them in their problems. Even with this obvious fact, it is striking how many similarities there were in the networks that the non-Finnish researchers formed with their Finnish colleagues. Most of the involved Finnish individuals were leading folklorists, linguists and doctors and, therefore, shared many scientific interests with the non-Finnish researchers, but socially and politically, these researchers were part of the Finnish elite that favoured the use of the Finnish language and were representatives of the liberal-leaning parts of Finnish society. This can be partly explained by the fact that people with these ideologies were more attracted to these disciplines, but their representation in most of the correspondence between the non-Finnish researchers and their Finnish colleagues can also be explained by the conscious effort of these Finnish researchers to form connections with other European

researchers and their willingness to actively use these connections for their own purposes. This is in stark contrast to Finnish historians, who were usually more conservative and inward-looking, and even if they shared many interests with the non-Finnish researchers, they rarely interacted with them.

The use of these different scientific connections was assisted by the many scientific and learned organisations with which the Finnish researchers were associated. With their influence, the non-Finnish researchers became corresponding or honorary members of many of these societies. This, in some ways, officialised pre-existing relationships, but it also made them more accessible for other Finnish researchers, who could then more easily approach these senior, reputable international colleagues. Such steps also institutionalised these relationships so that after some noteworthy Finnish researchers who had first interacted with these non-Finnish researchers passed away, new generations of Finnish researchers had, in many cases, already formed connections to them and could therefore continue these transnational relationships.

The role and importance of scientific societies also highlight that the professionalisation of researchers and the formation of new disciplines, which are commonly seen to have characterised the history of science during the nineteenth century, were not only a product of changes in academia, such as reforms inspired by the Humboldtian model of higher education. Rather, voluntary organisations also played a significant role in the way that researchers conducted their studies. This is especially evident in the actions of Abercromby, as he worked entirely outside British universities, but even the researchers who had distinguished roles in universities often preferred to channel their scientific inquiries through the scientific organisations in which they actively participated. Some of this had to do with the freedoms this allowed for the researchers, as they could more actively mould these to fit their interests and would not need to wrestle with the bureaucracy and politics that were part of university life. However, scientific societies also allowed the participation of interested people from outside academia and often connected people from different disciplines. The example of the non-Finnish researchers also shows how well-adapted these organisations were in connecting researchers from different nations. Indeed, they were often better suited than universities to facilitate the international ideals of nineteenth-century science.

Although the Finnish researchers were the most typical companions for the non-Finnish researchers when they visited Finland, they also rubbed shoulders with other members of the local elites, and many writers, newspapermen, artists and even businessmen became acquainted with them. To some degree, the non-Finnish researchers also interacted with Finnish labourers and members of the agrarian population in the context of their research, and even these interactions were usually characterised by respect and politeness, as the non-Finnish researchers could usually not expect the authorities to support their research by coercing people to do what they deemed scientifically necessary. This presence of respect and even equality was especially important for the non-Finnish researchers who wanted to study the Finnish language and therefore spent long

periods immersed in the Finnish-speaking population. This contrasted with the non-Finnish anthropologists, who occasionally measured people from factories, hospitals and prisons, probably including individuals who had not fully consented to these studies. As the representativeness of these people was doubted by Retzius and Virchow, they usually preferred to take measurements from the Finnish agrarian population, where there was less evidence of potential abuse of power relations.

It might appear surprising how effective the non-Finnish researchers were in their studies and scientific expeditions in Finland, even though they initially lacked contact and had little information about the country. However, to some extent, their foreignness was the key to why they received so much assistance from the Finnish researchers. As these transnational relationships could potentially carry much future use for Finnish researchers, they were ready to devote their time and resources to assisting their colleagues in ways that would probably not have materialised if a Finnish researcher had attempted comparable studies. Besides their potential to provide connections to other scientific networks in their own countries, the non-Finnish researchers could also be presented as neutral observers and as proof that the Finnish people had relevance in European scientific discourse.

The way Finnish researchers assisted their international colleagues in conducting research in Finland was, in many ways, not unique or restricted to the way research was practiced in the nineteenth century. For instance, a comparable case of foreign researchers interested in taking use of the scientific possibilities of another country can be found in the French Geodesic Mission to Lapland of 1736–1737, where French scientists came to Swedish Lapland to perform measurements to determine the shape of the Earth. In the same way that the Finnish researchers helped their non-Finnish colleagues, the French researchers were assisted by Swedish scientists and the Swedish state.[426] Despite these similarities, one clear difference between the two cases was that the French mission had more direct support from the French and Swedish states, whereas researchers of the nineteenth century worked more independently and autonomously within the scientific community. Despite the active involvement of states, the international cooperation between the French and Swedish researchers during the eighteenth century was, in many ways, built on similar interpersonal relations and semi-official correspondence that were seen in the case of the Finnish and non-Finnish researchers of the late nineteenth century.

The relationship among different international, transnational and national interests and characteristics of the scientific community is complex but necessary for understanding the scientific research and interactions of late nineteenth Europe. These topics and themes are therefore examined in more detail in the next chapter.

[426] Pihlaja 2009, 40–44, 71–73.

5 INTERNATIONAL IDEALS AND NATIONAL ROLES OF RESEARCHERS

As the previous chapters have examined the interactions of researchers primarily based on their correspondence, this chapter addresses their transnational activities more generally. The nineteenth century has been highlighted as one of the most international times for scientific communities in Europe. In the previous chapter, we glanced at some of the developments in communication that helped foster these international contacts. The first section of this chapter analyses these developments in more detail, focusing especially on the changes in travel that made it possible for all five of the non-Finnish researchers to visit Finland and conduct research in different parts of the country. These developments were also partially responsible for the growing activities of the diverse scientific organisations of Europe, which started to hold frequent international congresses that physically brought researchers from specific fields together. The importance of these congresses for researchers of the nineteenth century generally and for the five non-Finnish researchers in particular is examined in the second section of this chapter. The final section focuses on the identities of these researchers and examines how the different national and cosmopolitan elements of their environments affected the ways in which they conducted research and talked about the value of scientific work.

5.1 Changes in International Travel and Communication

The non-Finnish researchers were helped in their studies by the same progress that much of Europe experienced during the nineteenth century. International travel had not been unknown in previous centuries, but travel related to learned interests had been common only in the form of the Grand Tour, which was

practised mainly by men from the European upper classes.[427] Travelling abroad was uncommon, even for many of the most famous philosophers of the early modern period, such as Adam Smith, who got to travel only after being employed as a tutor, and Immanuel Kant, who famously lived his whole life in Königsberg, discounting a couple of times when he was employed as a tutor outside the city. Voltaire was one of the few learned men who travelled extensively, but even his international life was, to a large extent, motivated by being exiled from Paris for much of his life.

The change in travel during the nineteenth century was greatly influenced by the new technological innovations brought about by the development of steam engines, which found their place both on land and at sea. The first steamships and trains were only a small improvement compared with the older ways of travel, but the constant improvements and investments in engines and infrastructure, such as railways, soon made these modes of travel superior in most parts of Europe. At the same time, many governments also improved other forms of logistics by building new roads and canals.[428] Even peripheral areas such as Finland benefited from these changes, and as the Grand Duchy was situated along shipping routes to Saint Petersburg, many ships also stopped in Finnish ports, bringing along passengers and cargo. Ships capable of sailing in the frozen winter conditions of the Baltic Sea did not become common until the end of the nineteenth century, but even the earlier steamships were an improvement, as they were not so reliant on weather conditions. For passengers and mail, the steamships were a big improvement, as they were usually faster than sailing ships, which continued to be commonly used for cargo until the early twentieth century.[429]

Each of the five non-Finnish researchers travelled to Finland by ship, heading to Finnish ports or sailing first to Saint Petersburg and using the railroad connecting Finland and Russia for the last stretch of the journey to Helsinki. The main parts of the railroad network in Finland were built during the period when the non-Finnish researchers travelled in Finland, so they benefited from it to different extents. When Thomsen came to Finland in 1867, only a single stretch of railroad between Helsinki and Hämeenlinna had been built.[430] Thomsen travelled in the interior of Finland, but it is not clear whether he used the train. Most likely, he primarily used carriages or other more traditional methods of transport on the country roads of Finland's interior. Retzius came to Finland with his compatriots for their research six years after Thomsen, and they travelled in

[427] For some general information about the Grand Tour, see Black 1992, Chaney 1998 and Sweet 2012. For how these practices were eventually diffused to a wider portion of the public as travel to the Mediterranean became affordable to the middle classes during the nineteenth century, see Pemble 1987.
[428] Millward 2005, 15–30.
[429] Kallioinen 2002, 50–51; Pearsall 1991; Kaukiainen 1991.
[430] Before the end of the century, the railroads of Finland extended to Saint Petersburg (1870), Tampere (1876), Turku (1876), Seinäjoki (1883), Vaasa (1883) and Oulu (1886), which made it possible for the non-Finnish researchers to sail to cities other than Helsinki, usually Turku or Saint Petersburg, and to complete the last stretch of the journey by train if that was more convenient for their purposes or because there were more connections to the Russian capital than to the Finnish ports.

Tavastia, Central Finland[431], Savonia and Karelia, visiting many of the same areas as Thomsen. The Swedes most likely used the railroad to Hämeenlinna, but they also relied on carriages for much of their transport, as they were burdened by their scientific tools and instruments.

Virchow's trip to Finland was partly motivated by Retzius's scientific expedition, and after the Anthropological Congress in Stockholm in 1874, he sailed to Helsinki to conduct his own research. The locations he visited, Helsinki, Hämeenlinna, Tampere, Lappeenranta (Villmanstrand) and Imatra, were all cities along or close to the railroads that had been built by the time.[432] Similar to Virchow, Comparetti's multiple excursions to Finland from the 1880s to the first decade of the 1900s were usually constricted to southern cities, which were accessible via railroad. The Finnish railroads were most extensively used by Abercromby, who, during his travels in the 1880s and 1890s, in addition to the previously mentioned southern railroads, also used newly built rail lines to travel from Hanko to Oulu. Unburdened by a regular occupation or academic responsibilities, he could undertake this seemingly recreational journey, and he completed an even more troublesome return trip from Oulu to Sortavala in a sledge, which was the main mode of transport in Finland's countryside during the winter months. Most of his trips were directed to Karelia, where he primarily used boats and carriages to move in the immediate vicinity of Sortavala.

Based on how these five researchers liked to travel, we can detect significant differences between two groups: Comparetti and Virchow, who limited their excursions to Southern Finland where most cities they visited were close to railroads, and Abercromby, Retzius and Thomsen, who travelled in more northern areas where they moved predominantly along the Finnish roads. Comparetti was most interested in studying the published forms of Finnish oral poetry and was primarily engaged in discussions with other researchers for his research, so there was not as much need to study Finnish people or their culture "from the source". Much of his travel consisted of visiting Helsinki and other big cities, such as Viipuri (Viborg), where he could discuss his views with other researchers and get relevant books on the subject. Compared with the other researchers, Virchow's trip to Finland was most impromptu, as it seems that he only got the final idea during the congress in Stockholm. His sojourns lasted only about 10 days, so there was little possibility for him to travel extensively in Finland. Based on this, it is understandable that he conducted his research in areas that were easily accessible by railroad, and as he did measurements both in the regions of Tavastia and Karelia and was also able to examine skulls available in anatomical collections in Helsinki, he seems to have been satisfied that he was

[431] The area of Central Finland was, at the time, administratively the northern part of the province of Tavastia, but among parts of the Finnish intelligentsia, there were already proposals to see the area as a geographically and culturally distinct region from Tavastia, as it would become during the twentieth century. The term Central Finland was also occasionally used by the non-Finnish researchers.

[432] The railroad from Hämeenlinna to the industrial city of Tampere was built two years after Virchow's trip, so most likely he continued the journey from Hämeenlinna on a steamboat. Similarly, the city of Lappeenranta was not connected to the railroad at the time, so Virchow would have had to visit the city on a steamboat or a carriage.

able to study both "racial types" of Finland, Tavastians and Karelians, during his short journey.[433]

On the other hand, the three other men were, to some extent, motivated in their excursions to experience "the true Finland" that, based on the romantic notions of the time, was seen to be exemplified by the Finnish countryside. As most of the Finnish coastal areas, including much of southern Finland, were partly populated by a Swedish-speaking population, many Finnish nationalists favouring the use of the Finnish language portrayed the interior of Finland, particularly Karelia, where many old forms of oral poetry were found, as the areas where traditional and "pure" Finnishness was most easily found. Thomsen, for example, was encouraged by Julius Krohn to travel to Keuruu (Keuru) in Central Finland to study the Finnish language instead of Tavastia, which was his original plan. Krohn's national romantic ideals can be seen in how he had, according to the writer who describes these events over 40 years after Krohn's death, praised Keuruu as an area where 'the Finnish language echoes in the purest and most natural form'.[434]

Abercromby frequently travelled to Finnish Karelia, especially to the area around the city of Sortavala, where there was a teacher seminar, which had many members of the educated elite with connections to people in Helsinki who were more typical contacts for the non-Finnish researchers. The city was a centre for Finnish Karelianism, one of the most important offshoots of Finnish national romanticism inspired by the culture of Karelia, especially its oral poetry, which had been used as the basis for the *Kalevala*.[435] Many people in the region still practised old oral poetry, and as the language spoken in the area was considered to be closest to that used in these epic poems, one of Abercromby's motivations for spending extended periods in the area was to learn this type of language to understand the poems better and to translate them for his research.

As Thomsen and Abercromby were motivated to learn their desired forms of the Finnish language, Retzius's interest was to measure anthropologically pure Finnish types, which he thought to be more common in the Finnish interior than in the coastal regions, where there had been more migration.[436] In his ethnographic studies, he was also interested in describing the traditional types of Finnish buildings and other products of traditional material culture. For example, one of his main objectives was to find a traditional Finnish house "*pirtti*" (*pörte* in Swedish), and he finally managed to find types that were original enough for him

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[433] Virchow 1874.

[434] Jukonen, Hannes (1929), Professori Vilhelm Thomsen Suomenkieltä Oppimassa, *Aitta*, 01.01.1929, nro 1, pp. 24–25. It was usually thought that the Finnish language spoken in certain areas of Central Finland was closest to the form of written Finnish that was perceived as the "ideal" by most influential writers of the Finnish language at the time. On the other hand, the way Finnish was spoken in other areas could also sometimes be lauded as, for example, in his obituary for August Ahlqvist, E. N. Setälä wrote that the region of Ahlqvist's birthplace, North Savo, was 'the region, where the Finnish language echoes in purest and most natural form'. (Setälä, E. N., "August Ahlqvist." *Valvoja*, 01.12.1889, 12, p. 554.) It is also possible that the writer copied this exact phrase from Setälä's text and put it to Krohn's mouth to describe his more general thoughts on the Finnish spoken around Keuruu.

[435] Sihvo, 2003, 235–236.

[436] Retzius 1898, 158.

in the municipality of Pihtipudas in Central Finland, then part of Northern Tavastia.[437]

The researchers were willing to travel extensively in the Finnish countryside when it was necessary for their research, but, as can be seen in the cases of Comparetti and Virchow, when their studies could be conducted without extensive travel, there was little desire to abandon the advantages of modern modes of transport. On the other hand, it was precisely the lack of railroads and other "contaminating effects" of modernity that were seen as threatening the traditional culture of Finns that many of these researchers wished to study. Nevertheless, even the researchers willing to travel in the Finnish countryside were guided by the existing roads and their pre-existing perceptions of the Finns. None of the five researchers travelled in the Ostrobothnia region or Finnish Lapland, being content with focusing their research on the regions of Tavastia, Savonia and Karelia. In this way, the researchers were doomed to repeat many Finnish views and stereotypes about these areas as "prototypical" Finland. From this starting point, it also comes naturally that the racial types of Finns would be reflected by the people of these areas and that the Sámi would have only a marginal and stereotypical role as the primitive nomadic "Other" known as "Lapps", as was examined in Chapter 2.

In addition to shaping how these researchers could travel and work abroad, technological changes also influenced the way people communicated across borders. The efficiency of postal services was influenced by standardisation and the growing willingness of states to cooperate for international postal services.[438] These technological and structural improvements led to a reduction in cost and time, even for mail crossing multiple national borders. According to Finnish historian Yrjö Kaukiainen, many of the significant technological and institutional improvements had already occurred between 1820 and 1860, so the researchers working during the latter half of the century could already enjoy many of these advantages.[439] One of the major technological innovations for communications was the telegraph, which started to become common during this time period, but it does not seem to have been a significant addition to the exchange of messages between the researchers examined here. There were relatively few telegrams sent between non-Finnish and Finnish researchers, and these typically consisted of only a few sentences, usually to offer congratulations on a scientific breakthrough or wishes for a happy birthday or to inform about the death of a friend.[440]

The relatively high cost of the telegram seems to have made it unsuitable for the exchange of information among researchers, as the messages they wanted to communicate in their letters were usually quite long and there was not much urgency to receive the message before a specific date. Under the right conditions,

[437] Ibid., 108.
[438] For the development of postal services in some European countries in the nineteenth century, see Pietiäinen 1988, 223–573, Romani 2013 and Golden 2009.
[439] Kaukiainen 2001, 21. The article gives quite a good overview of the changes in the transfer of information during the decades preceding the time period of this research.
[440] It is also likely that many of the short messages sent via the telegraph were not kept and archived for posterity as often as longer letters, which usually had more information and therefore better reasons for preservation.

letters could travel relatively fast, and a letter sent by a Finnish researcher to Thomsen could travel from Helsinki to Copenhagen in four days.[441] On the other hand, in adverse circumstances, especially during wintertime, when the mail would need to be sent across the frozen sea from Turku (Åbo) to Stockholm, the travel time would be much longer. Less than a month after commenting on Setälä's previous fast letter, Thomsen mentioned how he received the newest letter eleven days after it was sent and that based on stamps, it took eight days for the letter to travel from Turku to Stockholm.[442] The researchers rarely commented on the prices of their letters or any other practical problems related to sending them, so it appears that sending letters by mail had become a relatively trouble-free and affordable affair for these men, which was not worth commenting on. The biggest obstruction to sending letters seems to have been the time required to write them, which was a more significant limitation in their correspondence than any technological or communication constraints.

Although international travel and communication became less cumbersome during the nineteenth century, there were still some significant restrictions on international interactions. When Abercromby tried to send funds from Britain to Finland, there were some challenges to exchanging the sum, as according to Abercromby, '[N]o London bankers have accounts with banks in Finland.'[443] The solution to this problem was to use the services of the Rothschild banking family, which had agents in both London and Helsinki, to transfer the agreed sum to the Finno-Ugrian Society.[444] Despite the growing international interchange between states, organisations and individuals, there had been previous innovators of transnational interactions, such as the Rothschild family, which had provided valuable international services by operating in several European countries. This also shows how many national organisations were still building frameworks for international cooperation and that some places, such as Finland, were still outside or, at best, peripheral to much of the transnational interactions.

The Republic of Letters was undoubtedly an important transnational network during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially considering that the unified learned culture of the Middle Ages had fractured during the Reformation and subsequent conflicts. Even with this newfound willingness to interact and cooperate with like-minded people across national and religious borders, the members of this metaphorical republic were still restricted by the material limitations that curtailed their correspondence and the ways in which they could interact. The growing importance of national identities during the nineteenth century brought some new lines of division among the scientific communities in Europe, but at the same time, the technological and societal changes of the century made the continent much smaller. Even peripheral nations, such as Finland, were relatively easily accessible through the development of steamships and the improvement of road conditions in the interior. Besides

441 SKS KIA ENS, Thomsen to Setälä 28.10.1891.
442 SKS KIA ENS, Thomsen to Setälä 24.11.1891.
443 SKS KIA JK, Letter collection, 350:1:5, Abercromby to Krohn 20.3.(1888).
444 Ibid.

helping individuals travel, these changes also made it possible for scientific organisations in different countries to interact more closely than before. One of the culminations of this progress came with international scientific congresses organised by multiple scientific disciplines during this era. The importance of these congresses for the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers is examined in the next section.

5.2 Congresses as Areas of Contact and Nodes of Networks

One by-product of the technological, communicational and organisational changes of the nineteenth century was the system of international scientific congresses that first started to pop up after the mid-nineteenth century and became more common as the century neared its end. For example, chemists gathered for the Karlsruhe Congress in 1860, the International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology was founded in 1865 and the International Congress of Orientalists was organised for the first time in 1873. These congresses were part of the new practice of holding international gatherings for people interested in topics that had enough widespread appeal worthy of the burden of organising these events. Partly inspired by the political conferences that, similar to the Congress of Vienna, negotiated for an agreeable power balance among European nations, many other groups also realised the benefits of periodically meeting their colleagues and other like-minded people.

Despite the adaptation of congresses by non-governmental organisations, state leaders still arranged conventions and conferences to negotiate issues of international politics, such as the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, where European countries formalised the division of their imperial gains in Africa, and the Hague Conference of 1899, which came from a proposal of Russian Tsar Nicholas II to limit the arms race in Europe. The Hague peace conference is especially important in the context of this thesis, as Finnish political activists used the contradiction between the international image of the peace-loving Tsar and his suppression of Finland's political rights as an opportunity to bring attention to Finland's constitutional issues in Europe.[445] The international Pro Finlandia petition, which is further examined in the next chapter, was also in part a reaction to these events.

Some of these congresses and conferences united people based on their political beliefs, such as the congresses held by the leftist First and Second International, or some societal issues, such as the International Peace Congresses, which were held by the representatives of peace societies founded during the nineteenth century.[446] Common to these conferences was that they usually brought together people who were already organised on a national or local level

[445] Kajanne 2020, 67–72. For more general information on the Hague conference, see Abbenhuis 2019 and Eyffinger 1999.
[446] Musto 2014; Lambert 2016.

but found international cooperation and networking beneficial for their aims. Another example of an organisation with a mix of international and national structures is the International Red Cross, which was founded in the 1860s when many scientific fields started to hold international congresses.[447] Hosting these events would usually alternate between different member societies based on their organisational capabilities, although some international groups were more centrally organised and had structures independent of their member associations.

Sometimes, congresses predated the formation of many national organisations in their field, as is well illustrated by the International Congress of Prehistory, which played a central role in forming the early practices of archaeology and was a direct inspiration for the more local institutionalisation of the discipline.[448] Rudolf Virchow mentions the International Congress of Prehistory held in Copenhagen in 1867 as the main inspiration for the scientific society *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, which he helped find later that year.[449] Concerning the International Congress of Prehistory, historian Marc-Antoine Kaeser makes an interesting point about the international and national importance of such congresses:

> [...] the international meetings suffered from the fact that the emergent structures for prehistoric research were increasingly national. Ironically, this national orientation can be considered as the indirect outcome of the CIAAP: once the institutionalisation of prehistory had been successfully completed on the international level, the fruitfulness of a similar action on the national level had become clear, especially now that the research field had acquired its scientific credibility.[450]

With developments in transportation, especially those related to railroads and steamers, it was relatively easy for people to participate in these events, even if they were held in another country. The congresses were typically organised in centrally located European cities, such as London, Paris, Geneva or Brussels, but attendance was still affected by the length of travel, and the most active representation at congresses usually came from the host country and its immediate neighbours. Alternating between the different hosting organisations was one way to alleviate this problem and guarantee equal opportunities for attendance.

There had been other forms of transnational interactions of researchers in previous centuries, such as the Republic of Letters, but these relationships had usually been more personal and informal in character. There had also already been many societies and academies in the eighteenth century that brought together people interested in science, but the scope of these organisations was usually quite general and many, such as the Royal Society, had become so prestigious that people became members more for the status than for the

[447] On the growing use of the term "international" in describing events and organisations during the nineteenth century, see Marjanen and Ros 2022. For an overview on the different strand of the internationalist movement during the decades before the First World War, see Sluga 2013, 11–44.
[448] Kaeser 2002, 173.
[449] Virchow 1885, 369
[450] Kaeser 2002, 176.

opportunity to participate in scientific inquiries.[451] With the development of different areas of research, many disciplines started to become more distinct during the nineteenth century and gained prominence through new academic chairs in these new subjects. New learned societies were also increasingly organised, along with the study of a specific discipline or area of study.[452] Many scientific organisations that had members with a wide range of interests, such as the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which was founded in 1831 to create a better environment for research than the Royal Society, were usually subdivided along the lines of scientific disciplines and cooperated with scientific societies that represented specific disciplines.[453] Scientific congresses followed the example of other groups that started to organise similar events, but the development of scientific organisations during the nineteenth century had also created an environment in which organising such events became increasingly feasible.

The cosmopolitan ideals of scientific collaboration from the previous centuries meant that researchers could quite easily conceptualise themselves as united by their scientific inquiries and that periodic meetings with their international colleagues were a natural progression from older practices, such as the Republic of Letters. Besides these noble ideals of the universal scientific community, researchers were, of course, also able to see the practical uses of these congresses. In a sense, the congresses were an international extension of the national and local learned societies that had fostered growing scientific progress during the nineteenth century. The ability to meet international colleagues in person created opportunities for starting correspondence with them, and the periodic nature of the congresses meant that there were frequent opportunities to meet the same people again and develop established relationships. The international stage of congresses was also a prime opportunity to show one's research to the most respected and knowledgeable audience in the field, but these public expressions of one's knowledge and scientific abilities also had national importance, as the greatness of nations was seen to be reflected also in the scientific qualities of their citizens.

The national elements of these scientific congresses were quite natural developments because the organisations that formed the core of these events were the representatives of learned societies usually organised on a national level. The nature of these congresses was therefore pronouncedly "international", in the sense of an interaction of representatives of nations, rather than "transnational", in the sense that these events represented a rejection of national borders or that national categories would have been the wrong way to analyse these actors.[454]

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[451] For a thorough examination of eighteenth-century scientific societies, see McClellan 1985. For a complimentary cursory overview, see also Phillips 2016.
[452] McClellan 1985, 256–257.
[453] Morrell and Thackray 1981, 35–94, 267–296, 451–460.
[454] For the specific uses of "international", "transnational" and the wider semantic field related to international vocabulary, see 1.7.3.

