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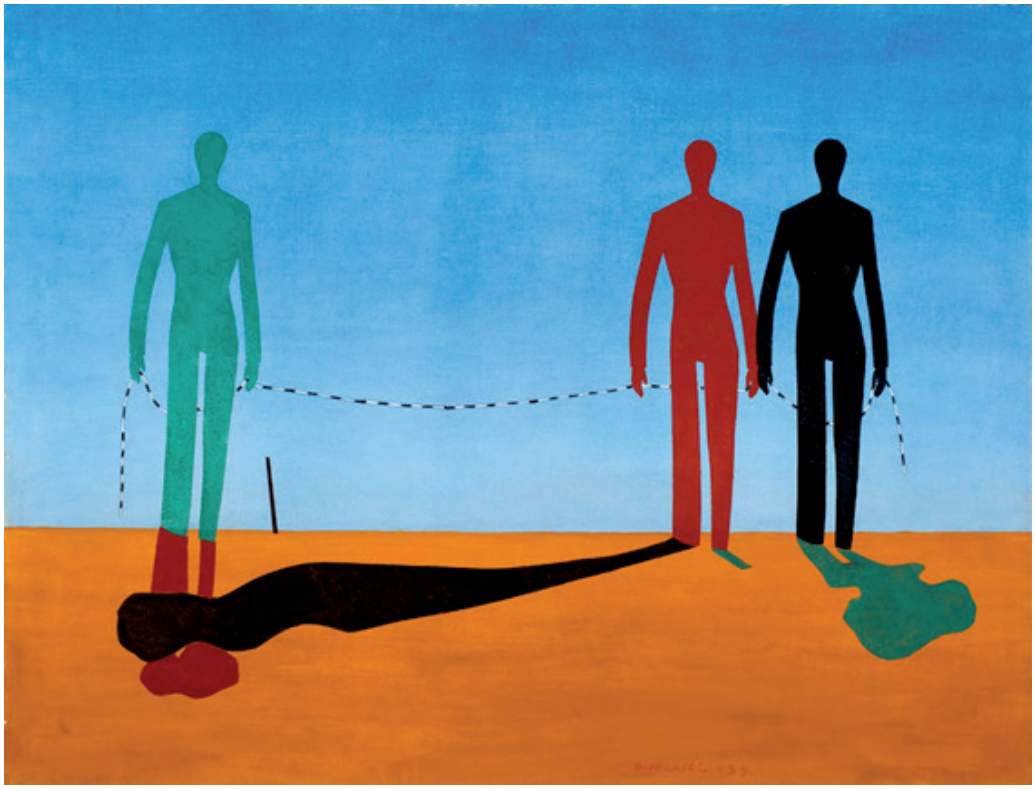
Eliza Kraatari

Domestic Dexterity and Cultural Policy

The Idea of Cottage Industry and Historical Experience in Finland from the Great Famine to the Reconstruction Period



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ABSTRACT

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The concept of cottage industry (*kotiteollisuus*) referred especially to rural craft practices. For the promotion of cottage industries, a state administrative organ and a network of cottage industry associations and schools were established. A sphere developed and monitored by specialists, cottage industry policies were planned as official committee work. However, the matter was usually addressed as 'the idea of cottage industry' (*kotiteollisuusaate*). In this study, the historical idea of cottage industry and its cultural and political backgrounds are analysed. The starting point of the investigation is in the post-WWII Cottage Industry Production Committee, but from its years of activity, 1944–1949, the study moves on to the emergence and establishment of the idea of cottage industry and the respective policy line in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries. The study scrutinises, who promoted cottage industries and what their cultural, social, and ideological backgrounds were, and how they influenced the construction of cottage industry policy. Research work builds on the microhistorical research angle making use of textual details in the 1949 committee report. Following the clue method, historical sources are analysed, including earlier committee reports, newspaper articles, meeting and exhibition documents, small publications, and personal archives. Through the notion of historical experience, special attention is paid to the continuity and recollection of the idea of cottage industry as it was expressed by the 1944–1949 committee members in the magazine *Kotiteollisuus*. The study found that cottage industry created a 19th-century administrative and political concept that was applied in the first instance to manage critical situations caused by crop failures and other societal hardships. Especially in the aftermath of the WWII, cottage industry was essentially conceived of as a cultural political measure to balance the society facing large settlement and land acquisition projects by creating a sense of cultural continuity through the means of domestic craft practices. The historical idea of cottage industry and the respective sphere of administration summoned a remarkable cultural political factor that has strongly affected Finnish craft culture.

Keywords: cottage industry, history of cultural policy, cultural history, history of ideas, microhistory, historical experience, historical trauma, craft history, heritage policy, 19th-century Finland, 1860s' famine, reconstruction period

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PROLOGUE

A dissertation project is comparable to many things; it is like a journey, a dance of some sort, a long-distance run or a challenging yoga asana. For me, it has been comparable to a backcountry skiing trip, demanding and enjoyable at the same time.

Writing these lines, I think about skiing up a snowy hill, pushing through fluffy snow drifts. Climbing up slowly the hill-side, I would know that from the top of the hill scenery over southern Lapland opens. With the wind humming quietly, I would watch the view stretching from the Bay of Bothnia to the Pisa nature reservation area. I would see a quilt of forests and peatlands, and I would try to catch a glimpse of the Kemi River somewhere between them. I then would retreat to the tepee-like *kota*, build a small fire and spend a moment writing in my diary that I carry with me in the map bag.

Today, the topic is my PhD work.

The years that I have spent working on my dissertation have created one of the happiest periods in my life. I am taking it to its conclusion thankfully.

First of all, I would like to thank Professor Anita Kangas, not only for supervising my work, but for giving the needed impetus to start the process. Anita has sometimes pushed me to the limits of my abilities and helped me to find abilities that I had not been aware of. At times, when my belief has been weak, she has been supportive and believed in my work. Thank you for sharing your Ostrobothnian courage!

I thank my other supervisors, Professor Mika Ojakangas for useful and practical advice, and Mikko Jakonen for having assiduously read and commented versions of my texts. I thank Professor Vesa Vares for commenting and reviewing the manuscript and Juri Mykkänen for the review and for accepting to work as the opponent.

Jyväskylä has been a good place for doing research. The resources at hand at the University Library have been invaluable for the work and I have been kindly helped to access various files; including some already fragile documents with the characteristic smell of old archived paper. Moreover, archives of the Craft Museum of Finland that is also located in Jyväskylä have been readily at my use. I would like to thank amanuenses Seija Hahl for discussions and Anneli Hemmilä-Nurmi for helping me with the pictures; I sincerely thank the Craft Museum of Finland for letting me freely use their picture archive in this book. I thank amanuensis Riitta Salmenoja for helping me with the archives and in particular for bringing me to the collections of Hulda Kontturi.

I am thankful for the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy at the University of Jyväskylä for the opportunity to work continuously and full-time with my dissertation project. I thank the Sovako multidisciplinary doctoral programme in cultural policy and the Emil Aaltonen Foundation for funding the project. I would like to thank people at the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, especially colleagues in cultural policy; Sakarias Sokka for discussions about doing historical research and Egge Kulbok-Lattik for sharing the

work space and the many splendid conversations. I also thank Onni Pekonen for discussions about the development of meeting practices in the turn of the 20th century. Professor Marja Keränen I would like to thank for kindness and good advice.

The many doctoral seminars have been helpful for me to progress with the research work. I therefore thank for the comments received and for the great, collegial atmosphere achieved especially at the Sovako doctoral seminars; cheers to Professor Saara L. Taalas and to fellows in PhD research, Mikko Karaiste, Aura Seikkula and Juhana Venäläinen.

I would not have found the path to research without the initial learning experiences at the University of Lapland in Rovaniemi. In the course of my PhD studies, I kept returning to Rovaniemi to attend the cultural history researcher seminars hosted ever so heartily by Professor Marja Tuominen – I am exceedingly thankful to Marja, not only for discussions regarding this research project but for the inspiration to study and research cultural history.

For researchers who are time after time enthralled by findings in the archival sources and inspired by research literature, the scholar work as such can be a source of joy. But – to quote my late grandmother – what's the soup without the potatoes! Thus, I wish to address my warmest gratitude to friends that I have had the pleasure to learn to know. Riikka Aro and Sanna Vierimaa, together we have shared great moments that live in memories. I heartily thank you Päivi Kivelä, Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, Kaisu Kumpulainen, Miikka Salo, Minna Ylilahti and Maija Väätämöinen for sharing your life experience and sense of humour with me. A special thank you goes to my dear friends Riikka Matala, Elina Nurmela, Juha-Matti Tammela and Minttu Väisänen. You have been there in laughter and in sorrow – our friendships shall continue to flourish!

Finally, I want to express my gratitude to my family. My parents have been the greatest support. They have endowed me with the treasure of learning to appreciate local and family histories, the different life stories and choices in life. Thank you, Anitta and Heikki for always being there in loving understanding. My dear brothers, Mikko and Vili-Matti, thanks to you, I have become Aunt Eliza. Along with my big bros I thank Vuokko and Kirsi for welcoming me to your everyday and celebrations. To Oskari, Eemeli, Samuli, Kustaa, Hermanni and darling Kerttu I am thankful for letting me forget about theories and analyses every now and then and to play the roles of Julie Andrews instead.

Among other activities, the practice of embroidery and other forms of visual expression have accompanied me through these years. My love for outdoor sports has grown deeper, especially for that of backcountry skiing that I find meditative and invigorating at the same time. At times, the skier has to focus on finding her way through thickets, crossing steep-bank streams and orienteering across forests and fens with the map and the compass. But when having a break at a hill top, I take in the view and let my mind wander in time.

Writing these lines with the view from the top of the hill over my home village in my mind, I give a thought to the past, to my ancestors. I think of them and the words by Kate Bush: 'Just being alive, it can really hurt. These moments

given, are a gift from time. Just let us try to give these moments back to those we love, to those who will survive.'

I dedicate this book to the memory of my grandparents, Anna-Liisa and Matti Kraatari, Aino and Aimo Vaunuveräjä.

Then, it is time to move on.

In Vaajakoski,
26 November 2015

Eliza Kraatari

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1 INTRODUCTION

The idea of cottage industry (*kotiteollisuusaate*), the theme of this research, relates in many ways to histories of craft and design. By definition, the Finnish concept of cottage industry referred to the small-scale making of crafts for the maker's own needs or to be sold in order to create income. Considered principally a craft trade, cottage industry also involved design activity. Traditional craft models were cherished, but new models and patterns were also designed that were intended specifically for cottage industry production. Still, cottage industry activities involved even more distinctively educative and cultural measures. Through cottage industry education and consultation, people were guided to make genuine craft items of rustic design and advised about economic activity and craft entrepreneurship. As part of a proper way of life, they were also informed about good taste in the interior design of countryside homes.

Cottage industry has been studied from different viewpoints. Due to its double intention of creating self-sufficiency and income, cottage industry, interpreted often as proto-industry with its connections to industrialisation in general, has been analysed from the economic historical point of view (Kriedte, Medick & Schlumbohm 1981; Isacson & Magnusson 1987; Medick 1996; Virrankoski 1963; Virrankoski 1994), but with its simple level of mechanisation and truthfulness to reproduce traditional craft models and patterns, the theme has also been close to ethnological studies (Vallinheimo 1956; Kaukonen 1965; Spoof (ed.) 2003; Hyltén-Cavallius 2007). Indeed, the ambivalent position in the crossroads of modernised production and traditional making has been characteristic of cottage industry. Virrankoski demonstrated this with an example of cottage industrial production of shingle baskets that bloomed in south-eastern Finland near Vyborg in the 1930s: the traditional technique of basket making was then not popular because of a sudden interest in wickerwork, but it was simply to supply containers for the local sausage factory (Virrankoski 1994, 11).

In general, craft has been an object of special interest in Finland, especially because of the established role that craft has had for a long time in the primary school curriculum. On the other hand, design, although thematically deviating from craft as a pedagogic subject, has for decades drawn attention with ambi-

tions about high-quality Finnish design that has often been considered an economic asset. Some iconic names of Finnish design history and their design objects continue to function as benchmarks of good taste and proper quality in interior design and architecture. Marketing of design objects and guidance for proper style in home interiors can be recognised as definitions of the good life and as solutions for achieving it. Thus, although design is often understood narrowly, referring to certain carefully planned, branded products, it ought to be seen from a much wider viewpoint as an activity that entails various decisions concerning the daily habits of people as consumers and users, on whom design is highly dependent. After all, design springs from culture as much as it can alter it.

Also, the idea of cottage industry that was promoted through respective administrative and organisational bodies especially in the first half of the 20th century was a matter of good design concerning rural housing culture and rural ways of life. Along with advice about proper taste and sense of form, people were guided in general about domestic dexterity; practical craft skills were considered an essential part of the good life, and even a marker of good citizenship. Thus, the concept of cottage industry conjoined craft and design activities. But on the contrary to design, the concept of cottage industry has been gradually disappearing from the everyday vocabulary. This tendency was confirmed with the conceptual turn of the 1990s when cottage industry-related activities were systematically re-termed as 'handicraft and art industry' or more simply as crafts (*käsi- ja taideteollisuus*). This conceptual change can be interpreted as reflective of a closure of an era, and indeed, cottage industry has clearly turned into a historical topic, if not into an object of historical oblivion.

This historical amnesia is nevertheless preceded by a long history of recollection. In the situation following the Second World War, cottage industry was considered a significant factor in the post-war reconstruction process. The experiences of loss inflicted by the war gave reason to remind people of the historical role that cottage industry had been given in previous hardships. In this way, historical experience was carried within the idea of cottage industry. The importance of historical experience was also reflected in the legitimation of cottage industry policy, as was done by the Cottage Industry Production Committee that worked in the immediate post-war years of 1944–1949.

In this study, the idea of cottage industry is perceived in the historical framework of this post-war committee work. From this frame, the study analyses the historical and cultural backgrounds and political traditions that the idea and the respective policy line of cottage industry were built on. It is studied how the idea of cottage industry emerged and how it was used to develop Finnish society and to cherish its cultural heritage. With special focus on the significance of historical experience, it is analysed how cottage industry evolved from craftwork in critical times into a matter of cultural continuity, and how it in this way created a specific part in the history of Finnish cultural policy.

1.1 Design and craft, and art – parallel, comprehensive and separate spheres of making

Design, craft and art are all commonly used words but are complicated and hard to define as concepts, especially as each of them relates to various disciplines and sectors of policy and also to each other. The profession of the designer has evolved in the development of craft manufacturing practices, but both craftsmanship and design have also been sought to be defined in relation to an artist's work and the art world (Forty 2010, 58–61; Metcalf 1997, 67–81). In his example about the development of Staffordshire pottery, Forty has explicated how already in the early 18th century, craft work was divided into several phases in which craftsmen specialised. The work of the designer took root during the 19th century as questions about successful designs and the protection of them by copyright became important for the growing British industries. The skill of designing models or products that best suited the facilities of the machines used in production and that pleased the tastes of the customers became the essential competence of the successful designer. (Forty 2010, 32–36, 58–61.) The notion of a mythical, autonomous star designer also continues to live strongly, even though a designer's work would be largely dictated by the conditions of industrial production, marketing strategies and shareholders' interests. Especially after long and buoyant careers, designers are sometimes also titled as artists. (Rees 1997, 121–122.)

In the early stages of mechanisation of production in the 18th century, the role of craftsmanship remained relatively high, but the change from craftsmen working in manufacturing to hard work in factories seemed to have been inevitable. Antipathy towards the mechanisation of making was declared in Great Britain through the activism of the Luddites, who opposed people becoming slaves to machines and expressed their opposition by damaging the equipment. Since then, craft has been characterised as the heir of this anti-industrialism or 'as the material evidence of the ideology of nostalgia', which is one, even if a rather narrow, interpretation of craft (Greenhalgh 1997b, 104–105). Indeed, according to Greenhalgh, craft 'as we now know it' is a corollary, if not directly an invention, of the economic and societal developments of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Greenhalgh 1997a, 24–36; Greenhalgh 1997b, 111).

Of course, an essential factor to the development of craft was the British Arts and Crafts Movement, known for its will to defend artisan skills even when using machines in the making of craft products. Although the Arts and Crafts Movement served as a source of ideas for numerous other European and American craft and design-related movements, organisations, and educational institutions, craft was increasingly seen as detached from art. Indeed, superseded by machinery and neglected by artistic intellectualism, craft was largely discarded to inferiority both with regard to design and art. (Greenhalgh 1997a, 36–37, 42–46.) Nowadays, craft, especially when termed as studio craft or art craft, is more often connected directly to fine arts. Similarities of the crafts and the

arts have been seen in the maker's will and ability to complete the whole process of making from sketching to the final artefact. However, the categorisation of craft into art does not necessarily do any more justice to craft than the disregard of it; as Greenhalgh suggested in the late 1990s, craft should be declassified and negotiated from within instead of 'allowing itself to be externally constrained' (Greenhalgh 1997a, 47).

With roots in the history of production of wares, design and craft can include each other: they are comprehensive but also parallel activities that relate to artistic work. A distinguishing character to tell design and craft apart, on the other hand, is typically found in temporal connotations. Along with the romantic tendency of the Arts and Crafts Movement to cherish the past, the medieval times especially, the National Romantic attitudes and the ethnologically inspired interest in craft have strengthened the connotations about craft as a traditional, earth-bound activity, supportive of the rustic simple way of life. Quite on the contrary, design is often connected to the industrialised and urbanised West: to the cities of Western Europe and Northern America. In general, design is characteristic of the development of the 20th century, especially in the age following the Second World War, making use of new materials and production models in order to answer the demand for commodities, not least by many starting their lives anew and rebuilding homes after the war.

Along with technological development, design has moved significantly to the field of electronics and software design, and with the increasing environmental pressures, the interest to develop more sustainable products for industries and consumers has also grown. However, the manual ways of making products and artefacts continue to be popular, even though they are often connected to the virtual worlds. Many young designers in particular carry on making their products themselves, combining both the art of design and the art of craft in their businesses, and then sell these products via websites. Indeed, craftsmanship is still seen as an alternative and even as an antagonistic approach to industrial means of production. Also, matters about heritage, traditions and indigenous cultures continue to be strongly bound to craft that currently seems to be having yet another upswing. Therefore, craft is not separate from design, not even as a margin of it, but is instead an inherent part of design that overall is a multifaceted phenomenon of the society.

In his study *Objects of Desire*, first published in 1986, Adrian Forty clarified his stance that design is distinct from that of celebrating individuals or otherwise cementing the myth of the omnipotent designer (Forty 2010, 239). Instead, in his essays, Forty analysed design phenomena within the society, and saw that design objects embody in a very concrete way the societal conditions in which commodities are produced (Forty 2010, 61). In the first editorial of the *Journal of Design History*, Christopher Bailey claimed that 'design must be seen as, at root, a socio-economic activity' (Bailey 1988, iii). Indeed, the wider understanding of design has resulted in the multi- and cross-disciplinary field of design history that has been growing, especially in Britain (Lees-Maffei 2010a; Lees-Maffei 2010b).

Perceiving design as a societal phenomenon has also led to the realisation of political aspects of design. For example, Paul Betts (2007) analysed West German industrial design with regard to the use of design as a measure for cultural change and cultural diplomacy (re)building the national image in the circumstances following the Second World War. The power of design as politics in the current status of the world facing massive environmental challenges and global migration has recently been discussed by Tony Fry. Actually, instead of grasping design through its economic functions, Fry demanded that it is seen as a political frame in itself (Fry 2011, xiii). Dedicated to strengthening sustainable development by means of a more conscious use of design, Fry also points out the crucial meaning of cultural policy in that process: 'The only way that the nature of culture is directionally changed toward a specific direction is by some form of cultural politics' (Fry 2011, x). Situated in the triangles of industrial production, the art world and craft skills, and of economics, culture and creative work, the study of design and craft within cultural policy research would indeed serve not only the practising professionals in these fields but also researchers and planners in related areas. Moreover, the study of certain aspects of design history, such as cottage industry, deepens knowledge about the history of cultural policy.

1.2 Finnish craft and design – conflicting concepts

'Käsityö'[1] (craft) is considered an old word and the original Finnish expression for making products by hand or with the help of tools (Ihatsu 1998, 15). Although *'käsityö'* is translated into English as craft(s) or handicrafts, the literal translation would be 'handwork', and indeed *'käsityö'* seems to be a direct translation from the Swedish word *'hantverk'*; in the 1821 declaration giving Tampere the status of a free city, Finnish and Swedish terms were matched exactly in this way.[2] Expressions for those working with crafts have also varied from Swedish loanwords to Finnish neologisms.[3] Obviously, the long history of the Finnish-

1 Similarly to design, *'käsityö'* can refer to the actual process of making and to the end product. It is sometimes also conceived of as a service sector such as carpentry or tailoring. Crafts are often divided into subcategories either simply according to the media (wood, fibres and fabrics, metals, ceramics, etc.) or according to the intention of making; craft as a hobby is typically distinguished from the professional making of functional wares, and from the professionally artistic creation of craft objects. (Ihatsu 1998, 162–165.)

2 In the declaration manufacturers, artists and craftsmen are termed with a mixture of Finnish and Swedish (emphasised in the following with italics): 'Keisarillisen Majestetin Armollinen Julistus, Tamberen Kaupungin säätämisestä Wapakaungixi niin myös niistä wapaudeista ja eduista, kuin kaikenlaisten *Fabriki- Konsti ja Käsitöiden harjoittajat (Manufakturistit, Konstnärit ja Handwerkarit)*, jotka siellä itsens asumaan asettawat, hywäxensä nautita saawat. Annettu Zarskoje-Selosa sinä 1. p. Elokuusa 1821' (Rehbinder 1821, 177).

3 Swedish *'hantverkare'* meaning craftsman, in Finnish *'käsityöläinen'*; *'gärningsman'* in the meaning of 'man of making', in Finnish *'tekomies'* (Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 9–11).

speaking area as a part of the Swedish Kingdom has influenced the language, but it is good to note that various Finnish words for craft activities have equivalents in many cognate languages, and sometimes the etymological roots of these words lead very far into the past (Häkkinen 2011).[4] Thus, talking about craft in Finnish is as old as the skills of making, but yet how making has been termed and discussed has varied according to the ruling conditions; as Forty has put it, artefacts can even embody the societal conditions in which they have been made (Forty 2010, 61).

One specific feature that makes *'kotiteollisuus'* (cottage industry)[5] a subject for historical study is indeed lingual: the emergence, the obsolescence and the dissolution of the concept itself. Following the European examples in naming the growing mechanical manufacturing sector, many Finnish craft and design-related terms were created using the neologism *'teollisuus'*[6] (industry) as a suffix, but these have been gradually and partially replaced with new or newly formulated terms. The nomenclature on craft and art industry compiled in 1992 advised its users precisely to replace the term *'kotiteollisuus'* with *'käsi- ja taideteollisuus'* (craft and art industry), a term by which all the previous cottage industry schools were renamed during the 1970s and 1980s (*Käsi- ja taideteollisuuden asiasanasto* 1992; Ylönen 2003, 69–72). The most significant interest organisation in the field, *Kotiteollisuuden Keskusliitto* (Central Organisation of Cottage Industry), also translated its name accordingly in 1991; presently, the association is titled in English as the Finnish Craft Organization (Ylönen 2003, 214; Taito Group 2012). Although *'käsityö'* has been continuously used alongside *'kotiteollisuus'* as an ordinary denominator for craft practices, it was not accepted when it came to renaming the cottage industry organisation. Seen as inferior, possibly even an embarrassing term, *'käsityö'* was thought to refer to a hobby or mere tinkering instead of an actual livelihood (Ylönen 2003, 214).

A parallel conceptual change has run through the Finnish field of design. The term *'taideteollisuus'* (art industry) was used to inform the Finnish audience about the design success that culminated in the Milan Triennials in the 1950s (see Kalha 1997). This term has been largely overshadowed by *'muotoilu'* (liter-

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A neologism sometimes used in Finnish would be *'käsityöihminen'*, meaning a person who is skilful in making crafts.

4 For example, *'kutoa'* (to weave) is considered to belong to the original vocabulary with its roots going back to Uralic languages (the original form has been reconstructed as *'kuδa'*) (Häkkinen 2011, 522). Also, the verb *'veistää'* (to carve) has equivalents in Uralic languages (the reconstructed form, *'wäŋćз'*). The original word *'seppä'* (a smith) possibly had a general meaning as 'the skilled one' as using metals was adopted first during the formation of the Proto-Finnic language (Häkkinen 2011, 1143). Moreover, the verb *'kehrätä'* (to spin) has equivalents in Uralic languages and its root *'kehrä'* is thought to be an Indo-Iranian loan, i.e. dating back to 2000–3000 BC (Häkkinen 2011, 388). *'Työ'* (work) itself is an original word with its Vepsian equivalent *'t´ö'* actually referring to flax being processed to make fibre (Häkkinen 2011, 1379).

5 In this study, *'kotiteollisuus'* is translated precisely as 'cottage industry' as it better entails the temporal content of the concept instead of the often seen literal translation 'home industry' that can be slightly confusing for contemporary readers.

6 Based on the ancient verb *'tehdä'* (to make), *'teollisuus'* was first used in 1847; another derivative word, *'teollinen'*, was used in 1829, first in the meaning of 'practical', but nowadays referring to industry or industrial production (Häkkinen 2011, 1299).

ally shaping or forming) that continues to be used as the Finnish equivalent for design. Throughout the 21st century, *'design'* has been strongly adopted in Finnish vocabulary as such as a loanword that encompasses but also covers types of craft and design activity; more often, design is seen as an economic asset instead of an art-related activity that could be denominated as art industry or as art craft (Veräjänkorva 2006, 6). As a concept, art industry is indeed an aesthetically qualifying term whereas *'käsiteollisuus'* (handicraft industry) or *'pienteollisuus'* (small industry) refer to the size of the enterprise producing the wares. The general methods of producing objects and artefacts do not necessarily differ that much from each other, but the variety of Finnish craft and design-related terms is quite large, forming a hierarchy with different connotations of concepts and ways of making; work that is presented as craft can be valued markedly lower than it is when labelled as design. Then again, the concept of cottage industry has practically disappeared from these conceptual hierarchies.

The conceptual changes might nevertheless have inspired researchers to analyse craft and design more closely. During the 1990s, Finnish research on the theoretical basis and the historical background of craft and design strengthened, not least following the established position of design and craft as academic fields of study. Although design-related research is chiefly conducted at the Aalto University's School of Arts, Design and Architecture[7] in Helsinki, and at the Faculty of Art and Design at the University of Lapland in Rovaniemi, a Finnish speciality is the long tradition of sustaining craft education and related research. Craft has been included in the primary school curriculum since the beginning of general primary education in 1866. The cradle of craft pedagogy in Finland can be found in the Faculty of Education of the University of Jyväskylä, which also continues the tradition of craft pedagogy-related research. A chair in craft science was founded in 1982 at the University of Helsinki. The theoretical foundations of craft and design and related research have been developed, among others, by Professor Pirkko Anttila (Anttila 1996a; 1996b; 2006). Within the specific sphere of craft science, the category of craft has been studied by Jaana Kärnä-Behm (2005). Seija Kojonkoski-Rännäli's (1998) philosophical analysis on the meaning of *'käsityö'* and Anna-Marja Ihatsu's (1998) comparative semiotic analysis of British 'craft' and Finnish *'käsityö'* emanate from educational faculties at the University of Turku and University of Joensuu (today part of the University of Eastern Finland).

Historical analyses about the structural formations about craft and design are nonetheless emerging slowly. In her study about 'craft' and *'käsityö'*, Ihatsu (1998) mentioned the term cottage industry (translated by her as home industry), but instead of a further analysis, she settled for characterising the agricultural nature of the term and compared it to art industry and its connotations to urban lifestyle. Even though Ihatsu hints that the most important divider of the

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7 The previous University of Art and Design Helsinki was merged to form part of the new Aalto University in 2007. This institution of design education was established in 1871 as the Craft School (Veistokoulu), but already in 1885 it was renamed as the Central School of Industrial Art; the term industrial art remained in the title until 1993.

conceptual field comes from the educational and professional organisations – from the institutionalised frame of craft and design – she omitted problematising their role in the formation of the terms and concepts analysed and instead offered translations for these institutions (Ihatsu 1998, 40–42, 189–190). Moreover, in his history of the Finnish art industry, Erik Kruskopf (1989, 53) pointed out the peculiarity of founding somewhat similar associations roughly at the same time in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries wondering why a separate cottage industry organisation was established when other craft and design related associations already existed.[8] This pondering seems quite practical, but on the other hand, Kruskopf seems to have ignored how different interests and goals induce different interest groups that shape concepts correspondingly.

Ihatsu (1998, 43) pointed out that different concepts mark their own worlds and territories within the field of craft and design, but it is yet to be noted that the difficulty in translating Finnish *'käsityö'* into English sprouts exactly from the historical boundaries. Although craft and design can be defined and studied on philosophical and theoretical levels as human beings' ability to plan and make objects and artefacts with bare hands or more or less with the help of tools and machines, the change in the conceptual framework requires looking at the structural and institutional settings around craft and design fields. Therefore, rather than explicating concepts solely with reference to linguistic details, conceptual history in the meaning of analysing temporal stratification of concepts that clearly connect to institutional and structural developments can help to clarify the situation. This, again, calls for analysis of the fields that produced these concepts.

Research on Finnish history of design and craft has remained selective and in some aspects rather narrow; there is a lack of plurality of interpretations. In his study on the so-called golden age of Finnish design from the 1930s to the 1950s, Kalha (1997) stated that critical and communicative historical research on Finnish design simply does not exist. Even though a few publications on the theme have since been published (Korvenmaa 2009; Suhonen 2000; Takala-Schreib 2000; Vihma (ed.) 2008; 2009a; 2009b), it has also been pointed out that although research especially on the golden age of Finnish design is rich, not much is available in English (Ashby 2010, 352). The situation is not any better with regard to craft. Heinänen has claimed that comprehensive research on crafts and their relevance in Finnish society is non-existent (Heinänen 2006, 41). Actually, Kruskopf's characterisation of Finnish history of design as an outcome

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8 Design and craft education is offered in Finland at vocational, polytechnic and university levels. Along with these, different organisations have been dedicated to crafts and design since the 1870s. To support the activities of the 1871-founded Craft School in Helsinki, the Finnish Society of Crafts and Design was established in 1875. Today, the society promotes Finnish design through Design Forum Finland. The Friends of Finnish Handicraft was founded in 1879, and Finland's General Handicraft Industry Association was established in 1893. Ornamo, the professional organisation for designers and design and craft artists, was founded in 1911. Regional associations and societies for craft were founded especially in the early 20th century. Also, the Martha Organization (est. 1899) and the women's associations that were established since the 1840s have especially focused on textile crafts in their interests. (Korvenmaa 2009, 17, 28; Ylönen 2003, 34–37.)

'written by the survivors' and his observation that the whole process of the formation of the design field has remained an unexplored area continue to be topical issues (Kruskopf 1989, 53). Adding to the lack of knowledge of the parties that have produced concepts applied in their fields of interest, the tendencies to see craft and design as separate from each other and sometimes even as separate from the surrounding society easily led to trite conclusions of the Industrial Revolution, the National Romantic movement, and the migration from the countryside to the cities that together caused overall changes in lifestyles and culture. Here, the fate of cottage industry and craft has been that of representing a nostalgic glance to the traditional way of life, whereas art industry and design have been regarded as the eternal heralds of modern times.

Of course, all of these processes have been crucial for the development of cottage industry and the respective policy line. Examples of British design history show that industrialisation had great influence on design and craft practices, and although the industrial progress of Great Britain rather underlines the tardy development of mechanised production in Finland, then the Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire, it can exemplify the connection between the promotion of cottage industries and economic and social reforms. Although craft objects were often made according to some ancient patterns in Finland in the late 19th century, this making was still susceptible to changes in politics and government and to cultural transformations in general. For example, the monetary reform of the 1860s and the general liberalisation of trade and industry in the 1870s had a remarkable effect on manually intensive craftwork: rural crafts, indeed, cottage industries were then liberated from the regulation that the traditional guild system had upheld. This even enabled collaborative action between factories and home workers, which the term proto-industry well describes (cf. Kriedte, Medick & Schlumbohm 1981).

On the other hand, increasing industrial production and supply of factory-made wares also influenced consumption habits in the rural areas. Therefore, craft skills and manually made unique products became objects of preservation, especially along with the rising nationalism that played an important role in Finnish craft and design history. Often, it seems to have created a factor of reconciliation between the traditionalism that affirmed national authenticity and the modernity of a nation state. According to Kalha and Takala-Schreib, the basis of the Finnish design style has been typically found in Finnish nature and in the simplicity of the rural household (Kalha 1997, 188–192; Takala-Schreib 2000, 189). In his analysis of the representation of Finnish design from the 1930s to the 1950s, Kalha explained how the modern style was supposedly grasped by the nature-bound, traditional and even infantile designer or artist in his or her process of growth to international modernity: Finnish designers or artists of art industry were termed as nature boys and girls who were sophisticated in their modern style (Kalha 1997, 268–271). Moreover, Takala-Schreib has stated that in Finland it has simply been impossible for a designer to disregard his or her relation to Finnish nationality (Takala-Schreib 2000, 263–286).