As the researchers conceptualised themselves primarily as members of their national communities, even the scientific community was not immune to the growing national tensions of the nineteenth century. This shadow of nationalism was especially evident in the International Congress of Anthropology and Archaeology held in Copenhagen in 1869. As this meeting came just five years after the Second Schleswig War, in which Denmark lost its southern duchies to German states only a year before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, national tensions between different participants were high. The congress discussed many common topics, such as the significance of Darwin's findings for their area of study, but it was also marked by certain cold feelings towards the German participants.[455] For example, the Danish press gave portrayals of many famous attendees, but Germans, including Rudolf Virchow, who was one of the most famous participants, were not mentioned.[456]

There was also some disagreement based on the congress's official language of French, as according to some German participants, German would have been a more widely understood shared language among the participants.[457] Despite these tensions and some other indirect slights during the more informal parts of the gathering, Virchow later saw this event as a moment when 'the international prehistoric congresses entered their brief but unforgettable Golden Age (*Glanzperiode*)'.[458] This congress is also relevant for the topic of this thesis, as attending it gave Virchow an opportunity to examine the collections of skulls in Copenhagen, and he later published his results comparing the prehistoric Nordic skulls to the skulls of Finns, Lapps and Greenlanders.[459] This was the first time Virchow analysed Finnish skulls and the only time when he commented on this matter before de Quatrefages, who also attended the congress in Copenhagen and brought this topic to the forefront of the international anthropological debate.

During politically less strained times and especially for people who were otherwise far away from the major academic centres of Europe, the scientific congresses were important for networking and finding out about the newest research in their fields. For example, the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology and Anthropology held in Stockholm in 1874 was attended by many great minds of the time, but for our analysis, it was important because Gustaf Retzius gave a presentation about his research trip in Finland that he had conducted the previous year.[460] The congress was also attended by Virchow, who, after being encouraged by Finnish researcher Otto Hjelt, used Stockholm's geographic proximity to visit Finland for his own anthropological

[455] Wiell 1999, 139–140.
[456] Ibid., 138. Virchow was also a particularly active participant in the International Congresses of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology, as he participated in every congress from 1867 to his death in 1902 (Sommer 2009, 22).
[457] Ibid., 141–142. French would be made the only official language in the Congress held in 1871 in Bologna when tensions were especially high due to the Franco-Prussian War (Sommer 2009, 24).
[458] Virchow 1885, 369. Besides Wiell, 1999, Kaeser 2002 and Sommer 2009 cited before, see also Kaeser 2010 about the international character of the International Congresses of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology during the late nineteenth century.
[459] Virchow 1870.
[460] Retzius 1876a.

measurements.[461] As we established in the previous section, this ease of travel was made possible by new technological developments, but the congresses provided good reasons for using these new possibilities in transportation and visiting foreign countries.[462] From the point of view of Central Europe, Finland was still a peripheral location, but if one already had a good reason to travel to Stockholm, visiting Finland became more feasible. This shows how these scientific congresses could also provide opportunities to conduct fieldwork or examine scientific collections in these locations.

The different scientific congresses were important places for Finnish researchers to meet their international colleagues who had studied Finns. This was particularly important, as the non-Finnish researchers were not able to visit Finland frequently due to their other responsibilities, so these international events were one of the few places where the researchers could meet their old colleagues, even though their own scientific interests in Finns were no longer so pressing. For Finnish researchers, these congresses were a prime opportunity to show the results of their own studies and to influence how the broader European public would see Finns.[463] As the non-Finnish researchers also presented their Finland-related findings at these international congresses or at the meetings of their local scientific societies, such events could have a comparable effect on disseminating research concerning the Finns as publications. Most of these presentations were held in congresses in Europe or in local meetings, but their interest also reached the American continent with Abercromby's presentation on Finnish magic poems given at the International Folk-Lore Congress held in conjunction with the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893.

The non-Finnish researchers were not just frequent participants at these scientific congresses but also took an active part in organising them in their home countries: Retzius for the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology and Anthropology held in Stockholm in 1874, Abercromby for the International Folk-Lore Congress held in London in 1891 and Thomsen for the International Congress of Orientalists held in Copenhagen in 1908.[464] The scientific congresses

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461 Virchow 1874, 185.

462 Although the practical logistics had become less troublesome, Virchow was somewhat worried that there might be problems concerning his passport if he were to travel to Finland, which is a good reminder that international travel was not without its restrictions during this time. KK KK OH, Virchow to Hjelt 27.7.1874.

463 International congresses were especially frequently attended by members of the Finno-Ugrian Society, which usually included Otto Donner and E. N., who also frequently presented their research at these events. In a comparable way, other international events, such as the world's fairs, were also used by Finnish artists and industrialists to showcase Finnish achievements and culture; see Smeds 1996. These world fairs were also a useful opportunity for international congresses, and many of them were organised in conjunction with these events. The 1900 Paris Exposition was especially important for the Finnish organisers, as Finland had the opportunity to have its own national pavilion and could be portrayed as separate from Russia.

464 "Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie préhistoriques" (1876), 13; Jacobs & Nutt 1892, vii; "Actes Du 15e Congrès" (1909), 6. Comparetti is a clear outlier compared with the other non-Finnish researchers as does not seem to have attended the same international congresses as the Finnish researchers, and there are no mentions of attending any congresses in his correspondence to his Finnish colleagues. It is possible that participated more actively in other international congresses than the Finnish or the other non-

were a frequent topic in correspondence among the researchers, as they sometimes wrote to their colleagues about practical matters relating to the events. However, congresses were more commonly addressed when a letter writer inquired the addressee about his intention to attend such an event and the possibility of arranging a face-to-face meeting. Sometimes, researchers also gave accounts of congresses that their correspondent had not been able to attend and usually mentioned all the Finnish participants with whom they had interacted. A good example of this is Abercromby's October 1891 letter to Otto Donner, which also illustrates the possibilities for networking that these events offered: 'I was glad to see Mr Ilmari Krohn at the Folklore Congress & to make his acquaintance. His brother [Kaarle Krohn] will be glad to hear that he left a very good impression on those with whom he came in contact.'[465] The scientific congresses were also of interest to the public, and many newspapers wrote reports about these events, summarising some of the presentations and listing noteworthy participants, although these accounts were not always neutral, as was shown before.

As can be seen from the usual adjective "international" in the names of these congresses, their international nature was clear to contemporaries. It should be noted that in a change from the previous cosmopolitan and universal qualities of scientific work for nineteenth-century researchers, it was more evident that they worked in a world of different nationalities and that every researcher was also a representative of their own nation. Therefore, the sometimes-overt nationalism connected to these events was not surprising, although an overt politicisation of science was frowned upon.[466] Even though the structure of scientific congresses fostered both nationalism and internationalism, some transnational aspects were also present. Outside the core contents of presentations and exhibitions, official festivities and impromptu meetings in the halls of the congresses, restaurants and hotels offered opportunities for the participants to socialise and discuss different topics. During these meetings, the researchers could form contacts as individuals outside their national roles and build personal relationships between colleagues rather than official cooperation between two nationalities. As such, the scientific congress operated as a mixing bowl of different personalities that had the opportunity to form transnational connections for future collaboration. The

Finnish researchers or that he was content with meetings of Italian organisations, such as the prestigious Accademia Nazionale Reale dei Lincei where he was a member.

[465] KA OD, Correspondence, 8 Received letters (1850–1909), Abercromby to Donner, 26.10.1891.

[466] There were also some participants who took the international message of these congresses more literally and saw them as ways to create a more international and peaceful world (Rasmussen 1990, 124–126 & Somsen 2021), but these international or pacifistic themes were not really used by the Finnish and non-Finnish researchers in their correspondence about the congresses in which they participated. It is also possible that this rhetoric of internationalism was more common among the researchers of natural science, as they were more removed from the underlying questions related to nations and nationalism, which were common in disciplines such as linguistics, archaeology, history and anthropology. As the study of nature has some inherent universal validity, although this is questionable in practice, it is also possible that the study of these topics might attract more ideologically international individuals, compared with the disciplines more interested in the study of people and human culture.

different national, transnational and international roles of nineteenth-century researchers are examined in more detail in the next section, in which clashes between different national and cosmopolitan ideals become evident.

5.3 National and Cosmopolitan Ideals in Conflict

Technological innovations during the nineteenth century made Europe relatively much smaller, and it became significantly easier to travel and communicate across borders on much of the continent. The scientific communities of Europe had traditionally been keen to interact with each other, even across national lines.[467] In the nineteenth century, technological and organisational changes facilitated this kind of transnational interaction, and large international events, such as scientific congresses, and frequent communications between different scientific organisations became more typical as the century progressed. Even though the countries in Europe became more connected, the growing nationalistic atmosphere and the more centralised role of national governments led people to increasingly see themselves as representatives of their nations. The growing tensions between the different European countries in the latter half of the nineteenth century also created many situations in which public expressions of national feelings were common across the populace.

One way to portray the development and growth of national identity has been expressed by Benedict Anderson in his work *Imagined Communities* (1983), where he supposes that nations are social constructs based on a shared identity. Anderson's ideas have been influential, although they have also been criticised from different points of view.[468] Nevertheless, his theories give us some tools and ways to compare the formation of national identity, as analysed by Anderson, and the shared identity among researchers, which we can also conceptualise as a type of "imagined community".[469] The analysis in this section uses Anderson's theories as a mirror to reflect on some features of national and scientific communities. Examining their differences and similarities can provide interesting insights for further analysis, even if Anderson's own theories of nationalism do not always hold up. This section does not argue that national and other identities would be inherently contradictory, as E. J. Hobsbawm has well noted: '[…] we cannot assume that for most people national identification – when

[467] For a good overview of the different characteristics of scientific internationalism in Europe in different centuries from the Republic of Letters of the eighteenth century to the fractured Europe of the Second World War, see Somsen 2008.
[468] Anderson has been criticised from many points of view, for example, for how he leaves key terms such as "imagination" and "community" undefined and for the lack of socioeconomic relationships in his analysis, and although he was one of the first researchers of nationalism who used a lot of non-European examples in his analysis, he has also been criticised by some post-colonial researchers. For criticisms of Anderson, see Chatterjee 1999, Robertson 2011 and Ringmar 2021.
[469] For some examples of the application of Anderson's ideas to the history of science, see Jordanova 1996, Jordanova 1998 and Belknap 2018.

it existed – excludes or is always or ever superior to, the remainder of the set of identifications which constitute the social being.'[470]

Although national identities, according to Anderson, were very much a product of modernity and developed primarily during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the idea of a cosmopolitan scientific community with shared aims and ways of thinking goes back to the Middle Ages, although it, too, only became more defined during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the context of "the Republic of Letters".[471] Although this network based on correspondence also included philosophers, authors and other cultural figures besides just researchers, it illustrates how people could conceptualise a community – in this case, a metaphorical republic, based just on their shared interests and participation in networks in which most of them had not met face-to-face.[472] The ideals of the Republic of Letters were, in many ways, in conflict with how it functioned in practice, but this dissonance between the ideal and the reality is a built-in feature of imagined communities, which require the eponymous "imagination" to fill out the gaps. The loose categories of intellectual expertise were not the most accommodating environment for the development of a shared identity, but this changed during the nineteenth century, as many approaches of scientific inquiry, which had developed from more general fields, such as geology, philology and antiquarianism, developed into more defined areas of study that organised new learned societies and became acknowledged disciplines in universities as the century advanced. This made it possible for researchers in these more defined disciplines to follow developments in their professions more easily, even if they occurred in other countries and, as shown in the previous section, it was also easier for the different scientific organisations to interact and cooperate with each other and even to organise large international congresses that brought together like-minded researchers.

As the scientific communities were much smaller than national communities, it was more feasible and likely for their members to interact personally, and in a way, they did not have to be as "imagined". The way the researchers met in scientific congresses or debated on the pages of scientific publications was more interactive than the usually relatively passive manner in which the members of national communities formed the feeling of their own affiliation, as suggested by Anderson. However, not all members of scientific communities could participate actively in every congress or follow every publication of their discipline, so to some extent, they also had to rely on the belief that other people shared their general way of thinking.[473] There were, of course,

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[470] Hobsbawm 1992a, 11.
[471] For the use and development of "cosmopolitan" and related terminology during the eighteenth century, see Wolff 2022.
[472] On the Republic of Letters generally, see Brockliss 2002, Dalton 2003, Daston 1991, Goldgar 1995, Goodman 1994, Kronick 2001, Mauelshagen 2003, van Miert 2016 and Wildmalm 1992.
[473] Anderson theorised that newspapers and print media more generally were one of the key inventions that helped to form a national imagined community, as they helped to introduce new concepts to their readers and standardised the use of the vernacular. Readers of newspapers could also relate to each other by conceptualising that their compatriots

fewer interactions between researchers of different disciplines than between two close colleagues, so although researchers could have real personal interactions with many of their immediate colleagues, their membership in the universal scientific community that crossed disciplinary boundaries was imagined to a more significant extent. The researchers in different European countries also largely shared a common cultural, educational and class background, so they were already preconditioned to identify with other researchers who were like them in several ways.

Scientific communities were not isolated from national developments, and this is easily seen in how new disciplines were first organised on a local and national level before starting to form more concrete international connections. There are also examples of how this kind of cooperation between learned societies across state borders can facilitate shared nationalism, as Germany's development into a unified nation-state was preceded by growing interactions among scientific societies in independent German states, which formed the Society of German Natural Scientists and Physicians (*Gesellschaft Deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte*) as their roof organisation in 1822, almost fifty years before the political unification of Germany.[474] This shows that not all scientific interactions across political borders were strictly international, as they could also serve national aims that would be politically achieved only decades later. The international scientific congresses were also not inherently without national posturing, as the international public venue was used to showcase achievements by researchers who were increasingly portrayed as an expression of the scientific capabilities of their nations.[475] It is interesting to note that the height of scientific internationalism before the First World War parallelled the growing national tensions in Europe at the same time.[476] To some extent, the use of the term "internationalism", rather than other possible terms such as "universalism", in relation to these congresses was in itself an expression of the growing importance of nations during the nineteenth century, as Jani Marjanen and Ruben Ros have noted:

> Although 'universal' remained in use in the context of exhibitions and conferences, it was 'international' that became the prime denominator for these events. It seems that 'universal' captured cross-border activities, but 'international' was perhaps more apt for incorporating the national perspective that had become so dominant by the mid-nineteenth century. International was not only a way of crossing borders; it was a way of enforcing the nation.[477]

Anderson underlines the importance of language in developing a shared national identity, and language was also an important question for researchers of the nineteenth century when considering what language to use to best communicate

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read the same news and participated in a similar ritual of reading a newspaper (Anderson 2006, 34–36). Comparably, the different scientific publications also helped to standardise the way research was expressed in each discipline, and the publications could as physical objects also create a sense of connection with readers (Belknap 2018).

[474] de Bont 2013, 315–317.

[475] Jordanova 1998, 197–203.

[476] Fox 2014, 43–46.

[477] Marjanen and Ros 2022, 68.

their research. Whereas monolingual nation-states could develop by the suppression of dialects, assimilation of speakers of other languages and standardisation of written language, the transnational scientific communities had, since the decline of Latin as the predominant language of research, a continuous debate about what would be the best language to use for scientific communication in international contexts.[478] Although people often also wrote scientific publications in their native languages, English, French and German developed into the preferred languages of international scientific communication during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These widely spoken languages also had the status of lingua franca in many areas of Europe, which could reflect on their use in scientific discourse, as can be seen in Abercromby's letter to Otto Donner concerning the folklore conference held in Chicago in 1893:

> The Congress of Folklore was quite a success - no Germans attended & none of their papers were read as they had not been translated in time. But we had several Slav representatives, a Bulgarian, a Serbian, a Dalmatian, & a Pole. They could not however hold communication except through the medium of German or Russian which they all knew.[479]

In Finland, the debate on scientific languages usually focused on arguments against or for the use of the Finnish language in scientific research. Many Swedish-speaking researchers, who had traditionally constituted the majority of the scientific community in Finland, argued that Finnish researchers should continue to use Swedish as their primary scientific language because it was more cosmopolitan than Finnish, which was used only in the region of Finland, whereas Swedish could be used to communicate with a larger international audience.[480] Arguments for cosmopolitanism could therefore have nationalistic motivations, even though the direct argument was that the use of the other language was an inherently nationalistic choice. This debate, and its political aspects, might have been a contributing reason why many Fennoman researchers published much of their research in German, instead of Swedish, when they wrote to a more international audience. It is worth noting that in personal correspondence, these people were not so opinionated and often corresponded in Swedish, even if they published very little in that language. The more important reason to write in German would, of course, have been that it was an even more widely understood language than Swedish, and German had become one of the de facto international languages of science during the nineteenth century.

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[478] For a more general history of the use of Latin in science, see Gordin 2015a, 23–49.
[479] KA OD, Correspondence, 8 Received letters (1850–1909), Abercromby to Donner, 18.9.(1893). For the questions and challenges related to the use of specific scientific languages among the Slavic researchers in Central and Eastern Europe during this era, see Surman 2014, Gordi 2015b, Surman 2019a 175–215 and Surman 2019b.
[480] Even some of the prominent Fennomans were not always supportive of the use of the Finnish language in research, as August Ahlqvist, for example, argued that peripheral languages, such as Finnish, should not be used in scientific publications and that the focus of the Finnish language should be directed towards popularising research done in other languages for the relatively uneducated Finnish populace (Huumo 2005, 178–181). Ahlqvist's view partly stemmed from personal motivations, as he had recently been sidelined in the Fennoman party by more radical proponents of the Finnish language.

As none of these languages was isolated from politics or the international events of the nineteenth century, there was a lot of baggage linked to the use of any language. In the case of the non-Finnish researchers, many of them could primarily write in their own vernaculars, as Abercromby's English, Comparetti's Italian and Virchow's German were commonly used scientific languages, and there were not many arguments against them using their native languages. Retzius and Thomsen wrote primarily in their own national languages, Swedish and Danish, respectively, but they also occasionally published their research in more widely read languages. For Retzius, it did not seem to matter much in which language he published, beyond writing in a specific language when taking part in ongoing debates in a given nation or writing to a specific international audience, but for Thomsen, the question was more value-laden.

There does not seem to have been many problems when Thomsen's doctoral thesis on Germanic loanwords in the Finnish language was translated into German, which was quite natural concerning the topic of the work, but after that, Thomsen was very hesitant to publish any of his research in German. In his correspondence with his Finnish colleagues, he occasionally wrote about the situation of the Danish minority in Schleswig (Slesvig in Danish), which came under German rule after the loss of the area to Prussia and Austria in the Second Schleswig War of 1864, mentioning how oppressed they were.[481] In the context of mentioning that he had been invited to a German learned society, he noted the following: 'However, I have never even published anything in German other than a protest with German lies about the language in Slesvig and two small, reviews that were forced upon me, and I would really like to be able to go to my grave without having written more in German.'[482]

Even though Denmark, as indeed the rest of Scandinavia, had for centuries been part of the cultural sphere of Germany and many of the Danes understood German, contemporary political events led Thomsen to prefer publishing his research in French instead of German when he had international audiences in mind. This can be seen most clearly in his publications concerning the Orkhon script, which came out in French through the Finno-Ugrian Society. Thomsen's preference for French over German was not a decision between two equal scientific languages with the same ease of communication, as Thomsen himself

[481] See, for example, Thomsen's letter to Setälä: 'For the time being, we plan this morning, Thursday, to travel over to Schleswig and, if we are not expelled from there as Danes, to stay there until approx. 20th of August.' / 'Foreløbig tanke vi i oms morgen torsdag at rejse over til Slesvig og, dersom vi ikke blive udviste derfra som danske, at blive der indtil omtr. den 20 August.' SKS KIA ENS 11.7.1899; In another occasion, he sarcastically acts surprised when he read a sympathetic text in German publication about the situation in Finland: 'Incidentally, it is strange enough to see that the German side really wants to take care of an oppressed nation. May it help the Germans to see something different in the Danish Schleswigs and in the Poles too!' / 'For øvrigt er det mærkeligt nok at se, at man fra tysk side virkelig vil tage sig af en undertrykt nation. Måtte des hjælpe Tyskerne til også at se noget anderledes på de danske Slesvigere og på Polakkerne!' SKS KIA ENS Thomsen to Setälä, 24.2.1901.

[482] 'Imidlertid har jeg til dets aldrig selv offentliggjort andet på tysk end en protest med tyske lögne om sproget i Slesvig og to små, mig aftvungne anmeldelser, og jeg vilde egentlig helet kunne gå i min grav udøse at have skrevet mere på tysk.' SKS KIA ENS, Thomsen to Setälä 10.3.1896.

could not write in French, at least with the proficiency required for scientific research, whereas German would have been much easier for him to use. German would certainly also have been an easier language for the Finnish researchers, who used German frequently, and publishing Thomsen's research in his preferred language required translating the work to French, which could not be done in-house.[483] The question of the most appropriate scientific language was also relevant when Setälä asked Thomsen to give lectures in Finland about his research, but Thomsen was hesitant, as the Finnish public would not understand his native Danish, and his proficiency in Finnish had already decreased. The use of the German language, which would have been a relatively easy choice, as it was one of the leading scientific languages in both Denmark and Finland, he ruled out quite clearly: 'Other languages [than Finnish and Danish] will not be possible; in German I will [emphasis Thomsen's] in no case do so.'[484] Thomsen's lectures in Finland would finally become a reality in 1912 after multiple delays caused by issues with his health, but newspapers that wrote about these lectures did not mention in which language he gave them.

The question of the best scientific language seems to have been on Thomsen's mind quite a bit, as he gave a lecture about the topic when the University of Copenhagen held a party for the king of Denmark in 1902.[485] His lecture, or an edited version of it, was later published in translation in the Finnish cultural magazine *Valvoja*, which was edited by Setälä at the time. In this essay, Thomsen described Latin's previous role as a universal scientific language and how the plurality of languages used in science had increased in the nineteenth century, when small languages, such as Danish and Finnish, started to be commonly used, along with the more traditional scientific languages.[486] This plurality was not a totally positive development, as it made it increasingly harder for researchers to follow progress in their fields. As a solution for the new twentieth century, Thomsen argued that the ideal would be for researchers to adopt a universal scientific language that would make communicating scientific research easier.[487] He proposed three possible alternatives for such a language: 1)

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[483] SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 10.1.1896 and 27.11.1916; SKS KIA ENS, Thomsen to Setälä 20.1.1896.
[484] 'Om andre sprog vil der ikke vel kunne være tale; på tysk vil jeg i inte tilfælde göre det.' SKS KIA ENS, Thomsen to Setälä 18.1.1898.
[485] Thomsen's speech was also noted in Finnish newspapers at the time: "Prof. Wilh. Thomsenin lausunto wolapukistä" *Uusi Aura*, 25.4.1902, p. 2; "Volapük: Ett uttalande af Vilhelm Thomsen" *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 29.4.1902, p. 6. Thomsen's speech was most likely a reaction to the ongoing discussion among some researchers who argued that the scientific community should adopt one constructed language for international communication between researchers. For other contemporary comments, see Fick 1902 and Pfaundler 1910. Among the main supporters of this idea were the members of the Delegation for the Adoption of an International Auxiliary Language, which was founded in 1901 and included some prominent researchers such as the chemist Wilhelm Ostwald (1853–1932), who donated half of the prize sum from his 1909 Nobel Prize for Chemistry to the development of the constructed language Ido. For more information on auxiliary language movements, see Krajewski 2014, de Kloe 2014 and Gordin 2015a, 106–158. For a general overview concerning the changes in favoured scientific languages in Europe, see Gordin 2015a.
[486] Thomsen 1905, 519–530.
[487] Ibid., 530.

choosing a dead language, such as Latin or Greek, 2) deciding on a modern constructed language, such as Volupük or Esperanto and 3) picking one national language in use.[488] Thomsen dismissed the first two possibilities as infeasible and concluded that the likeliest outcome would be that one of the 'main languages', French, English or German, would take this position. Personally, he argued that English fulfilled the requirements best, as 'it has relatively simple structure, its vocabulary is already very international, and it has overall a rich development'.[489]

Thomsen's ideas were based on the practical need for a scientific language in an international context, but the issue also highlighted the challenge that international scientific communities faced when trying to construct a shared identity, as there were no feasible ways to standardise communication into a single shared language that had been integral to the development of strong national identities, as argued by Anderson.[490] Researchers were always somewhat divided along the fault lines of preferred languages, as there was not much incentive for native speakers of English, French or German to abandon their language in favour of one of their competitors in international struggles. Thomsen proposed that this decision could come from a consensus of minor nations, but even these would have had conflicting reasons to favour one language over another.[491] English has now achieved a de facto position as a universal language, as Thomsen presumed, but even this required two World Wars and the ascending status of the United States. As much as the growing use of vernaculars led to growing nationalism in Europe, as argued by Anderson and many others, this development also undercut the ideals of scientific communities and created obstacles to communication that could have fostered a stronger shared identity among researchers.[492] Along with posing practical challenges to communication and the establishment of a transnational identity, the multilingualism of the scientific community was also a worry from the standpoint of objectivity, as Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison have pointed out.[493] The issues examined above are therefore also linked with many of the themes analysed in Section 2.4.

It is worth noting that examining scientific communities as idealised transnational groups is not an ahistorical attempt to fit past people into modern categories, as the language for science's international, cosmopolitan and universal character was commonly used by several researchers of the nineteenth century. Virchow dismissed de Quatrefages's claims that instead of Germanic people, the ancestors of Prussians were Finns and Slavs by arguing that the Frenchman's views were patriotic but not scientific.[494] Against French criticism

[488] Ibid., 531–536.
[489] Ibid., 537.
[490] Anderson saw the growing use of vernaculars as written languages as one of the main vehicles for growing nationalism during the nineteenth century, Anderson 2006, 67–82.
[491] Ibid., 537.
[492] For more general questions related to different scientific languages and scientific cosmopolitanism in Europe during the nineteenth century, see Gordin and Tampakis 2015.
[493] Daston and Galison 2007, 298–300.
[494] Virchow 1872b, 310.

of Germans and German scientists after the Franco-Prussian War, Virchow portrayed himself and the German scientific community as true cosmopolitans against French chauvinism:

> The Germans have finally understood, what the English and the French have long admitted, that science itself has a national value, but not in the sense that each nation must exploit it in an exclusive manner. On the contrary, each nation must advance science according to its own abilities, and then deliver the results it obtains to the common treasury of humanity. For us, science is purely human in its essence and national only in its form; we know the difference between exclusively national politics and universal human science. In France, by contrast, the appreciation of this difference does not yet seem to have entered some of the best heads.[495]

By invoking the universal and cosmopolitan ideals of science, Virchow tried to link these positive values to the German scientific community, although after fervour from the war and the unification of Germany, this nation did not necessarily exemplify these features as strongly as he tried to portray. In light of Germany's expansionism during this era, Virchow's appeal to the French – 'Politics separates nations, science unites them, and woe to those who break this bond!'[496] – seems a bit misdirected or naïve on Virchow's part, but rather than seeing this universalist language as a real expression against the nationalism of the era, it is more accurate to conclude that calls for cosmopolitanism and universalism in science had become primarily rhetorical tools that could be used for many purposes, including supporting nationalism.[497]

Nationalistic identities and vocabulary in science were not a problem for these researchers, as compared with the ideals of the previous century, it had become a relatively noncontentious view that researchers represented their nations and that they could and should not relinquish their national identity in favour of complete scientific cosmopolitanism. This was not generally a problem, as the researchers conceptualised these two identities as partially overlapping and parallel. As was evident in Virchow's attack on the French, the complex relationship between nationalism and internationalism was usually seen in rhetoric with which researchers claimed to work both for the benefit of their own nation and the greater good of mankind. In correspondence with the researchers examined here, this kind of rhetoric was particularly used by Finnish researchers, such as Europaeus and Setälä, to encourage Thomsen in his research:

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[495] 'Les Allemands ont enfin compris, ce que les Anglais et les Français avaient admis depuis longtemps, que la science elle-même a une valeur nationale, mais pas dans ce sens que chaque nation doit l'exploiter d'une manière exclusive. Au contraire, chaque nation doit faire avancer la science d'après ses aptitudes propres, et livrer ensuite les résultats qu'elle obtient au trésor commun de de l'humanité. Pour nous, la science est purement humaine dans son essence et nationale seulement dans sa forme ; nous savons faire la différence entre la politique exclusivement nationale et la science universellement humaine. En France au contraire l'appréciation de cette différence ne semble pas être encore entrée dans quelques-unes des meilleures têtes.' Virchow 1871, 200.

[496] 'La politique sépare les nations, la science les unit, et malheur à ceux qui rompent ce lien!' Ibid., 201.

[497] For a more in-depth examination of these French and German debates and their political aspects in the *race prussienne* dispute, see Chris Manias 2009. On Virchow's arguments against Quatrefages, see especially pp. 751–753.

> Be well and work gladly for our common national and humane goal.[498]
>
> It is already time to win the disease and set out to work with new enthusiasm and with pleasure to this noble linguistic work, which unites nations to brothers much more extensively than the adversaries and enviers of the spirit of nations and nationality would wish.[499]
>
> Both my wife and I wish that after another 25 years, we can again celebrate your doctor's jubilee and that God wills you to work for the glory of yourself and for Denmark and for the benefit of international science.[500]
>
> I wish that you can live long for the honour of your fatherland and science![501]

The best expression of these themes can be found in an excerpt from the Finno-Ugrian Society's address to Thomsen on his 60th birthday in 1903:

> Science is universal and international, and it could be especially said that scientific victories, which add to human knowledge, benefit the science of the whole world, but at the same time, they also have another, national significance. We congratulate therefore for Your scientific work the small intelligent nation that You belong to, and which previously has gifted humanity so many talents in the fields of science and literature, and we can better understand Your significance to the people of Denmark, as we ourselves belong to a small people, which can only accomplish its victories on the field of culture.[502]

This quotation highlights the connection between nationalism and internationalism in the minds of the researchers – in this case, particularly the view of researchers from a small nation who saw nationalism specifically as a positive force helping their country to find its place in the world. The scientific accomplishments were, of course, also used by great nations in projecting their own superiority, but for the researchers of smaller nations, these expressions of national ability could be existential, particularly for the Finnish, who, as subjects

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498 'Woi nyt hyvin ja tee ilolla työtä yhteisen kansallisen ja ihmisellisen asiamme voimiksi' SKS KIA F-III, D. E. D. Europaeus to Thomsen, 25.6.1869.

499 'Kyllä nyt jo onkin aika voittaa sairaus aivan kumoon ja ruveta uudella innolla ja ilomielellä tähän jaloon kielitieteen työhön, joka yhdistää kansakunnat veljiksi paljoa laajemmalta, kuin kansakuntain ja kansallisuuden hengen vastustajat ja kadehtiat soisivatkaan.' SKS KIA F-III, D. E. D. Europaeus to Thomsen, 30.11.1871.

500 'Sekä vaimoni että minä toivomme että 25 vuoden päästä saisimme uudestaan viettää Teidän tohtorijubileumianne ja että Jumala soisi Teille työskennellä itsenne, edelleen sekä Tanskan kunniaksi että kansainvälisen tieteen eduksi.' SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 3.4.1894.

501 'Toivon että saisitte kauan vielä elää sekä isänmaanne että tieteen kunniaksi!' SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 21.1.1901.

502 'Tiede on yleismaailmallinen ja kansainvälinen, ja etenkin voipi sanoa, että tieteelliset voitot, jotka lisäävät inhimillisen tietämyksen alaa, tulevat koko maailman tieteen hyväksi, mutta samalla niillä on toinenkin, samalla niillä on myös kansallinen merkitys. Me onnittelemme sen vuoksi Teidän tieteellisestä työstänne myös sitä pientä älykästä kansaa, johon Te jäsenenä kuulutte ja joka jo ennenkin on ihmiskunnalle lahjoittanut niin monta kykyä tieteen ja kirjallisuuden alalla, ja me ymmärrämme sitä paremmin Teidän merkityksenne Tanskan kansalle, kun me itsekin kuulumme pieneen kansaan, joka voi ainoat voittonsa voittaa kulttuurin työmaalla.' "Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran adressi professori Vilh. Thomsenille hänen täyttäessään 60 vuotta" SUSA, XXI,6 (1903), pp. 1–2. The address was signed, on behalf of the Finno-Ugrian Society, by Otto Donner, E. N. Setälä, Joos. J Mikkola, Kaarle Krohn, John Höckert, Eduard Polón, E. A. Tunkelo, U. T. Sirelius and G. J. Ramstedt. All of the men were active and prominent members of the scientific society and many of them also had corresponded with Thomsen.

of Russia, could not find their national "victories" and recognition in many other fields.

The juxtaposition of nationalism and internationalism was a relatively common topic debated during this period. For example, it was one of the topics on which the Finnish magazine *Valvoja*, which was edited by Setälä at the time, asked for contributions to its anniversary issue in 1905:

> Patriotism and internationalism
>
> Because modern nationalism often favours the moral of national selfishness and leads to the oppression of another nationality, it is often inquired if patriotism can nevertheless be seen as a noble ideology, or if it should be totally abandoned, or if it could be united with internationalism.[503]

Most of the essays about this topic in the published issue of the magazine were written by Finnish writers, but some European figures also contributed, such as the German philosopher Rudolf Christoph Eucken (1846–1926) and the Norwegian linguist Just Qvigstad (1853–1957). Most of the texts supported the idea that nationalism and internationalism were not opposing ideals and could be united, although national chauvinism and the oppression of other nations were strongly opposed. Many of the texts also argued that the nationalism of smaller nations was a requirement for them to operate among the other nations and necessary for the goals of internationalism and universal humanism.[504]

It is noteworthy that in material related to the non-Finnish researchers, the rhetoric supporting international cooperation was most common in the correspondence between Thomsen and his Finnish colleagues and in other Finnish texts that addressed Thomsen's work. It is possible that when interacting with researchers from larger nations, such as Abercromby, Comparetti and Virchow, there was an underlying feeling by the Finnish researchers that the scientific relationship of Finland with these greater nations was not equal – in a way, it could be with a researcher from Denmark. The historical baggage between Sweden and Finland was most likely a reason why these primarily Fennoman researchers did not use this kind of rhetoric with Retzius, but Sweden was also, at the time, a more notable scientific nation than Denmark and Finland. It is important to note that there were not many inherent differences in how the non-Finnish researchers interacted with their Finnish colleagues in person, so

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[503] 'Kansallisuus ja ihmisyys (patriotismi ja internatsionalismi) - Koska nykyajan kansallistunto usein suosii täydellisen kansallisen itsekkäisyyden moraalia ja johtaa toisen kansallisuuden sortamiseen, niin kysytään, onko kansallisuusaate siitä huolimatta katsottava jaloksi aatteeksi, vai olisiko se kokonaan hylättävä, tai olisiko mahdollista yhdistää sitä ihmisyysaatteeseen.' The call to write articles to *Valvoja* was sent, according to the invitation, to people who had during the previous years contributed to the magazine, and it is possible that there was no separate public invitation. The reason for the special issue was that the magazine had reached the age of 25 years. The other topics that people were asked to write about were more national in scope: 'Our nation's mission in the current situation' and 'The most important task in the field of Finnish literature, art and science.' This copy of the "call for articles" is found in Thomsen's archive among his correspondence with E. N. Setälä.

[504] "Kansallisuus ja ihmisyys", *Valvoja* (a festive issue) 1905, 11, pp. 650–701. International topics and issues were quite common in Finnish periodicals of this time and played an important part in the nationalism of Finnish intellectuals, as examined by Jukka Kortti in his recent article (Kortti 2021).

Thomsen's overrepresentation in internationalism is only evident in the rhetoric of letters and publications, not in other interactions.

It is also possible that this rhetoric of international cooperation was so common with Thomsen because he had a particularly close relationship with Finnish researchers and worked with them more often than the other non-Finnish researchers. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the Finnish researchers sympathised more with Thomsen as another representative of a small nation, as can be seen in Setälä's congratulation when he heard the news that Thomsen had managed to decipher the "Orkhon script": 'And I am especially glad that the man, who has achieved this kind of victory for science, is a member of a small [emphasis by Setälä] nation – this kind of event also brings solace to them who are of even lower status than Your people.'[505]

The patriotic role of researchers is also clearly seen in Otto Donner's letter to Comparetti about the loss of Julius Krohn:

> His [Julius Krohn's] sudden death was a great loss not only for patriotic science [vaterländische wissenschaft], in which he worked so diligently and successfully but also for all his numerous friends, who saw him as a warm-hearted patriot and human being. At the same time, his exceptional knowledge of languages made him on scientific questions one of the most useful intermediaries to the foreign scholars who visit our country.[506]

The letter also illustrates how these patriotic roles were strongly interlinked with the international interactions of these researchers. It is impossible to know for sure how clearly Julius Krohn conceptualised his identity along national or international lines, but he demonstrates quite well how researchers could have simultaneous national and international roles that complemented each other.

It might have been hard for the researchers of the nineteenth century to adopt a cosmopolitan scientific identity that would come before their national identities, but they most likely would have agreed that their somewhat idealised nationalism was not in conflict with the rights of other nations and that it would not be a renouncement of their own national identity to sympathise with other nations and be supportive of them. This kind of thinking was relatively common at the time, but there were groups that were much clearer proponents of internationalism than the diverse scientific communities. The labour movement, for example, was one of the most prominent advocates of internationalism and of an affinity with the representatives of their class in other nations, although the strength of these ideals was challenged by patriotism and the realities of the World Wars.[507]

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[505] 'Ja erityisesti iloitsen siitä, että mies, joka on tämmöisen voiton tieteelle saavuttanut, on pienen kansan jäsen - tämmöinen tapaus saattaa lohduttaa niitäkin, jotka ovat vielä pienemmässä asemassa kuin Teidän kansanne.' SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 23.8.1894.
[506] 'Sein plötslichen tod war en grossen verlust nicht nur für die vaterländische wissenschaft, in der er so fleissig und erfolgreich arbeitete, sondern auch für alle seine zahlseichen freunde, die in ihm den warm fühlenden patrioten und menschen verehsten. Seine ganz aussergewöhnliche spachkenntniss machte ihn zugleich zu den nützlichsten vermittler mit ausländischen gelehrten in wissenschaftlichen fragen, die unser land besichte.' UF BU DC, Otto Donner to Comparetti 16.11.1888. [Lack of capitalised nouns already in the original letter.]
[507] Kettunen 2022; Hobsbawm 1992a, 124–125; Marcobelli 2018.

Another group more comparable to the educated researchers was literary figures who advocated international cooperation and cosmopolitanism over national identities. This was especially prominent during the interwar period. Many of these authors were politically progressive and left-leaning. Many of them were also proponents of pacifism, which had a strong international character. The best portrayal of this cosmopolitan literary culture might be Austrian writer Stefan Zweig's (1881–1942) Die Welt von Gestern (1942), in which he vividly describes the literary culture of Europe during the early twentieth century and his connections with French, Belgian, Swiss and German colleagues. As a secular Austrian Jew, he also belonged to a group of people to whom a transnational identity came quite easily, although this supposed rootlessness also became a widely used anti-Semitic trope by the early twentieth century.[508] It is possible that the reason why researchers were not so ideologically cosmopolitan, compared with some literary writers, stems from the fact that they were more strongly linked to national structures, as universities were, in most European countries, directly or indirectly connected to the state. Authors could therefore more easily parade their cosmopolitan ideas, as they operated more independently than researchers, who relied on fitting into the usually conservative and national ideologies of academia.

The strong national identities and the predominance of national institutions, universities, academies and scientific societies led most researchers to work primarily within their own nations and among their compatriots, but there were also many examples of researchers who conducted some or most of their research outside their native countries.[509] For example, the philologist Max Müller, who was one of the most renowned researchers of the nineteenth century, lived and studied for most of his life in Britain and became a naturalised British citizen, even though he was German by birth.[510] Another German researcher who built his career outside his native country was the linguist Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff (1837–1918), who had become one of the leading figures in the field of Turkology in Russia. Radloff was also one of the prime contenders trying to decipher the Orkhon script, a task in which Thomsen finally succeeded.

There were also many venues for international recognition, as many scientific communities awarded prizes for scientific achievements that were not usually restricted by the nationality of the researcher. Thomsen, for example, was awarded Bopp's prize by the Berlin Academy of Sciences for his doctoral thesis on Germanic loanwords in the Finnish language in 1870, and for his research on the Orkhon script, he was awarded the Prix Volney by the Institute of France in 1895.[511] These prizes usually had a monetary reward, but they were also an

[508] See Gelbin 2015 for a more thorough examination of Zweig's writings and cosmopolitanism.
[509] Besides the examples in the main text, the presence of many foreign academics was quite common in the universities of the Habsburg Empire, although there was a clear preference for native academics (Surman 2019a, 164–173).
[510] Fynes 2004, 709.
[511] "7. Juli. Öffentliche Sitzung der Akademie zur Feier des Leibnizischen Jahrestages." Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preussische Akademie des Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Aus dem Jahre 1870, published in 1871, 574–575; "Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran vuosikertomus

international acknowledgement of researcher achievements and contributed to the idea that researchers should be honoured for their achievements, regardless of their nationality. Some of these recognitions could also have a direct connection to political governments, as the invitation to join the civil class of the order of merit *Pour le Mérite*, which was awarded by the king of Prussia, had become one of the most renowned recognitions for researchers during the nineteenth century. It says a lot about the status of these non-Finnish researchers; out of the five of them, Retzius (1911), Thomsen (1911) and Virchow (1901) all received this recognition for their scientific achievements, although none of them directly for their studies about Finns.[512]

Even though the non-Finnish researchers, and most of the Finnish researchers with whom they interacted, do not demonstrate the full extent of the transnational possibilities that were available for researchers to build their careers abroad – most of them had some experience studying in other countries. The distribution of learning was still quite dispersed in Europe; therefore, different countries had leading status in certain subjects, which attracted young researchers to come to these centres of education, in which many of them also settled. The growth of universities in Europe also led to the creation of many new academic chairs, and as there were not always any native experts available, many universities invited non-native scholars as their professors. These also included a couple of younger Finnish researchers who had interacted with the five non-Finnish researchers: the famed sociologist Edvard Westermarck (1862–1939) taught at the London School of Economics as a professor of sociology from 1907 to 1930 and A. M. Tallgren helped to establish the field of archaeology in newly independent Estonia during the 1920s as the professor of archaeology at the University of Tartu.[513]

This transnationalism in the careers of researchers stemmed from the different opportunities available to them. A lot depended on the abilities of these researchers to establish international contacts early in their careers, and for most researchers, the networks and social capital they had already acquired in their native countries made the choice of continuing to work in their native countries the most likely option. The few researchers who became prominent figures abroad nevertheless played an important role as links between scientific networks in different countries, and as they could easily participate in scientific debates in several countries, they helped transfer knowledge between different national scientific communities. The personal relationships between the researchers from different countries, of course, also contributed to this, but these networks usually did not have a specific individual who had this kind of pronounced role as an intermediary.

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v. 1895 / Rapport annuel de la Société finno-ougrienne. Année 1895." SUSA XIV,4 (1895), pp. 3, 11.

[512] "Orden Pour le mérite" (1978), 162–163, 246–247, 252–253.

[513] It is worth noting that both men would later also work as professors in Finland so working abroad was not always a permanent arrangement. However, by working in different countries, researchers often formed wider and more intertwined transnational networks, as both Westermarck and Tallgren could help foster connections to Britain and Estonia for future generations of researchers.

Researchers were also quite flattered for being acknowledged by their international colleagues, and as researchers usually had memberships in several non-native scientific organisations, it would be wrong to say that they categorically associated themselves only with their national scientific communities. The previous chapter explored the multiple Finnish learned societies in which the non-Finnish researchers were members, but it is worth highlighting Abercromby's public use of his membership in the Finno-Ugrian Society. Rather than being silently content with his relationship with this Finnish scientific society, Abercromby put the information that he was a corresponding member of the Finno-Ugrian Society quite literally on the forefront of his research, as this association was presented on the title page of his research on two occasions, first in *A Trip Through the Eastern Caucasus* (1889) and later in *The Pre- and Proto-Historical Finns* (1898), which was his main work about Finns.

Abercromby's membership in the Finno-Ugrian Society was the only information that he gave in these works about his relationship with any scientific institutions, even though he was an active participant in many British ones, such as the Folklore Society in London and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.[514] Therefore, it is noteworthy that Abercromby decided to highlight his connection to a foreign scientific society over his national associations. In the case of *The Pre- and Proto-Historical Finns*, the choice of mentioning the Finno-Ugrian Society was very obvious, but his *A Trip Through the Eastern Caucasus* was not connected to the study of Finns in any way. It is likely that Abercromby wanted to lend some scientific prestige and authority to his work by highlighting his link to the society, which had already made something of a name for itself by conducting scientific expeditions in the Russian Empire.

Although international contacts became materially easier during the nineteenth century, internationalism was not a preordained feature of scientific communities. In some cases, the technologically and materially less-developed circumstances of the eighteenth century could lead to an environment of more active transnational contacts than a comparable situation during the nineteenth century. This was, for example, the case in the scientific community of Sweden, where researchers had proportionally more international contacts during the eighteenth than in the nineteenth century. The main reason was that by the nineteenth century, the scientific community in Sweden had grown to such an extent that it could be more "self-sufficient". Researchers could find enough scientifically valuable contacts among their compatriots and therefore had less need for active contacts with colleagues in other countries, compared with the situation only some generations before.[515] It is possible to see that nineteenth-century Finland was in a position comparable to Sweden in the eighteenth

[514] Abercromby also acted, at different times, as the vice-president of the Folklore Society and the president of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, so he was not a mere rank-and-file member of these societies but took an active part in their activities, which further highlights the apparent oddity of him deciding to mention only his role in the Finno-Ugrian Society.

[515] Sörlin 1994, 179–203. For more information on the international scientific exchange between Sweden and other European countries, especially France, during the eighteenth century, see also Pihlaja 2009.

century, as the country had only one university and a relatively limited population of professional academics.

For Finnish researchers, such international aspirations were not just a case of mandatory networking or showcasing Finnish research to prove that it was not an insignificant peripheral province. At best, Finnish researchers could contribute to science in ways that put presumed centres of learning to shame, as was pointed out in the opening address of the International Folklore Congress of the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 by the chairman of the Folk-Lore Committee, Lieutenant Fletcher S. Bassett (1847–1893):

> May we not hope that colleges and universities, which foster other branches of Science and literature, will not neglect this [the study of folklore], and that the example of Helsingfors, the solitary instance of the appointment of a professor of Folk-Lore, may be followed by Harvard, Yale, and by Chicago, and that Prof. Krohn may only be one of a learned body of professors of this science, who shall direct the congresses of the future.[516]

Such views show that working as an international community was, at its best, a benefit for the entire field of research and that even small nations could have a significant role in this international community. The realities of human nature and international politics meant that there was not always a suitable environment for such cooperative actions, but for most of these European researchers, the Finnish people were not targets for more negative aspects of nationalism. The fruitful collaboration of Finnish and non-Finnish researchers is a good example of how the idealised aspects of their communities could be used for the benefit of research.

The researchers might have been unwilling to relinquish the primacy of their national identity for the sake of such cooperation, but as most of them were in agreement that the ideals of science and the nation, or the identity of a researcher as an international and national figure, did not have to conflict with each other, there was little need for that. It was a boon for the Finnish researchers that they managed to find acceptance in this international scientific community, but it is important to remember that this inclusivity was not boundless and that people outside Europe, especially people who did not share the cultural background of the educated European elite, had a much harder time finding equal footing in this community. The cosmopolitan and universal ideals of these researchers included the innate assumption that their ideals were based on values and worldviews that they perceived as natural. Therefore, it must be noted that this identity was deeply rooted in Western ideals and in the dominant position that Western nations had achieved at this point, when imperialistic structures were at their highest point.

It would also be easy to make the argument that the multifaceted discipline of Oriental studies, in which many of the Finnish and non-Finnish researchers investigated here also took part, was one of the most exemplary transnational fields, as it included, besides academic researchers, people who lived in countries outside Europe, such as colonial officials and clergy, who usually had limited

[516] Bassett 1898, 20.

representation in scientific fields. Oriental studies also did not have an inherent national character, so researchers from Britain, France and Germany could easily work with each other without getting into nationalistic disagreements. At the same time, even though some individuals who had a background in the cultures perceived as "Oriental" participated in these studies, this scientific approach was so deeply embedded in Western ideals that almost every studied culture was contrasted with the norm based on Western examples. Even if we could take a typical nineteenth-century researcher and somehow manage to remove his ingrained nationalistic views, we would still have a person with strong preconceived assumptions about European supremacy and a very clear notion about the excellence of specific educational and societal backgrounds.

5.4 Conclusions

Developments in technology and communication transformed much of the world during the nineteenth century, and these changes were especially visible in Europe, where new railroads, canals and steamships brought the continent much closer together. The ease of travel did not just increase the movement of people but also the transportation of messages and ideas that had already been transformed by technological innovations in communication, such as the telegraph, and new legal frameworks that facilitated international postal cooperation. Compared with the previous centuries, and even the start of the nineteenth century, the possibility of conducting scientific research in foreign countries had become a much more feasible and comfortable affair. This made it possible for the five non-Finnish researchers to expand their knowledge beyond the realm of armchair scholars, which was still the norm for much of the research done during the nineteenth century.

These changes also transformed the previous metaphysical and abstract learned communities, such as the Republic of Letters, which had been loose correspondence networks with no organisational structures, into a more concrete form of a scientific organisation through the plethora of learned societies founded during the nineteenth century that periodically met at international scientific congresses. These structures made the concept of the scientific community more tangible, as people could now interact with their colleagues face-to-face and see the representatives of their discipline in one place. These meetings helped in forming connections with other researchers, thereby increasing the size of transnational scientific networks, compared with what had been considered practical only some decades before. Scientific congresses helped maintain contacts that could otherwise only be promoted through letters, and the importance of these events was evident in how common references to them were in the correspondence between the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers.

These scientific congresses were also a manifestation of the centuries-long ideal of the scientific community as an international group of people who shared the same noble ideas related to the search for knowledge. These international

aspects are well seen in how the congresses were typically referred to as "international", both in name and in the official rhetoric that emphasised the gathering of individuals from different countries. This rhetoric did not deny that, besides representing their disciplines, these people were also representative of their countries. Although national identities would not necessarily conflict with internationalism, in practice, the realities of state politics and national tensions were often very visible during these meetings, which were supposed to present the scientific world above political issues.

This complex interplay between national, international and transnational aspects in the actions and rhetoric of the researchers can also be seen clearly in their correspondence and other texts produced by them. The questions of whether internationalism and nationalism were contradictory or whether one was superior to the other were common topics of discussion among the intelligentsia of this period. The role of the researcher as primarily a national actor was often seen as the norm, but it was also commonly acknowledged that research served the double purpose of bringing prestige and recognition to the nation while also contributing to the intellectual wealth of humanity. At the same time, the perceived overt nationalism of some researchers could even be used to dismiss their scientific credibility by claiming that they did not demonstrate the objectivity and detachment necessary for a scientist. The general discussions and debates around nationalism and internationalism would change after the First World War, as identifying with one's nation was reaffirmed by the war, and the internationalism of the late nineteenth century, which was most visible in culture and sciences, gave room to more political international projects, as seen most prominently in the League of Nations.[517]

Besides rhetoric and perceived identities, the realities of scientific work speak of the realities of nationalism and the potential of transnational cooperation. The researchers were usually organised primarily into national units – representatives of their national academia and scientific societies that were typically set up along national lines. They also mainly interacted with their immediate colleagues, who usually shared their nationality. The opportunities to conduct scientific work alongside or supported by an international colleague were nevertheless not rarity, as demonstrated by the way in which Finnish researchers contributed to the work of their non-Finnish colleagues. These instances of cooperation were not limited only to research concerning Finns, as the researchers would occasionally collaborate with their international colleagues for other purposes, the prime example of which was the decades-long cooperation between Vilhelm Thomsen and the Finno-Ugrian Society concerning the so-called "Orkhon script".

For these researchers, it was rarely problematic to act as representatives of their nation, consciously working to enhance its reputation while simultaneously interacting in international contexts and establishing formal and informal

[517] For the debates and uses of internationalism and nationalism after the First World War, see Holmila and Ihalainen 2018 and Ihalainen and Leonhard 2022. For the changes the war caused in scientific internationalism, see Schroeder-Gudehus 1973.

relationships with colleagues from many different nations. These transnational relationships might also, at times, prove much more useful and rewarding than the national communities of these researchers. Nevertheless, none of the researchers separated themselves from the political and national realities of the time, and they were more than willing to contribute to national questions when called upon to do so. This role of political thought and practice in the actions of the researchers is explored in the next chapter, which also investigates how Finnish and non-Finnish researchers contributed to tumultuous political events in Finland during the turn of the century and the first decades of the twentieth century.

6 SCIENTISTS IN THE MIDST OF POLITICAL TURMOIL

This chapter examines the political activities of researchers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Compared with the previous chapters, where political themes and topics might have been occasionally relevant, this chapter focuses on these researchers as political actors, especially those related to the Finnish political struggles in which the non-Finnish researchers also played their part. The first section briefly explores the political environment in which the researchers acted in their scientific work and as representatives of their nations. The second section examines the political roles that many of the researchers took upon themselves beyond their scientific roles and how the researchers expressed specific political sympathies. The actions and circumstances related to the political events in Finland during the turn of the century, including Russification policies, political demonstrations by Finnish people, public petitions, parliamentary reform, the declaration of independence and bloody civil war, and the ways in which these political events were commented on and acted upon by the non-Finnish researchers, are analysed in the third section.