Despite the inspiration that rural life supplied for some of the iconic Finnish designers, cottage industry has not just been conceived of as a matter of craft heritage. The quintessential turn for promoting craft skills is connected with the Great Famine of the 1860s. Cottage industries were then applied as a type of conditional aid, and in the peril of repeating crop failures, cottage industries were recommended in general as part of the livelihood of the rural dwellers of limited means. On the other hand, issues of underdeveloped farming and the increasing number of not only land tenants but also of the landless rural population were addressed in late 19th-century Finland as 'the social question'. These problems were approached, among other things, with ideas about land reforms, cooperation and household management in general, but also the idea of practising cottage industries continued to be promoted, including the emergence of committee reports and statistical accounts. Domestic craft skills were considered essential not only for home economics but for decent rural lifestyle in general.

Therefore, the seemingly thin differences between craft-related concepts are crucial, not only for the identification of the made objects but also for the recognition of designers and makers, who have often been connected with quite different social strata with equally different standpoints regarding, for example, working positions as an in-house designer or as a self-employed micro-entrepreneur. Although some ideals for the art industry were drawn from the often romanticised past of rural craft, notions of the relation between the fields of design and craft have remained ambiguous to say the least.

1.3 Cottage industry policy – a matter of history of cultural policy

Cottage industry has been recognised as a cornucopia of craft heritage and folk culture and as a type of economic activity in the process of industrialisation. With the network of cottage industry schools that were scattered across the Finnish countryside, the subject also provides an interesting topic for studying the formation of vocational education, which has been discussed previously (Heikkinen 1995). Evolving alongside industrialisation and the creation of modern society, the history of cottage industry can also reveal more about the relation between design and craft, and about their historical role and meaning in society. Still, with the specific organisations and a branch of administration that were created to promote cottage industry, research on the history of cottage industry has mainly emerged from within that sphere (Henriksson [1944]; Laine et al. [1969]; Lähdeoja 1969, 367–389). The ideological aspect of the matter has been discussed to some extent by Ylönen (2003, 217–223) in her historical overview of the Finnish Craft Organization, compiled for the organisation's 90th anniversary. Also, in the late 1970s, an article series was published in the magazine *Kotiteollisuus* on the cultural political role of cottage industry (Tuomikoski-Leskelä 1978; 1979a; 1979b; 1979c). Otherwise, it could even be claimed that research on the matter has been mostly left to the Craft Museum of Finland, the

state's special museum on craft that previously was known as the Cottage Industry Museum (Heinänen (ed.) 1998).

The historical position of cottage industry within the agricultural sector of administration could have added to its later cultural political invisibility, as research on the history of cultural policy in Finland otherwise has been a popular topic among cultural policy researchers. Many Finnish studies emphasise the time after the Second World War with special focus on the forming and practising of cultural policy in relation to the general creation of the welfare policy (Kangas 2004, 24–27). In the 1960s, cultural policy that had previously chiefly concentrated on nation building then transmuted 'into an articulated sector of the welfare state' with cultural democracy and the democratisation of culture as the then current ideals (Sokka & Kangas 2007, 186). Indeed, changes in cultural policies have related to the widening scope of 'culture' from a constriction around certain art genres to a ubiquitous essence that reflects, among other things, as ways of life, as artistic expressions and as material objects. Following the wider conception of culture, cultural policy has also been suggested to be perceived more broadly as 'a range of practices and assemblages' instead of hierarchical structures (Eräsaari 2009, 57).

Then again, whereas cultural policy can be gathered beyond certain artistic activities or a sector of governance, this concept can also be applied to the past. As Sokka and Kangas have pointed out, history of cultural policy should be seen as an accumulative process, not as sharp changes between phases, which again typically are interpretations of a researcher (Sokka & Kangas 2007, 187). Instead of categorising the past as phases and hierarchies, different practices, and parallel and crossing processes can be distinguished in the past too, and analysing these can give a more vivid picture of the history of cultural policy. In his article about the relation of the Romantic intellectuals and cultural policy, Oliver Bennett (2006) demonstrated the temporal disparity of cultural political thought and the concept itself. He noted that despite the novelty of the expression, 'the *idea* of cultural policy is much older' (Bennett 2006, 124; emphasis as in the original text). In a similar way, the idea of cottage industry, as the proponents of the idea indeed called it, can be regarded as a relevant practice in the historical formation of Finnish cultural policy and administration, but even more generally, the emergence of cottage industry policy appears as a specific cultural and political phenomenon that was connected with various parallel and crossing historical processes.

As had been noted by Ihatsu (1998), the professional and educational craft and design institutions largely employed the definitive authority in the respective fields. Focal institutions for this study, the Cottage Industry Office[9] and the initial forms of the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry[10] can even be con-

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9 The Cottage Industry Office was established in 1908 in the Board of Industry, but was relocated to the Board of Agriculture in 1926. The office (later department) functioned until 1968.

10 Although first registered in 1934, the founding year of the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry is connected with the establishment of Finland's Cottage Industry Delegation in 1913. The Delegation largely followed the activities of Finland's Gen-

sidered as conceptual repositories. Quite obviously then, neither the concept of cottage industry nor the institutions behind the concept are innate, but historical constellations that had linkages to different branches of policies. Furthermore, the official committees that worked on a temporary basis and in which definitions were elaborated seemed to have created an intermediate form of an institution. In committee reports, cottage industry was considered a craft trade in need of development and of a precise definition, but especially on the pages of the magazine *Kotiteollisuus* cottage industry was considered an idea and a field of cultural work.

Interest in the development of cottage industry appeared as a matter of industrial and agricultural policies and of educational and social policies. A part of agricultural administration, cottage industry functioned as a policy line of its own kind, and with its specialisation on craft heritage and rural ways of life it even appears to have formed a cultural policy sector within the Board of Agriculture. Actually, with the intertwined relation between the quarters of administration and the central interest organisation cottage industry policy seems to have been built on networks of expertise reminiscent of the formation of State Art Boards with their concise circles of professionalism. However, the historical oblivion of cottage industry as a sector of administration positions it as somewhat marginal in comparison to those of visual arts, music, architecture, drama and literature with their representative art boards regularised in 1918. (Sokka & Kangas 2007, 189–193.) Still, it has been previously remarked that at times 'the cultural' seemed to have been a more important aspect of cottage industry than 'the economic' aspect (Virrankoski 1994, 682–685). The concept of cottage industry indeed seems to have worked as a semantic denominator of an idea and of craft practices that involved special expertise. The politically and temporally layered nature of cottage industry calls for a wider, cultural historical understanding of the matter.

One key to the historical understanding of the matter can be found in the concept of cottage industry itself. A brief look at the historical development of craft and design-related concepts directs attention to the temporal incongruence regarding terminology surrounding respective activities; the 19th-and 20th-century (re)formulation of concepts proves the modern nature of the concepts in comparison to the partially immemorial past of Finnish craft vocabulary. Moreover, the deliberate act of transforming the concept of cottage industry (*kotiteollisuus*) into that of 'handicraft and art industry' (*käsi- ja taideteollisuus*), as was directed in the 1992 nomenclature, is likely to raise scholarly interest in the matter. It is apparent that such a renaming, a systematic translation of a term, appears as a conceptual enchantment that is rather telling of a need to put something behind, like a note that reminds one of the need to forget something (cf. Ankersmit 2005, 317).

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eral Handicraft Industry Association (est. 1893). The magazine *Kotiteollisuus*, previously a result of collaboration with other associations, was published from 1947 by the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry (Laine[-Juva] 1955, 6).

It was partially this apparent status of cottage industry as a past concept – as a historical concept – that caught my interest in the first place, although my interest in the matter was secured by the fact that design had been the topic of my studies at the Faculty of Art and Design at the University of Lapland in the early 2000s. Fascinated also by cultural history and craft history, I nevertheless did not then have any clear idea what the term cottage industry meant. Still, I could connect it with attributes such as traditional craft techniques and original craft models, and with the old craft magazine *Kotiteollisuus*. My initial steps on the path of studying the history of cottage industry were thus very practically oriented: I simply wanted to make sense of what the concept meant (Kraatari 2009).

However, following Reinhart Koselleck's viewpoints on conceptual history, I was soon to realise the significance of temporal stratification, of layers of time that concepts tend to carry within. Koselleck's dual conceptualisation of historical time, of the past as the space of experience (*Erfahrungsraum*), and of the future as the horizon of expectations (*Erwartungshorizont*), seemed to apply perfectly also to the concept of cottage industry (Koselleck 2003, 331–335). Looking for definitions of cottage industry in official committee reports, in which the concept indeed had been defined with a vengeance, there seemed to be specific emphasis on the relation between the past experience and expectations of the future; justification for cottage industry policy was increasingly found in historical and cultural reasons. Also, in the magazine *Kotiteollisuus*, I repeatedly came across the need to cherish not only craft traditions but also the past in general. In other words, the notion of the past appeared to have been carried within the concept. Interestingly, in both types of sources, in the magazine and in the official documents, cottage industry was not only addressed as a sphere of craftwork, or as a concept, but in general as an idea.

Koselleck's temporal categories and notions of the temporal strata beneath concepts remind us that history does not only consist of past moments of the present, but also of past illusions of futures and of consciousness of the past. Applying the historically and culturally bound notion of time, it then becomes indispensable to pay more attention to the historical, political actors and their deeds in the so-called historical context. Therefore, with the intellectual and political intentions attached to the idea of cottage industry, one must conceive of this idea more generally as a matter of cultural and political history instead of settling for a strictly conceptual historical analysis, as is detailed in chapter 2. Indeed, I base the study on the microhistorical perspective and make use of terms often related to that research angle, such as the clue method, history of margins and history of mentalities. The concept of idea is thus not seen as an outspoken definition or as any strictly bound adherent of a certain one ideology. Instead, it is understood more loosely, as a collection of ideas, values, attitudes and experiences that have evolved and reformed over time.

Starting from the post-WWII years with a focus on the Cottage Industry Production Committee's report, in this study I analyse the cultural, ideological and political backgrounds that created the basis for the emergence of the idea of

cottage industry and the respective policy, especially in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries. Paying special attention to the temporal structure of the concept and the significance of historical justification, I examine how cottage industry was defined and justified in the immediate post-WWII years of reconstruction. I follow the so-called clue method and read closely different types of historical sources and seek to answer questions about who the initial promoters of cottage industry were and what their socio-cultural backgrounds and possible political interests and affiliations were. Studying the activities of various historical persons, I further investigate where and how and for what reason cottage industry was established as a modern political concept of expertise and administration.

Concentrating on the significance of historical experience, I analyse the idea of cottage industry in the post-WWII years. With the sublime historical experience theorised by F. R. Ankersmit (2005) as an important analytical concept, I deepen the view on the interrelation between the experiences of loss of the 1860s' famine on the one hand and of the war and the reconstruction period on the other hand. I study the significance of historical consciousness and of cultural and political continuities in how the key members of the Cottage Industry Production Committee legitimated the idea of cottage industry. Through these analyses, it is then possible to discuss the cultural political legacy of cottage industry policy and to review its role in regard to the history of Finnish cultural policy with special consideration of craft culture.

1.4 Structure of the study

The study consists of seven chapters and an epilogue. Following the introduction to cottage industry and the general conceptual relationship between craft and design, in chapter 2 I take a look at the methodological and theoretical issues. I consider aspects of historical time and the notions of temporal distinction and historical experience that I have found relevant for communicating the research angle of the study. I shortly introduce the sources that have been studied for this research, inluding committee reports and meeting documents. A full list of archival and documentary sources used is included in the list of references at the end of the study.

In chapter 3, I move on to the historical analysis presenting and analysing the key document of the study, the report of the Cottage Industry Production Committee that worked from 1944 to 1949. These years, that in many ways became years of transition for Finnish society, offer an interesting backdrop for analysing how this one committee sought to advance the practice of cottage industries, how its members sought to justify these activities, and how they considered cottage industry as not only a craft trade but more generally as cultural work. From the committee report, I pick up on textual detail, a clue that offers the basis for the analysis presented in the further chapters.

In chapters 4 and 5, I then follow the clue, which takes the study to the 19th and the early 20th centuries. Although other documents are studied, cottage industry committee reports continue to create one essential source type. Supported by research literature on various topics that relate to the history of cottage industry, I seek to unravel the diversity of ideas and inspirations – the parallel and crossing historical events and processes – that most likely had significant influence on the formation of Finnish cottage industry policy. In chapter 6, the focus gradually shifts back to the post-war years and to the work of the Cottage Industry Production Committee. Building on Ankersmit's categorisations of historical experience, historical trauma and historical forgetfulness, I concentrate on the experience of traumatic loss that has created an inherent part of the idea of cottage industry. Here, I concentrate more on the committee members' articles published in the magazine *Kotiteollisuus* with a look into archival materials at the Craft Museum of Finland. In chapter 7, I then summarise and discuss the findings of my research, and finally in the epilogue I take a look at the research process and give my closing remarks.

2 TIME, DISTINCTION, AND HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE – METHODOLOGICAL NOTIONS

2.1 Times of rewriting history

The way a historical phenomenon is developed into a subject of study is always a sum of decisions that the researcher takes. In the first phase, I developed research on the history of cottage industry based on some conceptual historical observations. Recognition of the temporally layered nature of the concept served as a stepping stone to investigate closer this particular idea and the political and cultural traditions beneath. This also led to widening the research angle from conceptual analytics to directions of cultural history of ideas and intellectual history of cultural policy.

Writing about the roles of history and the historian in society, Kalela (2012), for one, has underlined a historian's partiality in society and the historically entangled nature of all research subjects: no historian, nor any subject, is an island. The notion that the researcher is necessarily surrounded by previous interpretations and given meanings of the historical phenomena at hand has led Kalela to claim that, in the end, 'all historical research is rewriting history' (Kalela 2012, 12). This notion is radical in the sense that it seems to overlook two other modes of historical writing that nevertheless have been – and continue to be – essential for historical knowledge. These two modes of historical writing have been termed by Koselleck (2003) as the preliminary writing of history (*Aufschreiben*) and the complementary writing of history (*Fortschreiben*). The essential distinction between these two emphasises the temporal location of the writer: registering the contemporary history the writer her or himself is contemporary, a witness to what is or has been happening, whereas the one writing complementary history might rely, for example, on oral history, on historical knowledge that lives in the memory of the older generation. The rewriting of history (*Umschreiben*), on the other hand, is feasible when the historian finds new sources, presents new questions to the already known sources, or, thirdly, reinterprets sources. (Koselleck 2003, 41–61.) Thus, the rewriting of history ap-

pears as an alternative viewpoint to the past that challenges previous interpretations.

Taking an alternative point of view to the past clearly illustrates the active role of the researcher: although not being a contemporary to the topic she or he is studying, the researcher nevertheless takes a stance through her/his methodological choices and, in the last resort, through the interpretations that are based on those choices. In his article about contemporary history, Hollander recalled how the emphasis on the historian's supposed objectivism brought about the need for temporal detachment. Although this was supposed to enhance unbiased interpretations of the past, the 'fear of political entanglements' gave reason for skipping the most recent five decades in teaching history even at the university level (Hollander 2011, 55). According to Hollander, it was not until the Second World War that contemporary history gained status in the academic curriculum (ibid., 52).

Indeed, history is not free of politics. It has often been phrased that history is written by the winners and guarded by those who rule. In the spheres of historical research, alternative readings of sources and rewriting of history have emerged during the 20th century; the Second World War, not least due to the blatantly incommensurable experiences of the different parties of the war, has even been considered a historiographical watershed. The significance of different experiences of history of different groups and individuals has since been noticed. Otherwise, as has been explicated by Hölscher (2003, 9–10), a wall of silence would emerge, ceasing to talk about the past. The emerging alternative interpretations of the past have also helped to understand that a single history, a single account of anything, far less of everything, is seldom obtainable and often even less so recommendable. Almost on the contrary, research attention to the singular historical phenomenon or individual has increased significantly.

The need to steer attention to the particular in the study of politics has been brought up by Palonen (2005) in his article on the relation of political theory and political life. Building largely on notions of Skinner's *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, he emphasised the interpretation of politicians as theorists and thus localised political theorising as a part of political life, instead of merely objectivising the latter as research material for scholars. Demonstrated by Skinner through his example on Lutheranism, again, political theories also can be conceived of as legitimations of certain policies. (Palonen 2005, 353–359.) The potential political intentionality of theories on the one hand and the conscious thought of politicians on the other hand then led Palonen to elaborate on the possibilities to study the ways in which politicians work as theorists. This action, however, was connected with 'the urgency of the situation', with critical moments that require politicians to revise their thought and policies respectively. (Palonen 2005, 359–363.)

Regarding possibilities for a historical study of such phenomena, it is nevertheless clear that any detailed or first-hand reports, in other words direct sources of such political theorising are not very likely to survive. On the other

hand, the problem may also be the large quantities of archival materials along with the quality, if not just the appearance, of sources. As Palonen explains:

> The main problem for the theorist is to discern moves which neither the agents nor their contemporaries may have seen as noteworthy, but which still involve novelties in the perspective of the actual controversy or tacit breaks with traditions or conventions. The difficulty for scholars is that of distinguishing the innovative or subversive speech acts from an enormous number of others, and the creation of special procedures for this purpose would probably be well worth considering. Perhaps the availability of the texts in an electronic form could help the theorist to detect such conceptual revisions. The insight that first-rank politicians are not necessarily always the successful ones is another precondition for the detective work of reading politicians as theorists. (Palonen 2005, 363.)

Widening the scope of attention from the more constricted spheres of conventional political theory to that of political life would seem to call for the application of some of the new perspectives of historical investigation. To bring up an example regarding conceptual history, it was pointed out by Koselleck in an essay on the relation of conceptual history and social history that the two support each other and they ought to be practised on an interdisciplinary basis (2006, 12–13).

Indeed, the historiographical developments of the 1970s and 1980s included the rise of social history and that of new cultural history. Both in their ways initially took an opposing stance to conventional political and economic histories and steered focus towards themes and groups that previously were seen as marginal or unimportant, whether defined by gender, ethnicity or social status. Along with the lingual and cultural turns in many of the humanities and social sciences, the stand of cultural history has also become more stable. According to Peter Burke, a pioneer of cultural historical research, 'almost everything seems to be having its cultural history written these days' (Burke 2012, 1).

Furthermore, discussing the strengths and weaknesses of cultural history, Burke has pointed out that in comparison to 'rigorous intellectual history' the advantage of, for example, the history of mentalities is that it can deal both with the conscious thoughts and with the feelings and imagination of the past intellects (Burke 2012, 8). Thus, although the notion of 'mentality' has been criticised due to the tendency of using it as an all-embracing concept that can make it an incoherent term for some aspects of intellectual history, Burke has suggested that there could be found a suitable research angle, indeed,

> a middle way between the history of mentalities and intellectual history, an approach that might be described as 'the cultural history of ideas', or better, 'the cultural history of intellectual practices', concerned, for instance, with the reception of ideas such as liberty and democracy in different cultures, their translation into other languages and their 'cultural translation' or adaptation to local circumstances. (Burke 2012, 8.)

This kind of an approach to intellectual history is apt for analysing the idea of cottage industry (see Figure 1). It must be seen that ideas about cottage industry were not delivered to Finland overnight, but that these were developed within a time span that stretched from the 18th century well into the 20th century involving many kinds of historical events and societal processes. It might be only

too true that the idea of cottage industry is hardly comparable with the more conventional themes of the study of history of ideas; it can even appear as a rather marginal topic. However, the topic offers a possibility to study past ambitions to spread diverse new ideas by developing cottage industries in Finland. The trajectory of cottage industry policy provides a look at how the contemporaries promoting craft skills actualised their viewpoints with regard to everyday cottage industry practices and something that nowadays could be called craft culture. The practical orientation makes the idea especially interesting from the perspective of history of cultural policy, because the developing measures were directed to cultivate and educate Finnish people especially in their craft skills.

2.2 Microhistory in making distinctions

Returning to the problem of finding sources about specific political speech acts it is most interesting how the topic of distinction has often been thematised in methodological texts concerning the microhistorical perspective of research. Although interest in the micro level and the ambition to compile detailed historical studies has existed before (best known by the works of the Annales School), the roots of microhistorical research are found in 1970s' Northern Italy with prominent examples of studies by Carlo Ginzburg (*Il formaggio e i vermi*, 1976) and Giovanni Levi (*L'eredita immateriale*, 1985). Microhistory can be recognised as part of the paradigmatic changes within historiography, a change that owed to the dramatic political and social developments of the 20th century. According to Levi (2001), the special characteristics of microhistorical research indeed lead back to the crisis of the 1970s' and 1980s', not only in historiography but more largely in social sciences, in which 'forecasts of social behaviour were proving to be demonstrably erroneous' that called for 'a complete revision of existing tools of research' (Levi 2001, 97–98).

Levi did not present microhistorical research as any kind of a full solution to this crisis, but still 'a gamut of possible responses' that relied on the reduction of scale and focused on the individual in historical events (Levi 2001, 98). Levi listed the following as 'the common questions and positions' of microhistorical study: reduction of the scale of research; debate about the rationality of the historical actor; clue method as scientific paradigm; the role of the particular; attention to the reception and narrative of the studied past; specific definition of context; and the rejection of relativism (ibid., 113). As analytical tools, some of the specific concepts that have become characteristic for microhistorical studies might be more incisive and practical in a researcher's interpretative work. Here, I bring up for discussion the concepts of exceptional typical, clue method and strategy, and the use of different historical sources.

Focusing on the possibilities of the individual in historical events, microhistorical research has been almost synonymous with the history of the margins, of groups and places that previously have not been considered worthy

of the researcher's attention. These margins of society have often been the locus where the concept of 'typical exception' has been applied. Actually, the whole of microhistorical research has been seen as the study of the typical exception (Peltonen 2001, 356). This exceptionality has often been connected to extraordinary individuals like the miller Menocchio in Ginzburg's study or Martin Guerre in Davis's study (Davis 2001). It should be noted, however, that focusing on such exceptional individuals originates from the sources used in research: in certain respects, exceptionality tends to create more archival material than typicality. Exceptional material or a detail in the archive has been further interpreted as the clue, a basis for the microhistorical clue method.

Although the typical exception that is then taken as the clue is salient for microhistorical research, this nevertheless should not prevent the researcher from also discussing the panoramic views of history. The intention of many microhistorical studies has actually been that of investigating the relation between the details and a more comprehensive historical interpretation. Peltonen (2001) has discussed this micro-macro link involved in microhistorical studies with regard to the concept of clue. The decisive detail that often forms the starting point for the study is recognised, because it seems peculiar or exceptional in its immediate surroundings and therefore represents discontinuity. Clues are essential, because they open connections for taking the analysis further (Peltonen 2001, 357). In microhistorical studies the point of departure is in the detail, paying attention to the seemingly marginal though the typical is also examined. This refers directly to the relation of the detail and the unity, of the micro and the macro level. Therefore, it could be claimed that the microhistorical research angle is actually a form of distancing (distinction) and in this way an instrument of analysis and interpretation.

An individual's action can be seen as a reaction to or as a corollary of a wider historical scheme, which reflects the link between the exceptional and the typical. Hollander (2011) illustrated the analytical distinction also between temporal categories, between the present and the past (especially with regard to the not-so-distant past of contemporary history); the research topic is then perceived from another point of view than that of chronological continuum. Hollander exemplifies this through the relationship of the foreground and the background in a still life.[11] Looking at a painting of a vase against a background, we first typically see only the vase before we realise that the background image is obligatory to the image of the vase. What is therefore to be noted is the dependence on the two-way observation of the form: 'In other words', Hollander emphasised, '*the form is the distinction*' (Hollander 2011, 61; emphasis as in the original text). Furthermore, Hollander's assertion that 'the distinction between past and present does not occur so much on the level of the *res gestae* as on the level of experience and representation' is interesting since it transfers the focus from, say, technical innovations to conceptions of time (ibid., 60).

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11 The metaphor of a painting appears to be popular as it has also been used to illustrate distinction and analysis of detail by Ginzburg in various examples of micro-level studies that focus on art history (cf. Holmberg 2003).

Since it began, microhistorical research has flourished with studies concentrating on extraordinary personalities and forgotten groups in geographically and historiographically peripheral locations. Looking at the rise of microhistorical research in the 1990s, Burke (2001, 115–117) has pointed out two major characteristics of these studies: the focus remains on small communities and villages, a tendency followed in investigations by Levi (1992 [1985]) and Ladurie (2003 [1975]); and on forgotten and/or peculiar individuals as is the case in some more recent Finnish volumes (e.g. Peltonen 2006; Rantala 2009). Levi even brought the microhistorical study close to anthropological studies: rewording Geertz, he claimed that '"historians do not study villages … they study in villages"' (Levi 2001, 100).

The interest in the exceptional historical characters and societal margins of country villages – studying in the village – has even seemed to be sufficient elements for microhistorical studies (Peltonen 2001, 351). Possibilities for carrying out this kind of microhistorical research are rich considering the history of cottage industry or craftwork that in general is inseparable from skilled individuals, who often have also been recognised as extraordinary personalities; this kind of recognition of artisans has even been rather typical, as a study on the characteristics of the masters of cottage industries showed (Kraatari 2012). Actually, the notion of exceptionally skilled personalities who predominantly worked in the countryside would require a compilation of microhistories of cottage industry! Some tendencies of micro-level study can be seen in Virrankoski's (1963; 1994) studies; another example can be found in Medick's (1996) extensive work on German practices of weaving as cottage industry.

Still, interest in the exceptional typical should comply with the basic intention of microhistorical studies to analyse the horizon of possibilities and the choices of people on the margins. Within the microhistorical point of view, as described by Levi (2001, 98–99), 'all social action is seen to be the result of individual's constant negotiation, manipulation, choices and decisions in the face of a normative reality which, though pervasive, nevertheless offers many possibilities for personal interpretations and freedoms'. Indeed, action of the 'lost peoples' or exceptional individuals, as often reconstructed through diverse sources such as letters and diaries, but also through details in more official documents, has been termed in microhistorical analyses as strategic action (Muir 1991). In this way, a certain kind of exceptional action of an individual has been interpreted as a strategy for surviving in circumstances dictated by certain rules and norms. This, on the other hand, is largely similar to what is often termed as political action, especially considering the struggles at the grass-roots level or the strengthening of positions within or away from societal or political margins. The tasks of microhistorians and political researchers then seem to coincide to detect diverse interpretations of realities, to discern possibilities of choice and struggles over symbolic and material resources (Levi 2001, 99).

The concept of strategy, as it has been applied in microhistorical studies, has nevertheless been criticised, because the level of intentionality of the supposedly strategic action of the studied individual(s) cannot always be proven

with sources. Having studied legal cases of the Ancien Régime, Cerutti (2004) turned her research attention to judiciary sources, despite the point that the officials compiling the documents in question had a stronger degree of authority compared to that of average countryside dwellers. Cerutti focused on analysing the intentional, argumentative claims presented in the more official sources. Cerutti did not consider these sources to have been compiled without intention, but saw that such documents 'are not just the reproduction of relationships of domination, but are active claims of rights and requests that such rights be legitimated' (Cerutti 2004, 27). Thus, the scheme of studying politicians as theorists or, more generally, as intellects consciously formulating their thought and planning their action appears in the very essence a possible object for applying the microhistorical research perspective.

In this study, the microhistorical perspective is applied to the institutional level of cottage industry, to its administrative elite. This is inspired by the state and status of analyses about the idea of cottage industry in Finland that have, with exception to comments in Virrankoski's economic historical investigations and in Ylönen's historical overview of the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry, practically remained non-existent and rather vague at best. Also, because previous interpretations on the subject have been limited, the tendency to adjust the less researched piece to fit the historical puzzle of the full picture has been quite typical. Accordingly, the role of cottage industry has been that of a nostalgic piece of the archaic, agricultural past that on the one hand was left behind by industrialisation but that on the other hand was recollected for the needs of nation building, providing material proof of rich and authentic Finnish folk culture. Microhistorical analysis and the documentary details are valuable for exploring the nature and goals of cottage industry policy as they were originally expressed. In this regard, it is good to recall that, as was phrased by Cerutti (2004, 29), the intention of this kind of analysis is not to reveal the actor's 'true interest' or correct their version of the past present, but to make these actions and claims understandable, to recognise the typical about the detail and, in the end, to recognise the (political) intentions of the historical actor's strategic action.

Typically for microhistorical research, this study builds on the notion of a clue that I came across in the initial phase of research on the concept of cottage industry. The Cottage Industry Production Committee's report, completed in 1949, offers a rather typical example of a policy document on the matter, but it also includes the exceptional detail that serves the key clue for this study. Supported by the minutes of the committee's meetings and personal archives of two of the committee members (Collections of Yrjö Laine and Collections of Hulda Kontturi), held at the archives of the Craft Museum of Finland (SKMA), the committee report is read in the context of the post-war situation with special attention to the settlement process of the time and committee work related to that. Although the immediate post-war years of 1944–1949 pose the temporal core of the investigation, the continuity in advocating cottage industry since the late 1930s is taken into account. The clue analysis, on the other hand, led me to

study the so-called extended 19th century with special focus on the time span from the Great Famine of the 1860s until the 1910s, when the Cottage Industry Office and Finland's Cottage Industry Delegation were founded.

Following the clue analysis, the basis of sources is built on various types of documents with further committee reports, especially those of cottage industry committees from 1873 and 1908, and other official documents concerning cottage industry, such as surveys, inspection reports and statistics. The digitised historical newspapers supplied by the National Library of Finland offer an important source for examining the spread of information about cottage industry, especially on the occasion of the first general cottage industry exhibition held in 1875. Along with the documents of the first general cottage industry meetings of 1900 and 1906, I have made use of a repertoire of early publications that promoted cottage industries at the turn of the 20th century. The magazine *Kotiteollisuus* with the numerous articles authored by members of the Cottage Industry Production Committee creates an indispensable source of negotiation concerning the legitimation of cottage industry policy especially in the post-war reconstruction processes. For this study, I read volumes of this magazine from its initial edition in 1936 until 1949. Indeed, the magazine worked as an essential forum of discussion that was also closely connected with the committee's work. The texts especially reflect the relevance of historical experience for cottage industry policy, but also the authors' own viewpoints on the ambiguity of temporal relations and the role of the idea of cottage industry as a mediator between the past and the present.

2.3 Historical experience – interrelations in time

Notion of 'the urgency of the situation' is quintessential for the history of cottage industry and can indeed be considered elemental for the drafting and redrafting of the respective policy; this refers to the gravity of the conditions launched by the famine years in the 1860s, and especially to the winter of 1867–1868 that has been memorised as a catastrophic period. The experience of the Great Famine of the 1860s can be conceived of as a collective traumatic experience that was not only witnessed by generations living at the same time, but also the memory of which has been transferred in time from one generation to another. This kind of secondary level of experience has been termed by Hirsch as 'postmemory', with which she refers to second-generation memory, to the transmission of a traumatic experience from one generation to another (Hirsch 2008, 106–107). As from the viewpoint of promoters of cottage industries, the experience of crop failures gave a lesson that ought to be recalled and therefore it created a motive for postmemory. But experience of loss and deficiency also gave reason for creating the programmatic contents for cottage industry activities. Returning to the individuals of the past formulating their ideas concerning people's domestic dexterity, the experience of a crisis situation could therefore be recognised as a form of political justification.

However, and especially when analysing the idea of cottage industry within a cultural historical frame of interpretation, it is important to realise that the critical and even traumatic experiences could not have been fabricated for some political ends. What is more of interest then is how historical experience was later recollected as the key element in legitimating cottage industry policy. This is further intriguing because of the supra-generational aspect of experience. Indeed, applying Koselleck's categorisation of experience, it could be said that experience of the famine extended from the personal, singular experience (*Urerfahrung*) to the shared experience of a generation (*die generationsspezifische Erfahrungsfrist*) and further to the received experience (*Fremderfahrung*) (Koselleck 2003, 34–39).

Whereas the singular experience can exist in accordance with the generational experience, the third category of experience is temporally gathered from beyond these. Experience of critical situations can accumulate historical knowledge, but Koselleck's notion of a received experience refers to the experience of decisive societal changes, such as changes in an economic system or transformation in cultural self-understanding. This relates to Hollander's claim that distinction between the past and the present is more often a question of experience and representation than that of any singular historical occurrence. Experience of a break in continuity would then inflict the need for temporal distinction – although for the political actor, this would mean the moment of political activation to, for example, legitimising actions or to specific speech acts.

Concerning the idea of cottage industry and the legitimation of respective policy, Ankersmit's viewpoints on historical experience in his work *Sublime Historical Experience* (2005) are interesting because of the relation between the temporal break and the experience of loss. Ankersmit distinguishes between temporally divergent experiences. The 'objective historical experience' relates to the historical actor, the research subject, whereas the 'subjective historical experience' is considered to be the historian's experience of the past she or he studies. However, both of these are embraced with the notion of the sublime historical experience as an experience of the past breaking away and therefore as an experience of loss. (Ankersmit 2005, 264–265.)

Through the notion of sublime historical experience, Ankersmit largely discusses the traumatic aspects of historical experience. He distinguishes between the singular, person-specific, traumatic experience caused by a specific occurrence – take for example the experience of deficiency and distress following a year of crop failure – but he attaches the notion of trauma also to profound societal changes. Ankersmit exemplifies this through the transformation that followed the Industrial Revolution, a paradigmatic notion of change that some previous world as it had been known was then ultimately lost. (Ankersmit 2005, 321–324.)

Analysing the cultural, ideological and political backgrounds of the idea of cottage industry, I apply Ankersmit's notion of the sublime historical experience with its dual conception of traumatic experience. I look into how the different levels of experience – on the one hand, the experience of crises and the

practice of applying cottage industries in such critical situations, and on the other hand, the transformation in societal relations and the experience of industrialisation – can be interpreted as elemental layers of experience in the composition of the idea of cottage industry. Applying the microhistorical concept of strategy I then develop analysis about cottage industry policy as a possible cultural strategy that in its institutionally established form created cultural political continuation that in the post-war years was connected to the settlement and land acquisition projects.

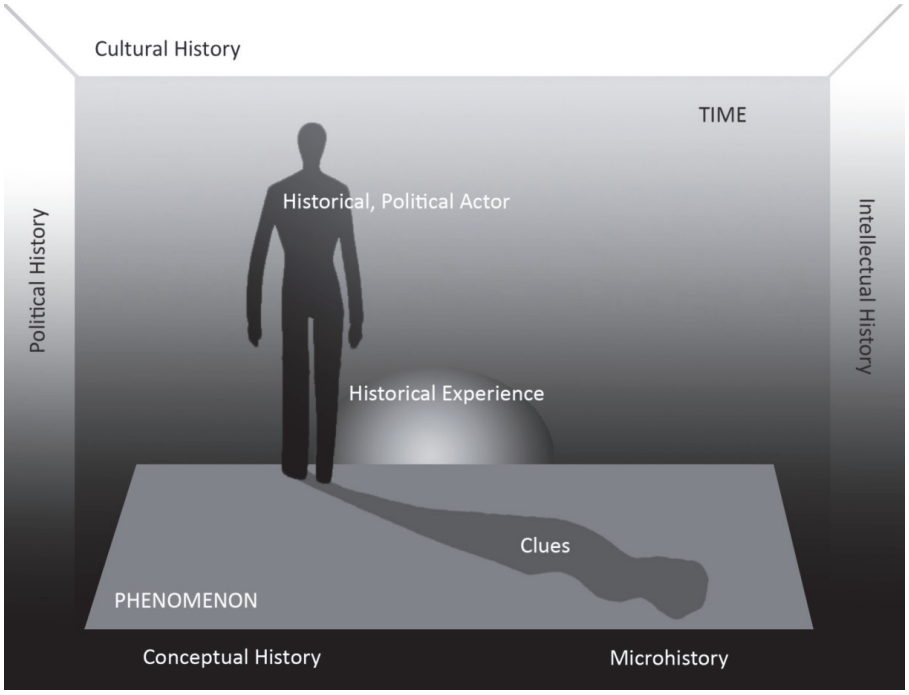

Figure 1 Research design. Investigating the history of the idea of cottage industry (phenomenon) there is applied a multidisciplinary notion of historical research between cultural, political, and intellectual histories. With the historical, political actor in the centre, the research angle makes use of the microhistorical perspective and of the clue method. Historical experience is understood as bound to the historical subject. From this also follows the temporally layered nature (time) of social and political concepts (conceptual history). The illustration is based on the painting by Otto Mäkilä from 1939, *He näkevät mitä me emme näe* [*They see what we cannot see*].

To demonstrate the research design, I refer to the painting by Otto Mäkilä, *He näkevät mitä me emme näe* [*They see what we cannot see*] (1939). In this painting, there are three human figures standing almost on the horizon line of the composition. The figures cast shadows that are visible in the foreground of the painting, but the shadows are distorted; they do not seem to match the figures that they lead to. Other elements in the painting are few: the figures seem to hold onto a cord of some sort, and a solemn stick peeks out from the horizon line. As the title of the painting insinuates, the figures are in a position to see

beyond the horizon line, whereas the viewer of the painting only sees the blue and orange background colours, and a gradient of hues in the blue part, as if marking a glimmer of light on the horizon.

The painting resonates exceptionally well with the aspects of this research: attention focuses on the historical and political actors standing on the horizon line, like on the threshold between the past and the (past) present, sharing the same line of thought. What the viewer also sees are the distorted shadows – and the question is of course: what do the figures see? What is the light that creates the oddly shaped shadows? Recognising those shadows as clues and further as historical sources, the question could be reformulated: where do the clues of the sources lead to?

Historical experience and interconnections between temporal categories are analysed from the microhistorical viewpoint, with the Cottage Industry Production Committee and its key members in the focus. Making use of 'a middle way' in analysis, their legitimation of cottage industry policy and the roles of historical experience are investigated in the frame of 'cultural history of intellectual practices'. These active promoters and officials of cottage industry are thus recognised as the everyday political theorists, but more remarkably as historical actors, who added their part to the institutionalised forms of Finnish cultural policy by organising the temporal relations of cottage industry in the postwar years.

Surrounded by previous interpretations about the past and by the circumstances of the present the historian – as any researcher – is involved in the layers of historical time. As Ankersmit has pointed out: 'We have no a priori certainties about where "I," the historical subject, stops and where the past, the object, begins'(Ankersmit 2005, 262). It is therefore important to note that the past can be present in various practices and conventions, also in concrete objects and in landscapes that are historically marked. Knowledge about the past is not constricted to academic textbooks but is also shared as memories, stories and recollections. Interrelation between the transmission of historical experience and the rewriting of history is interesting as it yields new recollections of past experiences and thus emphasises the role of rewriting history as a contemporary interpretation of the past to enhance the understanding of our contemporary selves.

This kind of contingency of historical knowledge, again, refers to a temporal distinction and especially to the difference between the original experience and that of the researcher's work. This has been cleverly expressed by Hollander (2011, 53) in his critical remark about distancing oneself from the past: 'Though we may indefinitely talk about the right distance for seeing the past, there is in fact nothing to see at all. The only things we can see are the relics of the past, our primary sources, so to speak.' He has come to the conclusion that instead of waiting for a certain time period to elapse in order to gain objectivity, the matter is more about being able to take distance from a 'certain frame of mind' (Hollander 2011, 60).

A researcher's position is of relevance in this study regarding not only the presence of the past but also the historical experience and self-distancing. It is not likely that I would have ended up studying the history of Finnish cottage industry without my personal involvement, the years (2002–2005) that I spent studying textile design at the Faculty of Arts and Design at the University of Lapland, Rovaniemi. The roots of that line of studies were initially founded with the Rovaniemi cottage industry school for women in the 1920s, but along with the multiple reforms in education policies and in administration, it seemed that those roots were left far in the past. Objectives of the studies were clearly bound to contemporary design and related research with attention focused on the market and technological innovations. However, it occasionally felt as if the past kept on hovering around, sometimes epitomised in the tools that we used and perhaps even in the study plans we followed.

As I recall that study experience, it seemed rather clear from the beginning that the goal of our studies was to serve the interests of trade and industry with customer-based design as our guiding star – instead of other bids, such as developing one's artistic expression. From the perspective of the Arctic Circle, textile mills nevertheless seemed to be slightly far flung, especially as in the early 21st century, production was increasingly outsourced to Asian countries. Employing oneself as an entrepreneur was thus a quintessential topic; accountancy and marketing were included in the obligatory studies. Making it on one's own was further supported by learning the basics of print-making and building fabric on the loom, although also CAD and other IT skills were highly valued. But while searching for a shuttle or other tools in the weaving room, one might have found issues of the magazine *Kotiteollisuus* in the cupboards and a glimpse in the basement of our premises could have shown a row of manual spinning wheels. At times, it then seemed to me that instead of treading patiently on the spinning wheel in the manner of some past, decent country girls, we had just been re-grouped in the IT classroom to scroll the mouse wheel.

The mirage of the country girl, however, was not that far-fetched. Prior to this study experience, I would count my growing up in a peripheral settlement village in Northern Finland as a preliminary experience that, among other things, has steered my interest toward the past. It has inspired me to learn about Finnish settlement and land acquisition projects in general and about the choices and situations of the people who once moved to work and live on farms that they built in different settlement villages, including the story of my grandparents. Family recollection of a settler's life from the early 1930s on has thus served for me as postmemory, upon which I have partially built my personal experience. Together with my study experience, this trip into the historical experience has opened for me a unique perspective on studying the history of cottage industry, of craftwork that was closely connected to rural life.

The parallel directness and indirectness of experience creates, according to Hollander, the basis for the 'art of self-distancing', a form of distinction that he based on Ankersmit's categorisation between the forms of historical experiences (Hollander 2011, 59 & passim). 'The objective experience', the experience of the

object of the historical research, is seen as independent from that of 'the subjective experience', that being the historian's experience of the past. But the third form of experience is that of 'sublime historical experience', the fusion of the previous two. As Ankersmit explains, it should be seen as an extreme case of subjective historical experience, in which 'the past comes into being' through the objective historical experience (Ankersmit 2005, 265). To continue with Hollander's metaphor of distinction in a still life, my experience as a researcher has been equivalent to that of 'the vase' – the form that in its directness has indirectly shown the presence of the past. Articulating the awareness of this distinction, on the other hand, should here denote the act of self-distancing.

Indeed, although experience can be an advantage for research, I have considered reflection on distinction important. The microhistorical research angle also serves in this regard: to realise the diversity of pasts. My experience could have helped in recognising some details in the relics of the past, but I still cannot see the past present of the Cottage Industry Production Committee members as they might have seen that. I am left with interpreting sources as any other researcher would. Furthermore, whereas writing this study in English answers the need to better communicate research to readers of other languages than Finnish, the use of English offered a possibility to extend the distance to the matter and even to my own experience. In a way then, the concrete change of language appeared as a step away from that 'certain frame of mind', with which I considered the Finnish craft and design-related vocabulary – and the topic in general – to be loaded. Again, to continue Hollander's example of observing a painting, the change of language worked for me as a step back from the canvas in order to see what was painted on it.

The next chapters, then, shall take a look at that picture.

3 POST-WAR COMMITTEE WORK – DEFINING AND DEFENDING COTTAGE INDUSTRY

In the immediate post-war years in Finland, settlement work and land acquisition were essential measures in overcoming the challenge of returning to peace. Because the settlement process created tens of thousands of new smallholdings, cottage industries were supposed to offer subsidiary trades that would support the smallholders' livelihoods. In this chapter, I first introduce the settlement process with special attention on respective temporary committee work that, in a way, created a peer to the work of the Cottage Industry Production Committee (CIPC) (1944–1949). I present this committee and its report focusing especially on the concept of cottage industry. The committee presented an exact definition of this concept, but in other parts of the committee report it was also delineated in more descriptive ways. Although the committee sought to formulate a pragmatic definition of judicial precision, the concept was permeated with semantic connotations. Applying conceptual historical viewpoints to analysis, it appears that 'cottage industry' is to be conceived of as a distinctively temporally layered term. At the end of the chapter, I then move on to the relevance of historical justification used in the report and present the microhistorical clue that the report holds.

3.1 Back to peace – post-war settlement process and land acquisition

The Cottage Industry Production Committee (CIPC) was appointed on 10 November 1944, approximately two months after the truce between Finland and the USSR had brought to an end the Continuation War (1941–1944). As the treaty claimed, Finland seized cooperation with its German comrade-in-arms. This break between the former allies that the Soviet commanders hastened led to the hostile retreating of the German troops that mainly were stationed in Northern Finland. The Lapland War that lasted until April 1945 continued to

cause more evacuations and loss of lives and material goods. (Meinander 2009; Ursin 1980, 14–32.)

While hostilities still continued in the northern part of the country, action for returning to peace and civilian life, to old and new homes, was in full swing in the southern parts of the country. Returning to peace undoubtedly began with joy and relief, but also with worries about the future, first of all with concerns about organising the everyday life. One of the major problems in organising the post-war situation concerned housing and especially the resettlement of the evacuees from the forfeit areas in Karelia, eastern Lapland (Salla, Kuusamo) and Pechenga. The action of resettlement had already been implemented during and after the Winter War (1939–1940), when Karelian evacuees had been settled according to the 1940 Emergency Resettlement Act. During the Interim Peace (1940–1941) many of these evacuees had returned to their previous homesteads, but in summer 1944, when lost regions were evacuated again, the resettlement process was reorganised. (Hietanen 1982, Laitinen 1995, Palomäki 2011.)

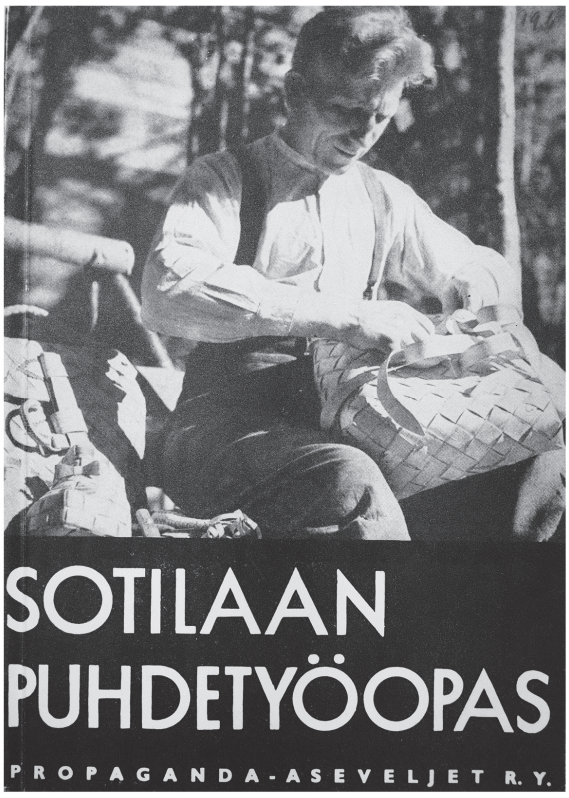

Figure 2 *Soldier's Guidebook in Pastime Crafts* was compiled by Yrjö Laine. In the cover picture, the art of weaving traditional birch bark backpacks is demonstrated by Private Aaro Mustonen, the 'army's master of pastime crafts of the year 1942'. (Source: Laine 1944a.)

Within the spheres of cottage industry, returning to peace was viewed especially with regard to the needs of the thousands of new homes that were built following the massive housing and settlement phenomenon. Due to the material deficiency caused by the wartime regulation, households had to resort to substitute materials and to their own dexterity and creativity in making everyday objects. Cottage industry was viewed in the first instance as a practical measure for overcoming the material shortage in the post-war crisis. In the editorial of the 1944 autumn edition of the magazine *Kotiteollisuus*, the writer, most likely the editor-in-chief Yrjö Laine, pointed out how the importance of craft skills had then been realised in the prevailing conditions of material deficiency and rationing. Added to this, many soldiers had gained an interest in craftwork during the time of entrenchment war; Laine himself had compiled a soldier's guide book especially for this end. (*Kotiteollisuus ja nouseva polvi* 1944, 66; Laine 1944a.)

But even with the lack of practical necessities and tools, for many the primary and dire need was that of a new home. Therefore, the settlement project was the most important operation in the immediate post-war years: the almost half a million evacuees from the forfeit areas together with the loss of infrastructure in the bombed urban areas and in the scorched towns and villages in Lapland meant that homelessness was met both in the urban areas and in the countryside (Malinen 2011; Palomäki 2011, 213–218). The state's obligation to organise housing and settlement was a topic of public discussion, and justification for the process was sought in many aspects. According to Laitinen (1995, 56, 66), the post-war settlement was generally widely accepted and the approval even mirrored the spirit of solidarity of the Winter War: those who had lost their homes and those who had fought for the country were eligible for a place of their own – a house and a piece of land to farm. The will for the settlement of not only the evacuees but also of the war veterans was expressed emphatically by Minister of Agriculture Viljami Kalliokoski in his speech in October 1941. He spoke strongly in favour of soldiers, 'men who had expected to gain a piece of land' and 'holders of small farms and their sons that the farms cannot support', the war disabled and the war widows. Laitinen asserts that Kalliokoski's speech served as an impetus for appointing a committee for planning the settlement of exactly these groups. (Laitinen 1995, 76–78; transl. EK.)

The settlement work was planned in temporary committees appointed by the Council of State. The numerous and partially even simultaneously working committees and other work groups commenced feasibility studies, drafted justifications and gave propositions for settlement acts. Following the long tradition of committee work, these activities then increasingly recruited experts from respective fields, whereas previously committee work had been more dependent on administrative officials. Actually, after the Second World War, the use of temporary expert committees became a significantly more popular planning tool in Finnish state administration. As a trait of increasing corporatism, different interest organisations could present their viewpoints in

committees regarding their sphere of activity. (Helander 1983, 16–18; Tuori 1983, 287–289, 369–371.)

Figure 3 Evacuees and various household goods waiting for further transport. Kaitjärvi, 25 June 1944. (Source: SA-kuva.)

The expertise of the committee members was quintessential for the settlement committees, but they typically also had political affiliations, and often these two characteristics were combined. For example, the chair of the 1940-appointed committee for the emergency resettlement, T. M. Kivimäki, was a professor in jurisprudence, but was probably better known as a politician for the liberal National Progressive Party.[12] Kivimäki had also been prime minister in 1932–1936. In the 1920s, Kivimäki participated as a legal expert in settlement planning that led to influential settlement acts (Lex Kallio, Lex Pulkkinen). (Laitinen 1995, 53; Palomäki 2011, 115.) Still, the relatively wide range of

12 *Kansallinen Edistyspuolue.*

members of the essential settlement committees, ranging from 10 to 13 members, often included several viewpoints from different political parties. On the other hand, down-to-earth knowledge was appreciated in committee work. For example, Eeno Pusa, a farmer from Vyborg, participated in four different settlement committees. Tatu Nissinen, who was a land tenant's son, chaired the committee that was appointed soon after the 1944 truce to plan settlement in the post-war circumstances. The propositions of this committee led to the 1945 Land Acquisition Act. It was this act in particular that had a great impact on the organisation of settlement, and it was put to action by the Department of Settlement Affairs of the Ministry of Agriculture and its multilevel network of cooperation. (Laitinen 1995, 53, 81, 95; Palomäki 2011, 250–260.)

The planned settlement work was met with optimistic hopes and wishes, but there also appeared critical viewpoints. In particular, the hasty procedure preceding the Land Acquisition Act was criticised, not least by the then Prime Minister J. K. Paasikivi (Laitinen 1995, 102–103). However, because people were waiting in different temporary housing solutions for the legislation to gain their piece of land, the settlement committees' work was hurried. The Nissinen committee, appointed in late September 1944, gave its reports in December, and President Mannerheim confirmed the Land Acquisition Act in early May 1945 (Laitinen 1995, 100–105). Different viewpoints on the matter prompted smaller work groups to present competing propositions, but committee members were nevertheless circulated from one committee to another. For example, Professor K. Haataja, who had practically chaired the so-called eastern Karelia committee (1941–1942), also was a member of K. T. Jutila's committee that was working at the same time. He was also included in the group of experts that Paasikivi had called to give an alternative proposition for settlement and land acquisition plans. (Laitinen 1995, 79, 81, 102–103; Palomäki 2011, 188.)

The ample use of committees in the planning of the settlement process illustrates the importance of the operation that proved to have profound consequences for Finnish society. At the end of the Continuation War the number of Karelian evacuees alone rose to 420,000 people, and according to Palomäki the whole settlement project concerned some 700,000 Finns (Palomäki 2011, 450). Based on the Land Acquisition Act, over 101,000 new farms were established by the 1960s when the settlement process finally ceased. Quite obviously, the significance and the proportion of the matter also caused a clash of opinions, and therefore several committees and work groups were assembled. A compromise that would have satisfied all was hardly achieved, although different aspects were heard in the committee work. Along with the experts with different political affiliations, both the planning work and the implementation of the settlement acts also involved the essential Finnish agricultural associations, the Central Union of Agricultural Producers (MTK) and the Central Organisation of Agricultural Associations (MSK). (Laitinen 1995, 113–117.)

Actually, the post-war settlement process created another step on the path of settlement and land partitioning policies that had been started in the 1880s

(Hietanen 1982, 47–66; Kupiainen & Laitinen 1995, 36–38; Kähönen 1984, 9–14). Some of the settlement committee members of the 1940s had been involved in the settlement work of the 1920s and 1930s. Then, land partitioning had offered the most important tool for harmonising society after the traumatic civil war of 1918, in which the disparate landowning and tenancy relations had culminated. Smallholding was seen as especially important not only in favour of agricultural productivity, but also in creating social order and stabilising the young state that had achieved its independence in 1917. In a similar way, the post-war settlement process intended to create concrete possibilities for independent farmer life and in this way to strengthen societal stability. Indeed, although the Land Acquisition Act posed as housing and agricultural policies, it quintessentially worked as social policy for an empathically rural country. Palomäki has characterised the Jutila committee report partially even as an agro-romantic text that idealised the rural home and family life (Palomäki 2011, 190–191, 451.) Laitinen has also noted that settlement and land acquisition projects continued on strong traditions, on a path dependence that could not have been overridden by the Prime Minister's competing plans (Laitinen 1995, 105; Palomäki 2011, 246–247).

The CIPC mirrored the continuum of land reform for its part. The committee was not only temporally parallel to the settlement process but it also took a stance in organising countryside life by insisting on the importance of craft skills as a part of the rural way of life. Promoting cottage industry education was therefore one of the committee's main themes and it sought to watch the interest of cottage industry schools in the land partitioning process. The committee discussed, for example, the possibilities to reserve the main buildings on the larger estates for use by cottage industry schools; Harviala mansion in Janakkala was suggested as one possibility. It was also suggested that previous civil guard houses could have been used for the same purpose. (SKMA, Minutes of the CIPC, Meetings of 1 and 12 Jan. 1946; 27 Feb. 1946).

Education of the young was considered a matter of special interest, and on the pages of the magazine *Kotiteollisuus* cottage industry was often discussed in relation to smallholding. While the Nissinen committee was still active, the fleeing of young people from smallholdings to cities in their search for better livelihoods was foreseen in the 1944 editorial 'Cottage Industry and the Rising Generation', probably written by Yrjö Laine. 'Many of these girls and boys would be ready to return if only there were means of earnings in the countryside', the author wrote and continued: 'But here many of their plans to return fall short and they become numb, they settle for their lot trying to dispel their homesickness with idle pastime' (*Kotiteollisuus ja nouseva polvi* 1944, 66; transl. EK[13]). Laine saw that if they had the capability to make a living out of their own dexterity, the young would not have to leave their homesteads at all. He therefore emphasised the importance of teaching proper craft skills to the children and the youth of the countryside.

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13 All further citations of the primary sources are translated by the author of the study (EK).

The same issue, with the abovementioned editorial, published news about the appointing of the CIPC with the essential arguments listed in the committee instigation that the Central Union of Agricultural Producers (MTK) had addressed to the Council of State. In this letter, the social relevance of cottage industry was mentioned first of all, the importance of which was emphasised with its possibilities to create income not only for the smallholders but for the disabled veterans and the many other harmed by the war. However, the special status of the youth was also brought up here: 'In particular, the dexterity of the youth and their trust in their own skills, in which a strong decline can be seen, should be developed' (*Kotiteollisuustuotantokomitea* 1944, 70).

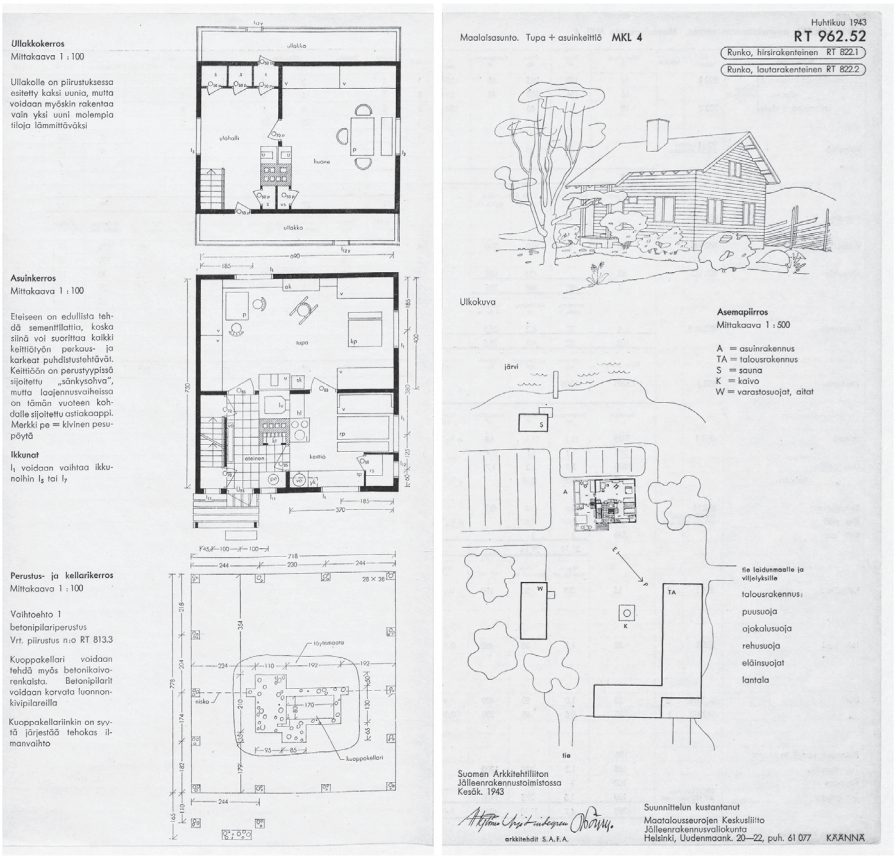

Figure 4 A plan for a rural abode from 1943. Planning of rural houses and outbuildings was chiefly conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, since 1938 by its Department of Settlement Affairs (ASO). Plans for type-planned houses had been created at the ministry's commission since the 1920s, but due to the growing demand during the reconstruction period, houses were planned for ASO by different parties, for example, by the Reconstruction Office of Finnish Association of Architects (SAFA). This picture shows details of a plan for a rural abode from SAFA's series of extendable type-planned houses. (Source: The National Archives of Finland, Collections of Type-Planned House Plans of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, Iac. MKL 4, 4a, 4b.)

In his concern about the education of the young, Laine referred to the effects of the war on the children and especially the young, to whom it caused breaks in their education and many other much more radical changes in their lives and, hence, in their future visions. On the other hand, juveniles were of special interest within the post-war criminal law, because the negative side effects of the unstable wartime were seen as especially harmful for the moral development of the young (Tarjamo 2006, 360–368). Supporting the youth in trusting their own skills can therefore be conceived of as a timely worry about the wellbeing of the young. On the other hand, young people were urged to do their share of work in the wartime circumstances. During the war, juveniles were obliged to work at home but also in working camps, on farms and in forestry. In general, profound dedication to work became characteristic of the war time and of the post-war time (Kirves & Näre 2010).

The settlement and land acquisition processes for their part ensured that there was work to be done. Along with the housing of the evacuees and the veterans, the continuation of previous settlement projects and the implementation of the 1945 Land Acquisition Act led to land clearance work that both strengthened and created societal structures for a pronouncedly agricultural nation with an increasing number of smallholdings. Still, although the settlement work had strong agricultural emphasis, the settlement process led to the emergence of new housing areas in many towns and cities; the post-war model houses that characterise numerous Finnish urban and suburban neighbourhoods have even become symbolic of the reconstruction period of the 1940s and 1950s (see Saarikangas 1993). But along with the more dense housing areas in towns, the Land Acquisition Act led to the founding of tens of thousands of new farms. Some of them were created by parcelling out larger farms and estates but many were started from nothing by cultivating peatlands or forests, of which the state had often reserved or cleared most valuable parts. During the intense years of land clearance work in 1941–1959 some 200,000 hectares of new arable areas were tilled. (Laitinen 1995, 128–131.)

The process also created villages in areas that previously had been very scarcely populated if at all. For example, the first inhabitants of the village Varejoki in southern Lapland, evacuees from Pechenga, reached the area first only by walking through forests or by rowing up the narrow stream (Varejoki), the source of the village's name. As in so many of the new settlement areas, the building of new houses, land clearance and taking care of the everyday household duties set the frame for living for years, employing all the time and energy of the family. Memories and experiences of settlement work have been reflected in various ways. The organising parties have also sought to register viewpoints and experiences both of the executive officials and the settlers (e.g. Korpi et al. 1995; Naskila (ed.) 1984). In the memories of the settled people, controversial experiences of settlement are apparent, on the one hand with feelings of injustice and on the other hand pride of hard work that also applied to the young:

> Living was work for the young, who should have been sitting on the school bench. Youth was needed for the work with axes and spades, in the barns, on potato fields. I belong to that generation, who did not receive education in the post-war chaos – I remember having watched with feelings of envy the first Varejoki girl, who had managed to get to the grammar school, waiting for the bus in front of the cooperative retail shop. I wanted to go to school, just like so many of the others did. […] With the young person's idealism, I experienced the pioneer spirit of settlement and dreamed of the future of my home region, of bountiful fields and of a dynamic home village. That is what we were building with our weary hands. (Kälkäjä 1995, 102–103; transl. EK)

Despite the visions and the good intentions, it was nevertheless in many cases quite clear from the beginning that the newly created small farms could not fully supply their families. Therefore, the way of life combining farming and forest work, logging, was the reality for the majority of smallholdings (Kietäväinen 2009, 13–15). The slogan repeated almost throughout the 20th century, 'Finland lives off its forests', meant for most post-war smallholders a possibility to create an income that in many cases was used for paying debts, acquiring more land or investing in machinery, most of all in tractors (Kietäväinen 2009, 153–157; Pohtila 1995).

As demanding and physical work that also required specific skills and proficiency, forest work mostly employed men. The gendered division of work on farms traditionally often meant that the caring of the livestock was seen as women's tasks (Sireni 2002, 88–100). If the men attended lengthy logging and log floating work in winter and spring time, the running of the farm and the household could have remained the responsibility of the wives and children for weeks and even months. As had been the case in the 1920s and 1930s, after the war, the large logging sites in northern Finland attracted men from the southern parts of the country. (Snellman 1996, 186–189, 215–225.) Therefore, whereas the immediate post-war decades marked in many ways the heyday for numerous country villages that were scattered with new farms and filled with children of the post-war baby boom, the settlers were confronted with hard work and also material deficiency. In these circumstances, the need for craft skills and capable craftsmen was seen to be greatest in the countryside villages. Returning to peace directed attention to the domestic sphere, to cultivate land and forest, to build and to repair, to improve and to make new everyday objects such as tools and clothing – everything that the new households required.

3.2 The CIPC and the concept of cottage industry

The creation of the CIPC was closely connected to the settlement project. A branch of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Cottage Industry Department was under the surveillance of Minister of Agriculture Kalliokoski, a member of the Agrarian League, who personally had strongly favoured settlement work. Because cottage industry was considered foremost a part of agrarian life, it was a known topic among the Agrarian League. Thus, E. M. Tarkkanen, another

long-term politician presenting that party, was appointed to work as the chair of the CIPC. Tarkkanen was regarded as a leading politician of the Agrarian League's right wing, and among other things he also was a member of the supervisory board of the Finnish Cultural Foundation (1939–1964) (Marjomaa 2007).

Whereas most settlement committees included roughly ten members covering politically left and right wings, the members of the CIPC mostly came from the cottage industry institutions. Along with architect Toivo Salervo, who had worked since 1944 as the Head of the Cottage Industry Department, other members included Inspector of Women's Cottage Industry Hulda Kontturi, architect Yrjö Laine, executive director Gösta Kiander and cottage industry consultant Yrjö Koskinen. Both Salervo and Kontturi were thus affiliated with the Cottage Industry Department, and Koskinen with the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry Associations. Laine, who had preceded Salervo as the Head of the Cottage Industry Department, had moved to work in the Ministry of Trade and Industry. On the side of his new duties as the Head of the Office of Hand and Small Industries, Laine continued to work as the editor-in-chief of the magazine *Kotiteollisuus*, a post he had held since 1936. When Kiander left the committee work in March 1945, due to a move abroad, no one was selected to replace him. The committee then diminished to four members and the chair. Jurist Olavi Salervo, Toivo Salervo's son, was the first committee secretary but was later replaced by Reino Vuolanto, economist and the executive manager of the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry Associations. The composition of the CIPC was therefore rather closed. (SKMA, Minutes of the CIPC.)