6.1 Researchers and Their Political Environments

As has been pointed out time and time again in previous chapters, the research done by the non-Finnish researchers and Finnish researchers was, in many ways, interlinked to the political currents and events in their societies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is interesting to ponder whether studies related to the prehistoric past of different human groups can ever be totally separated from political and nationalistic aspects, but during the latter half of the nineteenth century, these questions were at the forefront of scientific debates and a common basis for building national identities in the spirit of the national ideologies of the time.

To illustrate this point, let us examine the ways in which the *race prussienne* controversy influenced the research on Finns and how its context cannot be separated from political and national questions. The controversy began due to revanchism among French intelligentsia due to the outcome of the Franco-Prussian War. Although Armand de Quatrefages's claims were not scientifically well founded, they gained disproportionate attention from German researchers, as he denied the Germanness of the Prussian people and the state that formed the core of the new German empire. Due to the weakness of Quatrefages's empiricism, it might be more accurate to understand his arguments more as a political attack than an opening of a fruitful scientific debate, but as he painted his arguments as scientific, Germans and other researchers interested in the matter, such as Retzius, responded with scientific studies that multiplied the available information concerning Finns. It is also impossible to separate Virchow's scientific and nationalistic motivations in his response to Quatrefages as fed into each other. As this issue was not as nationalistically relevant for Retzius, his anthropological research on Finns could be more separated from immediate national matters, although his research was, in its own part, influenced by Swedish interests in defining their nation in contrast to their neighbouring people, such as the Sámi and the Finns.

These political and nationalistic influences were rarely directly addressed in the research, compared with the correspondence between the researchers, where different social and current topics intersected with scientific discussions. Although these topics were not beyond the pale, they were not inherently common, and many letters written during famous political and social events of the late nineteenth century or the early twentieth century are pronouncedly absent. It is also possible that the researchers saved their predominantly scientific correspondence to posteriority more likely than letters with more political or social topics, but this is an unlikely explanation for the general trend in the letters concerning the scarcity of political discussions. Most typical topics of a similar vein were in letters where Finnish researchers informed their colleagues of big political events in Finland, their despair related to Russification policies or the general difficulty in shaping political decisions in their country.

Information about the political events of Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain or Italy was extremely rare in the correspondence between non-Finnish and Finnish researchers and usually included only a few lines when one of the non-Finnish researchers reflected on the political events in Finland based on the situation in their own country. Many contemporary political issues, such as women's rights and suffrage, were absent in these discussions, even though the unicameral parliament of Finland and the introduction of universal suffrage would have given these men a good opportunity to discuss these topics and perhaps reflect the situation in their own countries. Most likely, the researchers did not see this topic as relevant enough to warrant commenting on their correspondence, and they also might have hesitated to introduce the topic, as these issues divided people's opinions quite strongly at the time. In a similar

manner, religious topics that could also be easily divisive were absent from their letters.

It would be easy to argue that religious topics were not so important for researchers of the nineteenth century in general, but in many cases, a researcher's religious identity could be central to the advancement of their academic career. For example, in the multi-ethnic Habsburg Empire, Catholicism was one of the uniting tenets of the realm, and non-Catholics, especially Jews, could find many challenges to the advancement of their careers.[518] Even the non-Finnish researchers were not totally passive concerning these issues. As a prominent Prussian politician, Virchow, for instance, participated in the so-called Kulturkampf, an attempt by the German state to limit the influence of the Catholic Church in the country in the 1870s; indeed, he famously even coined the term. Nevertheless, it is also possible that these were not very interesting general topics for these men to discuss, although they might have taken a more active part in these discussions in their native contexts rather than in correspondence with their international colleagues.

Compared with the lack of obvious political topics, political and national themes were more commonly present indirectly in the rhetoric of the researchers, as examined in the previous chapter. Even without discussing political issues directly, the researchers did not separate themselves from political activities, as they commonly conceptualised themselves as embodiments of the scientific capabilities of their nation and therefore saw themselves as representing their nation through scientific achievements. Being associated with one's country was not always only a benefit; Abercromby voiced his concerns to Donner related to the heightened international tensions after the Panjdeh incident, which began when Russia captured an Afghan border fort in 1885, an act that challenged the British sphere of influence in the area and threatened a wider conflict between Britain and Russia: 'If war actually breaks out, it may make a difference. The Russians may prevent English people from travelling, though I don't know why they should, which would prevent my [sic] having the pleasure of seeing you in June.'[519] The war did not break out and the situation was settled diplomatically, but this incident highlights how the researchers could not always act independently from the actions of their countries that they represented as citizens.

Besides these less overt expressions of politics, the researchers were often directly involved in political matters beyond their academic professions. These political roles are examined thoroughly in the next section.

[518] Surman 2019a, 217–241.
[519] KA OD, Correspondence, 8 Received letters (1850–1909), Abercromby to Donner, 28.4.1885.

6.2 Researchers as Political Actors

Although the first half of the nineteenth century was marked by the re-establishment of the conservative political system in Europe, as negotiated in the Congress of Vienna and the suppression of revolutionary movements in 1848–1849, the latter half of the century and the years before the First World War saw many political reforms that increased political participation in many European countries. Although this rarely meant universal suffrage or even complete male suffrage, new political groups and social classes found parliamentary representation during these decades. Many of these reforms benefited especially the growing middle classes, and as this era was also marked by the growing professionalism of scientific occupation, many researchers found themselves in a socially respectable position with a stable income and used these advantages to actively participate in politics. The relationship between academia and politics had already been strongly established during the previous decades, when, in the absence of other venues of political participation, universities became, in many countries, the hotspots of political discussions and agitation, particularly by the students who often demanded liberal and progressive reforms.

The situation in Finland offers an extreme example of politically charged academia, as besides the same developments as in other parts of Europe, there were many other aspects that intertwined the university with political life. As a relatively small country, Finland had only one university, which was situated in the governmental capital of Finland in Helsinki, and to highlight this connection between Finnish academia and the government, the principal building of the university and the Senate House stood opposite each other in the most prominent square in the city. The university also had seats in the Diet of Finland, where its representatives were members of the clergy, one of the four estates, in the Diet.[520] The role of the Diet as the primary political venue in Finland was decreased by the fact that since 1863, after more than five decades since it last convened, it met only every three to five years, so it could not react to immediate political topics and its practical significance was diminished by the fact that the concrete political decisions were made in the senate of Finland and in the capital of the Russian Empire, Saint Petersburg. Although Finland had fairly extensive autonomy as a distinct part of the empire, it lacked many of its own political institutions, so in the eyes of many Finnish people, the Imperial Alexander University in Finland represented one of the true Finnish institutions. This view was also expressed in Otto Hjelt's letter to Virchow in 1857:

> The love for the fatherland and national life, which has been awakened among young people in recent times and which has since spread to all walks of life, does not please everyone. In our circumstances, the university is the heart of the country, and all eyes

[520] The four estates that composed the Diet of Finland were Nobility, Clergy, Bourgeoisie and Peasants. The extent how much the Diet could affect legislation and policies in Finland fluctuated during the decades, as many things were decided directly in Saint Petersburg by the Governor-General of Finland and by the Senate of Finland, which was the main civil administrative body in Finland.

> are on the events of the university, on the development of those events. The university is our most loyal property, protection against foreign nationality. Every Finn understands this and that is why there is an intimate agreement between the individual university members to promote and protect Finnish education.[521]

Many of the contemporary political issues also stemmed from the university, including, for example, the so-called "language question", which was a long debate about the role of the Finnish and Swedish languages in the university and in Finnish society at large. The issue of language was one of the most significant dividing lines forming early forms of party politics in Finland and especially the leading members of the "Finnish party" stemmed often from the members of the university. Members of the university, such as Otto Donner, Arvid Genetz (1848−1915), Edvard Hjelt (1855−1921) and Yrjö Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen, also occasionally served as senators, usually chairing the committee that handled the topics of church and education. Researchers also influenced public opinion by actively publishing newspapers and magazines, which were the primary arenas for public political discourse.[522] Members of academia were also active in many political issues during the turn of the century, such as reacting to the ongoing Russification policies, and after the parliamentary reform in Finland, many Finnish professors, such as J. R. Danielson-Kalmari (1853–1933), E. G. Palmén (1849–1919), G. G. Rosenqvist (1855–1931), Johan Wilhelm Runeberg (1843–1918, son of "the national poet of Finland" Johan Ludvig Runeberg) and E. N. Setälä, became members of the Finnish parliament.

The non-Finnish researchers were not without their political roles either, as besides being the director of the Institute for Pathology, part of the famed Charité hospital, and holding the chair for Pathological Anatomy and Physiology at the Friedrich Wilhelm University, Rudolf Virchow was one of the leading liberal politicians in Germany, a member of the Prussian Diet and, from 1880 to 1893, a member of the Reichstag. Besides Virchow, Domenico Comparetti also played a political role, as he was appointed a senator to the Senate of the Kingdom of Italy in 1891.[523] As a person who became a senator by the appointment of the king and served for life, rather than being elected by the voting populace, Comparetti's political career is not really comparable to Virchow's active role in politics, as he

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[521] 'Die in der neuesten Zeit unter der jugend [sic] lebhaft erweckte Liebe zum Vaterland und Nationalleben, welche von da aus in alle stände sich versreihet hat, gefällt nicht überall. In unseren Verhält nissen [sic] ist die Universität das Herz des Landes und alle Augen sind auf Ereignisse der Universität, auf die Entwickelung derselben gerichtet. Die Universität ist unser treuestes Eigenthum [sic] ein Schutz gegen die fremde Nationalität. Das Versteht jeder Finne und deswegen herrscht auch ein innigen [sic] Eintracht zwischen den eizelnen [sic] Universitäts-Mitgliedern die Finnische Bildung zu Befördern und zu Schützen.' ABBAW NL RV, Hjelt to Virchow 8.4.1857.

[522] As the proportion of researchers in prominent Fennomans was especially high, many of them, such as August Ahlqvist, D. E. D. Europaeus, Yrjö Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen and Eliel Aspelin, worked as editors or journalists in papers such as *Suometar, Uusi Suometar,* and *Uusi Suomi*. Magazines were also used in a similar way and the cultural magazine *Valvoja,* which was later edited by Setälä, and many of his contemporary researchers also contributed to it, was initially also known as "the paper of the docents" as many of the prominent contributors at the time were docents.

[523] The Senate was the upper house of the bicameral Parliament of the Kingdom of Italy, the lower house being the Chamber of Deputies which was the main legislative body.

seems to have received the position for his merits and reputation rather than for a real intention to take significant action in Italian politics. Comparetti gave his only speech in the senate in 1913 on the establishment of a university chair in the philosophy of history, highlighting that even as a politician, he was active only on issues related to the field of science.[524]

Abercromby and Thomsen seem to have been more interested in their scientific work than in visible political or social roles, but despite having no political career, Gustaf Retzius was politically and socially active. He became the primary owner of the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet* in 1884 and worked directly as its editorial director for a few years, leading the paper to a more liberal direction.[525]

Out of the Finnish contacts of the non-Finnish researchers, many were members of the Finnish Diet (Otto Donner, Kustavi Grotenfelt (1861–1928), E. N. Setälä, Werner Söderhjelm (1859–1931) and Axel Wallensköld (1864–1933)), members of the Finnish parliament (Grotenfelt and Setälä), senators (Donner and Setälä) and later a minister in the government of Finland after its independence in 1917 (Setälä). Some of the researchers also became diplomats because, as Finland was part of the Russian Empire, it did not have independent foreign policies or diplomatic corps until after independence in 1917. Researchers who already had international networks and could speak foreign languages filled, therefore, much of the early need for Finnish diplomats after independence. Of the Finnish researchers who corresponded with the non-Finnish researchers, Werner Söderhjelm became a diplomat in Stockholm from 1919 to 1928, Setälä served as the minister of foreign affairs from 1925 to 1926 and acted as a diplomat in Copenhagen and Budapest from 1927 to 1930 and J. J. Mikkola participated in diplomatic tasks in Warsaw and Lithuania in 1919.[526]

Even though there were scarcely any theoretical problems in combining scientific and political roles, in practice, clashes and arising problems were quite frequent. Although it was taken for granted that universities were not out of the political sphere, there were expectations that politics would not influence clear scientific work, but especially during the appointments of chairs or allocations of funding politics, it could have more influence than pure scientific merits. In Finland, this usually materialised in the context of the "language question" when both Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking persons applied for a position or between a more radical and moderate choice. These were not very typical topics in the letters of the non-Finnish researchers or their immediate Finnish contacts, but Thomsen's and Setälä's active correspondence gives a good view of such struggles; Setälä ended up in a quite heated controversy when he applied for the

[524] Carratelli 1982.
[525] Lindblad 2007, 77–82.
[526] Other Finnish academics who acted as diplomats during the early twentieth century include linguist Gustaf John Ramstedt (1873–1950), who continued the linguistic studies of the Finno-Ugrian Society in Central Asia during 1898–1912 and served as a diplomat of Finland in Tokyo from 1919 to 1929, and political scientist Rudolf Holsti (1881–1945), who served as the representative of Finland in Estonia (1923–1927) and the League of Nations (1927–1940) and served as the minister of foreign affairs twice during 1919–1922 and 1936–1938.

professorship on Finnish language and literature. To some extent, the controversy stemmed from the more modern theoretical approaches used by Setälä and from his supposed plagiarism of Thomsen's work, a fact that he partly acknowledged by writing that he has not always been most diligent in citing his sources, but in his letter to Thomsen, Setälä points out some political aspects that he sees going against him:

> Every office election here is a party matter. In this case, two Finnish-minded men have applied for the same position, but the matter is nevertheless a party matter. [Arvid] Genetz [Setälä's opponent] has written a party song named "Herää Suomi" [Wake up Finland], and from that Swedish-minded persons are angry towards him, and supposing me perhaps as a less dangerous national person, they, for the most part, support me. Finnish-minded persons in turn want the position by all means to Genetz. Those language-men [linguists], Gustafsson and Heikel, who support me, do it, I believe, more from scientific opposition, than anything else, but because they are Swedish-minded, the Finnish-minded persons do not trust them. […] This party-fanaticism has put forward all passions and plots.[527]

As the opportunities for academic careers were limited and as academic positions, especially professors, carried a lot of direct and indirect power, the ideal applicant for the position was not always the most scientifically merited but a person who was most supportive of the desired policies. In Finland, the matter was more politically charged than in some other European universities due to the over-emphasised role national politics played in its events during the end of the nineteenth century, but comparable situations when favourites played against each other were not uncommon when the rare salaried positions were available in universities more generally.

As much as the political tensions could clash with scientific ideals, the practical matter of uniting political and scientific careers also proved challenging for many researchers. Academic positions were a constant job of balancing the obligation to teach students and conduct administrative duties and scientific research, but the researchers who participated actively in political life often lamented how much it interfered with their scientific activities. For example, Otto Donner hesitated to host the Ural-Altaic section of the International Congress of Orientalists held in Copenhagen in 1908, which Thomsen had asked of him due to parliamentary reform and the first parliamentary elections in Finland, which took a lot of his time.[528] One reason why researchers participated in politics was that they felt it was their social obligation due to a lack of other capable personnel, as portrayed by Finnish linguist J. J. Mikkola, who wrote in his letter to Thomsen that 'In this time when we have so few capable people, one has to split himself

[527] 'Jokainen virran-asetusjuttu on täällä meillä puolueasia. Tällä kertaa on sattunut niin, että on kaksi suomenmielistä miestä hakenut samaa virkaa, mutta asia on sittenkin puolueasia. Genetz on kirjoittanut "Herää Suomi" nimisen puoluelaulun, ja siitä ovat ruotsinmieliset häneen suuttuneet, ja arvellen kai minua vähemmin vaaralliseksi valtiolliseksi henkilöksi, he enimmäkseen minua puolustavat. Suomenmieliset taas tahtovat viran kaiken mokomin Genetzille. Ne kielimiehet, Gustafsson ja Heikel, jotka minua puolustavat, tekevät sen luullakseni enemmän tieteellisestä vastuksesta, kuin muusta, mutta koska he ovat ruotsinmielisiä, eivät suomenmieliset heihin luota. [...] Tämä puoluekiihko on pannut kaikki intohimot ja - juonet liikkeelle.' SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 28.1.1891.
[528] SKS KIA, F-III, Donner to Thomsen 17.12.1906.

into so many directions that scientific work does not produce as much as one would wish for.'[529] This sentiment was echoed in many of Setälä's letters to Thomsen during the first two decades of the twentieth century, especially during politically tumultuous times:

> Our Diet has now started, to which I also against my will ended up elected. It takes months - one cannot practise anything but politics, which does not please me in the slightest.[530]
>
> From the point of view of scientific work, last winter, unfortunately, went to waste due to the assembly of the Diet. Politics with its many intrigues does not appeal to me; much rather I would have sat at scientific works.[531]
>
> We live in a time of strikes – police strike, typography strike, etc. – the struggles of the government are unprecedently large both from within and outside. One cannot say how long it holds and when it breaks. I have nevertheless my resting place in the university – I have not resigned from my professorship.[532]
>
> I will try to find time to write again soon. Hopefully, I will be released from politics soon, so I can become human also in correspondence.[533]

The last citation comes from Setälä's letter, which is dated November 1918, and after this letter, he would stay as a member of the Finnish parliament for almost nine more years, serve as the leader of his political party and lead two different ministries. Although much of the rhetoric concerning politics among the researchers is based on the language of obligation and serving one's nation, the politically active researchers were also motivated by their own ambitions and aspirations to shape how their nation and society would develop. This does not mean that Setälä was lying about his desire to focus on his scientific work but rather showcases the conflicting desires that led him to favour his political career, although he stayed as a professor through his period in politics.

Although participation in politics by researchers was not uncommon during this era, this could be used as a personal attack during scientific debates, which occurred when German naturalists debated Darwin's ideas during the 1870s, as described in an article by historian Raf de Bont.[534] During this time, Darwin's ideas about evolution were heavily debated among German scientists.

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[529] 'Meillä kun tähän aikaan voimien harvalukuisuuden tähden saa hajottaa itsensä niin monelle taholle, ei tahdo tulla tieteellisestä työstä niin paljon kuin itse tahtoisi.' SKS KIA F-IV, Mikkola to Thomsen 12.1.1901.

[530] 'Meillä ovat nyt alkaneet valtiopäivät, joille minäkin vastoin tahtoani olen tullut valituksi. Siihen menee kuukausimääriä - ei saa harjoittaa muuta kuin politiikkaa, mikä minua ei ensinkään miellytä.' SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 10.11.1904.

[531] 'Viime talvi meni valitettavasti hukkaan tieteellisiltä töiltä valtiopäivien tähden. Politiikki monine intrigeineen ei minua miellyttänyt; paljoa mielemmin [sic] olisin istunut tieteellisten töiden ääressä.' SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 25.7.1905.

[532] 'Vi leva förresten i strejkernas tiden: polisstrejk, typografstrejk m.m. - naturligtvis äro svårigheterna för regeringar oerhört stora både inåt och utåt. Man kan aldrig säga, huru längre det bär ock nä det brister. Jag har i alla fan min reträttplats å universitet - jag har icke avgått från min professur.' SKS KIA, Letters Vilhelm Thomsen received from Finnish II, Setälä to Thomsen 6.7.1917.

[533] 'Koetan saada aikaa taas pian kirjoittaa. Toivoakseni pian kokonaan vapaudun politiikasta, joten taas voin ruveta ihmiseksi myös kirjeenvaihdossa.' SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 16.11.1918.

[534] Bont 2013, 324–325.

The main proponent and populariser of Darwin in Germany was zoologist Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919), who ended up in a heated debate with Virchow, who was not supportive of Darwin's ideas. Besides attacking these theories on a scientific basis, he also linked them to revolutionary socialism. Due to Virchow's authority and being himself strongly associated with Darwin, Haeckel took this criticism very personally and, contrary to Virchow, who based his criticism primarily on scientific arguments, replied by attacking Virchow directly. According to de Bont:

> The Virchow of 1878 was described [by Haeckel] as somebody, who "passes the whole day in the friction of political party-struggles" and thus had become "estranged from science". In his introduction to the English translation of Haeckel's text, Huxley echoed this strategy, attacking Virchow for introducing "the sinister arts of unscrupulous political warfare into scientific controversy".[535]

Despite the close links between the scientific and political spheres in general during the nineteenth century, Haeckel and the British biologist Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–1895) criticised Virchow's scientific authority due to his political activities by using rhetoric that portrayed Virchow as contaminated by the ethos of politics, which made him incapable of examining the scientific matter objectively. These wordings echo quite closely the language we saw in Chapter 2, which Virchow used against French anthropologists and especially Armand de Quatrefages in the context of the *race prussienne* controversy when he claimed that the French scientists brought nationalism unbecomingly into scientific matters compared with the Germans who only worked in a scientifically objective manner. Haeckel's and Huxley's criticism should not be understood as a proclamation that science should be separated completely from politics and social matters, as one of the reasons why they promoted Darwin's ideas was how it challenged religious dogmas and the ways in which societies were arranged during the nineteenth century. This does not diminish the fact that the ideal scientist for most researchers was an independent person who could devote his time to scientific inquiries without distractions from outside society.

Nevertheless, the fact is that researchers were part of their own societies, and they were as much influenced by ideological and political currents as other people. This does not mean that they were a miniature representation of the rest of the population, as they represented a relatively clear social group that understandably shared many political and social views. There were many battles and fault lines in European politics during the latter half of the nineteenth century, but a common feature in many European countries was the juxtaposition of conservative and liberal politics. This matter also divided much of academia, but in the context of the non-Finnish researchers and their Finnish contacts, there was a clear preference for liberal political leanings. Of the five non-Finnish researchers, Virchow is the clearest example, but even Retzius publicly supported liberal reforms during the nineteenth century. Thomsen's and Abercromby's views are not as evident, but even in their correspondence, their political and social opinions reflect more contemporary liberal thinking than conservative positions. It is also worth noting that even though Abercromby

[535] Ibid., 325.

himself did not participate in politics, his father and grandfather had been Whig members of the Parliament of Great Britain, so he most likely was more sympathetic towards liberal politics than an average member of the peerage.

Of the non-Finnish researchers, Comparetti showed the least liberal views in his letters, although due to the scarcity of letters from him, it is hard to make an accurate estimation of his leanings. Nevertheless, Comparetti commented in a text published in a Finnish magazine *Valvoja* quite directly some of his concerned views of the recent changes in Finland that he had witnessed during his trip in 1906. Compared with the more ambiguous language of his letters, this text has a clear, conservative tone:

> My wish would be that Finland would be satisfied with the extensive freedoms it has achieved and that it would use them in the best way through legislation and within the rule of law to improve the condition of the working class and agrarian population, by declaring a war against all Russian and non-Russian revolutionary parties and finally by staying loyal to their legitimate according-to-the-constitution-ruling Grand Duke, as was during the time that I remember well.[536]

These somewhat patronising views most closely echo the views of many Finnish conservatives who had traditionally relied on good relations with the Russian regime, especially the emperor, to guarantee and develop the autonomous status of Finland. Although this had traditionally been the main line of Finnish politics, during the years of Russification policies, it was mostly the conservatives of the Finnish Party who followed this line of appeasement towards the Russian regime. At the time of Comparetti's comments, more radical and violent opposition towards Russian policies had become increasingly common, including the assassination of the Governor-General of Finland in 1904. Comparetti seems to have identified more with the non-violent opposition that Finnish people had practised before this perceived radicalisation. This comment could also describe his view of the wider Russian Revolution of 1905, in which the events in Finland played only a small part. As a member of the Italian Senate, he might have partly sympathised with some parts of the Russian ruling elite and seen the political unrest as more threatening to the status quo than the Finnish activists, who very much wanted to change the present state of affairs.

As senators in Italy were chosen by the king for their individual merits and served for life, Comparetti did not represent any political party and did not seem to have been an especially active politician as a senator. Therefore, it is hard to pigeonhole him to any clear political position beyond subscribing to some general conservative views.

Concerning the Finnish researchers who most actively interacted with the non-Finnish researchers, most were liberally inclined, as has been hinted at in previous chapters. Many of the most active correspondents, such as Otto Donner, Setälä and Söderhjelm, were part of "the Young Finnish Party" (*Nuorsuomalainen Puolue*), which, compared with "the Finnish Party" (*Suomalainen Puolue*) that they split from, were a more liberal and Europe-leaning party.[537] Many of the

[536] Comparetti 1907, 325.
[537] For more information on these "Finnish parties", see Liikanen 1995, Vares 2000 and Paaskoski 2002.

Swedish-speaking Finnish researchers, such as Gösta Grotenfelt (1855–1922), Johan Axel Palmén and Edward Westermarck, were also predominantly liberals. Some of the researchers from the older generation, such as August Ahlqvist, D. E. D. Europaeus and Julius Krohn, were more conservative in their views, although the form of nationalism they represented could be read as radical views when considering the political environment of their youth. The line between liberals and conservatives was not always clear among Finnish academics, as some more conservative researchers, such as Eliel Aspelin and Kaarle Krohn, also contributed to liberal publications, such as *Valvoja.* Researchers also cooperated on political issues with each other.

In some cases, it is quite hard to characterise the political leanings of specific individuals who were not linked to any political parties, such as J. J. Mikkola, a linguist of Slavic languages. Mikkola was a staunch Fennoman, but besides this support for the Finnish language, his other political views seem to have been more reflective of the political "fashions" of the time. During the early twentieth century, he briefly associated with socialists to the extent that he was portrayed in a political cartoon during the general strike of 1905 as sympathetic towards the Russians and socialist ideas, but during the 1930s, he had become supportive of fascism and led an association called the Young Friends of Italy (*Nuoret Italian Ystävät*) that promoted friendly relations between Finland and Fascist Italy.[538]

Even relatively radical changes in political views were not out of the norm during this time, as the major changes in European societies and politics during the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century made some researchers reconsider their previous affiliations. For example, Retzius, a vocal liberal during much of the nineteenth century, became more conservative in his views later in life.[539] In a similar manner, many Finnish liberals, including Setälä, became staunch conservatives after the tumultuous years that led to the independence of Finland and especially the Finnish Civil War, in which they perceived that the lower classes, whose cause they had also promoted with their reformist, albeit often paternalistic, policies, had turned against the government.[540] Their hope to work in cooperation with Russian liberals, with whom they had formed many connections during the previous decades, also came to nothing due to the October Revolution and communist regime in Russia, after which even some previous pacifists were strong supporters of jingoism against Russia.