The CIPC was appointed in November 1944, and the committee gave its report over four and a half years later, in June 1949.[14] Compared to the hastened timetables of settlement committees, the working period of the CIPC might thus appear prolonged. This could be explained by the fact that this committee did not propose any legal revisions, although it did report 42 different recommendations for developing education, production and the trade of cottage industries (KM1949:34, mon., 68–71). Actually, the committee report could be read as a summary of the actions that the committee took to support and strengthen cottage industries. The role of the CIPC was multiple: the committee organised practical activities, undertook studies on the conditions of cottage industry and outlined cottage industry policies in its recommendations. This, again, is in line with Tuori's notion that post-war committees gained a stronger role as executive machinery; as a form of delegating power to committees, Tuori has termed this as 'debureaucratisation' (Tuori 1983, 289).

Indeed, the CIPC seemed to have turned into a cottage industry shock troop in the exceptional situation of the post-war years, as demonstrated by the committee report and the minutes. The committee was well aware of the

14 Reports of the temporary committees were not always printed as publications. For example, the CIPC report (KM1949:34, mon.) read here is only found as a copy of the typewritten document. This is indicated with the abbreviation '*mon.*' (*moniste* – a copy).

prevailing settlement and housing process and also saw that the smallest farms could barely supply their families. Material deficiency and the rationing of not only food but also materials transformed everyday life more or less into a battle for survival, increasing dependence on one's own skills and physical resources at hand. For example, the various craft courses of the post-war years were in demand because people could access fabrics and other materials. Among its first acts, the CIPC created a plan for an emergency programme for the restoration of cottage industry activities (SKMA, Minutes of the CIPC; Meeting 15 Nov. 1944; KM1949:34, mon., ii). As was pointed out in the minutes, this kind of planning would have best suited the Central Organisation, but that nevertheless was unable to take the task on due to lack of funding.[15]

Therefore, the CIPC decided to appoint a separate committee division to undertake the planning of the emergency programme. The division first included Kontturi, Laine and Salervo, but later Koskinen also attended these meetings (SKMA, Minutes of the CIPC; Meeting 15 Nov. 1944). Considering the roles of the temporary committees also as executive operators, it is notable that this committee division continued to work throughout the committee's active period. In fact, although the committee held meetings for more than four years, most meetings gathered together only this so-called committee division – in other words, the committee membership excluding its chair. Of the 127 meetings, 94 were recorded as division meetings; most meetings were attended by Salervo (120), Laine (116) and Kontturi (102). Koskinen attended 52 meetings, substituting the secretary twice, but the committee chair Tarkkanen was present only in 29 meetings (SKMA, Minutes of the CIPC).

The division meetings thus built the core of the committee work: essential parts of the committee report were prepared by this 'division' that presented its memorandums 'to the committee': in practice, this meant that the inner circle of the four experts negotiated their opinions and visions, which they then presented for approval to the committee chair Tarkkanen. It therefore seems that the committee chair's role remained largely that of officialising the work of Salervo, Laine, Kontturi, Koskinen and Vuolanto. Instead of 'debureaucratisation' in Tuori's terms, the committee work of the CIPC seems to have served as official legitimation of the thought and expertise of the concise and collegially intense committee membership.

In retrospect, it is interesting to note how the CIPC, appointed to resolve the post-war challenges, integrated in its report the practical planning with conventions of committee work. Indeed, with certain resemblance to the settlement committees, the work of cottage industry committees had already

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15 The Central Organisation of Cottage Industry Associations was allotted an allowance of 350,000 marks in the state budget of 1945. This enabled the founding of a permanent office for the Central Organisation with a small staff. According to Ylönen, this allowance had been furthered by Toivo Ikonen, a member of the Agrarian League, who worked as minister of agriculture (1941–1943), as minister of maintenance (1942–1943) and as minister of transportation and public works (1943–1944) and furthermore as a member of parliament. He also chaired the Central Organisation's board in 1943–1947. With Karelian backgrounds, Ikonen sought to work especially in favour of the settling of the Karelian evacuees. (Ylönen 2003, 124–126; Uola 2001.)

established a line of continuation. In the first committee meeting held on 13 November 1944, the committee discussed the results of the previous cottage industry committee that had been appointed in 1936. The meeting saw that the post-war circumstances differed so dramatically from those of the late 1930s that a new committee was required. Nevertheless, committee secretary Olavi Salervo was assigned to retrieve the research materials and the report draft compiled earlier, because these would offer a valuable basis for the new work group. Familiarity with these documents was granted: the 1936 Cottage Industry Committee had been chaired by Yrjö Laine.[16] (SKMA; CIPC Minutes, 13 Nov. 1944; 15 Nov. 1944)

The appointing of the CIPC therefore appears as a direct continuation to the committee work that had started in 1936: not only were the then undertaken surveys about cottage industry important for the new committee, but also the definition of cottage industry relied heavily on the previous account of the concept, which was also added to the report as an appendix (KM1949:34, mon., Appendix 1). Considering the acute situation of autumn 1944, it is interesting that the initial meeting of the CIPC concentrated on the definition of cottage industry. Following the rather typical structure of a committee report, the first part of the final report was reserved for detailing the concept, but it was also delineated in other parts of the document, although in more indirect ways. In the opening pages of the report, the committee presented its definition of cottage industry with judicial precision demarcating the boundaries of cottage industry in relation to other modes of production. At the same time, the concept was formulated as inclusive of most different fields of craftwork.

Whereas defining concepts was and continues to be characteristic of committee reports, for other planning and legislative documents, as well as administrative and scientific research texts, conceptual negotiation also offers a motive of interest for historical and political research: as special, weighty words of meaning, concepts often build on a complex lingual and cultural development. Through definitions, the pragmatic meanings of concepts are explicated, but investigation of the semantic and historical content of concepts can reveal the different political, ideological and cultural conditions or an intellectual context of which the concepts serve as lingual signifiers (Koselleck 2006, 86–98).

Within political studies, the research angle of conceptual history has been applied to various concepts, of which the German project of conceptual history, *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, would offer a paragon of investigation. Also, essential concepts of Finnish political culture have been analysed. Here, the original trait of many concepts has been recognised in the specific status of the Finnish language as a branch of a small language group, a language that became more general in administration and politics first in the latter part of the 19th century. As the Finnish territory had been part of the Swedish monarchy and then under Russian rule, the Finnish language had chiefly remained a

16 Although the work of the Laine committee had been interrupted by the war, it nevertheless gave its report in December 1946. (KM1946:24, mon.; *Kotiteollisuuskomitea jättänyt mietintönsä* 1946, 98; Autti & Einola 1966, 59.)

vernacular language, but along with the national rise – the Fennoman movement as its strongest proponent – the Finnish administrative language was created programmatically. Various words, terms and concepts were innovated as a compromise of the native language and the international influence. (Hyvärinen et al. 2003, 9–17; Huumo, Laitinen & Paloposki (eds.) 2004.)

To emphasise the analytical nature of conceptual history, it has been pointed out that previous collections, such as *Valtiotieteiden käsikirja* (*Handbook of Political Sciences*, 1921–22), had clearly served as a lexicon of politics and administration, and even more practically as a who's who of the then Finnish political life (Hyvärinen et al. 2003, 10). Therefore, the 21st-century conceptual historical compilation –interpretative of Finnish equivalents of concepts such as 'power', 'state' or 'people' – is of pronouncedly different interest than *Handbook*, published in the 1920s, in which cottage industry was introduced in an article that was written by Lauri Mäkinen (Kuoppamäki), then the Inspector of Cottage Industry (Kuoppamäki 1922, 63–66).

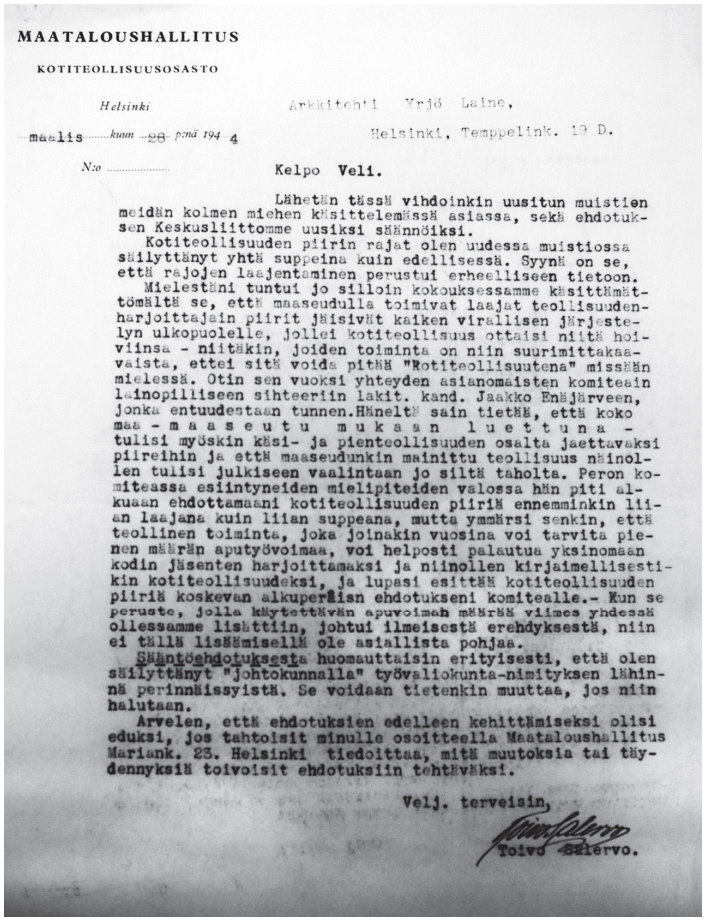
However, as any linguist or analyst of Finnish and other political concepts is well aware, languages develop and change, and the meaning and importance of words, and concepts, evolve and change. Whereas, for example, the concept of 'people', '*kansa*', continues to be both a topical and repeatedly contested political concept, the concept of 'cottage industry' offers an example of a forgotten and even marginal – and by all means historical – concept that at its time nevertheless was interrelated with surrounding political and administrative jargon. After all, the CIPC considered a profound conceptual analysis of cottage industry to be important for their policy planning task not only for the sake of official procedures of committee work but also because this offered an approved form of political dispute.

This is illustrated in Toivo Salervo's letter, dated 28 March 1944, in which he informed Yrjö Laine in a close and collegial way of his worry about the status of rural industries regarding the conceptual work of the committee chaired by Professor Paavo Pero. The Pero Committee, authorised to plan the reform of the organisational activities in the field of handicraft industry (*käsiteollisuus*), had been appointed in 1940 at the instigation of the Ministry of Trade and Industry (KM1944:1). It was likely to have been considered a parallel, even competitive committee to the CIPC and to the work of the Cottage Industry Department at the Ministry of Agriculture. Indeed, the interest in conceptual precision is indicative of the different aspirations to organise and develop Finnish small industry, in particular, but as the CIPC report exemplifies, the concept of cottage industry was impregnated with further semantic content. In the following section I take a closer look to the concept of cottage industry on the basis of the CIPC report.[17]

According to the CIPC's definition, 'cottage industry' covered primarily all crafts produced in homes (KM1949:34, mon., 3). With this, the committee underlined the importance of savings that households could create when families would make craft products that were needed on a daily basis. On the

17 The topic has been discussed previously (Kraatari 2013).

other hand, making cottage industry products for sale formed another essential form of this line of work. This primary division to the subcategories of household cottage industries (*kotitarvekotiteollisuus*) and income-generating cottage industries (*ansiokotiteollisuus*) helped to structure the concept, but also created the initial problem for defining cottage industry: How to draw a line between crafts as an avocation and as an occupation? When would the practice of cottage industry exceed its definitional boundaries and turn into a professional craft trade? What amount of production would still count as cottage industry and when would it be recognised as small industry?



MAATALOUSHALLITUS

KOTITEOLLISUUSOSASTO

Helsinki

maalis kuun 28 p:nä 194 4

N:o

Arkkitehti Yrjö Laine,

Helsinki, Temppelink. 19 D.

Kelpo Veli.

Lähetän tässä vihdoinkin uusitun muistion meidän kolmen miehen käsittelemässä asiassa, sekä ehdotuksen Keskusliittomme uusiksi säännöiksi.

Kotiteollisuuden piirin rajat olen uudessa muistiossa säilyttänyt yhtä suppeina kuin edellisessä. Syynä on se, että rajojen laajentaminen perustui erheelliseen tietoon.

Mielestäni tuntui jo silloin kokouksessamme käsittämättömältä se, että maaseudulla toimivat laajat teollisuudenharjoittajain piirit jäisivät kaiken virallisen järjestelyn ulkopuolelle, jollei kotiteollisuus ottaisi niitä hoiviinsa - niitäkin, joiden toiminta on niin suurimittakaavaista, ettei sitä voida pitää "Kotiteollisuutena" missään mielessä. Otin sen vuoksi yhteyden asianomaisten komiteain lainopilliseen sihteeriin lakit. kand. Jaakko Enäjärveen, jonka entuudestaan tunnen. Häneltä sain tietää, että koko maa - maaseutu mukaan luettuna - tulisi myöskin käsi- ja pienteollisuuden osalta jaettavaksi piireihin ja että maaseudunkin mainittu teollisuus näinollen tulisi julkiseen vaalintaan jo siltä taholta. Peron komiteassa esiintyneiden mielipiteiden valossa hän piti alkuaan ehdottamaani kotiteollisuuden piiriä ennemminkin liian laajana kuin liian suppeana, mutta ymmärsi senkin, että teollinen toiminta, joka joinakin vuosina voi tarvita pienen määrän aputyövoimaa, voi helposti palautua yksinomaan kodin jäsenten harjoittamaksi ja niinollen kirjaimellisestikin kotiteollisuudeksi, ja lupasi esittää kotiteollisuuden piiriä koskevan alkuperäisn ehdotukseni komitealle.- Kun se peruste, jolla käytettävän apuvoiman määrää viimeo yhdessä ollessamme lisättiin, johtui ilmeisestä erehdyksestä, niin ei tällä lisäämisellä ole asiallista pohjaa.

Sääntöehdotuksesta huomauttaisin erityisesti, että olen säilyttänyt "johtokunnalla" työvaliokunta-nimityksen lähinnä perinnäissyistä. Se voidaan tietenkin muuttaa, jos niin halutaan.

Arvelen, että ehdotuksien edelleen kehittämiseksi olisi eduksi, jos tahtoisit minulle osoitteella Maataloushallitus Mariank. 23. Helsinki tiedoittaa, mitä muutoksia tai täydennyksiä toivoisit ehdotuksiin tehtäväksi.

Velj. terveisin,

Toivo Salervo.

Figure 5 Toivo Salervo's letter to Yrjö Laine. Relations within the comparatively small membership of the CIPC were collegial and close. In a letter dated 28 March 1944, Salervo addressed Laine as 'Good Brother' and closed his letter with 'Brotherly greetings'. The letter concerned the definition of cottage industry with regard to the plans of the Pero committee to reform the organisational activities of handicraft industry (KM1944:1). Attached to the letter, Salervo also sent his revised version of the constitution of the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry Associations. (Source: SKMA; Collections of Yrjö Laine-Juva.)

Earlier documents were used to help with this definition task: the chain of references to previous efforts to define cottage industry did not only lead to the Laine committee of 1936 but also to a cottage industry committee that had worked during 1906–1908. This kind of tracking of the original definition did not necessarily help, however, because the technical and industrial developments of the early 20th century had influenced the possibilities of making crafts in homes. This had also been noted by the Laine committee:

> Defining which fields of work should be recognised as cottage industries has not got any easier by today than it was nearly 40 years ago. As difficult as it was then to delimit cottage industries and handicraft professions, today it is hard to delimit cottage industries and small industries, especially as the use of electricity has enabled mechanisation also within cottage industries. (KM1949:34, mon., Appendix 1.)

Indeed, the pursuit of giving a new definition to cottage industry in the 1940s also functioned as a measure to update the concept and to strengthen the societal position of cottage industry by acknowledging and taking into account changes in technical development. The concept of cottage industry was asserted by detailing and explaining the concept in legalistic particularity and by comparing definitions, especially as the 1944 report of the Pero ommittee on handicraft industry had offered a rivalling definition. According to the Pero committee, the income-generating cottage industry would have been drawn under the concept of handicraft industry and, thus, under the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Appealing to a lack of authoritative approval – that the recommendations of the Pero committee had not led to any concrete actions and that the government had not confirmed which stance it would take in regard to these propositions – the CIPC reassured cottage industry as a signifier of income-generating trade. Interestingly, income-generating cottage industry was further recognised as 'traditional folk crafts':

> The committee thus sees it necessary to perceive those practising income-generating cottage industries as people practising traditional folk crafts, who therefore belong to the sphere of cottage industry, because they otherwise might be left without care. (KM1949:34, mon., 3.)

Along with the practice of making crafts for one's own use, the CIPC's definition of cottage industry also encompassed a variant of subcontract work, the putting-out system. This system had appeared as an outcome of distribution of industrial work: the manually intensive phases of production were outsourced as home work – an arrangement that elsewhere has been primarily recognised either as cottage industry or as proto-industry (Kriedte, Medick & Schlumbohm 1981). As the CIPC also noted, enterprises organising this kind of work included rather large industrial factories. Therefore, the size of these enterprises was limited to fit the definition of cottage industry. In this way, the committee sought to consider the possibilities of rural industries to continue this practice. The definition thus relied heavily on previous customs of local putting-out work that had appeared 'relatively recently':

> But especially in our country there exist, particularly in the countryside, enterprises that utilise this system, which the committee sees as belonging to the field of cottage industry. This applies when the products in question are of the kinds that previously have been produced as household cottage industry, which has happened even in the relatively recent period. Although the making of these kinds of commodities, such as woven and knitted products, knives, etc., has partially been left as the work of specialised professionals, they nevertheless continue to be counted as cottage industries. Therefore, the committee sees no reason to detach them [from the definition of cottage industry], when the work otherwise follows forms that do not prevent them from being regarded as cottage industry, i.e. when the number of staff of these enterprises remains restricted to the limit that the general labour legislation is not applied to them, or when the workers carry out their work at their homes on the side of other livelihoods, foremost on the side of agriculture and its subsidiary trades. (KM1949:34, mon., 4.)

The detailed account of cottage industry that was expressed sometimes even in seemingly complex sentences possibly followed from the analysis of the concept that the Laine committee had given a couple of years earlier. An authoritative basis for the definition had then been searched for in the works of French and German economists (e.g. Charles Gide, Gustav von Schmoller, Robert Liefmann) and also in statements of Finnish pioneers of the field, Leo and Laura Harmaja. The legal basis of the definition was found in K. J. Ståhlberg's books on Finnish administrative law, and further in trade legislation of 1879 and 1919. Analysing and referring to trade and labour legislation, the Laine committee had delimited the concept of cottage industry in a way that liberated those employing themselves within cottage industries from the duty to report trade activities to the authorities, and also from the obligations of labour legislation, including the law of worker's accident insurance and the law of working hours. (KM1949:34, mon., Appendix 1, 2–4.)

In this way, income-generating cottage industry was recognised as an independent trade, but it still left open questions about the difference between cottage industries and professional handicrafts. Firstly, the difference was found in geography: whereas professional craftsmen, and by the 1930s and 1940s also craftswomen, essentially worked in towns, cottage industries were practised in rural areas. Secondly, the distinction between handicrafts and cottage industries was found in traditions and conventions: the making of, for example, shingle baskets and rowing boats, and spinning and weaving had traditionally been recognised as cottage industries whereas cabinetmaking and smithery had been categorised as professional craftwork. Thus, a difference was found in the products made instead of the characteristics of the work, whether it had been practised in the country village or the town, and whether it had employed only the maker and his or her family.

Recognised as a legal trade, although liberated from many legislative conditions, cottage industry was reasserted as an administrative concept, through which especially rural craft activities were formalised. The detailed and profound account of the definition of cottage industry thus reads as a negotiation about official control over the field of crafts in general, although this control was expressed as 'state's care' for cottage industry.

> As those employing themselves with such small-scale trades in the countryside are not members of craft societies of the towns and cities and, hence, neither are the trades that they practise under the measures and control of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, they remain, unless counted as practising cottage industries, totally outside the actions and care of state authorities. It is of course required, then, that their practising of these trades is restricted to the limit that labour legislation does not apply to them. The committee sees that those employing themselves with these trades which are directly linked to cottage industries cannot be left without the state's care, but should instead be regarded, considering the circumstances of our country, as practising income-generating cottage industries. (KM1949:34, mon., Appendix 1, 4.)

To complete and, possibly, to clarify the concept of cottage industry, the report offered as another appendix a list of crafts that, with certain limits regarding working methods and scales of production, were adequate as cottage industries (KM1949:34, mon., Appendix 2, 1–2). On other pages of the report, definitive expressions were vaguer. For example, in the CIPC's explicit definition, cottage industry was defined as 'craft work conducted by the people'.[18] Furthermore, crafts produced this way were to have 'individual character', they should be made of 'selected materials', and over half of the making was to be done by hand (KM1949:34, mon., 5). Following the choice of word of the official style, cottage industry was further defined as homely work in the countryside. The definition clearly implied that cottage industries were conceived of as small family businesses: these trades were to be practised in workrooms at home or temporarily at the premises of the employer as an avocation, as a part-time or as a full-time occupation. Workers and assistants would only include family members, servants, temporary assistants or at most two assistants hired for cottage industry production. The definition actively bound cottage industry to agriculture; the special needs of the rural livelihoods were to be taken into account. Lastly, the definition of cottage industry built on the tradition of cottage industry itself. According to the last point, cottage industry would mean the making of such articles that have 'traditionally been included to cottage industries, in other words, items that have been made for domestic use still in relatively recent times' (KM1949:34, mon., 5).

As was noted before, one of the striking elements in the history of cottage industry in Finland is the difficulty in defining the concept itself by delimiting it to other fields of small-scale production and concepts that also included the ending 'industry' ('*teollisuus*'). Along with cottage industry (*kotiteollisuus*), such terms included handicraft industry (*käsiteollisuus*), small industry (*pienteollisuus*) and industrial arts (*taideteollisuus*). To which extent cottage industry counted as a trade and industry remained rather ambiguous because the concept encompassed the diversity of domestic craft work. This made the scope of the concept very broad, especially because in the post-war context of agriculturally intensive Finland, making crafts was more or less an axiomatic part of everyday life. Therefore, defining cottage industry according to specific economic and legal terms appears to have been the CIPC's ambition to adjust domestic craft

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18 The original expression in Finnish: '*kansan työnä suoritettu käsityö*' (KM1949:34, mon., 5).

practices into a legally, economically and administratively acceptable form. Of course, the status of the CIPC as an official committee increased the normative essence of their definition of cottage industry.

Along with its complex precision, this definition is interesting due to its temporal implications. Notions on 'traditional folk crafts' and on 'relatively recent period' can be recognised as indicative of the concept's temporal structure. Indeed, with an attempt to compile a pragmatic, normative definition of cottage industry, the committee report serves as a source comparable to an encyclopaedia or a handbook. For the analyst of concepts, these kinds of sources appear as a special type because of their intention to give lasting definitions (Koselleck 2006, 96–97). However, as has been the case in defining cottage industry, definitions easily build on previous definitions. It is therefore possible to recognise internal temporal structures of concepts: 'Each new lexicon copies older explanations, on the one hand, and at the same time makes alterations that, even though small, can still be of importance. Thus, as researchers we are in the position to observe the gradual piling up of layers of meaning' (Koselleck 2006, 97; transl. EK).

What makes many historical concepts significant is that their definitions are not restricted to their pragmatic formulations, although these are of relevance. For example, especially from the economic historical viewpoint, it is remarkable that this definition of cottage industry included both savings and income-generating cottage industries, whereas the temporal allusions refer to the cultural, time and context-bound use of the term. However, the official style of definition can also build a remarkable part of the concept's semantic reading. The lengthy and precise accounts on defining cottage industry exemplify the legalist style of committee reports and other documents of official level. Tuori (1983, 221–222) has claimed that the legalist style was typical in the interregnum period (1917–1919). He has connected this style of office language to the political culture of the era of the Finnish Grand Duchy, subject to the tsarist rule. The periods of Russian oppression in particular then served as an initiation to refine the skills of negotiating political opposition as matters of legal inconsistencies. In Tuori's words, 'the prevailing form of societal ideology determines into which language political disputes are translated' (Tuori 1983, 221; transl. EK). As the heritage of the opposition to Russian oppression, this language was of an empathically judicial nature.

Indeed, drawing the historical trajectory of the definitions of cottage industry, the conceptual foundation of the CIPC report reaches well into the era of the Grand Duchy. But along with the detailed and formal style, the temporal implications attached to cottage industry – as crafts that had been done traditionally, for a long time or as crafts that had been done not long ago, relatively recently – point to the past. Together with the historical references, the allusions to the past illustrate the temporally layered nature of the concept of cottage industry. Moreover, as Tuori has also remarked, the style of legalist argumentation of historical sources such as enactments and parliamentary documents can deceive their retrospective reader: the discussed problem might

actually be something other than the issue that is heatedly debated, such as a constitutional problem (Tuori 1983, 222). In a similar manner, the definition of cottage industry should be only partially read as an economic or administrative definition. A further reading of the committee report reveals the cultural ambitions, with which the concept of cottage industry was also loaded, such as maintaining national heritage and ways of life that were seen as culturally valuable.

The contents of the CIPC report were divided into eight sections. Following the definition of the concept, there was an account of the prevailing position of cottage industry in society. After this general part, the report consisted of negotiating and presenting measures for developing cottage industries. The third section discussed the development of proficiency involving education in cottage industry on different levels, matters about the design of cottage industry products, and the question of enhancing organisational activities that would support cottage industry. The fourth section examined issues about tools, materials and work force, and the fifth section concentrated on the organising of retailing and marketing of cottage industry products. Before the final sections that summarised the proposed recommendations for developing cottage industry and listed the appendices of the document, a section was included that reviewed the spreading of information about cottage industry for the public. Titled as '*Valistustoiminta*', which through the German counterpart '*Bildung*' could be translated as edification, this part of the report concentrated on the cognitive aspects or outright ideological education about the meaning and values of cottage industry activities. (KM1949:34, mon., 1–2.)

The explicit definition of cottage industry in the beginning of the report can be read as an amalgam of different aspects of craftwork, thus legitimating cottage industry as an economic and administrative concept in the way it was known to its active promoters in the 1940s. Although cottage industry was to be recognised as a trade of its own kind, distinct from handicraft industry and small industry, the definition nevertheless remained broad. According to the definition in the report, cottage industry encompassed all crafts that were made in homes for personal use or to be sold. Yet, especially in the conditions of post-war Finland, crafts would have generally been done in most households. Actually, with the implicit geographical and also aesthetic distinctions regarding craft, it seems that the principal definition of cottage industry as 'craft work conducted by the people' could help to decipher the meaning of cottage industry. Who were the people, *kansa*, that were supposed to produce these crafts? What were the crafts they were supposed to make and what did 'individual character' of the craft items mean? Various parts of the CIPC report help to answer these questions and to determine the essence of cottage industry.

The CIPC report included a short analysis on the economic and societal position of the practitioners of cottage industry (KM1949:34, mon., 12). The economic value of cottage industry was thus set against the land property of the 'practitioner of cottage industry'. It was pointed out that cottage industry was

practised in the countryside and even more so on the smallest farms that had less than five hectares of tilled land. Underlining this relation, it was supposed to clarify the close connection between farming, especially smallholding, and cottage industries. In other words, the people working within cottage industry were the dwellers of small or extremely small farms. In the final section of the report cottage industry was explicitly described as the occupations of the weak or the underclass: 'Those employing themselves with cottage industries are of that part of the people that tries to the last to get by on their own means and avoids falling on society's liability' (ibid., 67).

The committee then considered it necessary 'to guide' this 'part of the population' to create a better standard of living and to generate incomes through cottage industries (KM1949:34, mon., 15). The committee maintained that the smallholders' tendency to move to cities was to be hindered, because they formed a useful source of labour in the countryside. Rural workers could then apply cottage industries as secondary occupations: 'Hereby possibilities for gaining extra income would be ensured for larger masses than at the present, which would keep them at the service of the countryside and the need for seasonal workforce could be better fulfilled' (ibid.). Then again, instead of recognising the 'practitioners of cottage industries' as truly independent craft entrepreneurs, they were perceived as masses tied down to their crofts with the support of cottage industries that would secure their economic independence.

According to the report's definition, to be considered as cottage industry products, crafts were supposed to have 'individual character', they ought to be made of 'selected materials' and over half of the work was to be done by hand. The appendix of crafts listed as cottage industries included woodwork, ranging from building houses to making 'modest sculptures'; sauna whisks and brooms; smithery, including making knives and fixing bicycles; weaving, spinning and knitting, including piled rugs and lacemaking; sewing; and also pottery, ropemaking and shoemaking (KM1949:34, mon., Appendix 2). It is worth noting that there were explicit limitations, such as the insistence on modesty in making wooden sculptures. In general, cottage industry products could be described as modest everyday objects, a description that was in line with the supposed modesty of their makers. The committee recommended, for example, that the state should acquire cottage industry products such as boots and mittens for the army. In the committee's suggestion for collecting twigs from the state's logging sites for the making of brooms, there appears a trait of possibly unintended arrogance, as this practice was supposed 'to enhance the possibilities of smallholders' lives and would alike increase the residents' tax-paying ability' (KM1949:34, mon., 16).

The report also stated that cottage industry products should have individual looks; the section of the document headed 'The Model Questions' was dedicated to the design of cottage industry products. The chapter opened with the committee's notion that the matter had 'become one of the most burning issues' that should be answered, among other things, with a permanent exposition of the best folk crafts, an improvement that had been missed for a

long time (KM1949:34, mon., 39). Along with introducing professional designers with the cultural development of folk culture, such a collection would represent the best items and models of cottage industry. Thus, 'traditional understanding' would be further developed and the creation of new models would be built on 'a sound basis' (ibid.).

Unique design was also considered to benefit foreign trade: a distinctive national style offered the possibility to achieve original visibility in the international market. Therefore, products for export were to be based on 'national culture' and these were supposed to express 'the Finnish national nuance' (KM1949:34, mon., 39). However, the dichotomy between the traditional and the new looks of craft items was clearly distinct in the document. Although the traditional form was appreciated, the committee admitted that one could not continue 'narrowly on the traditional basis' in everything, especially 'when creating new fields of work', but the same applied also to 'those fields, on which folk art is very primitive' (ibid., 40). Still, simplicity was seen as the original basis of all folk art. This is interesting considering that simplicity probably met well with the idea of functionalism that reigned the fields of architecture and design at the time. Simplicity of folk art was not directly considered aesthetically awkward; rather, in a stylised form, simplicity was regarded as a marker of sophisticated modern taste (Kalha 1997, 269).

Indeed, the design issues related to cottage industry were not particularly detached from the design of industrial art objects of the time. On the contrary, cottage industry was in dire need of assistance from modern design. This was evident in the committee's proposition that 'in cottage industries, one should attempt to use models particularly designed for them and those [models] should be available widely from as many fields of cottage industry as possible' (KM1949:34, mon., 40). Although certain traditional craft models, such as piled rugs, were supposed to be developed on the traditional basis, even these, not to mention the many commodities, required attention from the contemporary design professionals: 'For the development of models and items intended for the use of each generation, persons are needed with artistic education who are versed in the national production of their field [of speciality]' (ibid.). This professional task applied especially to the Central School of Industrial Arts in Helsinki: with patriotic tones, the committee urged that students of the school should be acquainted with the 'designs of the folk culture of their own country'(ibid.). It is remarkable that the design of the cottage industry-produced items was considered so important when at the same time the manufacture of these crafts was largely thought to be a secondary occupation that yielded items such as brooms and mittens to help their maker put bread on the table. It therefore seems that the worry about the design of the cottage industry products reflected a more general interest in controlling not only the products' national aesthetics but also good folk culture and related taste.

On the practical level, the committee saw many important development targets. The cottage industry schools' curricula needed to be aligned, marketing and supply channels for products needed to be rearranged, and also the Central

Organisation of Cottage Industry Associations lacked efficiency. A major goal seems to have been that of establishing and strengthening the structures of practising cottage industries, although by then the administrative and representative quarters had existed for more than 30 years. Although the practice of cottage industries was justified through its income generation for the weak and the poor, it was also considered a carrier of national culture and craft traditions.

Therefore, along with providing an explicit definition of cottage industry as it was conceptualised in the late 1940s, the CIPC report also serves as a semantic reading of the concept. The design issues for one illustrate that the concept of cottage industry was not only a pragmatic economic and administrative definition but that it was laden with other valuing and argumentative connotations. Indeed, these semantic contents of cottage industry offer a possibility for a wider look at the temporal structure of the concept. For Koselleck, semantics is reminiscent of the so-called '*longue durée*', of repetition that builds up as structural continuity. With the example of comparative analysis on the concepts of citizenship in major European languages, he wished to point out how each of these concepts had been 'pre-programmed' in different ways because of their different semantic conditions. Thus, semantics appears as a mode of operation on experience and thought on the conceptual level and is fundamental for the temporal structure of concepts. (Koselleck 2006, 93.)

To analyse the semantics of a concept, it is then indispensable to look at the singular lingual signifier, the concept, not only in its immediate textual framework but also in a wider cultural context. In this way, a concept can work in the manner of an exceptional detail that requires analytical dynamics between the micro and macro levels. Correspondingly, the CIPC report is not only to be recognised as another committee report, but also as a source that sprouted from certain lines of cultural and political continuities that were sought to be reasserted and adjusted to the post-war circumstances. Furthermore, whereas the explicit definition delimits the pragmatic scope of the concept, there are other parts in the report that clearly expose the historical continuity and its significance for understanding the meaning of cottage industry.

3.3 Historical justification – the clue

The post-war hardship was a crisis of a unique kind. The return to peace began with the immediate challenges of resettling the evacuees, of housing and appointing settlement farms for veterans and other groups, with the rationing of food along with general material deficiency. In appointing the diverse temporary committees to plan measures to overcome the situation, the committees resorted to the experience and empirical knowledge of the expert members. In a way then, although the ending of the war created a historically

important moment, marking a zero hour in historical timelines, it also created a moment of continuation. Soldiers returned from the front, and even though nothing would have remained the same, everyday life still needed to continue with its repeating rhythms. Considering the women, men, children and the youth of the home front with their various duties and extended share of work, it could even be summarised that wartime stress transmuted into post-war stress. In many families, dedication to work also served as a therapeutic instrument in managing the burdensome and traumatic experiences of the wars (Kirves et al. 2010, 399–400; Palomäki 2011, 455).

With regard to the settlement process, it also seemed to partially continue from where the project had been left in the 1930s. Quite literally, some of the soldiers returned to an already acquired settlement farm to continue, for example, land clearance work. Yet, in the post-war situation, the extension of settlement work became the primary solution to resolve population pressures. As Laitinen has noted, Paasikivi belonged to the minority of those who mentioned the extensive industrialisation as an alternative to the large-scale settlement work, but the political pressure – the pressure to continue the settlement process and land reforms – was so great that this alternative never got into a form of actual proposition. Many of the professionals and experts on the settlement committees saw these activities also as an essential societal and social political instrument. (Laitinen 1995, 100, 104–105.)

In a parallel way, the experts of cottage industry who gathered in the meetings of the CIPC considered the practice of cottage industries as an inherently close if not even a vital factor for the settlement plans. Development work in cottage industry also had a line of continuation of its own. Similarly to the settlement and land partitioning processes, committee work on cottage industry continued a development and planning process that had begun with the 1936 Laine committee. Although the post-war crisis craved immediate solutions, also on behalf of the CIPC in the form of an express programme for developing the production of cottage industries, the previous work had already formed a basis that, for example, enabled the particular discussion on the definition of cottage industry. This negotiation on the concept of cottage industry with intentions to update it to comply with changes that technological development in particular had brought about makes evident the established status of cottage industry as a matter for the official agenda.

However, as detailed and particular as the explicitly definitive parts of the committee report sought to be, the more descriptive sections of the document implied that beneath the aspirations of detailing cottage industry in legalistic terms and by the official style of writing, epithets remained that mostly reasserted the conviction about the importance of cottage industry in stabilising not only the economic status of the smallholders but also the society at large. In the general justifications for developing cottage industries, the ideal of the self-sufficient smallholder who is both willing and capable of providing his family through the work of his own hands, is apparent. On the other hand, the aesthetic aspects of craft, design and craft traditions were regarded highly

important by the CIPC. Conjoined with the ideals of smallholding, it appears that through the concept of cottage industry, the committee sought to access control over certain self-sufficient rural lifestyles. To this ideal of rural life, the committee applied conceptions of continuity of folk culture but also ideas of private entrepreneurship with a certain glory of self-sufficiency, even if on the limits of adequate sustenance.

In the committee report, the recommendations for developing cottage industry were chiefly justified with economic reasons, but social matters were also emphasised. In this respect, the CIPC's intentions were in line with those of the settlement committees that also saw the land acquisition not only as housing policy or agricultural policy but more generally as a measure to resolve the 'societal question' – the social inequality that in Finland had previously been recognised as issues of land property, tenancy and land reform. These aspects are apparent in how the development of cottage industries was justified as smallholders'subsidiary trade. Yet at the same time, the committee emphasised the traditional role of cottage industry and even the historical continuity of developing cottage industry – in other words, the continuum of cottage industry policy.

Although, the economic motives of cottage industry were detailed in legal-technical jargon, other reasons for justifying cottage industry were found in the historical background. The committee expressed its awareness of the historical continuity by outlining the history of cottage industry education that was presented as educational phases; as was pointed out in the report, the roots of organised teaching, especially in spinning, went back to the 18th century (KM1949:34, mon., 17–19; cf. Vainio-Korhonen 2010, 251–254). The committee also brought up previous development activities, including the report of the 1872 appointed committee (KM1873:1) and other accounts, an official survey from 1887 and a study concerning specifically women's cottage industries from 1893 (KM1949:34, mon., 43). Being quintessentially a practical planning document, it is nevertheless remarkable that in the chapter on education, 'Developing Craftsmanship', outstanding historical names were mentioned that by the 1940s had become essential in outlining 19th-century Finnish history. The chapter opened with a presentation on the historical relevance of cottage industry:

> Since earlier times, cottage industry has taken a recognised economic and ethical stand. Notable men at the head of the state's monetary institution, such as Lars Gabriel von Haartman and J. W. Snellman, worked for the elevation of cottage industry, as did Agathon Meurman and Uno Cygnaeus. The great years of dearth and famine in the late 1860s gave rise to the questions of men's cottage industry work. The civilised of the country and those in leading positions, J. V. Snellman and Z. Topelius at the head, took notice of the national heritage hidden within cottage industry and began to enhance it. Even before this, cottage industry teaching was given great significance in the national economic life and in education. (KM1949:34, mon. 16–17.)

In the textual context of a committee report, this kind of appealing to the leverage of historical authorities differs from the typically legalistic style of

writing. This detail thus offers the typical exception, a detail that differs from its surroundings and raises the interest of the reader. It creates the clue for studying the history of cottage industry further and as such it can save the researcher from 'decoding historical data' by contributing a clue to grip onto in order to study the nexus of actors and the historical basis, on which cottage industry policy was built. But how did the authors of the report come to this selection of names? Would they go through historical sources and check their facts? Did these names have something to do with the committee appointed in 1872? Or was the CIPC's list impromptu, according to their current conviction about the historical development or about the political stance of cottage industry?

This clue directs the analysis to the mentioned persons and the historical pursuits concerning the promotion of cottage industry. Also, the clue serves as a means of identification of the authors of the CIPC report themselves. As was pointed out by Cerutti (2004, 29), the motive for analysing this kind of detail is not about proving the historical actors' claims as either right or wrong, or correcting their interpretations; rather, it is about making these actions and claims understandable – to point out what is typical about the detail. The clue therefore points at the same time to the past of the cottage industry policy and to the present of the CIPC's work. Together, these temporal allusions help to pin down the historical essence of the idea of cottage industry.

4 THE ENLIGHTENED VIRTUE AND THE NATIONAL SPIRIT – THE ROOTS OF COTTAGE INDUSTRY

A strong historical claim about cottage industry, the clue that the CIPC report offers, seems to give an outspoken argument for determining cottage industry against the 19th-century backdrop of Finland. Indeed, at first glance, the list could even be seen as a statement emphasising the patriotic or moderately nationalist (von Haartman, Topelius, Cygnaeus) or even outright Fennoman (Snellman, Meurman) sentiments that cottage industry would be connected with. Actually, this kind of a reading would well be in line with some customary tendencies of interpretation about the conflicting relationship between the nationalist Fennoman and the liberalist orientations of thought concerning not only the general political changes but also the industrial, economic and cultural developments in Finland. The early faction of Finnish liberalism has been characterised as West-oriented, industry and trade promoting, freedom of speech defending, Swedish speaking, and an elitist group that clustered in the 1860s around the newspaper *Helsingfors Dagblad* (Vares 2000, 23–25; Landgren 1995, 16–17). On the other hand, the Fennoman movement has typically been characterised as rather conservative, loyalist (to the Russian emperor), traditional and earth-bound, especially as the radical leader of the clique in the 1870s and the editor-in-chief of the Fennoman newspaper *Uusi Suometar*, G. Z. Yrjö-Koskinen, sought to actively represent the Finnish people (Liikanen 1995, 279–283).

Polarisation between these two parties has often been applied in recognising diverse initiatives and associations of the late 19th century either as 'Fennoman' or 'liberal'. For example, the founding of the Society for Popular Enlightenment (*Kansanvalistusseura*) in 1874 has been largely considered a Fennoman act whereas the establishment of the Society for Industrial Art (*Suomen Taideteollisuusyhdistys*) in 1875 has been recognised as a liberalist countermove.[19]

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19 The contemporary English names of these associations slightly deviate from the original Finnish titles: The Finnish Lifelong Learning Foundation (*Kansanvalistusseura*); Finnish Society of Crafts and Design (*Suomen Taideteollisuusyhdistys*).

To intensify the juxtaposition, the former has been construed as emphasising the intellectual aspect of life whereas the latter accentuated material aspects. (Klinge 1977, 151, 154.) The establishment of the Craft School (*Veistokoulu*) in Helsinki and the 1876 General Art and Industry Exhibition (*Yleinen Taide- ja Teollisuusnäyttely*) have been described as triumphs for C. G. Estlander, professor of aesthetics and a well-known adherent of the liberalist orientation (Reitala 1977, 160–161). Reitala then considered the founding of the Friends of Finnish Handicraft Society (*Suomen Käsityön Ystävät*) in 1879 as a counteraction by the Fennoman side that leaned on traditions whereas the liberals 'tried to change the society' (Reitala 1977, 163; transl EK). This contrast has later been rephrased as a dispute between the Fennomans and the liberals concerning industrial art (Mykkänen 2008).

Following these lines of historical recognition, cottage industry has been connected to the Fennoman movement (Ylönen 2003, 27–28) or more generally to conservatism with cottage industry recognised as a pre-industrial countryside activity that was close to National Romantic and anti-industrialist ideas (Virrankoski 1994, 678–679). Attaching cottage industry to the Fennoman movement that wanted to unite a nation of Finnish-speaking commonalty – to whom the practice of cottage industries mostly applied – would thus appear logical and easy. The clue of the CIPC document that referred to historical authorities, including pronouncedly Fennoman figures like Snellman and Meurman, would appear to be supporting exactly this kind of interpretation.

Still, while it is curious enough that the CIPC did not regard any of the industry-driven liberalists as early proponents of cottage industry, it is also good to note that, on the second look, the people on their list also represented quite deviating viewpoints. Whereas Lars Gabriel von Haartman, who did not hesitate to push through reforms single-handedly, would in this list represent the high elite of politics and administration, Johan Vilhelm Snellman, the primus motor of the Fennoman movement, would appear as a strong opponent to the old ruling order of the aristocracy. Snellman, on the other hand, later ended up in a conflict with Uno Cygnaeus; the topic of their dispute was indeed that of craft education. Agathon Meurman, again, would as a member of the Old Finnish Party pose as a stern conservative Fennoman in comparison to the image of Zacharias Topelius, an active member of many cultural societies, a historian and writer, whose fame as the warm-hearted story-teller and insightful novelist has continued well into the 21st century.

Following this piece of information further, the past opens as a more intricate collage with the roots of developing cottage industry deeper and wider in the past than in the late 19th-century heyday of the Fennoman movement – as the reference to L. G. von Haartman already might imply. Reading this complexity, the interconnections between the nationalist and the liberal lines of thought are also illuminated. In this chapter, I first introduce the persons mentioned in the clue and consider their possible connections to promoting cottage industry. In this way, I create a general look at the 19th-century Grand Duchy of Finland and the cultural, economic and political backgrounds that together cre-

ated the foundation for the emerging cottage industry policy. With the historical actors in focus, I then move on to study the membership of the first cottage industry committee that gave its report in 1873. Analysing the deeds of this committee led to the initial cottage industry meeting and finally to the large Cottage Industry and Working Exhibition that took place in Helsinki in 1875 (thus, prior to the General Art and Industry Exhibition of 1876).

4.1 Upper-class models of progress and virtue

The reference to Lars Gabriel von Haartman (1789–1859) creates an impressive context of historical authority for the CIPC's argument about cottage industry having 'since earlier times a recognised economic and ethical stance' (KM1949:34, mon., 16) that connected cottage industry to the highest spheres of governance in the Grand Duchy of Finland. L. G. von Haartman created a career as a leading government administrator of the Grand Duchy. He could even have observed closely the political rearrangement of Finland from the status of the eastern counties of the Swedish Kingdom to that of the Grand Duchy of the Imperial Russia, an outcome that followed the Finnish War (1808–09). The governing political beacon shifted from Stockholm to Saint Petersburg and soon after, in 1812, also the Finnish capital city changed from Turku to Helsinki. Whereas many established traditions of administration adopted during the era of Swedish rule were adjusted to the new conditions of autonomy, the direction of loyalty turned to the Emperor-Grand Duke, Alexander I (Katajisto 2009, 152–162). L. G. von Haartman had even maintained that the 'fatherland's happiness was to belong to Russia' (Kalleinen 2001a; transl. EK).

L. G. von Haartman witnessed a time that brought significant changes to the lives of the Finnish nobility.[20] Noblemen often served in military professions, as officers, but those who stayed in the Finnish territory were then increasingly recruited to work as civil officials, which also formed part of the emperor's conciliatory policies. Although university degrees were required of the officials (since 1817), nobility background along with good connections increased the prospects of getting into office significantly. (Klinge 1997, 52–55; Snellman 2014, 33–37, 77–79.) Following first his father's profession, L. G. von Haartman studied medicine in Uppsala, but then changed plans and studied history and statistics instead. He accomplished his studies in Turku before devoting himself to political life and administration. (Kalleinen 2001a, 30–32.) With his father's[21] support, L. G. von Haartman achieved positions in governance as early as 1809. Together with his ambitious plans for developing Finland's economy, the familial networks and relations to the elite of Russian governance helped von

20 After the turn of 1809, the Finnish House of Nobility was formed by 1818. Member families created the first Estate, the Nobility. (Snellman 2014, 77.)

21 L. G. von Haartman's father, Gabriel Erik von Haartman (1757–1815), served as the chief of financial matters during the years 1812–1815. G. E. von Haartman was ennobled in 1810. (Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 64–65; Kalleinen 2001a, 26).

Haartman to succeed in his office career. In the 1830s, he had already worked in many committees regarding Finland's trade and finance and short after he ascended to lead the governance of these matters (Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 258). In 1840, von Haartman became Head of the Finance Department, and a year later he was elected to serve as the vice-chair of the Economic Division.[22] Due to this double position that von Haartman held until 1858, he has been regarded as the equivalent of a joint prime minister and minister of finance for the 17-year period. (Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 266–267.) Finally, in 1858, von Haartman became a member of the State Council of the Imperial Russia (Kalleinen 2008).

In historical recollections, L. G. von Haartman has been remembered for his financial reforms, especially for removing the Swedish currency from circulation in Finland and replacing it with the silver standard rouble. L. G. von Haartman was convinced of the importance of private entrepreneurship for national prosperity, and saw that the government ought to support those initiatives. Along with reorganising the Bank of Finland, he reformed the system of customs to benefit the Grand Duchy's economy and advanced the building of the Saimaa Canal to promote trade between Finland and Russia (Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 244–345; Kalleinen 2001a, 144–165, 183–188). During the years 1827–29, von Haartman toured Europe and learned about canals and their importance for trade in Sweden and Holland, and visited factories in London, Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester. In his travels to Denmark, Belgium and Northern Italy, he took special interest in the organisation of prisons, hospitals and poor houses; in 1845, von Haartman then inspected Finnish prisons and compiled a detailed report. (Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 266; Kalleinen 2001a, 87–90, 198–205.)

A reformist in financial matters, L. G. von Haartman was otherwise known as a conservative aristocrat. Mimicking the many honorary titles that von Haartman was dignified with, he has also been given the humorous title of His Horrendousness (*Hans Förskräcklighet*, *Hänen Hirmuisuutensa*) that referred to his fierce temper, ambitiousness and his strict attitude toward fellow officials (Heikkinen & Tiihonen 2009, 273; Kalleinen 2001a, 12–13; Kalleinen 2008). The need to maintain social order and morality remained important for von Haartman, and, like many other aristocrats, he abhorred calls for equality and liberty and the rise of national Fennoman movement that J. V. Snellman inaugurated (Kalleinen 2001a, 193–194, 208–224). Still, von Haartman's activities in many ways mirror the 19th-century progressive ambitions to enhance economic growth, of which the Saimaa Canal project serves as an example. Keen to develop the economic circumstances of the country, von Haartman occupied himself with various tasks and responsibilities. In 1834, he became the chair of the Finnish Economy Society, founded in 1797. As the chief goal of this society was to develop farming in Finland, von Haartman's first initiative as the chair was to establish an agricultural school, which opened in Mustiala in 1840. (Kalleinen

22 For general information about the administrative history and structures of the Ministry of Finance in Finland, see Tiihonen 2012, 17, 33.

2001a, 116–117; Kalleinen 2008.) He was also concerned with the education of the craftsmen of towns and obliged in the organisation of Sunday schools for craft pupils and journeymen (Heikkinen 1995, 159).

Developing farming and industries had formed the essential national economic questions and subjects of debate in the 18th-century Swedish Kingdom, of which Finland was then a part. The need to increase the productivity of farming was not only required because of the growing import of grain after the kingdom had suffered defeats in the Great Northern War (1700–1721), but it was also stimulated by the idea of utility. Inspired by Enlightenment thoughts, the notion of utility was closely connected with the national economy; ideas about physiocracy and cameralism as economic lines of thought were familiar, especially in the latter part of the century. (Louekari 2013, 48–64.) The idea of utility reflected in the growing significance of natural sciences; the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences was established in 1739. This also had a direct effect in Finland, in the Turku Academy, where many students of Carl von Linné were appointed as professors. For example, Professor of Chemistry P. A. Gadd (1727–1797) lectured on farming and keeping cattle while Professor of Economy Pehr Kalm (1712–1786) took part in the 18th-century trend of importing foreign plants to Europe; these included the mulberry tree in the hope of starting silk production in Sweden. (Louekari 2013, 70–73; Niemelä 1998, 95–99; Klinge 2006, 98–101.) Johan Kraftman (1713–1791), who had competed with Kalm for professorship, also sought to give good examples in enhancing farming, including the fen draining project on his Koivisto estate (Louekari 2013, 133–140). Kraftman printed his lectures and theories on farming. Along with his visions on increased farming production, he also emphasised the importance of cottage industries, spinning and weaving in particular; he even suggested that craft skills should be a condition to allow farm workers to marry. (Klinge 2006, 102–108, 130.)

Indeed, the 18th-century eagerness to develop farming and industries included the initiative to strengthen self-sufficiency in textile industries too: Finland was then considered favourable ground for extensive flax production. This increased the need for skilled spinners and specific education was arranged. The Otavala Spinning School for cultivating and spinning flax was founded by Governor Hans Henrik Boije in 1752. At the Otavala Spinning School, education included the moulding of flax from seed to yarn, and students were also taught how to make the required tools, weaving, Christianity and reading. The first spinning teachers were upper-class women. These included master of spinning Maria Elisabet Öberg, who taught in Otavala and developed her skills further in Sweden, in Vadstena spinning school and in Kättestad flax factory. But despite the highly skilled teachers and the fine equipment, Otavala School continued to lack pupils and it was closed down in 1766. (Laine 1935; Vainio-Korhonen 2010, 251–253). The low interest in attending a spinning school can be explained by the ill repute that spinning had had since the Middle Ages as poor women's poorly paid work. Moreover, spinning was a form of forced labour: the term 'spinning room' equalled penitentiary for females until 1882, when these were

closed and inmates were sent to Hämeenlinna prison for females (Laine 1935, 60–63; Pukero 2009, 40; Vainio-Korhonen 2010, 251).

Although the 18th-century interest to develop agriculture grew during Sweden's so-called Era of Utility, results in the Finnish areas distant from the political and academic capitals of Stockholm and Turku emerged slowly. Still, some of the changes took place quicker than others. For example, the process of general parcelling out of land (*isojako*) that was undertaken since the mid-18th century reformed the then prevailing landowning system. The aim was to separate each farm's arable areas into one section of land instead of the several strips of fields that had been collectively cultivated. This land reform also showed in a concrete way who owned land and who did not. Landless people thus became more dependent on landowners. Also, from 1760 to 1860, the number of landtenants, crofters, increased tenfold. (Saarenheimo 2003, 364; Rasila 2003, 365–367.) The land-parcelling operation had expected to enable farmers to decide independently about their farming techniques and schedules. However, techniques remained largely traditional until the late 19th century. (Saarenheimo 2003, 356.)

Although the 19th century then brought along significant economic reforms and progress in farming and industries, in which processes L. G. von Haartman indeed had a remarkable role to play, in practice the Grand Duchy still in many ways remained a poor rural land with traditional farming techniques and tools. Farming was also plagued by crop failures from time to time, especially in the 1830s, most famously in the 1860s, and in the 1890s. These hardships especially harmed the increasing number of smallholders and landless people. Road and draining work, and bridge, canal and railway building sites were repeatedly used for organising relief work, especially since the 1860s (Häkkinen 1991c, 130). However, already in the 1840s, at the Saimaa Canal building site, vagrants and prisoners were used as a large-scale work force (Kalleinen 2001a, 187–204), and in the distress of the 1830s, spinning had been suggested for the needy in order to receive aid (Kauranen 1999, 53–54). The tendency to apply forced labour to solving famines strengthened with the rising popularity of the notion of poverty as a moral problem: work was perceived as an educative and disciplinary method to improve the ignorant poor people (Pulma 1992, 189–202; Häkkinen 1991c, 141–143).

Although ideas of utility and progress were more often put into practice on the mansions of the elite, the underdeveloped conditions elsewhere in the country were increasingly highlighted by J. V. Snellman in the critical articles that he published in his newspaper *Saima* (1844–46), issued during the time Snellman lived in Kuopio. From there, he had a view to the surrounding county of Savo, one of the north-eastern counties prone to crop failures caused by frost and where slash-and-burn continued to be a favoured farming technique. *Saima* was an initiative to raise awareness of the circumstances of the Finnish commonalty and sparked interest in Finnish nationalism, especially among students. L. G. von Haartman was disappointed with Snellman's articles that were 'based on liberal philosophies without taking heed of reason and experience' as he

complained to Governor-General Menshikov (Kalleinen 2001a, 208–210; transl. EK). L. G. von Haartman, whose position as the chief of finance Snellman was later to follow, could not appreciate Snellman's criticism at all – and possibly even less the establishment of a professorship in the Finnish language in 1850 (Kalleinen 2001a, 210, 220).

In order to hinder pro-Finnish activity, the 1850 set language statute ordained all material published in the Finnish language only to address matters concerning religion, economy and industrial issues, because these kinds of publications were considered useful to advise the ignorant Finnish-speaking commonalty. In 1852, von Haartman had even chaired a committee of popular enlightenment that insisted on educating common people to better honour the authorities; emphasis was put on religious teaching. (Kalleinen 2001a, 237–238.) von Haartman did not hesitate to push through economic reforms and projects that would promote trade, but he also made clear his aristocratic prejudice against the Finnish-speaking people – to him, Finnish was the devil's language, '*la langue de perkelä*', as he had put it (Kalleinen 2001a, 220). Among the governing officials, who often had upper-class backgrounds, the rising Fennoman thought was typically disapproved of as rebellious and threatening to the position of the ruling elite.

With the growing nationalist spirit, the use of the Finnish language in many ways became a heated topic, and disseminating practical information in Finnish was soon embraced by the Fennoman activists. The emergence of Finnish press serves an important outcome, but along with this *Kansanvalistusseura*, the Society for Popular Enlightenment, concentrated on publishing pragmatic and popular books and booklets for the people. Several ideas about utilising nature with the help of technological innovations were strongly promoted. (Päivärinne 2010, 89–120.) As Päivärinne's study shows, the notion of Finland as a national whole was grasped not only on the level of vernacular language but also with regard to nature, natural resources and geography in general. By creating presentations of Finnish nature and landscape, this created the cornerstones for a national identity. On the other hand, investigations into Finnish nature and geography, land surveying especially, increasingly focused on the natural sciences; Finland had become a focus for expeditions, as after Maupertuis, many others had explored the northern areas of Europe (Klinge 2006, 424–438; Pihlaja 2009; Tuominen 2010, 311–320).

As a result of the geographic studies, a large pictorial book on Finland, *Finland framställdt i teckningar*, was compiled, published in 1845–1852, and to which Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898) wrote an extensive introduction. This work of Topelius, who in 1854 was nominated as professor of history, can be conceived of as a geographical, historical and statistical compilation on Finland (Klinge 1998, 27, 267). Indeed, in the 19th century statistics also covered economic, administrative and historical descriptions. Topelius' work was probably influenced by Professor of History Gabriel Rein (1800–1867) who had published geographic and statistical studies on the counties of Kuopio and Oulu. This kind of statistical interest, inclusive of historical and geographical aspects, also

created the basis for the Statistical Office that was later established by another historian, K. F. Ignatius. (Klinge 1998, 267–271.)

Figure 6 Rural landscape from 1840s' Finland. Pictures in the collection *Finland framställdt i teckningar* (1845–1852) chiefly included picturesque landscapes from different parts of the country. Lithography of Paikkari croft in Sammatti parish by Johan Knutson. (Source: Adler & Dietze (printer), Johan Knutson (artist), Historical Picture Archive, National Board of Antiquities.)

Knowledge of nature and geography were also used to compensate for a lack of historical knowledge; in 1845, Topelius had published the presentation *Äger Finska Folket en historie?* with the crucial question of whether Finnish people had history at all in the title. A professor of history himself, Topelius was in a position to add to historical knowledge about Finland, but this he did mostly through popular texts; Klinge has considered the introduction to *Finland framställdt i teckningar* as his broadest academic publication. Still, this text was applied in the school book *Boken om vårt land* that was published in 1875 and translated and widely read in schools in Finland. (Klinge 1998, 244, 27.)

Indeed, Topelius has had remarkable influence as a popular writer and novelist and as a historian.[23] In particular, his many historical stories, *Surgeon's Stories* (*Fältskärns berättelser*, 1853–1867, translated into English in 1896–1901) in the first instance, represented Topelius' historical interpretations and also his

23 *Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland* (Swedish Literature Society in Finland) started the project *Zacharias Topelius Skrifter* in 2005 to collect all of Topelius' work into a critical text edition that is available online (Topelius 2005).

perceptions of Finnish society. The history that Finland seemed to lack prior to the turn of 1809 was grasped through the fictive family history. According to Klinge, this project was not only literal but also pedagogical and historiographical in the sense that Topelius wanted to present the 17th- and 18th-century history of Sweden and even to explicate the separation of Finland. (Klinge 1998, 279–280.)

This work, which was initially published in the form of a feuilleton, aspired to represent 'the fullness of life' and the deviating levels of life of the two families, one being a noble family and the other a landowning peasant family. However, though Topelius was very conscious of the workers and landless people beyond the four estates of nobility, clergy, burghers and peasants, he apparently could not 'fit them to his sphere of historical synthesis' (Klinge 1998, 280–281, transl. EK). Still, Topelius strived to present social and cultural historical impressions of Finnish history in the spirit of 'Guizot's and Victor Hugo's cultural history, of animation, and of Snellman-Hegelian idea of development', and in this way he wanted to grasp historical diversity with its contradictions (Klinge 1998, 286).

Topelius wished to come up with more literally aesthetic compositions instead of fact-based chronologies, and therefore one can recognise in the texts the traits of moral lessons that were typical for his children's stories. Characteristic of Topelius' worldview, he emphasised the link between the people and the sovereign, and although he was favourable to the Fennoman movement, he opposed lingual nationalism. Instead, he wished to highlight the historical unity of the Finnish nation; this kind of patriot's belief in national unity in diversity was exemplified in *Surgeon's Stories* that embraced the problematic position of the nobility with its privileges. On a personal level, there could appear to be an opposition between Topelius and von Haartman: as a scornful aristocrat, von Haartman might have characterised what Topelius would have disapproved of in his novels. This is exemplified in the strong attitudes against the nobility, a hindrance between the people and the king, as the character of farmer Aaron Perttilä phrased it in the *Surgeon's Stories.* (Klinge 1998, 30–31, 314–328.)

Still, there are also some similarities between the two in their belief in virtue and in their loyalty to the emperor. Actually, L. G. von Haartman regarded the Swiss economist and historian Jean Charles Sismondi[24] (1773–1842) as his idol; he especially appreciated Sismondi's proposition that all trades would aim at virtue and edification and in general form the highest goals of every human effort (Kalleinen 2001a, 98). Furthermore, the attitude that combined the ideas of utility with religiousness and generosity, phrased as theological rationalism or as neology, appears to have been rather common among the 19th-century gentry and was propagated also by Topelius (Klinge 2006, 278–279). In the combination of protestant religiousness and trust in the mechanical applications

24 Sismondi, who was critical of unlimited competition, demanded protection for the workers on the state's behalf. He anticipated that mechanisation and industrialisation would increase power of the capital that would bear a proletarianisation effect (see Lutz 1999, 21–54).

of natural science, then, there remained space for the common people to take heed and develop their skills, but they were also supposed to remain obedient to the hierarchical systems of the society and the Church.

Although it is worth remembering that Topelius was a versatile personality, who could not be identified through one or two characteristics, his work nevertheless has been largely remembered as the embodiment of what is sometimes termed 'the Topelian idyll' of the increasingly bourgeois 19th century. Refering to Anderson's (2006, 74–75) analysis of the rise of nationalism, it could be claimed that Topelius' literal work summoned an essential part in imagining Finland as a national whole, of which the *Boken om vårt land* with the ideal notions of home and family would serve an example. Additionally, Topelius founded a children's nature preservation association and he took interest in supporting women's position in society, which made him a trusted person among the Finnish women's movement. On top of this, Topelius worked as the secretary of the Finnish Art Society[25] (est. 1846) during the years 1847–1869, and until 1889 he was the chair of the Artists' Association of Finland (*Suomen Taiteilijaseura*), founded in 1864. (Klinge 1998, 31–35, 384–385.)

However, identifying Zacharias Topelius as an essential figure for the development of cottage industry would seem slightly contradictory considering his stance towards the rise of industrial art as a part of industrialisation. Although he favoured the idea of establishing the Craft School in Helsinki (1871) and chaired the Artists' Association in the meetings of which Carl Gustaf Estlander (1834–1910), professor of aesthetics, promoted this idea (Suhonen 2000, 28–29), Topelius was critical about the new tendency. Like many of the artists, Topelius found Estlander's conviction that art would stem from the same source as industry, instead of being the sibling of poetry, a severe threat to the virtue and freedom of art (Reitala 1977, 161; Suhonen 2000, 41). Therefore, when it was written in the CIPC report that the Craft School was established with Topelius at the head (KM1949:34, mon., 19), the claim elegantly ceased to mention the key role that C. G. Estlander, a known adherent of the liberalist line of thought, had in embedding crafts and industrial art education in Finland (Korvenmaa 2009, 17–21; Mykkänen 2008, 140–150; Reitala 1977, 160–164; Suhonen 2000, 32–37).

Regarding von Haartman and Topelius, any direct deeds on developing cottage industry seem to remain rather limited. Including them in the list of initial cottage industry promoters can nevertheless be understandable: von Haartman strove for economic development and Topelius stressed the need for improving Finnish cultural life, especially in the fields of literature and fine arts. Moreover, as the practice of cottage industry also concerned women, Topelius might have appeared, in hindsight, an appropriate patron. Actually, the prima-

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25 With its classical conception of aesthetics following the academic European art styles Finnish Art Society (*Suomen Taideyhdistys*) formed an instrument of art policy monitoring the quality of art and creating a Finnish art market, although mostly restricted to the gentry in the small cities of Helsinki and Turku; for the most people access to fine arts was still confined to the altarpiece of the local church. (Sokka 2005, 38–41; Mykkänen 2008, 139.)

ry content of the CIPC clue, invoking historical authorities, could be interpreted as the committee's actualisation of the obedience that von Haartman and Topelius, both in their ways, would have expected the subject's moral code to include. But looking up to authorities also steers attention to their achievements and ideas and thus away from the level of organising cottage industry work, let alone the actual level of practising cottage industries.

The CIPC report thus reflected the juxtaposition between the obedient, modest and religious – the Topelian – people and the benevolent upper classes of officials and academics who sought to create knowledge of that people through geographical expeditions, historical studies and statistics. History of the hardship of the 1860s, on the other hand, highlights the lingual, cultural and geographic gap between the increased number of the landless, who mostly were Finnish speaking, and the governing and administrative elites, who chiefly operated in Swedish. Indeed, the 1860s of Finland have been interpreted in two deviating ways. For one, the era has been interpreted as the springtime of industrialisation in Finland, when the seeds of development sowed in the 18th century finally started to bear fruit. Secondly, this decade has been memorised as one of famine, caused by many years of crop failures. (Pitkänen 1991a, 36; Pitkänen 1993, 51–68.) Despite the emerging industrialisation, in the 1860s Finland remained a profoundly agricultural country and most of the people were quite literally at the mercy of the weather. Observing the dichotomy of development and distress, the history of cottage industry offers an exceptionally interesting object of investigation, because through this practice the upper-class ambitions for economic progress and the harsh everyday experience of the troubled in the countryside met in a striking way.