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[538] Hakkarainen 2011, 24–26, 41–42; Paloposki 2012, 78. During the Continuation War Mikkola was also a member of the pro-Nazi Finnish Realm Union (*Suomen Valtakunnan Liitto*), Silvennoinen et al. 2016, 375–376. For more information on the collaboration between Finnish activists and Russian underground political actors during the turn of the century, see Copeland 1973.

[539] Lindblad 2007, 80–82.

[540] Setälä became part of the more conservatively oriented wing of the generally liberal Young Finnish Party and after the civil war split from the party with other like-minded people to form the right-wing National Coalition Party with the majority of the Finnish Party. One of the disagreements leading to the reformulation of Finnish politics was the question of if the newly independent Finland should become a democracy, a view supported by the liberals, or a constitutional monarchy that was supported by the Finnish conservatives such as Setälä. On Setälä's political turn, see Vares and Häkkinen 2001, 340–361.

Picture 6

J. J. Mikkola, portrayed by the cartoonist Alex Federley (1864–1932) in a Swedish-language satirical magazine *Fyren*, as an Orthodox saint "Mikola the Wonderworker" (based on Saint Nicholas of Myra and a pun on Mikkola's surname). The woman dressed in a traditional Russian dress holding Mikkola represents Russia. The female figure's facial features are distinctly Asiatic, highlighting how many Swedish-speaking people who viewed themselves racially in a more favourable light thought about the Russians. (Fyren, 18.11.1905, 47, p. 5, Digital Collections of the National Library of Finland).

The critical and suspicious opinions about socialists were a typical view for many researchers during the late nineteenth century, even before the birth of Communist Russia made fears of communist revolutions more concrete. As expressed by Virchow's dislike of Darwinism due to its perceived association with socialism, he was also politically against the socialist labour movement in the Reichstag, although he was also a known opponent of Bismarck and some aspects of German conservatism.[541] In the same vein, Retzius was also staunchly against socialism, even when he held more progressive views, and promoted these views through his newspaper *Aftonbladet*, although he voiced his views also in his letter to Otto E. A. Hjelt: 'There are always storm clouds in politics. Of course, with us, as in many other places, the socialists are very rowdy and inconsiderate, sometimes creating difficult spectacles.'[542] Comparetti's views on

[541] For Virchow's views on socialism, see Ackerknecht 1957, 140, 158 and Schipperges 1994, 95–96. It is worth noting that during the 1840s Virchow labelled himself as socialist when the term had a much wider definition, although even then he opposed communism and called it madness. During his political career, his opposition to socialism was also within the democratic process and he strongly opposed Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Laws that were designed to limit the political participation of socialists in German politics.
[542] Lindblad 2007, 80–81; 'Inom den politiska finnas ja alltid ovädersmoln. Framfri allt äro hos oss, som flerstädes, socialisterna mycket bråkiga och omsonliga samtställa till svåra spektakel alltemellanåt.' KK KK OH, Retzius to Hjelt 4.2.1909.

socialism are also quite clear in his above-cited text concerning the situation in Finland around the time of the Sveaborg rebellion in 1906. The rebellion was a military mutiny in the Russian garrison of the coastal fort Sveaborg that was supported by some members of the Finnish Red Guards,[543] which he blames primarily on the adverse changes caused by the socialist movement:

> I saw the people almost totally changed, relinquishing their previous impressive benevolent naturalness, and becoming infected by the Russian anarchic socialism, of which there is no worse social disease in the world - I saw labourers gluttonously poisoning themselves by reading anarchic writings; I saw newspapers of the Swedish language lacking coherence and backbone to criticise these questions.[544]

Critical views towards socialism were also expressed in Abercromby's correspondence to Setälä: 'I am glad to hear you have been selected a member of the Landtag & s.[?] able to counteract the extreme elements of the ultra-radical party which do so much harm in any country.' Abercromby's reference to the 'ultra-radical party' most certainly refers to the Social Democratic Party of Finland (*Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue*), which, in the first parliamentary elections of Finland in 1907, surprised everyone by winning 80 seats out of the total 200 and becoming the largest party in the unicameral Parliament of Finland.[545] Both Abercromby's and Comparetti's comments reflect the change in Finnish politics where the previous divisions based on language policy or the type of resistance towards the Russian regime were complicated by the quickly growing socialist movement that represented almost half of the population, a huge change compared with Finland of the late nineteenth century where there were only few visible expressions of socialist politics.

For many Finnish politicians and researchers, socialists were not seen during the nineteenth century as such an existential threat compared with the opinions of many of the other European nations, as many members of the Finnish elite, including some researchers, were keen to cooperate with Russian socialist figures due to the shared opposition to the Tsar. Even the Finnish socialists shared an oppositional stance towards Russification policies with most of the other political parties and found much common ground concerning social reforms with other reformist parties.[546] Therefore, critical views concerning the

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[543] The Red Guards (*Punakaarti* in Finnish) had its origins in the events of the general strike of 1905 when the police joined the strike and civilians started to keep the general order as the National Guard that was mainly composed of the Finnish university students and workers. Although the strike was initially supported by both Finnish right and left, disagreements concerning when to end the strike led to a division between the participants that eventually split the National Guard into Bourgeois "Defence Guards" and "Red Guards" of workers. The minor clashes between these two guards during the latter stages of the general strike and especially the fighting during the Sveaborg rebellion, when the Defence Guards took part in suppressing the disorder caused by the mutiny, have often been seen as a precursor to the Finnish civil war in 1918 between "the Whites" and "the Reds", along the political fault-lines that had been established in these events of the previous decade. For more information on Red Guards' actions during these events see Nieminen 2017, 88–113, 139 and Fredrikson 2020, 55–83.

[544] Comparetti 1907, 324.

[545] KA ENS, Abercromby to Setälä 23.7.1907.

[546] Concerning the political activism of Finnish socialists towards the Russian regime during the last decades before Finland's independence, see Heikkilä 1993 and Kujala 1995.

socialists were not typical in letters written by Finnish researchers to their international colleagues before the Russian revolutions, which created a new political environment in Finland and pitted socialists and other political parties against each other. It is also noteworthy that references to socialism are absent in the correspondence Thomsen had with the Finnish researchers, so he most likely did not have strong views on the matter before the Bolsheviks emerged in Russia.

Although it was not a given that researchers would be interested or active in politics, during the politically charged times of the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century, many researchers found themselves with political responsibilities due to a perceived obligation to their nations and their own ambitions beyond the scientific field. Besides political responsibilities as governmental officials due to their academic chairs or political participation in legislative bodies, political actions could manifest in less official ways, such as writing political opinions in publications, participating in protests or taking part in illegal political activism. The ways in which the events in Finland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries inspired Finnish researchers into political action and how the non-Finnish researchers reacted to this in different ways are examined in the next section.

6.3 Political Support for Finland and Views on Finnish Politics

The clearest political manifestations concerning the non-Finnish researchers and their Finnish colleagues comprised the politically turbulent time in Finland during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century, which motivated Finnish researchers to take a variety of political actions, which they often commented on to the non-Finnish researchers and for which they from time to time implored their assistance. This roughly thirty-year-long period was marked in Finland by policies to Russify the Finnish government, society and education, which was most active from 1889 to 1905 and from 1908 to 1917. These policies intensified Finnish political demands and divided Finnish people into those who consented to these policies, those who preferred passive resistance and those who demanded active resistance, which, in its most radical form, led to assassinations and calls for armed resistance. The first Russification period was marked by censorship, expulsions of prominent people who were openly against these policies, the assassination of the governor-general of Finland Nikolay Bobrikov (1839–1904) and campaigns to collect autographs for petitions against these policies. These petitions also included the so-called Pro Finlandia petition of 1899 (also known as the Culture petition or the European petition), which was an international petition signed by prominent European thinkers and scientific figures to protest Russification policies in Finland.

This first period ended in the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War, which led to political protests and reforms in Russia, but also in Finland, where

there was a general strike in 1905 that led to the abolition of the Diet of Finland[547] and the establishment of the unicameral Finnish parliament. The latter Russification period lost some momentum due to the start of the First World War, which eventually led to the Russian revolution and the declaration of Finland's independence in 1917 and the bloody Finnish Civil War in 1918. The political and social situation in newly independent Finland was radically different from the country the non-Finnish researchers visited during the nineteenth century. Their views on these perceived differences give, therefore, a good opportunity to examine the ways in which the events in Finland were linked to wider European and global trends and how these changes were seen from an outside perspective by people who had initial sympathies with Finnish people and culture through their research and excursions.

Finland had enjoyed a relatively privileged position in the Russian Empire as an autonomous region with many governmental structures and services that were not integrated into the Russian realm. This was in stark contrast with Poland, which, due to many revolutions during the nineteenth century, was repressed in many ways, and the Baltic region, where the privileges of the Baltic German elite were curtailed, and Russification policies mandated the use of the Russian language in government thereafter.[548] The consensus of Finnish politicians during most of the nineteenth century was that the best way to preserve established privileges and autonomy was to stay loyal to the emperor and cooperate with most issues. This worked for many decades, but the growth of nationalism and Pan-Slavism among the Russian political elite led to calls to integrate Finland into the rest of the empire and policies of this nature were

[547] The Diet of Finland was the legislative assembly of the Grand Duchy of Finland until the parliamentary reform in 1906. The Diet was composed of representatives of four estates, nobility, clergy, bourgeoisie and peasants, and was structured largely based on the legislative assembly of Sweden at the start of the nineteenth century, as the form of Finnish government and constitution did not initially change significantly when Finland became part of the Russian Empire. At the start of the twentieth century, the structure of the Diet was unquestionably very outdated, as many other countries in Europe had already initiated parliamentary reforms, for example, Sweden had dissolved its estates already forty years prior in 1866. The Diet was not also very representative during its last years, as many people were not eligible to vote the members of the estates because they did not meet the necessary requirements of land or other criteria. The new parliament, on the contrary, was one of the most progressive as universal suffrage and eligibility were issued. The reform created a huge shift in Finnish politics as the new participation of women and people from lower economic status could participate in politics. For example, it came as a surprise for most when, in the first elections, the Social Democrats managed to claim 80 seats out of the total 200 compared with the situation in the Diet when they had no representation. Although the Diet and later the Finnish parliament were the legislative assemblies of Finland, they had relatively limited powers as the day-to-day administration of the county was in the hands of the Finnish senate and the governor-general of Finland and ultimately mandated by the Russian government and Emperor in Saint Petersburg.

[548] For Russification policies on Russia's western provinces more generally, see Thaden et al. 1981, Rogger 1986, 186–193, Branch, Hartley and Mączak (eds.) 1995, Weeks 2008 and Kappeler 2014, 252–261. One way the situation in Finland differed from the other provinces under Russification policies was that the Russification of the Imperial Alexander University in Finland was not as extensive as, for example, in the University of Dorpat, where the Russian language had replaced German as the language of education and the university was renamed in 1889 as the Imperial University of Jur'ev, marking the end of one major bastion of Baltic German culture (Dhondt 2008, 120–121).

issued from the 1880s onward.[549] The events in Finland were, therefore, linked with wider political reforms in the empire, but due to the different status of Finland, the reaction to these political changes had a unique character, at least in the eyes of the Finnish elite.

These events also started to be commented on in Finnish letters to the non-Finnish researchers, as when Finnish priest and historian Adolf Neovius wrote to Comparetti in 1890 that 'We have in Finland nowadays most terrible times in politics, because Russian newspapermen and maybe others there threaten in all ways our national freedom and want to make us into Russians, against which the whole nation stands. May the almighty God help us!'[550] In the same year, Emperor Alexander III (1845–1894) issued a decree that would integrate the Finnish postal service with Russia. These effects would be gradual, but in 1900, the use of Finnish stamps became completely forbidden and to protest this, Finnish people started to stamp their letters with an unofficial "mourning stamp" that had the Finnish coat of arms on a black background. These were initially used on envelopes, but afterwards, once the use of all political signs in letters was disallowed, people started to put the mark inside their letters, as can be seen in letters from Setälä and Mikkola to Thomsen between 1900 and 1901.[551]

The tensions and Russification policies in Finland increased during the 1890s, especially after the appointment of Nikolay Bobrikov as the Governor-General of Finland in 1898 and the issuing of the February Manifesto by Emperor Nicholas II (1868–1918) in 1899. The manifesto, which would have integrated Finnish legislation with Russia, marked a period when Russian policies were seen as particularly oppressive and motivated Finnish people to engage in new kinds of political protests.[552] To show their opposition to these policies, Finnish political activists, which also included many researchers, such as E. N. Setälä, organised a campaign to collect names for a petition that would eventually include more than half a million signatures, about one-fifth of the whole population.[553]

The feelings of these extraordinary events among Finnish intelligentsia are well reflected in Mikkola's letter to Thomsen on 29.3.1899. He first apologised for not writing recently, as he had heard that 'the secret agents of the Governor-

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[549] For an overview of this first Russification period of Finland, see Copeland 1973, Huxley 1990 and Polvinen 1995 [1984]. For general histories of the political circumstances in the Grand Duchy of Finland (1809–1917), see Jussila 2004 and 2009.

[550] 'Meillä on Suomessa nykyään ajat kamalat poliitillisessa suhteessa, sillä Wenäjän sanomalehtimiehet ja ehkä muutkin sielä uhkaavat kaikin tavoin meidän kansallista vapauttamme ja tahtovat tehdä meitä venäläisiksi, jota vastaan kansa yksimielisesti seisoo. Jumala kaikkivaltias meitä auttakoon!' UF BU DC, Neovius to Comparetti 8.12.1890.

[551] SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 31.12.1900, 21.1.1901, 31.1.1901 and 16.2.1901; SKS KIA, F-IV, Mikkola to Thomsen 12.1.1901. For more information on the political elements of Finnish stamps during this era, see Raento 2006, 604–607.

[552] Bobrikov's era was also one of the most dangerous for political activism by the researchers as Mikkola notes in 1901 that threatened to expel many Finnish professors, including Setälä and Söderhjelm because they had given political speeches. SKS KIA F-IV, Mikkola to Thomsen 12.1.1901. On the political circumstances leading to the February Manifesto, see Tommila 1999, 39–92.

[553] For a thorough presentation of the events related to this petition, which would become known as "the Great Petition" in Finland, see Tommila 1999.

General' have opened people's letters and that he only now had managed to send a letter through Sweden.[554] Besides deploring that he has not been able to conduct scientific research, he gives a vivid portrayal of the mentalities in Finland: 'Everything that you can see around you feels like it is not your own anymore like it is stained and defiled, it feels like the fatherland has been taken from us. People are nervous, sleepless, wept, bitter, black everywhere, the stench of death everywhere… that is the monotonous picture of our nation nowadays, that is what it is like at the tomb of freedom.'[555] Mikkola also described the petition campaign in Finland and how the emperor had declined to receive the Finnish delegation that wanted to present it to him.

Thomsen was approached about these latest developments by other Finnish researchers, and Setälä, for instance, informed him that professor of Romanesque philology Werner Söderhjelm would go abroad to propagate the Finnish cause and hoped that Thomsen could help him to 'obtain necessary relations' while he was in Copenhagen.[556] As the intensity of these Russification policies came as a surprise to most of the Finnish population, there were no organised groups of activists that could easily coordinate Finnish opposition and protests. Much of this reaction and planning was impromptu, and many people became political activists with varying results. Some Finnish individuals, such as Söderhjelm, left Finland to publicise Finnish points of view in foreign newspapers and tried to convince notable foreigners to support their cause.[557] Another such figure was Finnish linguist Julio Nathaniel Reuter (1863–1937), who went to London to organise Finnish press propaganda together with some other Finnish individuals who were already in the country and British who were sympathetic to their cause. This Finnish group in London would later play a key part in organising the Pro Finlandia petition, also known as "the Cultural Petition" (*Kultturiadressi*) or "the European Petition" (*Eurooppalainen adressi*).[558]

The events in Finland were not totally unknown to the European public during 1899, as the Russification policies in Finland were used to challenge the integrity of Nicholas II, who had gained a lot of public sympathy after proposing the Hague Conference of 1899, which was one of the first international conferences where major, and some smaller, powers agreed on treaties on laws of war, disarmament and structures of international arbitration.[559] Although the

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[554] SKS KIA, F-IV, Mikkola to Thomsen 29.3.1899.
[555] 'Kaikki mitä näkee ympärillään, tuntuu kuin se ei enää olisi omaa, kuin se olisi tahrattu ja häväisty, tuntuu kuin meillä olisi viety isänmaa. Ihmiset hermostuneita, unettomia, itkettyneitä, katkeria, kaikkialla mustaa, kaikkialla kalmankatkua... se se [sic] on maamme yksitoikkoinen kuva nykyään, sellaista on vapauden haudalla.' Ibid.
[556] '[...] saavuttaa tarvittavia relatsioneja.' SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 1.3.1899.
[557] For an example of Finnish propaganda in European nations, see Clerc 2007 and 2009 about Finnish activism in France at the turn of the century.
[558] The Pro Finlandia petition has been analysed often Finnish research literature on Finnish political activism against Russia during the turn of the century, but thorough examinations are given in the four-volume *Pro Finlandia* book series based on the exhibitions by the National Archives of Finland and especially in Ville Kajanne's doctoral thesis "*Suomen puolesta, Euroopan edestä, Venäjää vastaan?*", which is the most complete account on the international petition campaign.
[559] Kajanne 2020, 67–72. For more general information on the Hague conference, see Abbenhuis 2019 and Eyffinger 1999.

initial idea for the conference was to curtail the arms race between European nations, especially the threat posed by Austria-Hungary to Russia, Nicholas II was quickly painted by different European newspapers as a figure supporting the international peace movement. This idealised version of the Russian emperor and his selfless aims were attacked by pointing out the contrast between the peace-loving Czar and the intensifying repressive policies in Finland, which were actively put in place as the conference convened.[560] This brought more European attention to the issues in Finland, and Finnish activists tried to use this opportunity by propagating their views in sympathetic outlets.

Some of these supportive figures also started to play with the idea of somehow expressing these international sympathies in some form, which eventually developed into the idea of a petition.[561] The idea of an international petition to support Finland was not especially unique, as public addresses or petitions were launched for different contemporary causes that gained public attention. The Hague Convention was also supported by such expressions of support, but another contemporary event that gained global attention was the Dreyfus affair in France, which found a lot of support from many European liberals who saw the situation in Finland as a comparable attack and injustice directed at people's liberties.[562]

These expressions of international support were finally put to full use by the Finnish propagators in London, who started to organise the campaign to collect signatures for an international petition from notable European cultural and scientific figures. This idea was not initially supported by leading activists in Finland, but they quickly came around and provided support for the campaign.[563] For instance, Leo Mechelin (1839–1914), one of the leading figures in Finnish activism, was one of the most vocal critical voices of the initiative of the younger activists.[564] His opinions carried some weight, as he had published several works informing the wider European public of the conditions in Finland and led a committee funding the Finnish press campaign to which many of these Finnish activists abroad had contributed.[565] The idea to launch such a campaign and actualise it was a very hectic affair where Finnish individuals who were chosen or volunteered to collect names travelled through European countries in a few days and collected signatures from biggest cities on the way, usually from figures from universities where a lot of signatures could be collected at once, with support from locals who could help introduce Finnish collectors to potential signatories.

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[560] Kajanne 2020, 80–86.
[561] In later memoirs, there are many accounts of different international figures who introduced this idea to the Finnish activists, and even though some of these figures might be invented or their role exaggerated to emphasise the international support, the idea of a petition seems to have been quite widespread; encouragement from figures, such as the German philosopher Rudolf Eucken (1846–1926), seems to have been essential in motivating Finnish to organise this campaign. Ibid., 88–97.
[562] Ibid., 182–199.
[563] Ibid., 102–114.
[564] Ibid., 103–106. Stubb, 2012, 146.
[565] Especially on Mechelin's role in the Finnish activist propaganda, see Stubb 2012, 57–82, 140–197.

Finnish researchers played an especially big role in this process, as the organising figures, such as Reuter and Söderhjelm, and most of the collectors of signatures, such as Reuter in England, Westermarck in England, Switzerland and Italy, Mikkola in Austria and linguist Yrjö Wichmann (1868–1932) in Hungary, were academics.[566] Besides being politically conscious and keen to support the Finnish cause, they also had the necessary skills in European languages and already established networks to quickly organise signatories and local assistance. As many of the signatories were also researchers, it was also natural that their colleagues would be the ones collecting their names.

Finnish activists understated their contribution, so the petition could be represented as an independent expression of European cultural figures against Russian policies and not as a successful Finnish protest campaign with support from European figures. In total, the petition encompassed 1,063 signatories from 12 countries. Many of the signatories were, by their political alignment, liberals, such as famous German scholar Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), Swedish pathologist Axel Key (1832–1901) and French novelist Émile Zola (1840–1902), but there were some conservatives, such as German historian Dietrich Schäfer (1845–1929). Most of the contributors were researchers, but there were many famous cultural and social figures, such as Zola and Florence Nightingale (1820–1910). Even though many of the signatories were politically active, most of them were notable figures of science or culture rather than prominent politicians, as the Finnish activists consciously tried to avoid the impression that the petition was political interference by European nations in internal Russian affairs.[567] The petition also included signatures from four non-Finnish researchers examined in this study: Comparetti, Retzius, Thomsen and Virchow. Due to the hurried way the campaign was organised and conducted, there was not much early correspondence from Finnish figures to the non-Finnish researchers, and they most likely became aware of this project through local networks or when the signatures were being collected in their countries.

The reason Abercromby's signature is absent from the petition, even though he was one of the most closely associated British individuals with Finland, can be explained by the fact that he did not have a prestigious academic position and, therefore, would not have been as strong of an inclusion. As an amateur researcher, he would have been harder to contact, especially as the way signatures were collected in Scotland was particularly hectic.[568] Many of his Finnish contacts also did not play such an important role in this project, so the activists in Britain might not have been aware of him or his address. It is also possible that even if Abercromby was thought to be a potential signatory and there were real attempts to get his contribution, he just might not have been in Edinburgh during those few days when signatures were collected in the city. This

[566] Other researchers include philosopher Yrjö Hirn (1870–1952) in England, linguist Uno Lindelöf (1868–1944) in England and Scotland, linguist Axel Wallensköld in Switzerland, linguist Hugo Pipping (1864–1944) in Germany and mathematician Ernst Lindelöf (1870–1946) in France.
[567] Kajanne 2020, 283–284.
[568] Ibid., 166.

archive does not include any correspondence or other documents that seem to have been connected to this petition campaign, so most likely, he was just not thought of on this occasion.

There is a possibility that Abercromby contributed to the success of the campaign indirectly, as through him, Otto Donner came into contact with Abercromby's sister "Hon. Montague Abercromby", the countess of Glasgow, who expressed her readiness to help Donner after all the help her brother had received from the Finnish individuals.[569] The question was about Donner's "young friend" who aimed to study Sanskrit in England, and as this "young friend" was most likely Julio Reuter, it is possible that the Abercromby siblings assisted in some ways in Reuter's ability to study in England and therefore indirectly contributed to the fact that he had those connections and knowledge that became necessary during his later political activism.

Another feature that could be seen as an indirect contribution to the Finnish cause is that some of the most active supporters of Finland in Sweden were linked to the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet*.[570] As mentioned above, this paper was owned by Gustaf Retzius during this time, and although he had left as the paper's editor and could no longer directly influence the stances of the paper and which topics to write about, it is likely that Retzius was supportive of the articles written about the events in Finland.

It is also striking to note that none of the non-Finnish researchers played an especially active role in this petition. This can be partly explained by the fact that the most active Finnish activists in this project were not part of their established networks, although E. N. Setälä was part of the organising committee in Finland. Compared with the Fennoman researchers with a focus on linguistics, folklore or anatomy, most of the active collectors came from Swedish-speaking families and specialised in fields that had less relevance to Finnish national questions. Although these two communities were both politically active and cooperated during this Russification period, it seems that in the context of the address campaign, the transnational networks of the Fennomans were not as prominent as the networks built around the Swedish-speaking researchers.

The non-Finnish researchers who were scientifically interested in Finnish ancestry and culture were not, therefore, especially prominent figures in this campaign. Rather, the most active non-Finnish collaborators in this petition process were often specialists in law, such as jurist Emilio Brusa (1843–1908) and professor of international justice Alessandro Corsi (1859–1924), who were the most active supporters of the campaign in Italy and were especially incentivised to support Finland. They did not base their supportive arguments on some unbroken lineage of Finnish ancestry or nationhood, topics that the non-Finnish researchers specialised in but focused rather on modern constitutional questions that the Finnish people saw the Russian regime as violating.[571] This was also the

[569] KA OD, Correspondence, 8 Received letters (1850–1909), The Countess of Glasgow to Donner (letter not dated).
[570] Kajanne 2020, 243–245.
[571] For Italian contribution, see Kajanne 2020, 255–269, and for more general analysis on support based on questions related to law, Ibid., 288.

main point of view that Finnish activists used in their propaganda to gain international support for their cause.