4.2 'There is no other way' – The famine of 1867–1868 and cottage industry

The road to the crisis that is known as the Great Famine of the 1860s was paved with repeated crop failures from 1856 on: a normal harvest was only collected in 1859 and 1861 (Savolainen 2000, 24). For many, the 1860s turned to mean distress that culminated in the catastrophe of the years 1867–1868: the exceptional weather conditions of the spring and summer in 1867 delayed the sowing, the growth of which was then largely lost due to autumn frost. The morning of 4 September 1867 is particularly remembered with the sight of frozen fields (Häkkinen & Pitkänen 1991, 283–298; Pitkänen 1991a, 40–41, 58–61). The harvest was lost again and the Grand Duchy faced another year of famine that was likely to increase vagrancy and beggary if the government could not arrange the needed relief. This time the hardship became exceptional. Retrospective calculations showed that the death rates more than doubled: during the years 1867–1868, well over 200,000 people died, roughly eight per cent of the population; in

some municipalities, over a fifth of the population was lost. (Turpeinen 1986, 102–106, 180–183 & passim; Pitkänen 1993, 44–50 & passim).

In 1863, J. V. Snellman (1806–1881) had become the Head of the Finance Department and steered the country's fiscal and trade policies through the difficult years of the 1860s. Although L. G. von Haartman had despised Snellman's nationalist endeavours, from the historical viewpoint, the contradiction between the two was not necessarily decisive: they both had been 'notable men at the head of the state's monetary institution' (KM1949:34, mon., 15). Similarly to von Haartman, J. V. Snellman demonstrated his will to implement monetary reforms: the Finnish Mark, established in 1860, was pegged to the silver standard in 1865. Moreover, Snellman's time at the head of public funds during the famine of the 1860s proved to be crucial for the development of cottage industry – referring to him as a leading figure in promoting cottage industry is a relevant documentary detail and not without historical evidence. Snellman's articles about cottage industry offer a captivating view of how he would have conjoined economic issues with his philosophy of the evolving Finnish nation.[26]

Surviving the crop failure of 1867 was hampered not only by the previous years of poor harvest but also by fiscal policies. The 1865 silver standard reform caused a change in currency value that created difficulties for many in gaining credit and increased the number of bankruptcies. In the severe situation of the autumn of 1867, the Senate had to resort to foreign credit that was negotiated with German bankers. With the help of loans and in collaboration with traders, 55,650 barrels of grain were to be imported to the country in the late autumn of 1867. According to Snellman, the load was to be chiefly distributed to the northern counties that had been most severely harmed by the frost. This was supposed to hinder the filtering of vagrant beggars to the southern counties. Still, after gathering the loans, the organisation of the aid was another challenge, first of all due to the transportation of grain over the freezing seas to the distant areas with poor roads, if any. Secondly, as the communal administration was going through rearrangement in the 1860s, the practical distribution of poor relief was then the responsibility of municipal citizens (instead of the Church), often farmers with little administrative experience, who nevertheless were facing overwhelming problems. (Savolainen 2000, 40–45; Turpeinen 1986, 144–170). The actual distribution of help was chiefly a local task with various practices; a repeated theme in the folklore of the famines was the injustices and cruelty in (not) giving aid (Häkkinen 1991d, 195–203).

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26 Research interest in J. V. Snellman has been great within Finnish political science, philosophy and history as he primarily was a politician, philosopher and a statesman – and foremost the architect of the Fennoman movement both as an activist journalist and a theorist. Studies on Snellman, his interpretations of G. W. F. Hegel's philosophy, and his ideas on formatting the Finnish state are quite immense (Jalava 2006, Manninen 1987, Pulkkinen 1989, Salomaa 1948, Savolainen 2006). There has also been interest in Snellman's economic thought, which has been identified as a pragmatic mixture of Friedrich List's and Adam Smith's lines of economic thought and thus supportive of 19th-century economic liberalism (Alf-Halonen 1954, Patoluoto 1986, Pihkala 1981).

What then was the role of the cottage industries? According to Snellman, cottage industry production was supposed to help amortise the public debts. The need for cottage industry was detailed in Snellman's article *What is grain bought with?*, published in the general official newspaper, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, on 23 September 1867, only a few weeks after the crucial frost night. Grain would have to be imported in enormous quantities, but people were already in debt and importers and retailers were unwilling to give them any more credit. Should the government give subventions to importers to buy grain or should it credit the people? And more to the point, how would the government get its repayments? (Snellman 2005c, 187.) In his article, Snellman reviewed the procedure from previous years that illustrated the financial loss the government had suffered in crediting the importers and the people. He presented his views on how the situation could be bettered:

> The only way is therefore to increase the number and production of those export products that the common people are able to make. Retailers on their part must be urged to help in producing these and take these in change for grain. What are these products? It is hard to answer. – But can be answered: anything that the common people have worth buying or selling. […] It is not only a phrase to say: this is the only way. There is no other way. (Snellman 2005c, 188.)

Snellman had written in favour of cottage industry already in July 1867 when he sent an instructive letter to county governors about developing local cottage industries in their administrative areas (Snellman 2005a, 141–142). An article on the topic had also been published, *On Cottage Industry*, in *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* on 28 August 1867. In this article, Snellman discussed the organising of cottage industry production on the practical level with systems for trading: setting fixed prices for products and creating chains of exchange between traders and makers (Snellman 2005b, 162). He also concluded that in order to achieve any success, cottage industry would be dependent on export trading. Here Snellman saw significant problems of quality: because of people's ignorance, the only known cottage industries were to export low processed forestry products, timbers and tar, which in addition were below par in quality and thus paid less than similar products from neighbouring countries. Generally, Snellman was critical about forestry: in his opinion, forest work was only accompanied with ignorance and brutality because the work did not involve any intelligent effort. Instead, he emphasised the need for small enterprises and the importance of enhancing actual practical and technical skills. (Snellman 2005b, 163–165.)

Reading Snellman's correspondence from the time of the dire years of famine, some people appeared to share the enthusiasm for developing cottage industry. These included the industrialist and founder of the Forssa cotton mill Axel Wilhelm Wahren, who reported on cottage industry prices in England (Wahren 1867) and who also took on the export of Finnish products to England. Another person who took an interest in following orders to promote cottage industry was the County Governor of Oulu, Georg von Alfthan. In his letter to Snellman, dated 4 February 1868, von Alfthan wrote that he had finally 'found a

man who truly is interested in spreading better craft skills among the common people' and recommended crediting a loan to a trader from Kajaani, Petter Leonard Hedman, for the development of cottage industries (von Alfthan 2005, 346–347; transl EK).

The idea of spreading relief through cottage industry nevertheless seemed to best work on paper. Loans to municipalities for claiming crafts were small (500–2,000 Finnish marks) and often efforts resulted in losses. For example, Hedman was given a 500 mark loan but instead he ended up making a loss of 300 marks. Along with the scant funding, the peasants' craft skills were not always a given – former tar burners did not seem to transform overnight into craftsmen. (Savolainen 2000, 49.) The beauty of 'Hegelian logic' of using cottage industry as income generation and compensation for relief appear to have been in striking contrast with the realities of the famine (Turpeinen 1986, 171). As part of Snellman's plans for overcoming the situation, poorhouses were opened in parishes, to which the needy of the area were sent, and who then were supposed to make various craft products. Craft was also used as a disciplinary method and as a tool of coercion: no crafts done, no food given either (Häkkinen 1991c, 146). Poorhouses tended to have a dismal reputation, partially due to the degrading discipline applied, but possibly more so because of the alarmingly high risk of death of the inmates caused by inadequate nutrition and overcrowding together with contagious diseases.

Conditions of the poorhouses were often miserable, exemplified by Turpeinen, who has provocatively even asked whether the houses that were intended to work as craft shops instead turned into equivalents of concentration camps of hunger and disease (Turpeinen 1986, 183–184). Descriptions of these houses have survived in County District Doctors' inspection reports. Dr Lybeck of Ikaalinen district condemned poorhouses frankly as murder scenes that needed to be closed down. Dr Ehrström of Raahe district described the conditions as beyond imagination: shadows of people exhausted by hunger or by disease staggering around or just lying numb right next to another in bunks or on the floor. The shocking communiqués about a poorhouse in Sotkamo reported by Dr Procopé, County District Doctor of Kainuu, raised the attention of the County Governor von Alfthan, who sent a bailiff on the spot to review the situation in case Procopé had exaggerated his report. Bailiff C. W. von Essen and Dr Procopé then together inspected five poorhouses, in which altogether some 630 or 640 people lived, two-thirds of whom were children under 10 years of age. These were fed with thin soup and bread substitutes. When still able to work, poorhouse inmates were to prepare straw or lichen for bread ingredients, to spin or to sew, or to chop wood. An ironic culmination of the craftwork practised in poorhouses was the making of coffins, sometimes for the inmates' own needs (casualties of the famine were often buried in mass graves) (Turpeinen 1986, 183–192, 177, 185; Häkkinen 1991c, 144–146).

Snellman's failure in turning cottage industry into a profitable line of production amid the catastrophic famine started to hamper his position in the Senate. Vagrancy and beggary increased at an alarming pace during the winter of

1868, and therefore the option of organising road and railway building sites in order to offer relief work became topical again. Because Snellman was not in favour of these, he tended to be repeatedly in opposition and was finally eased out from the Senate. (Savolainen 2000, 62–64.)

The letters and newspaper articles demonstrate Snellman's conviction of the importance of cottage industry – for him, there was no other way. As he emphasised, this phrase did not just serve as rhetoric of the inevitable; he valued cottage industries also as a morally better option. Snellman was not only critical about logging, equating it with ignorance and brutality, but he also condemned relief work (road, bridge and railway work) because, among other harms, this would take the men and the youth away from their families and homes (Snellman 2005b). Indeed, it seems that the practice of cottage industry offered not only a solution for the famine but also a practical way to put his ideas about citizens' personal growth into action.

In his philosophical magnum opus about the development of personality,[27] Snellman outlined ideas about the individual and his relation to society: how the individual will would resonate with the best interests of the community. Jalava later claimed in her psychohistorical analysis on different worldviews of the late 19th century that Snellman tried to philosophically prove the 'reasonability of the world, the generality of reasonable thought and the connection of man's subjective sense of self with the absolute self-sense of the spirit in the act of thinking' (Jalava 2005, 160; transl. EK). In this respect, the concept of '*Aufhebung*' (the retaining revolution) was essential. *Aufhebung* summarised the process of intellectual growth of a man to become a civilised person: the individual renounced his subjective self and fathomed his true self-sense on the level of the (national) spirit. Instead of just acting according to customs and the law, the civilised person based his actions on an internalised conviction. (Jalava 2005, 162–165.)

Jalava has characterised the process of adopting the general spirit with the Foucauldian term of self-technique where the 'rule-of-rod of the class society thus changed to the internalised self-discipline of the civic society' (Jalava 2005, 168). But before stepping out into society, a smaller unit, the family, offered a basis for this internalising process. The bourgeois family model, the new ideal since the 1840s, started to replace the prevailing conception of a rural household that had included relatives and servants in the family circle (Häggman 1994, 176–182). Accordingly, bounds of loyalty and solidarity were supposed to be redirected towards the nuclear family and the nation state. Indeed, for Snellman, family was 'the furnace of patriotism' that in its self-sacrificing love enabled the upbringing of new moral citizens. (Jalava 2005, 169–171.) The growth to proper manly citizenship proceeded from the nuclear family childhood to the turmoil of youth slanted by idealism and the search for a position in society to finally be able to support one's own family: 'Only when the individual had become aware of the reasonable essence of the reality and set his thinking in harmony with this, he could act in the right and moral way' (Jalava 2005, 187).

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27 *Versuch einer speculativen Entwicklung der Idee der Persönlichkeit,* 1841.

True manliness was achieved in resignation to realities, in the *Aufhebung* of self: by declining the selfish bids and desires and instead identifying self on the level of national spirit. In return for the offering of one's subjective self, one would gain assurance of manly independence through one's perseverance and endurance. (Jalava 2005, 186–190.) Following this logic, Jalava has interpreted Snellman's conduct in the repeating crop failures of the 1860s as equivalent to his ideological composition: the release of the Finnish Mark from the rouble and pegging it to the silver standard reflected the need for manly independence instead of childish clinging to others' help. The same attitude is reflected in the insistence of the people to survive through their own diligence and assiduous work. (Jalava 2005, 189.) Hence, the practice of cottage industry reads as a process of internalising the principle of independence, learning to help oneself. Ideally, the rural worker would get along with his own skills, by making crafts for sale, indeed, by practising income-generating cottage industries. In the CIPC report, this ideal was later verbalised as 'the rural dweller's avoidance of ending up the state's liability' (KM1949:34, mon., 67).

In his post as the Head of the Finance Department, Snellman was able to publicly promote cottage industry, 'the only way' that formed a part of his economic policy and that was supposed to support independent life in the shelter of the home and family: making crafts got rid of the need to leave the home – the cottage. However, this ideal picture appears to be in striking contrast to the practice of founding poorhouses in the crisis of 1867–1868: collecting the distressed people into crowded houses away from homes. In fact, this practice would insinuate that the craft shop–poorhouses could have been similar to the spinning rooms. Thus, cottage industry does not simply appear as a fiscal or social political instrument, but as a multifaceted educative measure: at the same time as it would create income for the needy, it would promote self-sufficient economic activity and, moreover, it would instruct the moral virtue of independent citizenship. Although Snellman was a devoted advocate of pro-Finnish policies, his application of cottage industry was not that far flung from the conceptions of the aristocracy to educate economic, dexterous and diligent commoners trained in religious morality and in submissive respect for their superiors.

The misery of the 1867–1868 famine has been later researched and referred to in demographic (Pitkänen 1993), socio-political (Turpeinen 1986; 1991), economic, social, and cultural historical aspects (Häkkinen 1989; Häkkinen et al. 1991; Pitkänen (ed.) 1987; Forsberg 2011) as reasons and consequences, events and experiences have been described and analysed. Analyses reasoning the government's actions on the famine range from the state of the Grand Duchy's economy to the social inequalities that dominated society. Discussing the role of governance during the famine, Pitkänen has ironically asked to what extent the deaths of tens or even hundreds of thousands of people more or less directly as casualties of the famine counted as one of 'Snellman's achievements'. As a conclusion, he has remarked that social political measures (aid and relief work)

were supposed to serve the economic political objectives. (Pitkänen 1991a, 63–67.)

However, in research on the famine, the role of cottage industry has only received a little attention – even to the extent that the concept itself has been shunned. Introducing the central role of Inspector of Poor G. A. Helsingius (1855–1934) in solving another famine, that of the early 1890s, and in the founding of Finland's General Handicraft Industry Association (1893), Turpeinen used the term 'craft' (*käsityö*) instead of 'cottage industry' and simply concluded that craft skills had 'an interesting role' in organising relief (Turpeinen 1991, 129, 154). Also, Häkkinen reflected on whether 'craft industry' (*käsityöteollisuus*), again instead of 'cottage industry', saved lives and assumed that at least craft activities as such would have caused less harm in comparison to the poorhouses that tended to end up as houses of death. He also suggested that as a form of relief work, organising 'craft industry' was an astute solution that might have had a positive effect on the apathetic spirits of the distressed. (Häkkinen 1991c, 149–151.) For whatever reason, by evading the historical term, researchers nevertheless seem to have hedged against acknowledging the political elements that the practice of cottage industry entailed.

Experiences of frost nights causing crop failures and hunger have been written about in literature since the 1870s, increasingly in the Finnish language, but the only scientific work on the theme was for a long time a book by the conservative Fennoman, Agathon Meurman (1826–1909), which he wrote in 1892 at the time of another crop failure (Häkkinen 1991b, 253–272; Forsberg 2011). An owner of a large estate himself, Meurman was inclined only to emphasise the honourable way the common people had shared their suffering without breaking order in society. He even saw that vagrancy in the Finnish winter, which in 1867–1868 was snowy and cold with temperatures dropping down to -40°C, was a good way to keep people in motion and to get them some fresh air. (Pitkänen 1991b, 165, 169.)

Indeed, Meurman's interpretations rather reflect the politicised use of the memory of the 1867–1868 famine: on the one hand, the experience of the famine gave a basis for societal criticism, but by underlining the common experience of the misery that was dealt in good order and modesty, Meurman sought to stifle any critical voices (Häkkinen 1991b, 260–266). At the time of the critical years of 1867–1868, Meurman's opinion about the landless people, most vulnerable to the crop failure, had nevertheless been cold: according to Liikanen, he perceived these people as useless riff-raff and idle parasites. Meurman even thought relief work, such as cottage industry, was merely a pointless waste of efforts. (Liikanen 1995, 148–149.) On the other hand, even Meurman had favoured the teaching of craft skills in primary schools, a topic that had risen to importance in the 1850s and was emphasised in the 1860s (Nurmi 1988, 208). Still, referring to Agathon Meurman as a promoter of cottage industry would seem contradictory. That claim might rather clarify the nationalist tendency of the CIPC in the post-war years; instead of just being a document of meticulous

plans for developing cottage industry, the clue is indicative of presenting strong political viewpoints in the CIPC report.

Memories of the 1867–1868 famine preyed on Snellman's mind for the rest of his life (Rein 1899, 634 in Turpeinen 1986, [5]; Rein 1899, 491, 493 in Siltala 1999, 171), but otherwise the Great Famine was soon interpreted as a divine punishment or as a national ordeal that was to strengthen common people's independence and enterprise. Cottage industry indeed had an interesting role in solving the famine of 1867–1868 as a method of cultivating independent, persistent and not least economic citizens. In one of his profound analyses on history of emotions, Siltala has summarised, actually referring to Z. Topelius' notes:

> Recollection of the hunger years made nationalists shed tears of compassion for the suffering mother-abstraction [the country/state], but in the same breath they preached God's and history's punishment to the languid people who no longer lived the simple life of the 17th century but had taken import wares to be their daily bread' (Siltala 1999, 171; transl. EK).

Blame was found in national character, either in the people's conservative backwardness and ignorance or in their enthusiasm in consuming imported novelty products. However, at least the famine had given a lesson of apocalyptical proportions for the people to keep on the straight and narrow.

Another thing is how reasonable this method was in the realities of hundreds of thousands of those in actual and dire need. Had they not faced enough of 'the essence of reality' that Snellman appealed to in his study on personal development, as they resorted to eating bark and straw bread, nutrients that have become symbolic of the underdeveloped and peripheral Finland of the 19th century? Indeed, whereas Turpeinen insinuated that poorhouses had worked in the manner of concentration barracks in the crisis of 1867–1868, Siltala directly hints to ethnic cleansing that aimed to pull by the root the ill features of the national character (Siltala 1999, 171). Considering Snellman's point of view, the common people had not yet realised the liberation that came with the burden of work – and this had to be taught. Here, cottage industry policy worked as the edifying hackle,[28] a harsh tool of citizen education.

4.3 Handmade crafts, home-made citizens – craft and the late 19th-century education policies

Craft skills were considered important from the viewpoint of utility in the late 18th century, and the value of making a living through one's dexterity was instilled in the people especially in the crisis of 1867–1868. On the other hand, the

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28 The hackle is a tool used in the process for moulding flax, separating finer fibres from coarser tows. The Finnish verb *sivistää* (to educate/edificate) and the substantive *sivistys* (education; in German: *Bildung*) have been considered to stem from the process of refining flax fibres by brushing (see Figure 7) (Rapola 1991).

creation of general primary education, which also took place in the 1860s, gave impetus to specific craft pedagogy. In this regard, it is remarkable that the CIPC referred to Uno Cygnaeus (1810–1888) as an authority who worked to advance cottage industry. However, the work of Cygnaeus, who has been named the forefather of Finnish primary school, was to put forward pedagogic children's education. Cygnaeus was inspired by the thought of German and Swiss pedagogues like Adolph Diesterweg, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and Friedrich Fröbel. Following these pioneers, Cygnaeus created revolutionary liberal plans for the primary school. The Primary School Act was passed in May 1866, and according to it education was given in Finnish, schools were on responsible to the government instead of the Church, and they were open both for boys and girls regardless of their social background. (Nurmi 1988, 105–115, 195–202; Luukkanen 2012.)

Education of the Finnish-speaking people using their native language evolved into a widely debated topic during the 19th century. Viewpoints about the methods applied and about the objectives of developing primary folk education and popular enlightenment deviated and even conflicted. Organising education for the people was included in Snellman's interests. He put emphasis on developing Finnish farmer sons into decent, civilised citizens, but he also supposed that curricula should vary according to social class with different schools for the farmer sons and for the bourgeois boys of the towns. Furthermore, although Snellman favoured education of the women, this nevertheless ought to have consisted of developing exemplary mothers and wives conscious of their important role in the family sphere supporting their husbands and sons. (Jalava 2011, 77–82.) With his statist ideas of education policies, Snellman, owing largely to Hegel, differed from Cygnaeus' viewpoints in which, following Pestalozzi and Fröbel, the development and talent of the child were in the centre.

Indeed, the conflict between Snellman and Cygnaeus regarding the aims and content of the primary school has grown into an epic chapter in the establishment of the general system of primary education. The essential content of this schism was about teaching children the relationship between work and play. For Snellman, it was important not to mix these two: the aim of education was to cultivate children from their childish play to assiduous mature work. The joy of work would rise from the Lutheran work ethic and from the knowledge that the meaning of work was to fulfil the duty of offering oneself for the sake of others. (Jalava 2005, 202; Jalava 2011, 90–91; Ojakangas 1997, 78–80.) Learning to appreciate work was also essential for Cygnaeus, but he nevertheless perceived play as children's work in the framework of pedagogic theories: 'learning to work through work' was one of Cygnaeus' favourite phrases. This attitude also applied to his conception of craft as an educational school subject, through which children would learn general dexterity and a sense for the aesthetic (Nurmi 1988, 208–211; Kiviniemi & Vuorinen 2010, 186). The solid role craft was given in primary education created a basis for craft pedagogy and related research that continues today, but was little appreciated at the time of

founding primary education; Agathon Meurman was among those who openly mocked and laughed at Cygnaeus' pedagogic plans (Jalava 2011, 92).

Because craft was included in the school curriculum, teachers were also trained in craft education. It is illustrative of the pioneering spirit of craft pedagogy that students of the Jyväskylä teacher training seminar were sent to spread knowledge and inspiration to Sweden, to the Nääs craft teacher institution that was led by Otto Salomon; these included Vera Hjelt (1857–1947) who later worked as a craft teacher and inspector of industrial safety (Korppi-Tommola 2000). The founding of primary education fed the popularity of the school teachers' profession especially among middle-class women, for whom teaching offered a possibility to achieve an independent working career. This was strongly advanced by Cygnaeus who was convinced that daughters and widows of the gentry would make the best primary school teachers. Apparently, gentry girls were likely to already have been brought up to perform ideals of decent behaviour and thus to succeed in the strict disciplinary conditions of the teacher training seminar. Teachers were supposed to be practical and handy along with the requirements for religiosity and high morality. Female and male students were strictly separated in the boarding school type of teacher training institution. (Jalava 2011, 84; Rantala 2011, 267–268, 271–275.) Also, despite the many revolutionary thoughts, craft teaching continued to be divided by gender until the 1970s: women's crafts (e.g. knitting and sewing) for girls and men's crafts (e.g. carpentry and smithery) for boys (Kiviniemi & Vuorinen 2010, 184).

Although teacher training and primary education were based on pedagogic models, the promulgation of knowledge, higher moral standards and patterns of citizenship were closely connected with the gentry's world views. Both Cygnaeus and especially Snellman emphasised and valued the role of family in bringing up children; ideals of education were deeply bound to the idea of home that for one was promoted through Topelius' *Boken om vårt land* and its Finnish translation. Indeed, family and home – especially as bourgeois conceptions – were embraced as the core units of society. Home and family life were linked to the responsibilities of education and work in the nation's interest. In the closed sphere of family and home, the role of the woman was essentially that of a (potential) mother, either in the family context or acting in the role of a societal mother. As part of the maternal role, women were supposed to perform higher moral standards than men, to give proper examples of decency, modesty and self-sacrifice. Here, Snellman's propagation about the national significance of home was often repeated and motherhood became a strong symbol of the nation. (Koski 2011, 166–168; Siltala 1999.)

Cygnaeus' devotion to embedding craft activities in the primary school curriculum as a pedagogic subject coincided with the turning point in craftwork that followed the reforms in trade legislation and the demolition of the guild system. Actually, it could even be maintained that throughout the 1860s and 1870s, craft turned into everybody's business: Craftwork was interpreted in different ways and connected with various topics. On the one hand, craft was applied to pedagogy, but on the other hand, it was directly connected to the liber-

alisation of commerce that had freed the craft trades. As a follow-up, this step to a liberal economy also encouraged to self-made livelihoods. Through education, the role of home and domestic skills was underlined, and in this regard, women's role as maternal educators was emphasised. In general, craft skills became indicators of civilised dexterity.

Figure 7 A woman brushing flax in Pirjola, Karvia village in 1930. The act of refining flax fibres has also been termed as *'sivistäminen'*, a word that has later come to be commonly known in the meaning of education (Rapola 1991). (Source: Eino Nikkilä (photographer), Ethnological collection, National Board of Antiquities.)

Organising primary education using Finnish language created for its part a profound reformatory action in the development of Finnish society, and in the turn of the 1860s and 1870s, the discussion on education became a remarkably heated political issue. Education was increasingly interpreted as a matter of language policies. Fennomans sought programmatically to create a Finnish-speaking civil service: enabling higher education also in Finnish would have opened new possibilities to achieve higher standings in administration and governance, whereas conventional paths to office careers had been restricted to the Swedish-speaking upper classes. Therefore, the founding of the Finnish lyceum (secondary school) in Jyväskylä in 1858 was counted as a success for the Fennoman nationalists. Despite the dispute on the form and content of the primary education, the respective Act of 1866 was welcomed by the Fennomans.

However, an abrupt change to this progress of Finnish language education appeared in 1869 when Casimir von Kothen (1807–1880) was appointed Head

of the National Board of Education.[29] His policies seemed to head in the opposite direction, to hinder education in Finnish. He prioritised the establishment of middle schools (*reaalikoulu*) instead of lyceums, because he considered practical schooling more appropriate for the Finnish-speaking population (Härkönen 1982, 41–48). Although von Kothen was dismissed from duties in 1873, his procedures managed to enrage Fennomans to take action. In 1872, fundraising campaigns were held to establish Finnish schools, which grew into a national movement. Meurman and Yrjö-Koskinen[30] were initiators of this action, and for Yrjö-Koskinen the deed even served as a manifestation of the national will. (Liikanen 1995, 160–165; Virtanen 2002, 91–92.) Along with this, Yrjö-Koskinen started the newspaper *Uusi Suometar* in 1869 with the development of the Finnish school system as its primary objective (Virtanen 2002, 91). The 1870s turned out to be successful for the Fennoman movement with the school campaign, the founding of *Kansanvalistusseura*, and with the numerous Finnish newspapers springing up across the country. In the Diet of 1877–1878, Fennomans already formed a majority both in the clergy and in the peasantry estates. (Liikanen 1995, 279–285; Virtanen 2002, 90–95.) Taking an openly opposing stance against the ruling government and the *Dagblad* liberals and by applying the nationalistic rhetoric in their texts and speeches, with the repetitious use of the expression 'people's will' (*kansan tahto*), the leading young Fennomans of the 1870s gave rise to modern politics in Finland (Liikanen 1995, 321–323).

The politicisation of primary teaching and of Finnish education in universities as characteristically Fennoman projects easily posed technical education as a part of the 'industry and trade promoting liberalism'. In her analysis on theory and practice led perspectives on education in the late 19th century, Heikkinen (1995) has explained that educational theorists often did not consider vocational training as a topic of its own but rather a part of education in general. On the other hand, those promoting vocational training did not build their views on pedagogic theories but on practical observation and comparisons to foreign industrial and polytechnic schools (Heikkinen 1995, 229–230). Heikkinen has clarified these stances as a polarisation between 'the primary school party' and 'the vocational school party', a specific, historical interpretation of viewpoints concerning education policies (Heikkinen 1995, 208–244). This kind of division can be considered apt instead of the easily all-embracing categorisation between 'the Fennomans' and 'the liberals', although linkages to political parties nevertheless were of relevance.

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29 Casimir von Kothen had also had a central role in the building of the Saimaa Canal. According to Kalleinen, the idea of recruiting prisoners as work force for the canal building site was developed together by von Kothen and L. G. von Haartman. The two were also connected through marital relations; von Kothen had married von Haartman's step-sister Anna Charlotta von Haartman. (Kalleinen 2001a, 187–188.)

30 Georg Zacharias (Yrjö Sakari) Yrjö-Koskinen (until 1884 Forsman) (1830–1903) first worked as a history teacher but was later nominated professor of history. A keen follower of J. V. Snellman, Yrjö-Koskinen profiled as an ardent Fennoman politician. Yrjö-Koskinen represented the clergy and, later, following the ennoblement, the nobility in the Diets of the 1870s. As a senator he worked during the years 1882–1899. (Sainio, 2000.)

The emergence of political parties was of relevance to cottage industry. Cottage industry policy started to be formed in the turn of the 1860s and the 1870s, at the time that reforms in general education and trade legislation were in the making, and when Finnish party political debate, including the topic of education, was also taking shape. Cottage industry had been brought to discussion along with other educational initiatives, especially so by the initiator of the Fennoman movement, J. V. Snellman. However, it could also be said that the appointment of the first cottage industry committee in October 1872 followed the establishment of the Craft School in Helsinki in 1871 and the re-establishment of the previous Helsinki Technical School (est. 1849) as the Polytechnic School[31] in 1872. A closer look at the 1873 cottage industry committee report in the following section shows that perspectives on cottage industry were chiefly practice-led and that the liberal, *dagbladist* viewpoints were strongly present in advancing cottage industry.

4.4 Cottage industry in the 1870s – debates and display

Reading the 1873 cottage industry committee report, it is clear from the beginning that the main intention of the committee was to advance practical teaching among the children and the young, subsuming intensive craft teaching into primary schools. The committee directly proposed altering the 1866 Primary School Act by increasing the number of 'skilful work masters' in teacher training seminars (KM1873:1, 14–15). With a further 11 proposals, the committee intended to remodel the primary school more or less into a primary craft school. However, any references to craft as a pedagogic school subject were missing in the report, and craft teaching was even equalled with professional craftwork. This appears in the committee's suggestion that primary school teachers ought to return to the teacher seminar between semesters to increase their craft skills – a summer break should be no reason to oppose this: seminar craft masters could not need more holidays than other craftworkers (ibid.).

In its propositions, the committee also required municipalities to organise workshops with appropriate tools close to the schools for craft teaching, and insisted that teachers give additional lectures in crafts, in exchange for payment, for boys and girls who had already been through primary school. Furthermore, the committee suggested that all afternoon lessons would only include crafts and drawing; other subjects could be taught in the morning lessons. Craft objects that were made during the school years were supposed to be annually collected for display, and the best items ought to be sent further to larger shows, such as agricultural exhibitions. (KM1873:1, 16–17.)

The committee directly connected cottage industries to farming and to the well-known high risk of crop failures. As was explicated in the report, cottage

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31 The Polytechnic School changed to become the Technological University in Finland in 1908; today, Helsinki University of Technology is part of Aalto University.

industry in the first place applied to the farm workers, who could make themselves useful for the employing farmer during the long winters by making various craft products. Added to the farm workers, handymen and crofters, the committee quickly calculated there to be at least 500,000 landless people, 'so-called idle people' that were, due to the risk of crop failure, imperilled to end up relying on poor relief, which would trouble the Finnish economy:

> As long as this class of people does not have any more independent work than being the occasional handyman for the farmer, to whose wealth their incomes are reliant, Finland cannot ever achieve real material self-sufficiency and wealth. Facing the possible year of crop failure that not only destroys the produce of our country's most important trade but also the income of hundreds of thousands of those suddenly made idle and forced to vagrancy is, so to speak, an always upcoming, threatening, irremovable risk. (KM1873:1, 3.)

The committee appreciated 'His Imperial Majesty's Graceful Acts', one of 1859, that had allowed rural men and women to practise cottage industries for a living and the Act of 1868 that allowed the peddling of cottage industry products; the committee also proposed an extension to the 1859 Act to allow the hiring of workers for cottage industry practice (KM1873:1, 4–5, 26). Nevertheless, the committee criticised the previous efforts to support cottage industries as they had often been of a temporary nature, and although the years of crop failure had focused attention on cottage industry, actions had not been carefully planned:

> The measures that the government, municipalities and private persons took in this regard [crop failure] were nevertheless often born in the moment of despair and out of necessity to get work for the breadless and idle dwellers instead of having been founded on experience-based knowledge. […] It must be admitted, though, that the afore mentioned experiments have in many places left trails of deeper devotion to cottage industry, and they thus cannot be considered totally dispensable. (KM1873:1, 6.)