Although the non-Finnish researchers were not especially active in the signatory process, some became somewhat more relevant when the idea of an international delegation to present the petition to Nicholas II came up. The hastiness of the process was again a challenge, and as there was a need to contact potential delegates, organisers now had to patiently wait several days for replies to their letters. As this delegation process was no longer led by the above-mentioned Finnish activists in London, such as Reuter, but rather by activists in Finland, it is possible that the Finnish individuals with closer relationships with the non-Finnish researchers, such as Setälä, were able to contribute more actively to this part of the petition process. Although political issues in Finland had already fostered Finnish activism for several years, the political campaigns of 1899 were organised in an ad hoc manner and usually relied on the initiative of proactive individuals. The successful organisation of such campaigns nevertheless formed a basis for later resistance groups, such as the so-called "Kagal" (Fin. *Kagaali*, Swe. *Kagalen*) founded in 1901, which included many of the key figures who had worked together for the Pro Finlandia address, such as Reuter and Zilliacus, and other key political activists, including Setälä and Donner.[572]

The memoir of Finnish physician and politician Adolf Törngren (1860–1943) describing these events includes a mention that Vilhelm Thomsen was initially thought of as the potential Danish representative of the delegation, but he was unfortunately not in a position to travel, most likely related to his ill health, which had limited his travels on other occasions, and Danish writer and physician Carl Martin Norman-Hansen (1861–1947) took the responsibility.[573] There is no correspondence from Thomsen that would give more light to this situation, so we cannot say for sure how he was contacted and why he declined to participate in this delegation. Another non-Finnish researcher who was thought of as an appropriate candidate for the delegation was Rudolf Virchow, who was part of the liberal circles most active in the campaign in Germany.[574] Virchow finally agreed to take part in the delegation in name but, most likely due to his old age, did not participate in the delegation that travelled to Saint Petersburg and was not received by the emperor in the same way as the earlier Finnish delegation.[575]

Nevertheless, the expression of such wide support from European intelligentsia was taken as a success by Finnish activists, as this reinforced the idea that Finland was part of the Western civilised nations, in contrast to the authoritarian Czar and Russia.[576] These feelings were echoed in Setälä's letter to Thomsen, where he noted that 'the foreign petition made a very large impression

[572] In later literature and memoir of these years, such as in Reuter's *"Kagalen": Ett bidrag till Finlands historia 1899–1905* ("Kagal": A contribution to the history of Finland 1899–1905), the activists often see a direct continuation from the events of 1899 to the more active resistance of later years.
[573] Törngren 1930, 51.
[574] KA WS, Received letters 1897–1927, Hugo Pipping to Werner Söderhjelm, 26.5.1899.
[575] Kajanne 2020, 144.
[576] Ibid., 304–307.

here and the gratitude is large even among the people'.[577] This itself was a response to Thomsen's letter, in which he mentioned that he had also co-signed the petition and described some of his feelings about the significance of the petition:

> Yes, hard times and hard times are ahead; even if Europe's sympathy in itself is only a small consolation, the matter is not without significance and can today perhaps work and raise the hope that the [unclear word] fog will eventually lift, and the future will be brighter than it currently appears.[578]

The petition campaign of 1899 also created a network of international individuals who were sympathetic to the Finnish cause and could also potentially prove useful in future cases when the Finnish people needed international support against Russian policies, as seen in Westermarck's letter to Comparetti:

> My dear Sir,
>
> May I take the liberty of introducing to you my friend, Dr Borenius from Finland, who is just going to Rome on a political mission. I always remember the kindness you showed me some ten years ago, when I visited Rome for a similar purpose, and I know the friendly interest you take in everything which concerns my native country.
>
> Believe me, yours very faithfully,
>
> Edvard Westermarck[579]

This letter demonstrates well how introduction letters were used to prove a person's social status and bring them into an existing network, as analysed in Chapter 3, but also that the previously formed contact did not have to rely personally on the activists of the Pro Finlandia petition and that these international proponents of Finland were seen as a resource that could be used more generally by the activist network. As these relationships were unofficial and the point was to show support from prominent individuals, it was appropriate for Westermarck, in a polite manner, to refer back to the events of the Pro Finlandia petition and Comparetti's affection for Finland to persuade him to participate in this later political campaign.

Although the campaign for the Pro Finlandia petition is not particularly prominent in the archived correspondence from these non-Finnish researchers, other notable political events and topics were often touched upon in these letters from the 1890s to the 1910s. Donner and Setälä, who found themselves at the forefront of Finnish politics during these decades, often commented on their stress and lack of time to conduct scientific work. This political turmoil was not only a worry of Finnish researchers, as in one of his letters to Thomsen, Setälä mentions a planned meeting of philologists in Finland that had to be cancelled due to the hesitance of Danish researchers who did not want to provoke Russian

[577] 'Ulkomainen adressi teki täällä [mielen valtavan?] vaikutuksen ja kiitollisuus on suuri kansan riveissäkin.' SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen, 21.8.1899.
[578] 'Ja, tunge tiden et det of tunge tider forestå; et end Europas sympathi i sig eder kun en ringe trøst, er den sag hælder ikke betydningsløs og kan dag måske værke og oprellidde håbet om, det [unclear word, rødm/reden?] dug lilsidt vis rejse og fremtiden skille sig lysere end det i øjeblikket ser ud till.' SKS KIA ENS, Thomsen to Setälä, 11.7.1899.
[579] UF BU DC, Westermarck to Comparetti (undated, most likely 1910).

officials, as this scientific meeting could be seen as implied political support. Setälä dismissed these worries by contrasting how the situation was seen by Finnish researchers:

> The political reasons mentioned by your colleagues we, who ourselves live here in the den of the wolf, do not see as significant but rather we believe that the presumed consequences directed towards us and others are primarily a product of imagination, but of course, it would be unpleasant for us to organise a meeting where some of our guests are troubled.[580]

Although the Danish were usually very sympathetic towards Finland during this period, many of them were hesitant in expressing these feelings as political support, as the mother of the Russian Emperor Nicholas II was originally a Danish princess and there were worries that her influence on the court might diminish if Denmark was seen as too publicly supportive of Finland.[581]

The Pro Finlandia petition and other expressions of protest organised by Finnish activists were great successes in showing that the Finnish people could rally much popular support for their cause, but they had a limited effect on Russification policies in Finland. Greater political changes occurred because of the aftermath of Russia's decisive defeat in the Russo-Japanese War, which led to popular unrest in Russia that demanded political reforms. Finnish activists also noticed the current weakness of the Russian state and organised a general strike in Finland in 1905, which led to parliamentary reform in Finland.[582] Although this political reform and later the political successes of the Finnish activists were usually commented on positively by the non-Finnish researchers, there were also some infrequent calls for moderation against the much stronger Russian regime, as in the letter from Retzius to Hjelt in 1906: 'Finland has been severely tested. Now may the lion [the central symbol in the Finnish coat of arms] announce a clear and blessed time! The danger probably lies at present in a thirst for freedom that goes too far.' [583] The parliamentary reform itself was not especially commented on by the non-Finnish researchers compared with descriptions of more general political activism and repressive Russian policies.

As Rudolf Virchow died in 1902, he could not comment on these more recent political events in Finland, but as the rest of the non-Finnish researchers lived to the time when Finland gained its independence, they could express their views on many of these matters. Although the non-Finnish researchers were not homogenous in their background and social views, their attitudes towards Finland were relatively similar and reflected quite well on how Abercromby

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[580] 'Teidän virkatoverienne mainitsemia valtiollisia syitä emme me, jotka elämme täällä itse suden luolassa, pidä paljoa merkitsevinä, vaan luulemme ajateltuja seurauksia sekä muille että meille pääasiassa mielikuvituksen tuotteiksi, mutta tietysti meidän on ikävä pitää kokousta, jos jotkut vieraistamme ovat ikävän tunteen vallassa.' SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen, 17.7.1901.
[581] Kajanne 2020, 94.
[582] For more information about the general strike of 1905 and the events leading to it, see Haapala (ed.) 2008, Tikka 2009 and Kujala 2016.
[583] 'Finland har varit svårt prövadt. Måtte nu ljuoningen bebåda en klar och välsignelserik tid! Faran ligger nog f. n. i en for långt gående frihetstörst.' KK KK OH, Retzius to Hjelt 20.1.1906.

described his feelings in 1907 after the end of the First Russification period and positive political reforms in Finland, such as the establishment of the Finnish parliament:

> Probably I shall never be able to visit Finland again, but I assure you that I shall never forget it. The country & its people have left an indelible impression on my memory & the feeling that it ought to & will retain its language & institutions in spite of all efforts of its enemies to eradicate or to change them. Tenacity of character is one of the best characteristics, one of the best natural endowments of any people & that the Finns possess to a very remarkable degree, so that I have no fear for their future. In the course of their destiny they may have to pass through dark days but if they pull together & are held together by a strong national sentiment, cemented by unity of language & aim they will certainly retain their independence & national individuality. Victory belongs to the strong & strength does not reside in the numbers.[584]

The political turmoil in Finland would culminate in the declaration of independence in December 1917, and only a few months after that, Finland would slide into civil war. As seen in the tables showing the years when the non-Finnish researchers corresponded with their Finnish colleagues (Graphs 1 and 2), there was not much correspondence between the researchers during the First World War, so it is hard to interpret how the non-Finnish researchers viewed these events as they developed in Finland. Thomsen's correspondence is the only exception, and as Setälä was one of the leading politicians at the time, including writing the Finnish Declaration of Independence, he described some of these events, such as strikes, meeting Russian politicians and the overall tensions in his letter to Thomsen.[585] The events of the declaration of independence and the civil war are nevertheless not well described in these letters, as during the time period from September 1917 to September 1918, the archived correspondence between Setälä and Thomsen includes only one letter from Thomsen to Setälä, dated only a week before the start of the civil war. According to Thomsen, he had corresponded with his daughter, whom Setälä had married, so he was most likely well informed of these events. His letter from January 1918 is nevertheless very illuminating, both in expressing the delight of Finland's independence and in the premature relief that the immediate dangers had passed:

> But now I cannot but seize the opportunity to write to you and - with hearty thanks for your welcome letters - to express my heartfelt fervour and most hearty congratulations on the occasion of the great events that have taken place in Finland. To think that it is now an independent state and recognised as such! Who would have dared to hope for it a year ago! When the country now has to not only separate itself from the Russian soldiers but also the "red guard" and all the associated cursed existing practices, which can only compromise the won freedom. And then I wish that you would soon be able to return to science.[586]

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[584] KA ENS, Abercromby to Setälä 2.3.1907.
[585] SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 6.7.1917, 7.9.1917 and 20.8.1917.
[586] 'Men nu kan jeg ikke andet end selv gribe punnen for at skrive til dig og - med hjertelig tak for dine kærkomne breve - at udtale min inderlige gløde og allerhjerteligste lykønskning i anledning af de store begivenheder, der hat fundet sted i Finland. At tanke sig at det nu er en selvstændig stat og anerkendt som sådan! Hven skulde have turdet håbe på det for et år siden! Når landet nu blot må kunne skille sig af ikke blot med de russiske soldaler, men også med den "røde garde" og alt dermed i forbandelse stående uvæsen,

These events are otherwise scarcely mentioned in the existing correspondence, although Comparetti, in 1920, voiced his critical views to a Finnish visitor about the decision of Finnish politicians to associate themselves strongly with Germans during the Finnish Civil War: 'I was greatly saddened by that; I had the understanding that Finns wanted to be not Russians, not Swedes nor Germans, but solely Finns!'[587] This view is quite understandable, given that Italy had fought bloodily on the side of the Entente Powers during the war and the relationship with Germany was so close that Finnish politicians decided that Finland should become a monarchy under a German-born prince. This plan and Finland's trajectory to end up in the German sphere of influence came to an end after Germany's defeat in the First World War. Afterwards, Finland developed into a relatively stable democracy with more balanced international relations and tried to position itself as a neutral country. In general, even Comparetti was quite positive about Finnish independence and, some years later, ended his letter to Setälä with the words, 'I wish your beautiful and noble country, now happily free and independent, a prosperous and more and more glorious future.'[588]

One explanation for why the non-Finnish researchers were not overly interested in Finnish independence or did not take an especially strong role in supporting Finnish political struggles was that they were not originally interested in the political Finnish state or nation but in the people and culture. In a way, their scientific understanding of the Finnish people was apolitical and nonhistorical – in the sense that they did not argue in their studies for the existence of an ancient Finnish (historical) nation, as they were more interested in the Finnish people. As has been shown before, they were sympathetic to the Finnish cause and were ready to support it, but their support was more clearly directed at the preservation of the Finnish people and culture rather than for the statehood and independence of Finland, although these recent political developments were viewed positively.

This is also seen in the support some of the non-Finnish researchers were willing to give to the Finnish people outside of outright political circumstances on other occasions. A particularly clear example is how Thomsen helped organise Danish humanitarian relief to Finland after his visit to the country in 1867. Thomsen visited the country during the summer, which had already started unusually late, and in autumn, the bad harvest developed into a severe famine, hitting especially hard the regions where Thomsen had travelled.[589] Thomsen was not the sole relief activist in Denmark, as there was quite a widespread sympathy towards Finland and gratitude, as some Finnish volunteers had fought alongside Denmark in the Second Schleswig War in 1864, only a few years before

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som blot kan kompromittere den vundne frihed. Og så vil jeg ønske at du selv snart må kunne vende tilbage til videnskaben.' SKS KIA ENS, Thomsen to Setälä, 14.1.1918.

[587] 'Minua suretti se suuresti; minulla oli aikaisemmin ollut se käsitys, että suomalaiset eivät tahtoneet olla ei venäläisiä, ei ruotsalaisia eikä saksalaisia, mutta yksinomaan suomalaisia!' L. K. (most likely Liisi Karttunen) "Senaattori Domenico Comparettin täyttäessä 90 vuotta. Käyntini hänen luonaan kesällä v. 1920." *Helsingin Sanomat*, 28.6.1925, 170, p. 6.

[588] 'Io auguro al suo bello e nobile paese ormai felicemente libero ed indipendente un prospero e sempre più glorioso avvenire.' KA ENS, Comparetti to Setälä 10.7.1925.

[589] Newby 2022, 201–202.

the Finnish famine that would be one of the last famines in Europe primarily caused by natural circumstances.[590]

As Thomsen formed a closer relationship with E. N. Setälä, who, in turn, played a central role in Finnish politics during its early years of independence, Thomsen readily gave semi-political assistance to the Finnish cause. In March 1918, during the ongoing civil war, he received a letter of thanks from Finnish politician Rafael Colliander (1878–1938) for giving support to the Finnish delegation that had visited Denmark.[591] In November of the same year, Thomsen received a letter from Setälä where he requested a recommendation letter to the Justice Minister of Denmark so that a son of a prominent Finnish industrialist Eduard Polón could come to stay at hospitals at Vejlefjord.[592] In the 1920s, Thomsen was also part of the Danish relief committee that organised support for East Karelia, where there had been an uprising against Soviet Russia.[593] Thomsen also took part in a public proclamation by prominent Danish individuals in support of the Karelians, which was printed in Danish newspapers.[594] The Finnish state did not directly support this conflict, but many Finnish volunteers participated in the uprising, and there were calls from Finnish politicians, including E. N. Setälä, that Finland should take a more active part in the conflict.[595] It is likely that Thomsen's activism in this matter was linked to Setälä's political views, but hostile feelings towards Soviet Russia were quite widespread among the European elite, so it is also possible that Thomsen and other Danish individuals acted of their own volition.

Besides Thomsen, Abercromby also provided monetary assistance to the Finnish people. Besides his donations to the Finno-Ugrian Society, he also sent funds to Finnish teacher Tilma Hainari (1861–1940), whom he had met during his time in Sortavala studying the Finnish language, to support Finnish schools in Karelia:

> I know that Russia is trying its best to Russify Finland, but hope it will never succeed. Certainly the Finnish schools must be kept up & I will send you a subscription, when I know where you are, to the fund for founding private Finnish schools in places where they have been forcibly closed. [596]

[590] Ibid., 199. For more information about the 1860s famine in Finland, see Häkkinen and Forsberg 2015, Voutilainen 2015 and Voutilainen 2016.
[591] SKS KIA F-III, Colliander to Thomsen 14.3.1918.
[592] SKS KIA F-II, Setälä to Thomsen 16.11.1918. It is also worth noting that Polón had been one of the signatories of the congratulatory address of the Finno-Ugrian Society when Thomsen turned 60, so, although he was not a researcher himself, he was a long-time associate of the Finnish researchers and had this previous link to Thomsen, although Setälä did not remember to point this out in his letter.
[593] 'Karjalan vapaustaistelu. Tanskasta apua Karjalalle.' Iltalehti, 20.12.1921, 295, p. 1.
[594] 'Karjalan vapaustaistelu. Tanskan apu Karjalalle.' Iltalehti, 25.1.1922, 20, p. 1.
[595] Vares and Häkkinen 2001, 382–392.
[596] SKS KIA TH, Abercromby to Hainari 2.12.(undated year, most likely in the first decade of the twentieth century).

> I am much interested in what you write me about the Finnish schools in Carelia & I enclose a cheque for £10 as a donation to the funds. […] Certainly schools & plenty of them, are the best means for combatting the attempt to russify Finland.[597]

This action is very much in line with the shared interests of the non-Finnish researchers to support Finland against Russification policies, but Abercromby's donations and Thomsen's different forms of assistance also highlight that this kind of support often happened on an ad hoc basis. In other words, they did not devote their whole lives to the Finnish causes but rather were willing to contribute help when it was asked of them or when some specific events stimulated them to action. The lack of continuous and concentrated political support is expressed by the fact that besides Comparetti, none of the non-Finnish researchers received any official recognition from the Finnish state for their help. The circumstances that led Comparetti to receive the mark of First-Class Commander of the White Rose of Finland in 1923, one of the highest honours possible for a non-Finnish individual, are not clear, but it is possible that beyond the petition campaigns mentioned above, he also supported Finland in other political affairs in Italy or that his status as a senator was appropriate to develop relations between Finland and Italy by highlighting Comparetti's contributions to the research of both nations.[598] Comparetti was, at the time, also the only one of the non-Finnish researchers examined here who had a political position that might have contributed to him receiving this political recognition. On the level of civil society, besides his activism in different campaigns and committees in support of Finland, Thomsen also became, in 1922, an honorary president of a society that aimed to foster economic and cultural relations between Finland and Denmark.[599] As Thomsen was already quite old, he most likely did not take an especially active part in organising this society and acted more as a figurehead, thanks to his renowned and known relationships with Finland.

It is undeniable that the non-Finnish researchers were ready to give political support to their Finnish colleagues during the decades at the end of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century, as can be seen in their participation in the Pro Finlandia petition. In addition, Abercromby's donations to Finnish-speaking schooling and Thomsen's many campaigns to garner the support of the Danish populace for Finland are further proof of that, but the non-Finnish researchers did not outshine their contemporaries, who were also sympathetic to the Finnish cause. Although their actions were not without

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[597] SKS KIA TH, Abercromby to Hainari 21.12.(undated year, most likely in the first decade of the twentieth century). In 1910, the average income per head in Britain was 45£ (Feinstein 1972, Table 17), so although this donation was not as generous as his previous ones to the Finno-Ugrian Society, it was not insignificant.

[598] 'Professori Comparetti kiittää ritarimerkistä.' *Uusi Suomi*, 22.7.1923, 165, p. 2. Comparetti's thankful response was reported in several Finnish papers. He ended his thanks with 'I am happy to today greet independent Finland, which has freed itself from the yoke of Russia, and from the bottom of my heart I wish this noble country ever brighter and triumphant future'. / 'Olen onnellinen voidessani tänään tervehtää [sic] Venäjän ikeestä vapautunutta itsenäistä Suomea ja sydämeni syvyydessä toivotan tälle ylväälle maalle yhä valoisampaa ja menestyksellistä tulevaisuutta.'

[599] "Tanskalais-suomalainen yhdistys. Perustava kokous t.k. 1 p:nä." *Uusi Suomi*, 7.11.1922, 257, p. 7.

their merit, it is not hard to find other international figures who were more active and prominent in their political support of Finland during these decades, as can be seen in the other international figures who featured more prominently in the context of the Pro Finlandia petition.

6.4 Conclusions

The researchers of the late nineteenth century lived in a political world. This is reflected not only in the language and topics of their letters but also in their roles outside their scientific lives. Despite the political activities that many of the researchers exemplified, openly political content is nevertheless relatively rare in their correspondence with their international colleagues. This might reflect a degree of taboo related to political topics in scientific correspondence or an effort to keep these scientific and political spheres separated unless they were brought together due to some event that would politicise the typical scientific relationship.

The researchers perceived themselves in a world full of nations and international relationships, as examined in the previous chapter, and this understanding of living in a political world made it compelling for many researchers to take an active part in these aspects of their society. Virchow's ideas of social reform were inherently linked to his understanding of how diseases spread in society, although his political understanding of ideologies, such as socialism, also influenced how he perceived scientific issues, such as Darwinism. The political status could also be achieved through scientific merits and reputation, as with Comparetti, or through structures of government that linked the state and university in Finland that, besides making academics civil servants, also gave some of the members of the university the opportunity to participate in politics in the Diet of Finland. The ongoing political issues in Finland would also lead to ever-growing political activism among the educated elite of Finland, who actively participated in many pivotal political events leading to the independence of the country.

As most of the researchers supported liberal causes or, in some cases, moderate conservatism, there were relatively few political disagreements between the Finnish and non-Finnish researchers, and similar views on social matters might have been one contributing factor to why these men were often successful in building fruitful transnational relationships. It is also possible that this uniformity reflects the difficulties of some individuals who might have represented more radically differing views in participating in these scientific networks. Overall, these political views were especially beneficial for Finnish political activism, as the non-Finnish researchers, and many other liberal-leaning foreign notables, were supportive of the political endeavours of their Finnish colleagues that initially were directed against Russification policies introduced by Russian officials but eventually would lead to the conceptualisation of an independent Finnish state.

The clearest international support for Finland was the Pro Finlandia petition, which included over a thousand signatures from notable European researchers, cultural figures and some politicians. Out of the five non-Finnish researchers, four were asked to sign the petition, although their participation was overshadowed by more active international contributors, who typically did not have as strong a previous connection to Finland as the researchers of the Finns. Besides signing petitions, the non-Finnish researchers from time to time supported Finland in other social causes by campaigning in their home countries and donating funds to Finland. The non-Finnish researchers with more active political roles, Virchow and Comparetti, did not seem to have used their political influence to support Finland, and when giving political assistance, as in relation to the petition campaign, they instead acted through their roles as renowned researchers. The success of Finnish researchers in fostering transnational relationships for their scientific careers was beneficial in propagating Finnish views of these events and mobilising international political support, although the political activism of Finnish individuals also created new networks that overlapped with these older connections.

Although the five non-Finnish researchers were established contacts for some prominent political actors in Finland during the 1890s and the start of the twentieth century, it is important to note that they were only one of several contacts that the Finnish elite had developed among prominent European figures and that there were several other networks that, in many circumstances, were more important for Finnish political causes. As the non-Finnish researchers were especially well connected with Fennomans, focusing on them hides the important connections of Svecomans and the Swedish-speaking Finnish elite more generally, which were more prominent in situations such as the assembly of the Pro Finlandia petition. Even among Finnish academia, the Fennomans centred around the Finno-Ugrian Society represented only a portion, albeit a very active portion internationally and politically, of the wider Finnish scientific community.

Although political topics were not inherently common in scientific correspondence during the best of times, the nineteenth century had extended the possibilities of political participation, and members of the politically conscious educated elite had the potential to take an active interest in political events, even in other countries, if they coincided with their own social and political views. The noticeable role that the researchers had in political life in Europe during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is directly linked with the fact that there were still many political and social obstacles remaining for other groups, such as women and people from lower social classes who could not benefit from these professional networks and relationships. Although the political activism of researchers did not end in the First World War and other great social and political events of the twentieth century, during later decades, researchers could not transfer their social status as researchers as easily to a political influence, as had been the case during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This does not mean that political events did not have an influence on the researchers, as the memory of these non-Finnish researchers was commemorated for a surprisingly long time among the Finnish scientific community, most interestingly when Finnish archaeologist A. M. Tallgren gave a lecture on John Abercromby at the annual meeting of the Finno-Ugrian Society on December 2, 1941. Tallgren's lecture was a relatively objective description of Abercromby's research on Finns, and he did not significantly glorify or ridicule Abercromby's scientific contributions.[600] What makes this lecture interesting is not its content but the time it was given. At that time, the Second World War had already entered a new intensive phase, as Nazi Germany invaded Russia in June 1941 alongside its allies, including Finland. This marked a deterioration in relations between Finland and the United Kingdom, although the countries were not yet at war.

Tallgren's lecture could therefore be seen as a call to remember the scientific connections Finland had with nations other than Germany, which was idolised by many members of the Finno-Ugrian Society. Contrary to many revanchist Finnish individuals, who supported the alignment with Germany and war with the Soviet Union, Tallgren was a pacifist and, instead of Germany, had been more supportive of countries such as Britain and France for decades, for example, by sympathising with the Entente during the First World War.[601] Although the motivations behind this lecture are unknown and Tallgren himself objected to the politicisation of scientific research, it is hard to see the topic of the lecture without some political message.[602] It is also hard to say what kind of feelings this remembrance of Abercromby brought up among the Finnish researchers, as only a few of them had ever interacted with him, but memories of the previous decades, when Finland was widely supported in its political struggles, must have made a stark contrast to the situation at the time. These feelings might have been especially strong a few days after Tallgren's lecture, as the United Kingdom, the country of John Abercromby, who had been one of their most generous supporters only a few decades before, declared war on Finland on the sixth of December.

[600] Tallgren 1943–1944.
[601] Salminen 2014, 192–199, 266–268, 276, 291–292.
[602] Salminen 2014, 210–218; Kokkonen 1985, 8.

7 CONCLUSION

Europe of the nineteenth century was marked by growth and changes that could be seen in all aspects of society, and the world of science was one of the most visible examples of this transformation through the enlargement of academia, the birth of new scientific disciplines and the prominent role science played in this perceived progress. The repercussions of these developments were manifold, but one consequence was that previously relatively marginal topics and scientific questions, such as those related to the origins and character of Finns, could receive enough attention and empirical research to be debated on the basis of scientific data instead of pure conjecture, as had been typical in the preceding centuries. The growing interest in studying people outside the native countries of particular researchers was also partly reflective of the desire of different disciplines to explore scientific questions not yet answered by research, but it was partly rooted in the fact that research conducted in more peripheral scientific communities had become increasingly accessible to broader intellectual audiences and that these inquiries fed into the more general interests of the European scientific community.

The five non-Finnish researchers and their Finnish colleagues who have been examined here encompass a significant portion of the research done on Finns during this era, but these works still represent only a small fraction of the different scientific topics that fed into varied ongoing debates and developments in their scientific fields. Although the study of Finns might not be fully representative of similar work done on other peoples of Europe, as a case study, it gives us a good opportunity to examine a variety of disciplines and researchers interested in the human past, especially how these disciplines fed into each other. Compared with the unique aspects related to studying Finns, the way the researchers interacted with their international colleagues to study these questions is much more characteristic of the general way in which scientific research was conducted at the time.

Although the scientific output of Finnish researchers increased during the nineteenth century, it rarely sparked wider European interest and more commonly served the non-Finnish researchers as the context for their own

studies that examined Finns for purposes divorced from the interests and aims of the Finnish researchers. The debate on the origins of Prussians launched by the French anthropologist Armand de Quatrefages demonstrates well that the scientific issues that could garner international interest and contributions in multiple outlets were reserved primarily for topics that touched upon the national questions of larger European countries. Interest in more peripheral peoples was typically auxiliary to these more central problems.

This context serves as the background for the measurements and observations of Finns by Gustaf Retzius and Rudolf Virchow, although their motivations differ. For Virchow, the question was of national importance, as he was a German and – even more importantly – Prussian, whereas for Retzius, studying Finns was an opportunity to make a name for himself as a young researcher and a worthy successor of his father, who had been one of Europe's leading anthropologists. Comparably, Domenico Comparetti was interested in studying Finns, especially their national epic the *Kalevala,* to answer more general questions about how the Homeric epics had been formed. In particular, he wanted to explore whether the known history of how the *Kalevala* was compiled could serve as a model for questions that interested a broader European public. Comparetti's intention was to challenge ideas previously suggested by other researchers concerning epic literature, but although he did not see the *Kalevala* as comparable to the Homeric epics, this more general issue allowed him to examine the *Kalevala* from a relatively balanced perspective with different points of view.

The linguistic works of Vilhelm Thomsen and the folkloristic studies of John Abercromby are not as easily understood as having been motivated by an interest in examining more general topics through a study of Finns, although Thomsen's doctoral thesis could be said to have contributed to debates about the past of Germanic peoples, as he studied Germanic loanwords in the Finnish language, and Abercromby represented the interest of British folklorists in conceptualising all human cultures through a universal process of cultural evolution. Both of these researchers seem to have initially come to study the Finnish language out of personal curiosity, without a conscious aim to use this knowledge to contribute to some heated ongoing debate, and the ways in which their research related to more general questions seem to have been secondary to their interest in studying the Finnish language and culture as such.

These five men usually portrayed Finns in a more favourable light than earlier European researchers, but they still largely followed the contemporary understanding that the Finns represented, in their origins, Asiatic or Eastern people who had come to Europe in the relatively recent past and settled their current areas of living around the eighth century AD. However, these researchers did not apply Asiatic or Mongolic stereotypes to Finns, as Finns were seen to have been in long-standing contact with neighbouring cultured peoples who had influenced their culture, language and racial type. From linguistic and cultural points of view, Finns were usually conceptualised primarily as Finno-Ugric people who had been influenced by more civilised groups. The anthropologists, on the other hand, categorised Finns from a craniological point of view, typically

as brachycephalic (short-headed) people, but this characterisation did not necessarily indicate that they were of the Mongolic race, which was the interpretation commonly made by anthropologists of the first half of the nineteenth century, such as Johann Friedrich Blumenbach. This relatively positive portrayal of Finns was partly a result of the fact that Finns lived in near proximity to another Finno-Ugric people, the Sámi, to which European researchers could more easily apply their pejorative stereotypes, as the Sámi practised a semi-nomadic lifestyle. Additionally, in their dwellings, dress and culture, they were "othered" much more easily than Finns, whose agricultural practices and gradually industrialising cities were much more comparable to the societies from which these European researchers came.

These positive attitudes were, to some extent, a product of the fact that the non-Finnish researchers were readily assisted by their Finnish colleagues, who could show that Finnish people could be as civilised, cultured and intellectually capable as their non-Finnish equivalents. This equality is also seen in the fact that the non-Finnish researchers did not treat their Finnish colleagues as inferiors or provincial members of their shared community but as scientific peers who deserved proper politeness and respect. These social elements and conventions were especially evident in the correspondence between the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers, which exemplified different scientific and social relations, ranging from close friends to social imbalances and from a master-pupil relationship to polite correspondence between two acquaintances.

As the correspondence was usually across language and cultural barriers, many of the social conventions and norms related to correspondence must not have been strictly enforced, but the researchers typically followed conventional ways of writing, especially in starting and closing their letters, which could vary from formal to informal based on the purpose of the letter and the relationship between the two participants. These letters also reveal the willingness of the Finnish researchers to accommodate their colleagues by switching to writing in more widely read European languages, such as German, French or English, even though they might not have been so fluent in these languages, compared with the non-Finnish researchers who rarely wrote in anything other than their native tongue, even if they had some knowledge of Swedish or Finnish.

As many of the personal interactions between the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers in Finland or in other European countries have left scarcely any written records, their correspondence also reveals many aspects of their social interactions that would otherwise be missed. These social aspects and conventions are important to stress, as the cooperation between different researchers was not based solely on the idea that it was proper to help colleagues in need. There was also a variety of benefits and uses that one could expect for their assistance. These expectations were based on social trust that the scientific community could enforce by accepting or rejecting people as its members. Researchers, therefore, had to work in keeping with these shared social values, which included being collegial and assisting one's peers, but at the same time, there were expectations of reciprocity if a researcher had provided assistance.

These social conventions were not only characteristic of the scientific community of the time but were quite common in other social groups as well, especially among a polite society, but the interest and needs of scientific work emphasised specific things. If researchers had a close relationship, it was common for them to send each other scientific works and publications that were often reciprocated in the form of a gift exchange, but it was also typical for researchers to ask each other directly for scientific advice or information.

Forming and maintaining relationships was also a conscious way of establishing useful networks that could be used in different ways, for instance, by asking for scientific information. Researchers did not, therefore, expect an immediate pay-off for their assistance, as just having the opportunity to form a new relationship with an international colleague, which was reinforced by an unreciprocated favour, could be potentially useful, even if the researcher did not have any use for it for the time being. Paying for favours in a reciprocal manner was one way to keep a relationship and correspondence active for several decades, and an especially active and long-lasting correspondence was often more of a sign that the two people both perceived the relationship as useful than that they felt a strong personal connection.

The interactions between non-Finnish and Finnish researchers were marked by this general politeness and understanding of the norms that bound their communities together. As the researchers represented only a small part of nineteenth-century social elites, many of these same practices and attitudes were also present when the non-Finnish researchers interacted with other members of the Finnish elite outside the scientific sphere. Nevertheless, for their work, the non-Finnish researchers also had to leave these elite environments to study the people that they thought best represented "Finns". Most of these people lived in the Finnish countryside, where the non-Finnish researchers were often assisted by their Finnish colleagues, who could act as translators and guides. Although the sources of the interactions between the Finnish public and the non-Finnish researchers are quite scarce, the few mentions portray these meetings in relatively respectful and civil terms, which is very understandable, as the researchers could not coerce the people to participate in their studies. For the researchers who learned the Finnish language by living among the Finnish people for an extended period, relationships and interactions with the Finnish public could be built on a more equal and familiar basis.

Although the interactions between the non-Finnish researchers and the Finnish populace of different backgrounds highlight the different transnational features and possibilities of the latter half of the nineteenth century, the background of these studies is inherently linked to contemporary nationalism. The researchers understood internationalism as a key part of their community, which is evident in how easily the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers could cooperate on different issues, but the way in which they usually conceptualised themselves and their colleagues was more marked by how they identified along national lines. Even in international scientific congresses, which had become increasingly common in different fields, researchers were more typically

presented as esteemed representatives of their nations than as a politically disinterested group of cosmopolitans united by science. These ideals of internationalism, cosmopolitanism and universalism continued to hold an important part in the self-expression and rhetoric of the scientific community, but they were increasingly co-opted for national purposes, such as when Virchow taunted his French opponents by claiming that they represented rude chauvinism, as opposed to the nationalism of the German scientific community, which was not contrary to these universalist ideals of science.

Political ideologies and tensions had a significant influence on how the researchers conducted their work and for what purposes they wrote their studies. At the same time, however, many of them were not just passive recipients of political influences but rather played an active role in politics. The latter half of the nineteenth century was marked by many political changes, but members of the European scientific community benefited especially from the expansion of the political franchise for men, which made it increasingly possible for researchers and academics to end up in influential political positions in their countries. This is especially evident in the fact that Virchow was one of the leading liberal politicians in Germany and that many of the political debates and battles in Finland were inseparable from Finnish academia, which supplied many of the most active Finnish politicians during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The political activism of researchers was not restricted to the few who became members of parliament or even had positions in government, as the late nineteenth century was marked by different political campaigns that occasionally gained an international character. The public petitions related to the Dreyfus affair in France were some of the most noteworthy of these, but the cause of Finland was also supported by an international petition signed by many prominent Europeans to support political liberties in Finland against Russification policies. Besides the fact that many of the signatories were renowned researchers, including Comparetti, Retzius, Thomsen and Virchow, the link between the petition and academia is even stronger when considering that the practical effort to collect these signatures was primarily carried out by young Finnish researchers who made full use of their skills in different European languages and established networks among the scientific community of Europe. The five non-Finnish researchers were generally quite supportive of Finland and occasionally supported the country in other political events, although they could also be critical of some political developments in Finland, such as the growing popularity and perceived radicalism of Finnish socialists.

Although further study is always needed, the sample of a handful of non-Finnish researchers and their scientific connections has offered us a window into much larger topics related to the environment and conditions in which scientific research was conducted during this era. By focusing on a rather small group of researchers interested in a specific topic, we have been able to examine many different aspects of science and politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For instance, the important and active role that Finnish researchers

played in assisting the studies of their international colleagues shows that Finland was not a scientific periphery fully overshadowed by the more established scientific nations of Western Europe or even by the closely located capital of the Russian Empire, Saint Petersburg, with its many scientific academies and universities. This was not, of course, only a coincidental historical peculiarity but a result of conscious efforts by the Finnish researchers to establish themselves as reputable scientific actors. These efforts, in turn, were partly motivated by the knowledge that there was a real possibility that Finnish scientific institutions could be, at some point, integrated into Russian institutions, as had already happened in the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire. Political and scientific autonomy were therefore strongly interlinked in Finland, and this partly explains the willingness of Finnish researchers to assist their colleagues, as through their studies, both the Finnish scientific community and the Finnish nation could become more established in the eyes of the European public. At the same time, the reason why Finns were of interest to the European scientific public was itself the result of imperial politics, as the debate about the racial character of Finns arose from controversies between French and German anthropologists after the Franco-Prussian War.

The links between politics and science have been examined from many different points of view, and it has become clear that the issues of ancestry and (pre)historical connection between different nations were of interest to many researchers of the time, regardless of whether their nation was already established and could invoke its great historical triumphs or whether it still lacked international recognition and statehood. The anxieties related to the ethnic background of nations and their perceived internal unity became central issues during the nineteenth century. The political importance of these scientific interests would come even more marked after the First World War, with the emergence of new nation states and the growing use of ethnic, cultural and racial talking points in the political rhetoric of the time. Although only a few of the researchers examined in this thesis were active participants in these debates after the First World War, the studies and scientific interests analysed here exemplify the themes and issues that, although already very important for political arguments at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, would contribute to even more politicised processes in later decades. The scientific and political activities of these researchers showcase an era in which the researchers themselves were the foremost spokesmen of these topics. By contrast, in the following decades, the role of researchers in active politics and in the direction of debates related to ethnicity and race weakened, as these discussions grew more mainstream and the increase in political franchise enlarged to include people outside the educated elite. The careers of potential Virchows and researchers-turned-into-political-activists of later generations became eclipsed by the professionalisation of politics and a greater separation of the political and scientific spheres, although researchers and academics did not completely disappear from politics.

The activities of non-Finnish researchers and their Finnish colleagues also highlight the internationalist attitudes of late-nineteenth-century research and the importance of transnational connections for conducting scientific work. Although the exchange of scientific ideas among countries such as Britain, France and Germany had been common for centuries and it would be wrong to argue that internationalism was invented during the nineteenth century, it is evident through this case study how integral and commonplace international communication and cooperation were, especially for the researchers of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Even researchers from a peripheral country, such as Finland, did not need to argue for their inclusion in the European scientific community, as they were easily accepted as equal members by researchers from more established European scientific nations. It is worth stressing that the inclusion of Finnish researchers did not mean that the scientific community of Europe was not exclusive in some other ways, as people from less privileged environments, especially from non-Western backgrounds, could testify. The usually multilingual Finnish researchers who were educated through typical Western practices were, without a doubt, people with whom the non-Finnish researchers could easily identify and form confident professional relationships. Although this was usually a quite trouble-free process in their case, it was born out of necessity. Scientific knowledge was produced in different languages, and publications usually had a print run of only a few copies, so staying in touch with scientific developments required extensive networks, including with researchers from more peripheral nations, such as Finland, especially if one wished to conduct research on topics in which researchers from outside the major scientific nations made significant contributions.

The Importance of interpersonal relationships is also evident in the transnational activities of these researchers. Although the non-Finnish researchers were usually associated with some university or scientific institution, their international connections with Finnish colleagues were rarely based on formal institutional links, as Finland was still somewhat isolated from academia outside the Russian Empire. The international connections between non-Finnish and Finnish researchers therefore had to rely largely on their own conscious effort and proactivity, a matter that many researchers examined here took quite seriously. This does not mean that after the relationship between researchers became more established, it necessarily needed to only rely on interpersonal connections, as is showcased by the prominence of voluntary organisations, such as the many learned and scientific societies active at the time, in the later interactions between the non-Finnish and Finnish researchers. These informal relationships between individuals were strengthened by more formal and public connections, as foreign colleagues were invited to participate in these societies as corresponding or honorary members. Although most of the researchers were associated with universities, much of their scientific activity proceeded through these more informal modes of organising scholarly activity. This is most clearly seen in the case of Abercromby, who conducted his research entirely outside of British academia, but even people who had held university chairs, such as

Comparetti and Retzius, were ready to discard these prestigious posts to pursue their research more freely as independent researchers after they had become financially secure enough. Informal relationships and modes of scientific organisation were therefore central for the researchers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as much of the scientific activity of this era happened outside the structures of academia and other formal scientific institutions.

This thesis has focused on the interactions between non-Finnish and Finnish researchers and on political events in Finland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but it is likely that many of the same circumstances and features are comparable to other transnational interactions among the European scientific community. Finnish researchers were not treated by their international colleagues as second-rate or inferior to researchers from more established scientific nations, so many of the same centre-periphery dynamics and scientific internationalism partially motivated by political limitations could probably also be found, for instance, by examining these aspects in Polish or Baltic German[603] scientific communities, which also became nationally suppressed by the Russian regime during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The case of Poland would be especially interesting, as the experiences and conditions in different areas of partitioned Poland must have differed significantly, and it seems likely that the scientific internationalism of Poles in the Russian Empire and the Habsburg Empire, which had more tolerant policies towards Polish people than the Russian Empire, would have been expressed in vastly different ways.

To some extent, the Finnish people differ from these other possibly comparable scientific communities, as the main interest in studying Finns was not to examine them as a historical nation but to explore the ethnic, linguistic and cultural features of the Finns, which is more comparable to how minorities and people perceived as exotic with limited possibilities to contribute to these discussions were studied at the time. Although the Finnish researchers were well integrated into the broader scientific community of Europe, the questions and scientific debates in which they participated had a peculiar combination of national intentions and more general European interests, which are not necessarily present in a similar way in the relevant discussions of Polish and Baltic German researchers.

Although these themes would be interesting to examine in the cases of other European nations, the present study has not been exhaustive in the case of the

[603] Although comparing Baltic Germans, who represented a small elite minority in Baltic provinces, and Finnish, which comprises majority of the population in the Grand Duchy of Finland, might not seem immediately obvious, the Universities in Dorpat and Helsinki were quite comparable institutions, and the scientific communities of Baltic Germans and the small, often Swedish-speaking, portion of Finnish people who were part of the scientific community worked in similar ways before the Russifying policies that affected both communities, but especially the conditions and autonomy of the scientific community of Baltic Germans which to large extent was replaced by Russian-speaking educated elite. At the same time, Estonians and Latvians were experiencing their "national awakening", but as the higher education in these languages had been limited and as Russian replaced German as the language of higher education in these areas, scientific communities of Estonians and Latvians started to become comparable to their Finnish counterparts only during the inter-war period when these nations had become independent.

Finnish scientific community, and there are many depths to discover in studying the transnational character of Finnish researchers. Although scientific internationalism was very present in the activities of Finnish natural scientists, as evident, for example, in the participation of Finnish astronomists in the international Carte du Ciel project, which attempted to map and catalogue the positions of stars, even the disciplines and researchers examined here could still tell us a lot more. For example, further study of the international importance of Finnish folklorists, such as Julius and Kaarle Krohn, who were internationally leading figures in their fields, could help us re-examine the roles of traditional scientific centres and peripheries and further recognise which factors led to the international prominence of particular individuals. Although internationally active Finnish linguists have been quite present in this study, examining their roles in studying areas such as Central Asia could give us interesting insight into the dynamics of scientific communities of the imperial periphery (Helsinki) and centre (Saint Petersburg) and also into how the results of Finnish fieldwork were transferred to the broader scientific public in Central and Western Europe.

The study of these five non-Finnish researchers and their Finnish colleagues has shown a great deal of overlap between the scientific and political fields and has highlighted the ways in which political ideas and events have influenced scientific research at the time. Many of these conditions, related to both the political and scientific spheres, would change after the First World War, and so the decades preceding this tragedy showcase an interesting mix of internationalist optimism and national realities that would be significantly reshaped, even during the lifetimes of some of the researchers examined here. Modern academic disciplines and their international character are, nevertheless, to some extent, a product of this time period, so although the scientific self-understanding of these men can feel dissimilar to ours, many of the questions related to the origins of people and the challenges related to balancing the international and national aspects of day-to-day research are still present.

The cooperation between Abercromby, Comparetti, Retzius, Thomsen, Virchow and their Finnish counterparts demonstrates how vital the transnational aspects of the European-wide scientific community were for researchers. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a fruitful environment for these kinds of transnational interactions due to the ease of travel and a general cross-border affinity among researchers, which had not yet been challenged by the horrors of a world war. Nevertheless, these conditions would have been meaningless if the researchers had not seen clear benefits for their work in engagement with their international colleagues. The non-Finnish individuals examined in this thesis were keen to raise the quality of their research by taking the extra step of participating in scientific exchanges with their Finnish colleagues. Although the world of science was not without its hierarchies, these transnational interactions were conducted in an amiable atmosphere, and Finnish researchers were treated as an equal and essential part of the scientific community of Europe. The conceptions related to scientific "centres" and "peripheries" were always in the background of how European researchers

understood their environment. Still, in the context of studying Finns, there was a clear understanding that the Finnish researchers could provide essential knowledge that was not available to other European researchers and that their expertise warranted equal respect to that awarded to a researcher from London, Paris or Berlin.

The history of the European scientific world is full of these more minor scientific questions and debates that broke the insular patterns of scientific inquiry and motivated curious researchers to dive into fresh waters by forging new scientific relationships with their international colleagues. Studying these kinds of transnational cases often requires the examination of sources in different languages that are scattered in the archives of multiple countries, but transcending national histories and the habit of focusing on only the biggest players is necessary to understand how insular or transnational different scientific communities were – and how peripheral or central certain scientific locations were. In many cases, this approach would require the examination of topics that were quickly forgotten and failed to find a significant place in the canons of different disciplines. Nevertheless, studying a "bit player", such as Abercromby, can provide information about how scientific research was conducted in this period that is at least equally revealing as that which can be found by focusing primarily on celebrated figures, such as Virchow. Researchers of secondary importance and less prominent scientific communities were, at times, surprisingly relevant, and understanding their roles is crucial to building a fuller picture of how science operated at different times.

SUMMARY IN FINNISH

Suomalaiset olivat pitkään olleet tutkimuskohteena sivussa Euroopan tiedeyhteisön suurista debateista, mutta 1800-luvun jälkipuoliskolla useammallakin tieteenalalla kiinnostuttiin enemmän suomalaisten piirteistä ja taustoista. Osittain kyseessä oli aikakauden tiedeyhteisön laajeneminen ja ammatillistuminen, mikä mahdollisti sen, että tutkimusta voitiin kohdistaa 'marginaalisempiinkin' kohteisiin, mutta suomalaisten erikoisuus suomalais-ugrilaisena kansana keskellä indoeurooppalaisia kieliä puhuvia kansoja sekä erityisen rikas suullisen kulttuurin traditio, josta *Kalevala* oli maailmallakin tunnettu esimerkki, herättivät kiinnostusta varsin arvovaltaisissa tutkijapiireissä. Suomalaisiin kohdistuvaa tutkimusta edesauttoivat myös aikakaudella tapahtunut kehitys matkustuksen suhteen, joka teki Suomen aikaisempia vuosikymmeniä helpommin saavutettavaksi ja mahdollisti varsin perusteellisen matkustamisen Suomen sisälläkin. Ulkomaalaisten tutkijoiden tutkimustyötä edisti myös aktiivinen ja yhteistyöhaluinen suomalainen tiedeyhteisö, joka tuki ulkomaalaisia kollegojaan näiden tutkimuksissa.

Vaikka tämä väitöstyö keskittyy tarkastelemaan vain viittä ulkomaalaista tutkijaa, jotka tutkivat suomalaisia 1800-luvun jälkipuoliskolla, he olivat kuitenkin keskeisimpiä aikakaudella suomalaisista kirjoittaneita henkilöitä suomalaisen tiedeyhteisön ulkopuolelta. Saksalaisen antropologin Rudolf Virchowin ja ruotsalaisen antropologin Gustaf Retziuksen suomalaisia käsittelevien tutkimusten taustalla oli niin kutsuttu *race prussienne* tai *Finnenfrage* debatti, joka alkoi ranskalaisen antropologin Armand de Quatrefages'n väitettyä preussilaisten olevan germaanien sijasta suomalais-slaavilaista alkuperää. Kiinnostus suomalaisia kohtaan kumpusi siis kansainvälisestä tieteellisestä väittelystä, jossa keskiössä olivat todellisuudessa preussilaisten maine ja oikeutus olla Saksan keisarikunnan johdossa. Virchowin ja Retziuksen tekemät tutkimukset, joissa he mittasivat suomalaisten fyysisiä piirteitä ja jossain määrin havainnoivat heidän elintapojaan, toivat kuitenkin eurooppalaiselle tiedeyleisölle paljon uutta ja enemmän paikkansapitävää tietoa verrattuna aikaisempiin esitelmiin suomalaisista, jotka olivat perustuneet pitkälti stereotypioihin ja varsin rajallisiin mittauksiin. Heidän kuvauksensa suomalaisista olivat myös paljon positiivisempia verrattuna aikaisempiin rotutieteellisiin näkemyksiin suomalaisista, joskin heidänkin teoksissaan esiintyi jonkin verran hierarkkisia asetelmia, joissa suomalaisia ei täysin asetettu 'eurooppalaisten' vertaisiksi.

Laajemman kansainvälisen tieteellisen keskustelun voidaan sanoa olleen myös italialaisen eepostutkijan Domenico Comparettin tutkimuksen taustalla, jossa hän tarkasteli Kalevalaa ja suomalaista kansanrunoutta laajemminkin. Comparettia ei johdatellut yksin kiinnostus tutkimuskohdettaan kohtaan vaan tieteellinen väittely siitä, voitiinko *Kalevalaa* ja sen tunnettua syntyhistoriaa käyttää hyödyksi ymmärtämään muiden vanhempien eeposten, kuten *Iliaan* tai *Odysseian*, kokoamista ja laadintaa. Vaikka Comparetti lopputuloksissaan kyseenalaisti sen, että *Kalevala* olisi verrattavissa varhaisempiin eepoksiin ja väitti sen

olevan syntyprosessiltaan ja piirteiltään omanlaisensa teoksensa, hän oli kuitenkin analyysissään hyvin monipuolinen ja suhtautui suomalaiseen kansanrunouteen varsin positiivisesti.

Samanlainen innostus ja kiinnostus suomalaista kulttuuria kohtaan olivat myös tanskalaisen kielitieteilijän Vilhelm Thomsenin ja brittiläisen folkloristin John Abercrombyn tutkimusten taustalla. Thomsen kiinnostui suomen kielestä jo ollessaan opiskelija ja kirjoitti väitöstyönsä germaanisista lainasanoista suomen kielessä. Pari vuosikymmentä myöhemmin hän palasi vielä tähän tematiikkaan julkaisemalla teoksen balttilaisista lainasanoista suomen kielessä. Verrattuna muihin edellä mainittuihin tutkijoihin, Abercromby ei työskennellyt missään yliopistossa vaan pystyi itsenäisesti varakkaana aatelisena rahoittamaan omaa tutkimustaan. Amatöörinä häntä kiinnosti useampikin tieteenala, kuten kielitieteet, folklorismi ja arkeologia. Suomestakin hän oli alkujaan kiinnostunut suomen kielen takia, mutta tutustuttuaan *Kalevalaan* hän keskittyi enemmän suomalaiseen kansanrunouteen.

Vaikka nämä tutkijat erosivat toisistaan kansallisuuksiltaan ja tieteenaloiltaan, heidän tutkimuksiaan yhdistivät kiinnostus suomalaisten alkuperään ja esihistoriaan sekä pyrkimys selvittää mikä oli suomalaisten ja 'eurooppalaisten' suhde. Rotutieteissä suomalaiset oli tyypillisesti esitetty mongolialaiseen tai aasialaiseen rotuun kuuluvina ja kielitieteellisestikin vallalla oli näkemys, että suomalais-ugrilaiset kielet olisivat jollain tasolla sukua mongolialaisille ja turkkilaisille kielille. Nämä viisi ulkomaalaista tutkijaa eivät kieltäneet vallitsevaa näkemystä, että suomalaiset olisivat vaeltaneet esihistoriassaan Aasiasta nykyisille asuinsijoilleen, mutta he eivät merkittävällä tavalla yhdistäneet suomalaisia mongolialaisiin ja useammin korostivat, että suomalaiset olivat kulttuurisesti ja yhteiskunnallisesti kehittyneet vuorovaikutuksesta 'eurooppalaisiin' kansoihin. Esimerkiksi verrattuna saamelaisiin, jotka täyttivät paljon paremmin toiseuttavat stereotypiat, suomalaisissa nähtiin potentiaalia kehittyä kansakuntana.

Näiden suhteellisen positiivisten esitysten taustalla oli osin se, että verrattuna aikaisempiin tutkijoihin nämä viisi henkilöä matkustivat Suomeen tutkimustarkoituksessa ja näin ollen pystyivät saamaan ensi käden tietoa tutkittavistaan. Pitkälti taustalla oli myös se, että he tukeutuivat paljon vahvemmin suomalaisen tiedeyhteisön tuottamiin tutkimustuloksiin, joiden positiivisemmat kuvaukset ja tarkastelukulmat suomalaisiin toisintuivat osittain myös näiden ulkomaalaisten tutkijoiden julkaisuissa. Suomalaiset tutkijat olivat myös läheisesti auttamassa ulkomaalaisia kollegojaan, joten he pystyivät henkilökohtaisesti tarjoamaan myös heille tietoa ja opastamaan heitä tutkimuksissaan tavalla, joka ei ainakaan olisi erityisen haitallista suomalaisten omallekuvalle.