The economic benefits of cottage industry were put in the front line in this first cottage industry committee report referring to examples from Germany (Sachsen, Thuringia, Swabia) and Belgium that had shown how successful and important cottage industries can be: 'In these countries cottage industry is always recognised as the sturdiest pillar of society, against which not only its material but also moral wellbeing leans' (KM1873:1, 2–3). As in the manner of Snellman's articles, the committee report suggested that the significance of cottage industry was based on economic development on the one hand and on education on the other hand. Yielding wealth and development for the nation, the practice of cottage industry would also increase the diligence and morality of the people. The committee underlined the importance of home in promoting cottage industries:

> Of more value than its material benefits, surely are the moral and edifying significances of domestic industriousness for any people that are, like the Finnish people, due to the climate, constricted to spend in their rooms such a large part of the year. It has also been considered worth mentioning how working in homes protects the pleasant feeling of home-life, resists evil, cements the familial relations and has an

> ennobling and blessing effect on the evolving youth who thus gets trained to earnest working from their childhood. (KM1873:1, 13.)

Domestic craftwork had more than just economic values, but it was realised that craft skills were of quintessential benefit for many homes. Regarding self-sufficiency, the making of diverse crafts for the households' own use, terming this as 'multi-industry', (*moniteollisuus*), the committee quite bluntly admitted that 'from the scientific viewpoint' this was not a rational practice, but that it would nevertheless apply as 'the practical coercive necessity of our nation' for many years to come (KM1873:1, 13, 19).

The committee report included a short overview on the status of cottage industry in each of the counties, reported by County Governors (KM1873:1, 6–11). In southern and western parts of the country, crafts seemed to have been practised more often. Summarising the overview, the committee nevertheless maintained that cottage industries were not as popular as 'our country's natural conditions and its inhabitants' not only material but also moral well-being clearly seem to require' (KM1873:1, 11). On the other hand, it was asserted that Finnish people had facilities for making crafts and that materials were available. The people only lacked certain adventurism and entrepreneurship in making their skills and the use of materials profitable. In the spirit of free trade, the committee saw that the best investment the state could give was to finance the necessary education instead of forms of direct support such as 'instilling new branches of industry and creating a market for their production' (KM1873:1, 22).

It is nevertheless remarkable that although cottage industry was characterised as the herald of prosperity, conducive to wealth and wellbeing, the committee turned its wistful glance to the past, to times when crafts had been more commonly made and used. The committee supposed that spinning and weaving, which had been repeatedly promoted, were waning in many places and that among the rural gentry, these practices had disappeared altogether:

> No more can one say that Lieutenant Colonel's coat was of '*homespun wool, home-woven cloth*'. In only a few places, at least in the southern part of our country, you shall meet a countryside gentleman in home-made clothes that previously were very usual, when madams not only knitted but wove self their gowns, and farmers' daughters would come to the manor house to get their cloth striped. (KM1873:1, 12.)

Instead of referring to any of the pedagogic theories that supported craft education, the committee looked back to history and leaned on the offering of the cultural heritage of the upper class. Whereas the CIPC turned to Z. Topelius to gain his authority as a novelist and historian, the 1873 cottage industry committee referred to another famous author, J. L. Runeberg (1804–1877) and to his popular poem collection, *The Tales of Ensign Stål;*[32] the quoted lines above are from the poem for Lieutenant Colonel Otto von Fieandt (1762–1823), who de-

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32 *The Tales of Ensign Stål* (first part published in Swedish in 1848 and second part in 1860) worked as a collection of heroic poems recalling the Finnish War and presenting ideals of officers and soldiers; the opening poem, *Vårt land (Maamme)*, was later adopted as the national anthem of Finland.

fended Finland as a part of the Swedish Kingdom in the Finnish War (1808–09). The poem describes von Fieandt's modest clothing and his personal, unyielding spirit in fight.[33] In a similar manner, although the economic benefits of cottage industry were considered important, and the principles of liberal economic policy were followed in how these industries ought to be promoted, the essence of advancing cottage industry was that of spreading a certain, upper-class moral code of virtue and modesty, even that of officer dignity.

As the committee claimed, their anxiety did not only regard 'the changing times' that industrially manufactured products diminished the share of home-made commodities, but also the change in habits and sentiments. Access to factory wares and imported goods seemed to lead to a decline in domestic diligence and to the growing 'will for parading with dresses' (KM1873:1, 12). Increasing consumption of industrial wares would thus hamper the livelihoods of the common people – the cottage industries. The only solution to resist this was seen in cultivating better craft skills among the people: by spreading better methods and better sense of beauty, to better compete with foreign wares.

The membership of this first cottage industry committee, the six men who sought to cherish and to advance cottage industry, offers another clue to better understand these nostalgic yet forward-looking viewpoints. First of all, two names appear to be familiar from Snellman's correspondence of the famine years 1867–1868: industrialist Axel Wilhelm Wahren (1814–1885) and 'trader from Kajaani' Petter Leonard Hedman (1839–1886), who later became the governor of the Kuopio county prison (Aamuvuori 1988, 58). Both Wahren and Hedman had been granted loans during the famine to support cottage industries. Apparently, this experience was valued by appointing them to work as cottage industry committee members.

The chair of the committee, *laamanni*[34] August Fredrik Jansson (1815–1880), had worked for several years in the poor relief administration of Helsinki city, and during 1868–1869 in its health committee. Jansson was a member of the Board of Road and Water Transport that governed railway, bridge and canal building projects, and as a member of the burgher estate he took part in Diets of 1872 and 1877–1878 (Kotivuori 2005b). Jansson has been described as 'a typical representative of the native Helsinki element' who appreciated traditions but also seconded liberal viewpoints. (Nordenstreng 1920, 152–153).

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33 The original Swedish verses (4th and 8th) of the poem *Otto von Fieandt* with the part quoted in the committee report in italics, is as follows:
Nu så hör, hur han såg ut:
Klädd han gick i grå syrtut,
Den var sydd på hemloftskullen
Och av egna får var ullen.
[…]
Hjälte var han ej just så,
Att han nu dugt ses uppå;
Andra tider, andra seder,
Fieandt bar för djupt sin heder;
(Runeberg 1998 [1848], 104–117.)

34 Jansson was honoured with the title of *laamanni, lagman* in 1872. The title was usually given to distinguished jurists. (Kotivuori 2005b.)

Other members of the committee included the Viipuri county vice-treasurer (*kruununvouti*) Herman Eligius Olsoni (1823–1889), who contributed remarkably to the creation of Finnish administrative vocabulary having chaired the committee on official language in 1882–1883. In this way, Olsoni had an essential role in the creation of Finnish service and administration that in general was included in the pro-Finnish intentions (Klinge 2006, 453–463; Mäkelä-Alitalo 2006). Frans Edvard Conradi (1812–1888) had first worked as a teacher in Mustiala agricultural school and then became head of the Vaasa technical school; in 1873 he was appointed the director of teacher training seminar in Uusikaarlepyy (Kotivuori 2005c).

An active member of society in Kuopio, Anders Edvin Nylander (1831–1890) worked as Kuopio county doctor. During his study years, Nylander had showed interest in the popular, national romantic student activity and toured in Northern Häme collecting folklore, tales and poems (Paulaharju 2015, 105–114). When he moved to Kuopio as a young doctor in 1861, he attended the editorial of the local Finnish newspaper *Tapio* that reported news from Savo and Karelia, but he left the paper. Nylander later represented the pro-Swedish, liberal viewpoints; in the 1870s, he twice ran for a position in the Diet. Also, Nylander chaired the local agricultural society for several years. (Kotivuori 2005a; Luttinen 2010; Nummela 1989, 356; *Piirilääkäri, tohtori A. E. Nylander* 1890, 3.)

Asessori[35] Carl Johan Wikberg (1816–1886) first had a pharmacy in Helsinki, but in 1859 he acquired the Söderkulla estate in Sipoo, near the capital city. Wikberg extended the estate by buying and conjoining adjacent farms to it. In 1863 he then started the Söderkulla agricultural school that continued to work until 1918. (Sjöholm 2005, 81–84.) The committee secretary, Karl Emil Ferdinand Ignatius (1837–1909), historian and statistician, worked from 1868 as Head of the Statistical Head Office that among other things organised the first population census. Ignatius was politically active, an early adherent of the Fennoman movement. Also a member of the burgher estate, Ignatius represented pro-Finnish viewpoints in the Diets of 1877–1885 and as a senator (1885–1908); in later phases, he turned to the so-called constitutional direction. (Luther 2000.)

The membership of this first cottage industry committee is particularly interesting with regard to the names that the CIPC listed in its report 76 years later. Obviously, none of the people on their list were involved in the 1873 committee, but the membership is interesting in other aspects: three out of the six committee members were among those who in 1880 signed the political programme of the liberal party, the first of its kind in Finland. F. E. Conradi, A. E. Nylander, and A. W. Wahren were the signatories of the party programme that was published in *Helsingfors Dagblad*. (*Det liberala partiets program* 1880, 1–2; Numminen 1951.)

In the 1873 committee report, cottage industry was embraced with various aspects bringing together interests to develop agriculture and related subsidiary trades, but also, for example, textile industries and equivalent education. It is of

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35 One of the lower honorary titles, *asessori, assessor*, has been adopted from the court of justice where it refers to the oldest presenter.

interest how the latter part of the report emphasised the role of (handicraft) industry schools (*(käsi)teollisuuskoulut*) of towns, when bearing in mind that A. W. Wahren had already established a textile industry plant in the 1850s in the village of Forssa in South-Western Finland. Wahren in many ways embodied the image of the benevolent factory owner: along with homes for workers, a library and a church, he also founded schools for the workers' children. (Herranen 2008.) The committee considered the advantages of industry schools to be plenty and of remarkable influence. These were even supposed to educate craft teachers for primary school teacher training seminars. Moreover, the committee maintained that:

> These schools [industry schools] are, in a manner of speaking, the bridge, along which fine arts with their ennobling effect can step into everyday life and gain ground in each and every one of even the poorest homes. (KM1873:1, 25)

A closer look at Wahren's intentions regarding the schools connected to his factory could give a better understanding of whether the committee's propositions for state funding for industrial schools might have applied to him:

> The committee has seen as its duty with subjection to suggest that the town's handicraft industry school, which has been founded by a private person willing to promote the sense of art and to engender greater artistic beauty of form in industrial products, ought to have, following a required application, annual financial support from the public funds. (KM1873:1, 25.)

For the needs of the adult population in the rural areas, the committee argued that itinerant cottage industry schools would be the most appropriate solution. Each county should have two male and one female craft teacher and they ought to be appointed by the county's agricultural society. In this way, the committee emphasised the role of these particular associations and, thus, the bond between landowners' farming and their workers' practice of cottage industry. As the report further detailed, itinerant craft teachers were supposed to give account of their teaching to the agricultural societies that were then obliged to send a written report to the Senate. (KM1873:1, 20–21.) Nylander was in theory in the position to represent agricultural societies in the committee, but he also took a different viewpoint: the committee report was attached with Nylander's objection to coupling the primary school with cottage industry education, although he agreed with the need to increase the number of craft teachers in teacher training seminars (KM1873:1, 27–28). A few years later, during 1878–1886, Nylander even worked as the primary school inspector for Kuopio district (Kotivuori 2005a).

Although keeping true to the practical needs of cottage industry, the committee seemed to have taken quite a step from perceiving craft only as a punitive measure to considering it an instrument of disseminating aesthetic sense among the poorest. Still, experience of the previous famine was present in the committee and its report. It is notable that the committee chair Jansson worked in poor relief administration and that he had a central role in governing road, bridge and canal building projects, which had been organised as sites of

relief work. Also, in his role as county doctor, Nylander had the possibility to closely witness the health conditions of the population in his region of duty – Kuopio district (Savo), which had been hit by the crop failure – and the social circumstances, which Snellman had also previously worried about. It is nevertheless quite apparent that the committee observed cottage industry primarily from an elitist perspective. The committee membership belonged to the generation that coincided with the Great Famine, but the committee members nevertheless perceived the risk of a crop failure more as a statistical probability than an accident that would jeopardise their own lives. Furthermore, the nostalgic glance to the past could imply that first-hand experience about craftwork stemmed from the country estates of Southern Finland, whereas the circumstances of those supposed to practise cottage industries, the landless based inland, possibly remained rather distant for most of the authors of the report.

From such a viewpoint, cottage industry appeared as an appropriate remedy: if the common people would make crafts as they (supposedly) had done in the olden days, this would not only generate income and wellbeing but would also further increase the whole nation's wealth. The actual realities and possibilities of the landless people to turn craft making into a livelihood, on the other hand, were less discussed in the report. Eventually, the role of cottage industry schooling was quite directly termed as coaching people to assiduity and diligence. It is also worth noting that in the 1873 committee report, aesthetic qualities were supposed to permeate from the top down, from the town handicraft industry schools to the countryside and from the upper-class estates to the rural cottages instead of recognising those cottages as the repository of folk art or traditional craft patterns.

The membership of the 1873 cottage industry committee exemplifies a certain kind of history of forgotten officials, of whom there is much less research at hand compared to the attention focused on the names given in the CIPC's list. Although members of this committee largely belonged to the higher administrative layers of the Grand Duchy and thus held a place in the more or less well-to-do classes, only a few of them have been remembered later; Wahren possibly best of them, along with the committee secretary, senator K. F. Ignatius. The general forgetfulness would also apply to C. J. Wikberg. Before finding out about Wikberg's initiative to establish an agricultural school on his Söderkulla estate, his role in the committee at first seemed almost arbitrary – a county doctor in a cottage industry committee would seem reasonable but what about a pharmacist? Of course, it is likely that each committee member had been selected for a good reason. Therefore, tracking down information about Wikberg in the first phase with the help of the digitised newspaper archive available via the National Library of Finland's website, I first found his name in an invitation calling participants to a cottage industry exhibition in Helsinki (Wikberg 1875). Searching the old newspapers for any notes about this bygone landowner and pharmacist served as a clue method par excellence, because this also led to the

1875 Cottage Industry and Working Exhibition[36] and to the jointly arranged cottage industry meeting.

This cottage industry exhibition and the related meeting have mostly passed into oblivion because they have been overshadowed by its more famous follower, the General Art and Industry Exhibition that was held in 1876. Virrankoski (1994, 672) has briefly mentioned the Cottage Industry and Working Exhibition, but it has been dismissed both by Ylönen (2003) in her history of the Central Organization of Cottage Industry and by Suhonen (2000) in his history on the Finnish Society of Crafts and Design. Nonetheless, the 1875 cottage industry exhibition was an occasion of remarkable proportion. According to Smeds (1996), who has examined Finland's attendance at world fairs during the years 1851–1900, the Cottage Industry and Working Exhibition took world fairs of 1855 and 1867 in Paris as examples (Smeds 1996, 133–134). The exhibition gathered over one thousand exhibitors from Finland and Sweden at the Kaivopuisto Park (*Brunnsparken*) in Helsinki; according to a commentary published in *Helsingfors Dagblad* at the time of the exhibition, it simply was an unavoidable topic (Ralph. 1875, B1).

As Smeds has noted, the cottage industry exhibition was reported in detail in nine long first-page articles in the Swedish newspaper *Helsingfors Dagblad* (Smeds 1996, 133–134), but the event was also observed in *Uusi Suometar*, which described in Finnish the diverse products and artisans of the exhibition in six articles. Nonetheless, *Helsingfors Dagblad*, the voice of the liberally attuned minds of the time, clearly had taken the lead in presenting the events (*Den arbetande slöjdutställningen I–IX* 1875). The introductory article concentrated on giving reasons for the exhibition, convincing people that it was worth the broadest attention and popularity. As in all exhibitions, the meaning and goal would be to spread learning and awakening, in this case with special interest in crafts that were made in homes. The economic benefits of this activity were explicated directly: it was supposed that the exhibition would guide people to take economic advantage of their spare time activities, which would bring wealth and welfare and would help avoid the state of poverty and gloom. One of the ways to achieve this was seen in 'the reviving and developing of the old small crafts'[37] (*Hemslöjds och arbetande utställningen* 1875, 1). The article maintained that these crafts should retain their place among the new, large-scale industries. Crafts should not be forgotten but revitalised as they could supply new sources of welfare and wellbeing.

Immediate role models to promote cottage industries were found in the Nordic countries, in Denmark, and principally in Sweden, which is not surprising considering the general Swedish sympathies among adherents of the *Helsingfors Dagblad* liberalism. It is of interest, though, that the topic of nationalism,

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36 The original Swedish name of the exhibition was *Hemslöjds- och Arbetande Utställningen*; this was translated into Finnish as *Kotiteollisuus ja Työtätekevä Näyttely*.

37 The original expression in Swedish: *'att återupptaga och utveckla de gamla småslöjder.' (Hemslöjds och arbetande utställningen* 1875, 1).

connected to traditional crafts, was introduced with Danish, Norwegian and Swedish examples:

> The national movement that penetrates our time also makes itself relevant in the sphere of work, remarkably so among the Scandinavian peoples that are not large in number but are filled with love for their fatherlands. If we are not mistaken, it was among the Danish where the first signs of such national tendency of craft (*handtverket*) emerged. (*Föreningen Handarbets Vänner och qvinnoslöjden i Sverige* 1875, 1.)

The writer mentions replicas of Danish archaeological finds that had been presented in the London (1862) and Stockholm (1866) exhibitions; the latter had also included Norwegian crafts, 'silver filigrees and wooden sculptures that are well-liked and highly valued among friends of art and among tourists' but that nevertheless had not been developed to suit industrial production. The notion of Finnish piled rugs that had been exhibited in Stockholm, that these were properly made but unfortunately ornamented with 'the unstylish tapestry models', led the writer to further discuss the invocation of old folk craft models. The value of these had been noted in Sweden. The article paid special attention to C. Ahlborn, Swedish sculptor and active promoter of craft, who earlier had given a lecture on the theme (Ahlborn 1874) and who had brought to the exhibition his collection of over five hundred wooden items that were supposed to guide and inspire the Finnish exhibition visitors to make cottage industry products of a similar, good taste.

Miss Anna Fleetwood was also introduced as an eager promoter of old Scandinavian crafts and an active member of the new craft association in Sweden (*Föreningen Handarbets Vänner*, est. 1874). Old crafts and craft aesthetics that had almost been lost because of the influence of foreign trends and styles had started to be revived by this association of 'the old brother-land' (*Föreningen Handarbets Vänner och qvinnoslöjden i Sverige* 1875, 1). Indeed, Sweden formed a model of revitalising old crafts – this example was followed when the equivalent association, Friends of Finnish Handicraft Society, was founded in 1879. Instead of being a slave to the foreign styles, 'the national style' was supposed to be held on to tightly. It was nevertheless emphasised that this had nothing to do with 'nationality and such ideas', but to let the taste and style of the almost forgotten crafts flourish again (*Hemslöjds och arbetande utställningen* 1875, 1).

The beneficial nature of cottage industries and the need to promote them was also seconded by the Fennoman voice, *Uusi Suometar*: cottage industry was not only the way to assure everyone had work, but it also would 'spread the blessing of work to homes' and 'remove that somnolent and lazy life that, for God's sake, is still led in many places in the country' (*Helsingistä* 1875, 1). In exhibition reports (*Kotiteollisuus-näyttely I–VI* 1875), notions of vivid Swedish nationalism were present and the admiration of woven folk patterns was repeated, even with surprise that the common people's handwork had become an object of appraisal. On the other hand, it was observed that many finer craft items on display had been made by men and women of the gentry or with the help and supervision of craft teachers in teacher training seminars and craft schools. Regarding 'womenfolk's crafts', *Uusi Suometar* reported that there were many

noteworthy items, but also a lot of decorative artefacts that 'have no actual value' (*Kotiteollisuus-näyttely IV* 1875, 1).

The general tones of exhibition reporting in the *Uusi Suometar* were positive, but the organisation of the exhibition was criticised. It was stated that information had not been sufficient: the common people who practised crafts could not be reached with some newspaper announcements but should have been connected by local experts personally. Also, strong language policies were present as *Uusi Suometar* ridiculed the fact that the only Finnish piece of information in the exhibition hall was the awry written warning 'Do not touch the objects' (*Kotiteollisuus-näyttely* 1875, 1). Entrance fees were also criticised:

> In our opinion the ordinary fee of 1,50 marks is too expensive, because this kind of an exhibition is, but of course, intended in the first instance for the working people, and those coming from the countryside surely do not have time to wait for those days, when the entrance fee is cheaper. (*Kotiteollisuus-näyttely* 1875, 1.)

Indeed, there were different entrance fees for different days, which naturally had an effect on the composition of the audience. Emphasising overtly that the exhibition was aimed for the rural workers, the writer insinuated that segregation was applied on purpose by varying the fees. According to the writer, this gave reason to reconsider the motives of the exhibition and to remind the readers that as public funds had been used, the exhibition should have been aimed at all citizens, the majority of whom had Finnish as their mother tongue. The writer worried whether the lingual disregard would cause the Finnish-speaking visitors to experience the exhibition rather resentfully and hence the event would not raise interest in cottage industries in the way that the organisers had expected. (*Kotiteollisuus-näyttely* 1875, 1–2.)

Along with the Cottage Industry and Working Exhibition a cottage industry meeting was also organised, which seemed to have formed a more public continuation of the debate that the 1873 cottage industry committee had begun with its report. A summary of the committee report was published in *Helsingfors Dagblad* together with questions that were to be discussed in the meeting. The questions mostly addressed craft teaching and the government's role in supporting craft workshops and craft retail shops (*Mötet för hemslöjd* 1875, 1). The discussions of the meeting that reflected the intersecting conceptions about craftwork were reported in detail in three issues of *Helsingfors Dagblad*.

The meeting gathered on 30 August 1875 at the Student House (*Studenthuset*) and was attended by a 'somewhat numerous' audience. The following day, the meeting continued with a dinner and music at the Society House (*Societetshuset*) (*Mötet för hemslöjd* 1875, 1; *Mötet för hemslöjd [I]* 1875). Again, cottage industry did not seem to be primarily a matter of the landless people of the countryside villages but of the bourgeois and noble societies developing the national economy in the capital city. Reading the *Helsingfors Dagblad*'s reporting on the meeting, many familiar names appear. Along with C. J. Wikberg, who opened and chaired the meeting, F. E. Conradi from the 1873 committee also took part in the discussions. Central figures for craft development, Senior Inspector of Primary Schools Uno Cygnaeus and Professor of Aesthetics C. G.

Estlander, also participated. Swedish experiences on developing cottage industry were introduced by C. Ahlborn. (*Mötet för hemslöjd [I]–[III]* 1875.)

In his opening words, Wikberg addressed cottage industry quite clearly as a form of social policy, although not terming it directly as such. Repeating the intentions of the 1873 committee report, he explained the need to make cottage industry better known based on its ability to 'help the poorer classes' and hence 'to prevent the poor relief from not growing too large a burden'. He also considered it important to develop connections to other countries where cottage industries were already on a highly developed level. (*Mötet för hemslöjd [I]* 1875, A1.) The social political aspect of craft education on the one hand and the pedagogic ambitions of the subject on the other hand roused a debate, in which Uno Cygnaeus again stressed the importance of regarding craft as a formal education method instead of seeing it only as mechanic skills that a separate craft teacher would instruct for pupils as, for example, V. Federley[38] had suggested. Professor Estlander pointed out that as a pedagogic method, craft education at primary school could hardly provide skills that were needed to practise cottage industries and continued that this also was not the primary school's main task. Indeed, according to Estlander, in actual craft schools, the teaching should be based on drawing skills. The meeting then concluded that primary school pupils ought to be educated with craft as a pedagogic school subject: not aiming for vocational training, but to develop pupils' sense for form and beauty. (ibid., A1–A2.)

Through the questions about workshops and crafts shops, the debate concentrated on the government's role in subsidising these activities. Based on Estlander's suggestion that craft workshops ought to be established first in areas where craft activities already existed, the discussion moved on to assess the roles of both private initiatives and the publicly funded workshops. Regarding the arrangement of a centralised system for retailing craft items, suggested by Ahlborn, the relation between private and public initiatives remained the key issue that was addressed by Professor Chydenius[39] and 'possessor' Björkenheim[40]. The meeting agreed that the government should take the path-finder's role, later giving way for private enterprises, and that at least in the capital city a central craft shop should be established with branches in suitable areas. Craft makers, on the other hand, were evidently left in this discussion to the role of producers, who would make artefacts according to a model collection that would help them to sustain good quality and tastes that would please the customers. The disparate relationship between a craft pedagogy disseminating a

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38 Viktor Federley (1804–1877), judge, *hovioikeudenneuvos* (member of the Court of Appeal) (Kotivuori 2005e).

39 Johan Jakob Chydenius (1836–1890), professor of chemistry (Kotivuori 2005d). J. J. Chydenius was brother to Anders Herman Chydenius (1833–1896), who worked in the editorial of *Helsingfors Dagblad* during 1863–87 and advocated liberal viewpoints in the Diets as a representative of the burgher estate (Väisänen 2001).

40 '*Possessionat*' Björkenheim could refer to Axel Björkenheim (1843–1907) or to his brother Robert Björkenheim (1834–1878). Their father Lars Magnus Björkenheim (Björkman) (1793–1869) had acquired Orisberg and Vuojoki estates; he had been exalted as a member of nobility in 1834. (Mäkinen 2009; Heino 2008.)

sense of form and beauty among the school children and craft as a social political self-help instrument can be recognised here. Clearly, when it came to cottage industry, matters of economic policy overrode the pedagogic aspects that were attached to craft as a school subject.

Although descriptions of the 1875 exhibition were largely similar in both newspapers, it can be seen that *Uusi Suometar* took the role of opposition with regard to cottage industry, which reflected as criticism of language policy. Whereas *Helsingfors Dagblad* reported on the cottage industry meeting in three continuous articles, in *Uusi Suometar* only a short summary of the questions discussed was provided (*[Kotiteollisuuskokous]* 1875, 2). However, the Fennoman attitude was made strikingly clear in an exhibition critique that opened with the first lines of *Ars Poetica*[41] by Horace, apparently supposed to describe the motley nature of the exhibition (*Uuden Suomettaren toimitukselle* 1875, 3). Criticising with biting irony the lack of Finnish language in the exhibition, the writer hit on the intentions of the exhibition organisers. Listing the board of the exhibition and displaying their Swedish surnames and their titles – *asessori* Wikberg, professor Chydenius, engineers Osberg and Sanmark, captain Sahlstein and *kauppaneuvos* (counsellor of commerce) Åberg – the writer wanted to point out how the actions of these 'men of virtue' only reflected their scornful attitude toward the 'Finnish aspirations' and created suspiciousness and resentment among 'the people'. Indeed, the critique against the Swedish-speaking elite was sharp, dressed in irony and sarcasm that also ended the article: 'But let us end this exhibition-writing, and let us shout, in honour of the most prominent objects of the exhibition, the Chinese paintings: "long live China!"' (*Uuden Suomettaren toimitukselle* 1875, 3).

4.5 Cottage Industry – a 19th-century political concept

The CIPC report from 1949 offered a clue for interpreting the background of the idea of cottage industry. Whereas the list of historically famous names might seem controversial, it can also be considered an apposite collage in the sense that it binds together different viewpoints that characterise the 19th-century society of the Grand Duchy of Finland and that also closely concerned cottage industry. Following the spirit of utility that descended as part of the Enlightenment era from the 18th century, cottage industry was connected with practical benefits, the ultimate motive being that of increasing the nation's wealth. In particular, the visions of flax production in Finland had brought about initiatives for respective education. Generally, the growing interest in using natural resources required knowledge about, for example, geographic and climatic conditions and yielded experiments and advice for enhancing farming and manufacturing. In this regard, cottage industry can be seen as another industry among the many other deeds expressing industriousness: whereas the master of

41 *Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam jungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas…*

the office estate could have been an example in applying pioneering farming technology, the crofter and his wife could have shown their partiality in progress through diligence in, for example, wood carving, shoemaking, weaving, knitting or hat making (for more about the sorts of 19th-century cottage industries in Finland, see Virrankoski's studies (1963, 1994)).

The strong emphasis on cottage industries as a solution in the 1860s' hunger crisis nevertheless marks a turning point in how these craft activities were perceived.

J. V. Snellman's will to apply cottage industries as a social and economic political solution in the famine years has been observed in later research focusing on those years. The cottage industry practice was directed to the common people as an act of income generation representing the ideal of economic independence at the micro level, but therein cottage industry was also directed to benefit the national economy and the state. As was observed in hindsight, the practice of forcing the needy to earn their bread by craftwork was not successful. It is more to the point, however, that this experiment seemed to illuminate and establish the relationship between individual dexterity and the state.

The cottage industry experiments of 1867–1868 gave rise for further developing work on the matter. Although the 1873 cottage industry committee report is not very long, it creates an important landmark as a document that collected together viewpoints supporting the practice of cottage industry. Together with the 1875 cottage industry exhibition and the respective meeting, the concept of cottage industry was – not necessarily defined – but attached to the principle contents that built the semantic core of the concept for decades to come. The reporting and discussions about the cottage industry exhibition reveal that the occasion was closely connected to *Helsingfors Dagblad*, known as a forum of the typically Swedish-speaking, upper-class men espousing liberal thought including ideas of free trade and freedom of speech. Cottage industry therefore offered a topic for discussing and debating the development of Finland into a liberal, West-oriented country, a motive that as such could have been of more interest than the rather modest source of income that cottage industries offered. The minute reporting of the cottage industry meeting also offers a window to an early Finnish discussion about relations between private economies and the government's role in funding enterprises – social enterprises, to be more exact – and about the development of industries and general industriousness in the country.

Freedom of craftwork nevertheless appears to have been of ambivalent quality. Whereas the liberation of trade legislation had given opportunities for every man and woman to earn their living with trades of their choice, the conception of cottage industry immediately supplied a matrix to hasten that activity – to better control that especially rural workers and the landless people were making use of that opportunity. The 1873 committee report's claim that farm workers ought to make themselves useful by making crafts instead of being a consuming burden for the farmer illustrates in a concrete way the patriarchal element, the relation between the master and his subject inbuilt in the concept

of cottage industry. That such a paragon of peasant ruling order is attached to cottage industry would seem logical as cottage industry was seen as a subsidiary trade to farming, but along with the notion of the archaic pattern of rule, cottage industry can be recognised in other ways as a 19th-century administrative and governmental (*hallinnollinen*) concept.

For one, cottage industry was closely connected to the state's interest in it as an economic activity, and as the application of this practice in the famine shows, it was also used to regulate access to public aid: the person in need had to prove his or her practical usefulness in return for help. This appears to have been in close connection to the Snellman's ideas of personal development into citizenship. The cottage industry practice was supposed to catalyse the subject's process of internalising the national spirit through independent struggle and endurance. Therefore, cottage industries can be considered as national activities that were legitimised as free trades, but that also were culturally conditioned.

A primary condition can be found in the patrimonial order of rule, in the legacy of the subject's obedience to the superiors – in the last resort to the sovereign. That the Emperor-Grand Duke continued to have a central role in the governance of Finland throughout the 19th century cemented the notion of a patriarchal ruler, but the Grand Duchy's status as autonomous necessarily made way for more local rulers, the officials. As minions of the emperor, officials had to have strict loyalty, but with a requirement for university degrees, the growing group of officials increasingly also had expert knowledge, and in higher positions they were able to apply more independent rule. For example, L. G. von Haartman could be understood as a remarkable statesman, who, although swearing loyalty to the emperor, through his influential positions of trust and office could have acted in a manner of a regent, sometimes even behaving like a real potentate.

On the other hand, the system of autonomous governance subordinate to the imperial order was likely to strengthen the perception of governance as 'merely' carrying out the state's issues. As Pekonen has pointed out, the Finnish concept of governance (*hallitseminen*) has traditionally been closely connected with the notion of state. Due to Finland's state-oriented political culture, '*hallitseminen*' with its derivative concepts has for a long time worked also as an equivalent of 'political'. The apparent context of the Emperor-Grand Duke's rule and the evolving system of autonomic administration, with traditions inherited from the era of the Swedish monarchy, together paved the way for the power elite of officials that has been called patrimonial bureaucracy. (Pekonen 2003, 124–136, 162; Tiihonen 1994, 78–79, 266–270.) With roots in traditional patriarchy and with ambivalent bounds of loyalty on the one hand to the ruler and on the other hand to the best interests of the country, that is, Finland as an administrative and national whole, governance has not only been connected with rule and discipline but also with notions of care and paternal solicitude; modern paternalism can appear either as guiding or as forcing people to act in a way that is supposed to be for their own good (Pekonen 2003, 125–128). And indeed, Snellman's insistence on applying cottage industry during the famine

serves a paragon of giving a paternal lesson (Siltala 1999, 172). Notably, also in the 1949 CIPC report the few expressions referring to cottage industry as politics or governance involve the expressions of 'guiding' and 'taking care' of the 'disadvantaged' people. In the committee's choice of the authoritative historical figures, the appreciation of superiors, 'the civilised at the head of the nation', is apparent, and each one of them can be understood as paternal characters, as fathers of the nation, whether the father of the primary school or the patron of the state's economy.