Tämä yhteistyö suomalaisten ja ulkomaalaisten tutkijoiden välillä oli varsin ongelmatonta, sillä tutkijat suhtautuivat toisiinsa vertaisinaan eikä suomalaisiin kohdistettu väheksyviä asenteita sen takia, että he edustaisivat tieteellistä periferiaa tai olisivat jotenkin vähemmän varteenotettavia tutkijoina. Tähän vaikutti osittain varmasti se, että useimmat niistä suomalaisista, jotka olivat kaikkein aktiivisimmin yhteistyössä näiden ulkomaalaisten kollegojensa kanssa, olivat

omien alojensa nimekkäimpiä hahmoja Suomessa ja toimivat usein myös professoreina.

Tutkijoiden väliset henkilökohtaiset tapaamiset olivat toki äärimmäisen tärkeitä henkilösuhteiden muodostumiselle, mutta koska he edustivat eri kansallisuuksia, suuri osa suomalaisten ja näiden viiden ulkomaalaisen tutkijan välisestä vuorovaikutuksesta tapahtui kirjeenvaihdon välityksellä. Näiden kirjeiden avulla välittyvät myös tehokkaasti tutkijoiden väliset henkilösuhteet sekä tapa, miten kirjeenvaihtoa tehtiin 1800-luvun lopulla ja 1900-luvun alussa. Koska tutkijat kuuluivat oppineeseen eliittiin, heille olivat hyvin tuttua kirjeenvaihtoon liittyvät eri konventiot ja rakenteet, joita noudattamalla kirjoittaja pystyi osoittamaan kuuluvuutensa tähän yhteisöön ja välittämään kirjeen sanoman mahdollisemman tehokkaasti. Henkilöiden välisestä suhteesta kertovat paljon esimerkiksi kirjeen aloittava tervehdys ja kirjeensaajan puhuttelu, jolloin kirjoittaja pystyi osoittamaan kunnioitustaan (esimerkiksi muotoilulla 'Kunnioitettava X') tai läheisyyttään (esimerkiksi muotoilulla 'Rakas ystävä'). Kirjeiden välillä näkyy jonkin verran vaihtelua liittyen muun muassa eri maiden ja kirjoituskielien konventioihin, mutta yleisesti ottaen tutkijat valikoivat varsin epäformaalin ja tuttavallisen kirjoitustavan mikäli he kokivat toisensa vertaisikseen, mutta tutkijoiden välisen statuksen eron ollessa selvempi, tuntemattomammat ja etenkin nuoremmat tutkijat usein tukeutuivat formaalimpaan ja enemmän kunnioitusta osoittavaan kirjoitustapaan. Tälle kansainväliselle kirjeenvaihdolle oli ominaista se, että kirjeitä kirjoitettiin eri kielillä ja osin myös ristiin, siten, että esimerkiksi Thomsen kirjoitti suomalaisille useimmiten tanskaksi, mutta suomalaiset vastasivat hänen kirjeisiinsä suomeksi tai ruotsiksi, joita hän myös ymmärsi.

Tutkijoiden vaihtamien kirjeiden kautta välittyy myös monenlaisia sosiaalisia keinoja, joilla he ylläpitivät tai hyödynsivät näitä kansainvälisiä suhteitaan. Yksi toistuva piirre oli lahjananto tai -vaihto, johon kirjeissä usein viitattiin. Tutkijat lähettivät toisilleen paljon kirjoja ja kävivät välillä vilkastakin tieteellistä keskustelua kirjeiden välityksellä. Tutkimuskirjallisuus ja tieteelliset näkemykset olivat siis keskeisiä vaihdannan muotoja, joilla tutkijat hyödynsivät kontaktejaan ja loivat mahdollisuuksia myöhemmille vasta-apupyynnöille. Ulkomaalaiset tutkijat toki hyötyivät saadessaan suomalaisilta asianosaavaa tietoa ja kirjoja, joita he eivät olisi kotimaastaan löytäneet, mutta suomalaisetkin tutkijat olivat aktiivisesti hyödyntämässä kansainvälisiä verkostojaan omissa pyrkimyksissään. Vaikka näissä henkilösuhteissa oli osittain takana hyödyntavoittelu, tämä toiminta kuitenkin perustui sopivan etiketin mukaiseen ja kohteliaaseen toimintaan, sekä jaettuun ymmärrykseen siitä, että tämä kaikki rakentui vastavuoroisuudelle, jota kautta molemmat hyötyisivät vuorovaikutuksesta.

Kirjeet, joita ulkomaalaisten tutkijoiden arkistoista löytyy kuvaavat hyvin heidän kontaktejaan suomalaiseen eliittiin. Tutkijoiden lisäksi kirjeitä löytyy muun muassa opettajilta ja kirjailijoilta, ja erinäisissä elämänkerrallisissa teksteissä, joissa näiden tutkijoiden Suomen-tutkimuksia kuvataan, luetellaan lähinnä suomalaisen oppineiston ja muun eliitin nimiä. Onkin siis selvää, että he Suomessa ollessaan olivat pääosin vuorovaikutuksessa sosiaalisten vertaistensa kanssa, paitsi tutkimustaan tehdessään. Pitkälti ruotsinkielinen suomalainen

lukeneisto ei kelvannut näille ulkomaalaisille tutkijoille esimerkiksi aidoista ja alkuperäisistä suomalaisista, vaan heitä tutkiakseen nämä tutkijat joutuivat matkustamaan Suomen sisämaan maaseudulle.

Tutkijoista Thomsen ja Abercromby opettelivat tutkimuksiaan varten suomen kielen, jota kehittääkseen he matkustivat suomenkieliseen ympäristöön eräänlaiseen kielikylpyyn. Thomsen matkusti Julius Krohnin ehdotuksesta Keuruulle ja Abercromby vieraili useampiakin kertoja Sortavalassa, jonka läheisyydessä kansanrunouskulttuuri oli vielä aktiivista. Keuruulla Thomsen asui eräässä maatilalla ja suomen kieltään hän harjoitteli etenkin keskustelemalla erään tilan rengin kanssa. Abercrombyn kieliopettajat olivat pääosin Sortavalan sivistyneistöä ja hänen keskeisiä kontaktejaan olivat monet paikkakunnan seminaarinopettajat, joskin hän matkustellessaan lähialueen maaseudulla oli kanssakäymisissä monien maalaisten kanssa. Näiden kahden tutkijan vuorovaikutus suomalaisten kanssa oli verrattain tasavertaista verrattuna Retziuksen ja Virchowin tutkimuksiin, joissa heitä kiinnostivat etenkin suomalaisten fyysiset piirteet.

Retziuksen tekemä tutkimusmatka kahden ruotsalaisen kollegan ja suomenkielisen tulkin kanssa oli varsin perusteellinen, ja he matkustivat laajasti Hämeessä, Savossa ja Karjalassa tehden mittauksia, muutamia kaivauksia ja havainnoiden suomalaisten elintapoja ja kulttuuria. Vaikka nykyinen mielikuva rotutieteellisistä mittauksista, ja etenkin siitä miten se käsitteli tutkittaviaan, on varsin negatiivinen, ruotsalaiset tutkijat olivat useimmiten riippuvaisia tutkittaviensa suostumuksesta mittauksiin, ja Retzius valittelikin sitä, että eräät hänen tapaamansa 'tyyppiyksilöt' eivät olleet halukkaita mittauksille. Valtaosa heidän tutkimistaan suomalaisista oli todennäköisesti suostunut vapaaehtoisesti näihin mittauksiin, jolloin niihin ei välttämättä liittynyt merkittäviä häpeän tai pakotuksen tuntemuksia, toisin kuin 1900-luvun alun laajemmissa ja usein valtionvallan tukemissa rotubiologisissa tutkimushankkeissa eri Euroopan maissa, joihin usein liittyi traumatisoivia tutkimusmenetelmiä, kuten tutkittavien valokuvaaminen alasti. Retziuksen tutkimuskohteena olleiden suomalaisten näkemyksistä ei kuitenkaan ole kirjallisia lähteitä, joten varmuutta heidän kokemuksistaan ja tuntemuksistaan ei toki ole. Retzius kuitenkin mainitsee kirjeessään, että ruotsalaiset tutkijat otettiin suomalaisissa kodeissa yleensä hyvin vieraanvaraisesti vastaan ja heille tarjottiin usein kahvia, joka oli tuolloin vielä hyvin arvokas ylellisyystuote Suomen maaseudulla. Tämä viittaa siihen, että ruotsalaisiin tutkijoihin suhtauduttiin todennäköisesti pidemmälti uteliaisuudella ja vieraanvaraisuudella kuin pelolla ja ahdistuksella.

Tietynlaisen vastakohdan näille maaseudulla tapahtuneille tutkimuksille muodostavat kuitenkin näiden tutkijoiden Hämeenlinnassa tekemät mittaukset sairaalassa ja vankilassa, joissa on kyseenalaisempaa, pystyivätkö mitattavat henkilöt suostumaan näihin tutkimuksiin vai oliko mukana jonkin verran painostusta. Näitä mittauksiakaan Retzius ei ottanut julkaisuissaan huomioon, sillä hän ei kokenut näiden eri puolilta maata tulleiden ja sairaiden ihmisten kuvaavan erityisen hyvin suomalaisten todellisia piirteitä. Virchowin mittaukset Suomessa olivat huomattavasti pienimuotoisempia ja tapahtuivat suomalaisten tutkijoiden avustuksella, joskin yleiseltä luonteeltaan ne vastasivat varmasti pitkälti

Retziuksen kanssakäymistä tutkittaviensa kanssa. Näistä viidestä tutkijasta Comparetti poikkesi sillä, ettei hän erityisemmin matkustanut Suomen maaseudulla eikä hän todennäköisesti ollut erityisemmin vuorovaikutuksessa muiden kuin suomalaisen oppineen eliitin kanssa.

Kanssakäyminen vertaistensa kanssa oli siis näille tutkijoille tyypillisintä ja tässä heitä auttoi se, että he kaikki kuuluivat samaan kansainväliseen eurooppalaiseen tiedeyhteisöön. Heidän vuorovaikutuksensa onkin hyvä esimerkki 1800-luvun lopun eliitille tyypillisestä ylirajaisesta toiminnasta. Tiedeyhteisössä etenkin kanssakäymistä edesauttoi eräänlainen kosmopoliittisuuden ja kansainvälisyyden ideaali, jonka nähtiin olevan ominaista tutkijoille. Vuosisadan jälkipuoliskolla monilla tieteenaloilla alkoikin yleistyä tapa järjestää kansainvälisiä kongresseja, joissa eri maiden asiantuntijat pystyivät keskustelemaan ja verkostoitumaan ulkomaalaisten kollegojensa kanssa. Ylevästä retoriikasta huolimatta aikakauden tutkijatkin olivat kuitenkin ensisijaisesti kansallisia toimijoita, ja tutkijoinakin he useimmiten korostivat edustavansa omaa kansakuntaansa, kun esittelivät tieteellisiä saavutuksiaan kansainvälisissä konteksteissa. Näihin kongresseihinkin heijastuivat vallalla olevat poliittiset jännitteet. Joskus osallistujien oli vaikea päästä yhteisymmärrykseen yhteisestä kielestä, sillä aikakauden suurvaltojen, Iso-Britannian, Ranskan ja Saksan, kiistat vaikuttivat siihen, miten näiden maiden edustamiin tieteen valtakieliin suhtauduttiin minäkin aikana.

Nämä poliittiset kiistat saattoivat joskus olla hyvin suoraankin tutkimuksenteon taustalla, sillä ranskalaisen Quatrefages'n väite preussilaisten suomalaisslaavilaisesta taustasta pohjautui enemmänkin halulle loukata saksalaisia vastikään käydyn Saksan–Ranskan sodan (1870-1871) johdosta, jossa hänen mielestään saksalaisten ja etenkin preussilaisten barbaarisuus näkyi erityisen selkeästi. Vahvaa kansallistuntoa edustivat toki myös saksalaiset tutkijat, jotka tyrmäsivät Quatsefages'n väitteet, ja Virchowin suomalaisiin liittyvät tutkimukset ovatkin nähtävissä yrityksenä puolustaa saksalaisten kansallista ja rodullista mainetta. Virchowin julkaisuissa näkyy kuitenkin hyvin myös, kuinka tieteen kansainvälisyyttä painottavaa retoriikkaa pystyttiin hyödyntämään myös hyvin kansallisiin tarkoitusperiin. Virchow muun muassa väitti Quatrefages'n, ja ranskalaisen tiedeyhteisön laajemmin, sekoittavan nationalistista politiikkaa tieteeseen vastoin tieteen ihanteita. Hänen omansa ja saksalaisten kansallisuustunteen Virchow katsoi puolestaan olevan tieteen arvoja tukevaa ja hyväksyttävien normien mukaista.

Politiikka oli muillakin tavoin erottamaton osa 1800-luvun lopun ja 1900-luvun alun tieteentekijöiden maailmaa. Sen lisäksi, että poliittiset tapahtumat vaikuttivat epäsuorasti tapaan, jolla tutkimusta pystyttiin tekemään, moni tutkija oli myös tietoisesti hakeutunut poliittisiin tehtäviin, ja monissa maissa, kuten Suomessa, vallitsevat poliittiset debatit olivat läheisesti sidoksissa yliopistoihin, niiden henkilökuntaan ja opiskelijoihin. Etenkin Suomessa autonomian ajan viimeisillä vuosikymmenillä monet johtavista poliitikoista olivat sidoksissa yliopistoon ja moni professoreista päätyi valtiopäiväedustajiksi, kansanedustajiksi ja senaattoreiksi. Poliittiset kiistat jakoivat myös tiedeyhteisöä, ja etenkin suhtautuminen 'kielikysymykseen' näkyi myös siinä, miten tutkijat olivat järjestäytyneet. Edellä mainittujen viiden ulkomaalaisen tutkijan suomalaiset kontaktit olivat

etupäässä fennomaaneja, ja etenkin Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran aktiivien rooli oli korostunut.

Ulkomaalaiset tutkijatkaan eivät olleet epäpoliittisia, vaan Virchow oli yksi johtavista liberaalipoliitikoista Saksassa ja Comparetti oli jäsen Italian Kuningaskunnan Senaatissa. Huolimatta näistä erilaisista poliittisista rooleista, tutkijat varsin harvoin vetosivat näihin tai edes mainitsivat niitä kirjeenvaihdossaan, joka keskittyi pääosin heidän tieteellisiin rooleihinsa. Poliittiset teemat eivät olleet kuitenkaan täysin vieraita näissä kirjeissä, joskin suoran poliittiset aihepiirit olivat suhteellisen harvinaisia. Tämä poliittinen sisältö liittyi usein poliittisiin tapahtumiin Suomessa, joita suomalaiset tai ulkomaalaiset tutkijat kommentoivat jollain tapaa. Yleisesti ottaen nämä ulkomaalaiset tutkijat suhtautuivat positiivisesti Suomen kansalliseen asemaan ja heidän suomalaisten kollegojen kansallisiin pyrkimyksiin, mutta joitain kriittisiäkin huomioita löytyy, esimerkiksi suomalaisten sosialistien toimintaan liittyen.

Nämä ulkomaalaiset tutkijat olivat myös valmiita tukemaan suomalaisia vuosisadan vaihteen poliittisesti epävakaana aikana, jota leimasivat venäläistämistoimet ja suomalaisten eskaloituva vastarinta. Näkyvin tuenannon muoto oli niin kutsutun Kulttuuri- tai Pro Finlandia -adressin keruuprosessi, johon suomalaiset aktiivit ryhtyivät vuonna 1899 Suuren adressin jälkeen. Tämän Suomen autonomista asemaa tukevan adressin allekirjoitti 1063 kulttuurin, tieteen ja politiikan vaikuttajaa eri Euroopan maista. Adressin allekirjoittivat myös Comparetti, Retzius, Thomsen ja Virchow, joskaan näiden suomalaisia tutkineiden miesten rooli ei ollut mitenkään korostunut tässä keruuprosessissa. Näiden ulkomaalaisten tutkijoiden tuki ei kuitenkaan rajoittunut tähän yksittäiseen tapaukseen, vaan esimerkiksi Comparettia pyydettiin vastaavaan tuenantoon muutamaa vuotta myöhemmin, Abercromby lahjoitti rahaa suomenkielisten koulujen tueksi ja Thomsen antoi julkisesti tukea suomalaisille useammassakin yhteydessä.

Tämä väitöstyö ei tarjoa pelkästään uusia näkökulmia siitä, kuinka suomalaisia käsiteltiin aikakauden tieteessä, vaan tarkastelemalla näiden ulkomaalaisten tutkijoiden ja heidän suomalaisten kollegojen toimintaa, voidaan nähdä yleistävämpiä piirteitä 1800-luvun lopun ja 1900-luvun alun eurooppalaisen tiedeyhteisön toiminnasta. Edellä mainittujen ulkomaalaisten tutkijoiden valmius luoda kontakteja ennestään tuntemattomien suomalaisten kanssa osoittaa sitä, kuinka olennaista ja normaalia kansainvälinen toiminta oli tutkimuksen tekemiselle, ja sitä, että suomalaisten kaltainen marginaalisempikin tiedeyhteisö oli vahvasti sidoksissa laajempiin tieteellisiin verkostoihin. Suomalaisten tutkijoiden toiminnan ja aktiivisuuden voidaankin nähdä jossain määrin kuvaavan suurten tieteentekemisen keskusten ulkopuolella tapahtuneen tieteellisen toiminnan luonnetta, joskin Suomen poliittisten olosuhteiden omalaatuisuus ja tuohon aikakauteen liittyneet kansalliset tapahtumat vaikuttivat toki siihen miten ulkomaalaiset tutkijat toimivat yhteistyössä suomalaisten kanssa.

Vaikka suomalaiset tutkijat olivat osa eurooppalaista tiedeyhteisöä ja heidän mukanaoloaan tai tutkimuksensa tasoa ei kyseenalaistettu, on huomioitavaa, että näkemys suomalaisten aasialaisesta alkuperästä ja siitä, että suomalaiset eivät olleet 'eurooppalaisia' kuten indoeurooppalaisia kieliä puhuneet kansat,

olivat keskeisiä syitä sille, miksi tutkijat Suomen ulkopuolella olivat kiinnostuneita tutkimaan suomalaisia. Tässä tutkimuksessa käsiteltyjen ulkomaalaisten tutkijoiden toiminta tarjoaa siis kiinnostavan kuvan aikakauden osin ristiriitaisista ajattelumalleista, joissa kansoja ja rotuja saatettiin arvottaa hierarkkisesti, mutta käytännön toiminnassa nämä hierarkiat eivät välttämättä vaikuttaneet suhtautumiseen ihmisiin, jotka koettiin sosiaalisesti vertaisiksi. Toki tässä saattaa olla taustalla se, että ulkomaalaiset tutkijat eivät nähneet Suomen pääosin ruotsinkielisen tutkijayhteisön ja lukeneiston edustavan heidän tutkimuksiensa etnisiä suomalaisia vaan niitä 'eurooppalaisia' joihin lukivat itsensä.

Näiden viiden ulkomaalaisen tutkijat julkaisut toivat toki lisää tietoa suomalaisista Euroopan tiedeyhteisölle ja aihepiiristä kiinnostuneelle laajemmalle yleisölle, mutta heidän vaikutuksensa yleisiin näkemyksiin suomalaisista ei näytä olleen erityisen merkittävää tai pitkäikäistä. Heidän tiedealojensa näkemykset ja kiinnostuksenkohteet olivat jatkuvassa myllerryksessä, ja esimerkiksi 1900-luvun alun rotutieteiden lähtökohdat ja esitykset suomalaisista olivat hyvin erilaisia verrattuna Retziuksen ja Virchowin 1870-luvun tutkimuksiin. Osittain näiden tutkijoiden merkitys on jäänyt vähäiseksi, koska suomalainen tiedeyhteisö jatkoi 1900-luvulla kasvuaan ja kansainvälistymistään ja pystyi jatkamaan tieteellisisiä keskusteluja, joita Abercromby, Comparetti, Retzius, Thomsen ja Virchow olivat mukana avaamassa.

Vaikka näiden ulkomaalaisten tutkijoiden julkaisujen pitkäaikaisemman vaikutuksen voi nähdä rajallisena, suomalaisille heidän kiinnostuksensa ja yhteistyönsä suomalaisten kollegojen kanssa oli merkittävää jo itsessään. Heitä muisteltiin vuosikymmeniä myöhemmin useassa eri yhteydessä lehtiartikkeleissa, ja omien alojensa tieteellisen kaanonin lisäksi heidät omaksuttiin myös osaksi itsenäistyneen Suomen kansallista tarinaa, etenkin kun haluttiin osoittaa, että Suomella oli ystäviä muualla Euroopassa ja perifeerisestä sijainnistaan huolimatta se oli silti kulttuurillisesti osa Eurooppaa.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Correspondence between non-Finnish and Finnish researchers

	John Abercromby	Domenico Comparetti	Gustaf Retzius	Vilhelm Thomsen	Rudolf Virchow
Abercromby	x	n	n	n	n
Comparetti	n	x	n	n	n
Retzius	n	n	x	1/4	6/3
Thomsen	n	n	4/1	x	n
Virchow	n	n	3/6	n	x
Ahlqvist, August	n	n	2/1	0/2	n
Appelgren, Hjalmar	n	n	n	0/2	n
Aspelin, Eliel	n	n	n	7/7	n
Aspelin, J. R.	n	n	0/2	1/1	0/2
Bonsdorff, E. J.	n	n	0/6	n	n
Borenius (Lähteen-korva), A. A.	n	0/1	n	n	n
Donner, Anders	n	n	n	0/5	n
Donner, Kai	n	n	n	0/3	n
Donner, Otto	23/1	0/3	2/1	26/33	0/2
Europaeus, D. E. D.	n	n	0/1	3/25	n
Grotenfelt, Gösta	n	n	0/1	n	n
Grotenfelt, Kustavi	n	n	n	0/1	n
Heikel, A. O.	n	n	n	0/10	n
Heikel, H. J.	n	n	0/7	n	n
Hjelt, Otto. E. A.	n	n	26/18(+2)*	n	12/11
Karjalainen, K. F. (as a secretary of Finno-Ugrian Soc.)	n	n	n	2/2	n
Krohn, Julius	5/1	6/8	n	0/13	n
Krohn, Kaarle	n	3/5	n	4/3	n
Mikkola, J. J.	n	n	n	0/12	n
Neovius, Adolf	2/1	2/7	n	n	n
Palmén, Johan Axel	n	n	3/8	n	n
Reuter, O. M.	n	n	1/0	n	n
Setälä, E. N.	11/1	7/0	n	154/178	n
Söderhjelm, Werner	n	1/3	n	4/4	n
Tallgren, A. M.	2/0	1/0	n	1/0	n
Topelius, Zacharias	n	n	3/3	n	n
Tunkelo, E. A. (Finnish Literature Soc.)	n	n	n	0/1	n
Wallensköld, Axel	n	n	n	1/0	n
Westermarck, Edvard	n	0/1	n	n	n

Wichmann, Yrjö (as a secretary of Finno-Ugrian Soc.)	0/1	n	n	0/1	n
Zilliacus, Emil	n	0/2	n	n	n
SUS (uniden. recip.)	3/0	1/0	1/0	6/0	n
SKS (uniden. recip.)	1/0	n	n	n	n
Total	47/5	21/30	45/55(+2)*	210/307	18/19

*Besides archived letters that have been sent through mail, there are 2 dated letter concepts of letters by Otto E. A. Hjelt to Gustaf Retzius that most likely represent copies letters Hjelt had sent to Retzius but are not, for whatever reason, represented in Retzius's archive. It is also possible that these letters were not ever sent, but this is somewhat unlikely, as these copies were otherwise complete and had dates in them.

This table represents the archived letters from the correspondence between non-Finnish and Finnish researchers (letters written to this person/letters received from this person). For example, there are 23 archived letters from John Abercromby to Otto Donner and one archived letter from Otto Donner to John Abercromby. I have also examined, for this thesis, some letters between the non-Finnish researchers and Finnish individuals that were not themselves researchers and also correspondence between Finnish individuals, both of which are not represented in this table but are occasionally used as sources in the text. The letter "n" represents no known correspondence between these individuals.

Appendix B: Abbreviations used in footnotes

ABBAW NL RV - Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Nachlässe von Rudolf Virchow - Archive of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, private papers of Rudolf Virchow, Berlin

KA - Kansallisarkisto - National Archives of Finland, Helsinki
- **AN** - The archive of Adolf Neovius
- **ENS** - The archive of E. N. Setälä
- **FUS** - The archive of the Finno-Ugrian Society
- **OD** - The archive of Otto Donner

KK KK - Kansalliskirjasto, Käsikirjoituskokoelma – The National Library of Finland, Manuscript collection, Helsinki
- **AMT** - The archive of Aarne Mikael Tallgren
- **OH** - The letter archive of Otto E. A. Hjelt
- **WS** - The archive of Werner Söderhjelm
- **ZT** - The archive of Zacharias Topelius

KVA CV GR - Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien, Centrum för Vetenskapshistoria, Hierta-Retzius samlingen, Gustaf Retzius brevsamling - The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, The Center for History of Science, the collection of Hierta-Retzius, letter collection of Gustaf Retzius, Stockholm

SKS KIA - Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran arkisto, kirjallisuuden ja kulttuurihistorian kokoelma - The Archive of Finnish Literature Society, The Collection of Literature and Culture History, Helsinki
- **AA** - The archive of August Ahlqvist
- **ENS** - Letter collection 159, Vilhelm Thomsen's letters to E. N. Setälä
- **F-II/F-III/F-IV** - Letters Vilhelm Thomsen received from Finnish II, III & IV
- **JK** - The archive of Julius Krohn
- **KK** - The archive of Kaarle Krohn
- **OMR** - Letter collection 596 (contains Retzius' letter to O. M. Reuter)

SUSA - Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja - Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne

UF BU DC - Universita degli Studi di Firenze, Biblioteca Umanistica, L'archivio di Domenico Comparetti - University of Florence, Humanities Library, the archives of Domenico Comparetti, Florence

UE CRC JA - University of Edinburgh, Centre for Research Collections, Papers of John Abercromby, 5th Lord Abercromby of Aboukir and Tullibody, Edinburgh

ÅA - Åbo Akademis bibliotek - The library of the Åbo Akademi University, Turku
- **GB** - The collection of Gunnar Bonsdorff
- **RP** - The collection of Rolf Pipping