The governmental, administrative nature of cottage industry also proves the way it has been cast upon rural craft practices from above. However, the direction of interest to common people's artisanal work was similar in the Scandinavian countries. Along with the emerging industrialisation in Sweden, people feared losing the traditional, domestic craft practices that the association *Föreningen Handarbets Vänner* (Friends of Handicraft) for its part sought to record and maintain. The timing of the concept is also comparable. In her study on Norwegian craft practices equivalent to cottage industry, Glambek (1988) has pointed out that the term '*husflid*' appeared in the 19th century, although making of crafts as such would be rather timeless. But as Glambek has observed, the term does not yet appear in the 19th-century Norwegian lexicons, but can be found in a Danish–Norwegian dictionary from 1909. As Glambek concluded, the term was apparently adopted from Denmark, but even in Danish dictionaries the word first appears in volumes dating to the 1850s. However, cottage industry as '*husflid*' has been mentioned in charter of the society *Selskapet for Norges Vel* ('Society for Norway's Benefit') dating to the early 19th century. (Glambek 1988, 14–15.)

A certain distance between the planning and development work of cottage industry and the actual practice seems to be inherent. Even the 1873 committee reprimanded the cottage industry experiments of 1867–1868 of impracticality. Generally, the vision of turning hundreds of thousands of hungry people ad hoc into micro-entrepreneurs even seems to have acted as turning a blind eye to reality – or simply being detached from it. Still, the 1873 committee also kept a distance from the common people; even the change in attitudes regarding consumption and clothing was turned into an example from the upper-class lifeworld worrying about the countryside gentlemen's outfits. Requiring increased craft teaching in primary schools, the committee believed in similar paternal tones that enhancing people's craft skills they would be better prepared for future crop failures. Added to this, the domestic practice of craft skills was considered an ennobling activity. It truly is remarkable that the Finnish term for cottage industry, *kotiteollisuus*, was built on another term through which the developing Finnish nation was negotiated in the late 19th century, that of home (*koti*).

The focal role of home is interesting noting that typically it has been considered special as a counterpoint in the differentiation between the domestic sphere and the growing sphere of labour that emerged with industrialisation. On the contrary, cottage industry bound together these two spheres. Home was

not only considered the place of emotions, reproduction and upbringing of model citizens, but it was also seen as a location for work and production that were connected to family life. Together, the intention to use the primary school to disseminate craft skills among the people and the idealisation of home underline the cultural political essence of the idea of cottage industry as an upper-class edification project that promulgated respective ambitions of progress and values of decent family life.

Thus, the question regarding the delimitation of promoting cottage industry either as a Fennoman or as a liberal project would seem to be rather irrelevant considering that the topic had been on the agenda of the state's interest even before such opposition that culminated in the late 19th century. From the viewpoint of the common people who were supposed to practise cottage industries, both camps would have easily represented the commanding classes. On the other hand, the need to equip the people with dexterity and diligence was considered important among both groups. Still, it is remarkable that cottage industry was visibly promoted on the pages of the liberally minded *Helsingfors Dagblad* and that in 1880, half of the 1873 committee's membership signed the programme of the liberal party. Reporting about the occasions promoting cottage industry in autumn 1875, the voice of the Fennoman movement, *Uusi Suometar*, concentrated more on its favoured themes of attentive criticism on language policy and on calling for the people's interest. Cottage industry would thus rather appear as another issue through which the rocketing Fennoman movement sought to challenge the *Dagblad* liberalists.

Cottage industry was positioned in the general frames of governance and national development. Indeed, even nationalism was not only the Fennoman movement's property: the Swedish examples in appraising common people's craft products, increasingly recognised also as vernacular expressions of folk art, were welcomed and warmly recommended by the liberal proponents of Finnish cottage industries. But as the *Helsingfors Dagblad* phrased in 1875, cottage industry was not only about nationalist fanaticism; the notion of cottage industry was empathically attached to the national interest in the sense of governance and national economic progress. However, these ambitions came with a cultural bearing, with visions of idyll and order in patriarchal class society and of harmonious liaison between the master and the subject. As the 1873 committee report's reference to Runeberg's heroic poem implies, the nobility heritage would have had a role to play as a carrier of attitudes and values, on the one hand as the sovereign's humble and decent servant and on the other hand as the honourable and rightful patron to his own subjects. The latter, again, would in this frame be to fill their duty as diligent workers willing to enhance their skills and productivity in the best interest of their superior and the country. At the turn of the 20th century, 'the care' of cottage industries increased along with the growing specific expertise. In the following chapter, I take a look at how cottage industry developed into a respective sector of administration and who the active proponents of this development were.

5 COTTAGE INDUSTRY – OLD PRACTICE, NEW EXPERTISE

Carrying culturally and historically bound semantic content, the concept of cottage industry was incorporated into the late 19th-century administrative vocabulary. Created in close connection to the lifeworlds of the upper classes, the idea of cottage industry was intertwined with the new perceptions of family life and general entrepreneurship that the liberalised trade legislation was to support. But the application of cottage industry also reflects general lines of administrative development with growing expertise and specialisation. Looking to relevant sources, to documents and early literature handling cottage industry, there appears expansive growth of documents, although with some variance in the level of formality. Virrankoski even considered the rich historical source basis somewhat peculiar. Emphasising in his 1963 dissertation that the aim was to study 'the factual status and nature of income-generating cottage industry' he found the relation between this factual status and the amount of relevant sources rather disparate. According to his source analysis, Virrankoski claimed that income-generating cottage industries did not have any considerable significance in the 19th-century Finnish national economy, and found it curious that sources on the matter nevertheless were relevantly rich, although, as he pointed out, he did not consider 'documents related to cottage industry policy very interesting' (Virrankoski 1963, 460–464, 474; transl. EK). Indeed, Virrankoski suggested that related to its economic meaning, cottage industry might have been regarded as 'a charming cultural occurrence' (Virrankoski 1963, 460).

The position of cottage industry close to the central administration and its reappearance in administrative documents makes the phenomenon more interesting from the perspectives of political, administrative and cultural histories – perhaps even more so than from the perspective of economic history. The sources and Virrankoski's analysis of them certainly provide evidence that 'cottage industries were practised', or, put more simply, that crafts were made and sold. However, Virrankoski also pointed out that cottage industry seemed to have been applied as a general measure to endorse industrial development in the country by 'advancing technical dexterity and, so to speak, industrial

thought' (Virrankoski 1963, 463). Taking into consideration the proximity of the documentary basis to the central administration, cottage industry appears as a line of official policies. However, these documents of administration, and in this sense, documents of the political sphere, have nevertheless gained little analytical attention from the viewpoint of social and political sciences. Treating as natural the apparent characteristics about cottage industry – that it was perceived as a matter of official nature and as a conceptual category that embraced the motley rural crafts in an administratively neat way – has further cemented cottage industry as a specific field of administration and expertise, like a world of its own.

As was discussed in the previous chapter, interest in cottage industries grew from the 1860s, and from then on more documents were compiled on the matter. The growth in the number of cottage industry exhibitions and meetings is akin to the rising official interest in cottage industries that engendered general recommendations and surveys that sought to pin down the field of cottage industry production. Together with official reports and surveys, the documents of different societies and materials originating from exhibitions and meetings indicate that organised measures for endorsing cottage industry were established at the turn of the 20th century; by the 1920s, a network of regional cottage industry associations already covered the whole country (see Figure 17). Therefore, even though there appears to be variety in the type of sources, whether produced by state officials or by associations, they together mirror the structural development of cottage industry policy.

Foundations of organised development work for cottage industry can be traced back to the founding of the Central Committee of Relief in 1891 and its successor, Finland's General Handicraft Industry Association founded in 1893. The General Handicraft Industry Meeting took place in Helsinki in summer 1900. This was followed by another meeting and a general cottage industry exhibition organised in Kuopio in 1906. Along with these events, the 'Great Cottage Industry Committee' was appointed in 1906 and it worked until 1908. The work of this committee was compiled into five thick volumes of plans and accounts on the status of domestic cottage industries and of comparisons to foreign developments in the field.

The first implementations of this committee work included the establishment of the state administrative unit in 1908, the Cottage Industry Office located in the Board of Industry and headed by Lauri Mäkinen, who held the new post as Inspector of Cottage Industry. The early 20th century also brought about small publications on the matter: architect and teacher seminar lecturer Y. O. Blomstedt, Inspector of Poor G. A. Helsingius, and Inspector of Cottage Industry Mäkinen gave out publications discussing the role and possibilities of cottage industry activities. Publishing soon achieved a forum of its own, when the magazine *Käsiteollisuus*, forerunner to the magazine *Kotiteollisuus*, was started in 1907 with Mäkinen as the editor-in-chief. The various interests in cottage industry were united in 1913 when Finland's Cottage Industry Delegation, later regis-

tered as the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry Associations, was established.

Scrutinising in this chapter documents from the 1880s to the 1910s, I unravel different aspects of cottage industry as a new line of policy and as a composition of ideas. I start by looking at surveys on the matter and then move on to decipher the remains of public cottage industry meetings, exhibitions and the committee report of 1908 with consideration of the phenomenal events and movements of the time. Indeed, the idea of cottage industry was connected to various topical societal issues of the day. With interest in economic and industrial progress, in reforming social order and, intrinsically, in the development of national aesthetics in craft products, cottage industry offered a versatile forum of negotiation on the then ongoing transformations in Finnish society.

5.1 Office culture and pursuits of the elite

The status of cottage industry production was first considered worth an official account in 1857. At the instigation of the Senate's financial department, the Board of Manufactories had been assigned to compile a deliberation on the development of industries and mining in Finland. Along with this, the board was advised to study which cottage industries should be supported in the country. This was the first survey dedicated to cottage industry, although the Finnish Economy Society had arranged some studies concerning the spinning and weaving of linen. (Virrankoski 1963, 472.) Also, the Finnish Economy Society and the Economy Society of the County of Oulu had arranged and participated in exhibitions, and together with agricultural societies, the Board of Manufactories had sent a collection of cottage industry items to the agricultural and craft exhibition held in Saint Petersburg in 1860. Apart from the exhibitions, other practical measures to promote cottage industry were rarely put into action until the famine of the 1860s. Even the initial survey arranged in 1857 was responded to mostly by regional bailiffs who had remained very brief in their answers. In a similar manner, the Board of Manufactories was sparing with actual propositions, although it encouraged the development of cottage industries in general. Actually, it seems to already have imprinted the pattern for the general development work in this field: the common people should be informed about cottage industries with the help of specific advisors, with publications and by organising exhibitions and competitions. (Virrankoski 1963, 472–473).

The CIPC demonstrated its awareness of this previous development work. Along with mentioning the certain historical people as the predecessors of cottage industry, it also discussed the Senate's initiatives for recording the cottage industry field and the expanding role of associations that included the matter in their list of activities (KM1949:34, mon., 43–44). The 1873 Cottage Industry Committee's report had supplied some concrete recommendations on the development of cottage industries and respective education, but the general view of the field of cottage industry production had nevertheless remained vague.

The first extensive investigation on the topic was accomplished in 1887 after the Emperor-Grand Duke, Alexander III, had endowed funding of 500,000 marks for the support of cottage industries in the Grand Duchy. The Department of Finance undertook the enquiry and sent out a survey to each county. Respondents, chiefly local agricultural associations, were to answer eight open questions. The analysis admitted that the replies unfortunately often were incommensurable and at some parts even controversial, especially when several replies had been received from the same region. It was also lamented in the report that responses sometimes were quite haphazard, because the respondents had not always made a distinction even between household cottage industries and professional crafts. (*Yhteen-asetelma* 1888, 1–3.) Cottage industry thus appeared to be a new concept that was not easily used to categorise the various craft practices.

The structure of the survey report largely followed the eight questions presented, and as such it gives a view on what aspects of cottage industry was considered important. The first questions were of a very general nature, only enquiring whether crafts were made at home and when they were, of which materials these were made, and whether these craft items were of good quality. On the other hand, the third question revealed that the ideal of self-sufficiency was not taken as granted even in the 1880s, as it required answering where items were bought, when not home-made. The fourth question underlined the women's role in clothing the family and enquired about weaving and the quality of clothing. The fifth and sixth questions addressed more directly income generation or professional cottage industry and their respective quality. The seventh question brought up the issue of cottage industry education and the last point was left more open, asking which cottage industries could be established in the area in question. (*Yhteen-asetelma* 1888.)

The general result of the enquiry was that the level of cottage industries remained rather poor throughout the country, although with exceptions to the southern and westerns parts, such as the county of Turku and Pori, and parts of the counties of Uusimaa in the south and Pohjanmaa in the west (*Yhteen-asetelma* 1888, 74). Although the incommensurable answers meant it was difficult to draw precise or extensive conclusions of countryside cottage industries, the study determined that the eastern parts of the country were most underdeveloped, especially the districts of Salmi and Sortavala in the county of Vyborg, but also parts of Central Finland were regarded as low on the level of cottage industry production (ibid. 9, 74). The northernmost part of the county of Oulu, Lapland,[42] was also considered poor in cottage industry production, even though it was noted that the inhabitants were mostly self-sufficient in crafts. Women's weaving skills were nevertheless considered poor, although it was noted that they made items that went into the 'Lapp dress' (*gákti*) and that some products were also sold 'at the marketplaces by the Arctic Ocean' (ibid., 11, 27, 44, 74).

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42 The report referred to the area consisting of Enontekiö, Utsjoki, Inari, Muonionniska, Kittilä and Sodankylä.

It is not easy to review the reliability of these results, especially as the report seemed to show little understanding for local circumstances considering on the one hand the possibilities of buying products, especially in the eastern counties closer to Saint Petersburg's traders, and on the other hand the differences in local craft cultures regarding, for example, Sámi cultures in Lapland. Actually, the report can even give the impression that the procurement of goods from markets, peddlers or even from professional craftsmen was translated in the analysis as ineffectiveness or pure clumsiness of the people. Self-sufficiency in Lapland, on the other hand, was explained with the ethnocentric supposition that the level of needs there would nevertheless have been restricted to the most indispensable necessities (*Yhteen-asetelma* 1888, 11).

In the light of this enquiry, the practice of cottage industries in the 1880s seemed in many ways ineffective. For example, makers peddled products themselves, which called for proper sales arrangements. However, women's cottage industries – spinning, weaving, knitting and sewing – appeared to be on a much higher level and of better quality than men's cottage industries, such as woodwork and smithery. It was also noted that women practising cottage industries were more often in a landowning position, whereas men working with their cottage industries were more typically landless. Thus, a general observation was that better craft skills were connected to landowning and related prosperity, although cottage industries chiefly were practised among the landless peasantry. (*Yhteen-asetelma* 1888, 74–79.) That the practice of cottage industries was connected to a little higher standard of living, or at least supposing a possibility of it, offered an important motivation for developing cottage industry officially, especially as the Grand Duchy's cottage industries seemed to be at an appallingly low level.

In the execution of the enquiry, certain patterns typical of the centralised administrative practice were applied. The procedure of sending out a survey to local informants remained similar to the practice of collecting information for the central administration from the counties by consulting regional governors, priests and judges, although it must be noted that information was collected from regional associations instead of officials. Also, in this way, cottage industry was merged into the administration as a matter of observation, as a common people's activity that would have to be monitored for the sake of national interest. Considering the stability of administration in the Grand Duchy, this integration could be regarded as rather typical; even radical political changes were adjusted to administrative structures that had been founded in the 17th-century Swedish monarchy (Tuori 1983, 173–174).

On the other hand, the Emperor-Grand Duke's favourability towards the autonomous administration, in accordance with the absolute supremacy of the prince, had quickly become important for each of the officers in the Grand Duchy of Finland. Official work also conjoined official style and festivity that along with dress code and official address in documents acknowledged the various honorary titles, the value of which increased in the sphere of influence in the Russian imperial court. Knowledge of hierarchical chains and sense of duty

characterised office work that in the latter part of the 19th century was based on the collegial principle of administration. The collegial practice reassured internal solidarity among the circles of officials, supported hierarchies and strengthened the chains of multiphase decision-making. In short, bureaucracy in administration was reinforced. (Tiihonen & Ylikangas 1992, 181–182, 195–200; Tuori 1983, 187–191.)

Cottage industry was adjusted to these conventions of office culture, but it was also symptomatic of the liberalist tendencies that first emerged on the practical level of trade legislation; gradually, the more liberal viewpoints also affected ideas about the state (Stenvall 1995, 39–42, 84–86). The application of cottage industry can be seen as an amalgamation of administration culture and intentions to promulgate new, liberal thoughts, as the management of the 1860s' hunger crisis had shown. Also in the early 1890s, when a new crop failure crisis was faced in the country, emergency help was organised following old conventions: communication between central government and county governors offered the crucial channel of information for reporting the extent and gravity of the situation in different parts of the country, as had been exemplified in the correspondence of Snellman and von Alfthan (Turpeinen 1991, 78). Conventions of administration and hierarchies were present also among the distressed people in the country villages: officials and their sense of duty were sometimes trusted more than the local authorities, who ran the actual distribution of aid. On the other hand, the belief in authorities might have gone as fas as fantasies of the omnipotent ruler; in his newspaper articles, Snellman openly disapproved of the people's belief in the goodwill of the Emperor 'to feed his people' (Häkkinen 1991a, 241; Häkkinen 1991d, 201–203). Dependence on the helping hand was to be finished altogether with the help of the 'new' income-generating cottage industry practice.

However, the 1891's crop failure also brought about a new form of relief organisation as the Central Committee of Relief (*Hätäavun keskuskomitea*) was established, a private organisation for emergency help that was based in Helsinki. Among other things, this initiative took the liberty of directly contacting local relief committees in the counties and providing help, partially without the claim for repayment. According to Turpeinen, this kind of interference in the official distribution of relief in the distressed areas caused irritation at least in the county of Oulu governor's office, where any direct help was seen as a risk of demoralising the work ethic and the principal value of fending for oneself. (Turpeinen 1991, 67, 76–77.) The activities of the Central Committee of Relief were nevertheless not that readily questioned. Although the committee was a private initiative, it had a high-profile establishment that added to its authoritarian strength and was thus able to challenge the official procedure. It is also notable that women's role in the committee was strongly present. The Central Committee of Relief, which was founded in December 1891, included ten men and five women, including Alexandra Mechelin, Senator Leo Mechelin's wife, and Sofie Rein, Professor of Philosophy Thiodolf Rein's wife. Zacharias Topelius also attended this committee, but it was led by Lieutenant General Frithiof

Neovius (1830–1895), former military trainer and representative of the burgher estate (Hanski 2006). In this post, he was followed by Viktor von Haartman (1830–1895), who had worked in the Department of Finance and in the Committee for Finnish Affairs, an intermediary organ between the Senate and the Emperor-Grand Duke. Viktor von Haartman was nephew and foster son of Lars Gabriel von Haartman. (Turpeinen 1991, 67, 126; Kalleinen 2001b.)

The semi-official position of the Central Committee of Relief strengthened the official status of cottage industry and emphasised the bond between the management of hunger crises and cottage industries. Although this organisation tended to have lower requirements for giving aid, which typically consisted of grain or flour, these nevertheless were tied to compensation. To achieve this, the Central Committee of Relief distributed models and materials to be processed into craft products to the local institutions that looked after the needy and even directly to homes. These items were then marketed locally or returned to the Central Committee of Relief that organised the sales of the products. (Turpeinen 1991, 82–83.)

Along with the actual income generation, education continued to be an important topic in the craft-oriented relief work. In a general meeting called by the committee in October 1892, Neovius emphasised the need to establish craft schools in the municipalities. Fredrika Wetterhoff, whose private working school for women in Hämeenlinna had been functioning since 1885, insisted that aid should be tied to the ambition of developing craft skills among the common people. Had the municipalities arranged premises for schools, the committee would have supplied them with teachers, tools, models and materials. However, municipalities did not show too much interest in craft activities despite these offers (Turpeinen 1991, 81). On the other hand, it has been reported that the creation of cottage industries led to the arrangement of many work homes, workshops and schools in the 1890s (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 5).

After the critical situation of need was overcome in 1893, it was decided that these activities had to be continued. The Central Committee of Relief therefore created the basis on which Finland's General Handicraft Industry Association (FGHIA)[43] was founded in October 1893, with the primary aim to continue relief work and to further improve these practices (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 5). Lieutenant General Neovius continued to work as the chief of this new association (1893–1895). He was then followed by K. A. Brander (1895–1899) and G. A. Helsingius (1899–1901) (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 8). The head of this association thus remained in the hands of officials, politicians, and businessmen.[44]

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43 *Suomen Yleinen Käsiteollisuusyhdistys.* The association applied the concept '*käsiteollisuus*' in its name. Although this could be translated simply as 'craft', I here use a more precise translation 'handicraft industry' emphasising the use of the term 'industry' (*teollisuus*) as a suffix.

44 The chair of the FGHIA was held by General H. Åkerman during 1901–1904, and after the short period by Senator L. Clouberg 1904–1905, the chair was given to factory owner Viktor Julius von Wright in 1905 (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 8).

As its first publication in 1901, the FGHIA printed a booklet, *The Vagrant People and Cottage Industry*, written by Inspector of Poor, G. A. Helsingius.[45] He drew attention to the growing amount of vagrants. To Helsingius, this term not only included the landless people but also the unemployed workers and their families. According to Helsingius' calculations, this group had grown to 34.7 per cent of the whole population, and the writer then underlined the significance of cottage industry for these people. Also, Helsingius referred to Snellman and von Alfthan as historical authorities and to their role in activating cottage industry production during the 1860s' famine. Their action had set the example that the Inspector of Poor urged to be followed some 30 years later:

> Not only the men and women who are fully able to work but also the disabled and furthermore the elderly and the children can make an earning in craftwork. That deeply rooted false conception of the society's responsibility to support everyone who is not fully fit for work could thus be erased and people would learn to understand that everyone is liable to earn their living according to their abilities. (Helsingius 1901, 8.)

Helsingius presented further explorations on cottage industry in his inspection report from the year 1903, following the year of crop failure 1902–1903 (SVT 1903 XXI B, *Vaivaishuoltotilasto* 11). This report was later summarised in the 1908 cottage industry committee report as 'the first true attempt to compile an enlightening statistical account on the circumstances of cottage industry in our country', although it still was not approved as being of sufficiently accurate nature (KM1908:20, 24).

Along with the FGHIA, the cottage industry field was increasingly studied by other associations that were founded during the last decades of the 19th century. The Finnish Economy Society had paid special attention to cottage industries since its founding in 1797, and regional agricultural societies had followed its example. These societies nevertheless focused progressively on the development of farming and herding and to respective machines, tools and techniques. Societies that concentrated more on crafts included the Finnish Society of Crafts and Design and the Friends of Finnish Handicraft. However, both of these associations seem to have been categorised under the term 'industrial art' quite early on, as was done in the 1894 *Calendar on Finland's Women's Work* published by Finland's Women's Association (*Suomen Naisyhdistys*) (*Kalenteri* 1894, 156–157). In this document, other crafts such as lace-making, embroidery, glass staining, and the making of artificial flowers were counted as women's indus-

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45 Gustaf Adolf Helsingius (1855–1934) was an engineer by education, but after having worked for a few years as a foreman on railway building sites – and having published critical newspaper articles on rural poverty – he drifted into developing the system for poor relief in Finland. Helsingius acquainted himself with practices in other European countries and compiled the regulations for municipal poor relief. Helsingius held the office of Inspector of Poor from 1888 when it was established until 1915 and continued to publish on the matter even after retirement. Since the crop failure of 1891–1892, Helsingius focused his interest on cottage industry and concentrated more on preventive poor relief. (Harjula 2000.)

trial arts. On the other hand, of these techniques, lace-making in particular has often been recognised as a cottage industry.

The interest that Finland's Women's Association paid to cottage industry exemplifies the growing importance of associations for the development of and discussion about many societally acute topics. Indeed, the icreasing attention to cottage industry in the late 19th century is largely parallel to the growth of different social movements and the emergence of respective societies and organisations. In the Finnish context, the establishment of new associations has been considered an essential aspect of the strengthening of national self-esteem. Associations supported the public structures and, in hindsight, the creation of a modern state. (Alapuro et al. 1989.) The construction of a vivid and active network of associations and organisations gathered people together to promote a whole variety of cultural and social topics, which also played a quintessential role in the formation of a cultural political frame for Finland. In particular, the promulgation of pro-Finnish attitudes in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries gradually improved the operational preconditions of associations that generated cultural content for the emerging, pronouncedly Finnish national whole. (Sokka 2005, 116–118.)

The organisation of public life and civil society spurred people to identify different opinions and political stances: 'Both in the national movement and in the later mass organisations, different groups or, rather, their active representatives defined the nature of their groups, relations to other groups and their objectives in comparison to other groups' (Alapuro & Stenius 1989, 18; transl. EK). From the turn of the 20th century on, such movements and associations as the temperance movement, youth associations, agricultural societies, sport societies, cooperatives and the labour movement involved tens and even hundreds of thousands of people (ibid., 50–51). Still, proximity to central governance paved the way to political acceptance – and to financial support. It has also been emphasised that although the National Romantic movement and the political Fennoman movement had a significant role in the formation of cultural organisations, a variety of worldviews and ideological commitments permeated the period of the so-called national awakening. (Sokka 2005, 14–19; 116–118.)

Indeed, along with the increasing national endeavours, the late 19th century also brought a rise in various philanthropist activities whether with regard to workers' living conditions in the growing European industrial cities or to the crofters' and landless people's situation in the countryside. The start of women working in organisations can be seen to be closely connected to these aspirations with the elevation of the home often as their key interest. In Finland, the troubles of 1891–1892 prompted many individual efforts to organise poor relief, but it also incited more influential measures to support the homes and families at risk of distress. *The Calendar on Finland's Women's Work* illustrates this tendency:

> Then came the year of crop failure in 1892 and it brought a new turn. Finland's Women's Association could not remain inattentive in regard to the poverty and distress that then met numerous families in our country. At its strength the association sought to relieve the situation, but like the sensible public of the country in general,

the association noticed that occasional help only worked as a relief in the misery that at any time could come about again. Therefore, it was important to invent sources of living and to develop trades that to some extent would evict distress from our homes during the years of the worst harvests.

Finland's Women's Association, the objective of which is to elevate the woman in spiritual and moral aspects and to improve her economic and societal status, asked then, if it could do anything to generate a powerful awakening especially in the field of women's cottage industry and to promote a means through which the woman could support both directly and indirectly the family's living. (*Kalenteri* 1894, i–ii.)

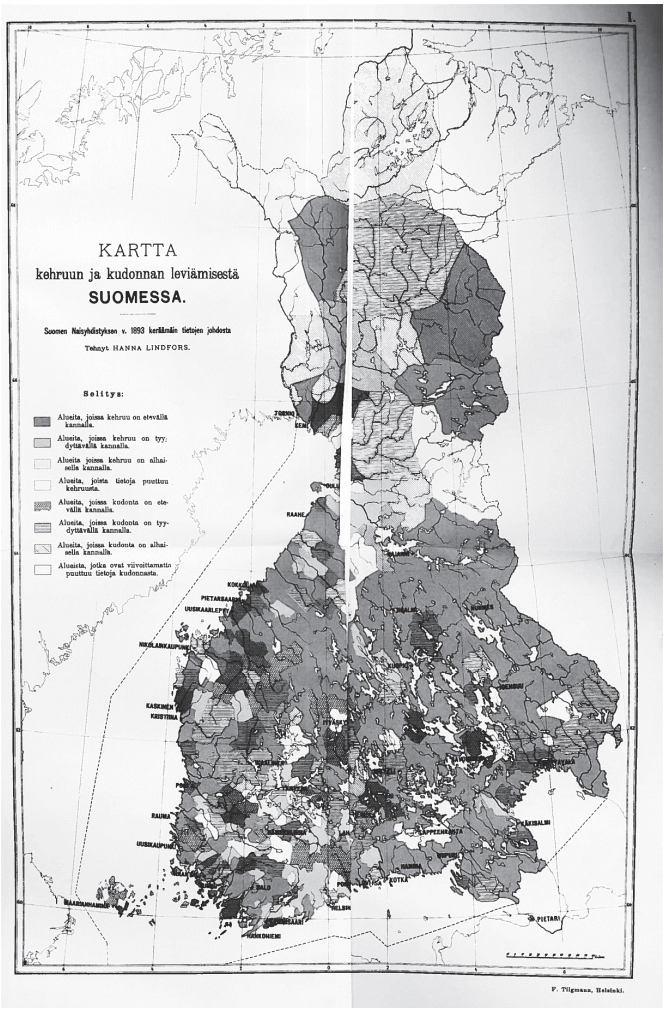

Figure 8 Spinning and weaving in Finland in 1893. Finland's Women's Association's study on women's cottage industries, *The Calendar on Finland's Women's Work*, was accomplished with illustrative maps; this map is indicative of the distribution of spinning and weaving in Finland. (Source: *Kalenteri* 1894, appendix.)

Considering the growing attention on the domestic sphere and women's role in society, the organisation of cottage industry deserves special attention. Finland's Women's Association's interest in studying and supporting women's cottage industries reflects the increasing activity of the women's movement in Finland that has previously been recognised with connections to the temperance movement and the founding of Martha associations with local branches (Sulkunen 1989, 157–175; Ollila 1993). The role of women in developing cottage industries seems to have been growing significantly at the turn of the 20th century. Cottage industry not only suggested a possibility for the underprivileged women to generate income for their families but also created a new line of professions, essentially as craft teachers that was favoured among the young middle-class women. This followed the previous development in teacher training that had offered women an opportunity to access an independent working career (Ollila 2000, 42–53). Moreover, in the 1870s, Professor C. G. Estlander had envisioned professional designer training for women, but more specific plans were created first during the early 20th century; a specific textile department was established at the Helsinki Central School of Industrial Art in 1929. However, Fredrika Wetterhoff's Working School and later craft teacher training institute for women, specialising in weaving and sewing, had by then been working in Hämeenlinna for well over 40 years. (Wiberg 1996, 19–24.)

The growing interest in cottage industry has also been documented in the overview comprising the first years of the FGHIA, compiled in consideration of the 1906 Kuopio cottage industry exhibition (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906). Summarising the efforts for establishing craft training both in higher levels of education and in the primary schools, it was pointed out that craft skills among the common people were eagerly stood up for, although not without some nostalgia:

> One recalled the not-so-distant times when most of the countryside family's utensils, tools, furniture, etc. were made in homes, and it was complained with longing how the dexterity that then had generally developed now was increasingly disappearing causing great loss in societal wealth. Although understood that previous circumstances could not wholly be restored, because many of the utensils were increasingly being made in factories, in which these were made in large numbers and at such a cheap cost that craft industries no longer could compete with them. (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 1.)

Along with the observation of changes in production, the degeneration of craft quality and craft skills were considered distinctly as a national loss that was to be prevented by paying attention to special crafts:

> But at the same time many a thoughtful friend of the fatherland saw more clearly what huge damage it will be to our whole nation that our countrymen are not, as they used to be, employing the long winter evenings with craftwork, when they should make the tools and means of transport needed in their homes, and not let expensive craftsmen make such simple utensils (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 1).

Authors of the overview referred to the 1887 cottage industry enquiry, enacted 'by the then patriotic government'[46] (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 4), but the contribution of the Central Committee of Relief, and especially that of Frithiof Neovius, were considered most important for the establishment of the new association, the FGHIA, the motive of which was 'to promote the economic handicraft industry of the country' (ibid., 5). To this end, the association would have to establish and keep craft schools and workshops and to supply craft teachers for the schools. The association would endorse craft industries by providing books, models and patterns, and by organising exhibitions. Furthermore, it would retail and strongly promote the sales of domestic craft products both at home and abroad. It was also seen as necessary to create branches for these activities and to contact other societies and associations. (ibid., 5–6.)

Branch associations of the FGHIA nevertheless remained few; only one branch was founded in Kuopio. Instead, the association co-operated with regional economic and agricultural societies, mostly by offering a sales channel for craft products made in these associations and in the related schools. The association also appointed its own delegations for the planning and developing of education, for the running of the association's craft shop, and for the wholesale distribution of craft products. The association gained some success in organising education for the promotion of the domestic toy industry; the activities of the FGHIA seem to have had a significant effect on the occurrence of making Finnish national costume dolls. (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 7–8, 19–20.)

To promote craft sales, the FGHIA founded a craft shop in Helsinki in 1894. The shop was built on the remains of the stock of craft products that hailed from the work of the Central Committee of Relief. These products included different kinds of fabrics and woodwork items. Even after the activities of the Central Committee of Relief had ceased, the shop received crafts made at its commission from the eastern parishes of the country (Suomussalmi, Kiuruvesi, Pielisjärvi). It turned out, however, that some of these products were almost impossible to sell. To better the situation, the association had fabrics woven 'by skilled weavers in Porvoo parish' among others. Most of the sold fabrics continued to be woven in schools or at the commission of local women's associations. Items of woodwork sold in the shop had been made in schools, although also by individual makers (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 9–11.) This modus operandi continued to affect the aesthetics of the products. The craft shop delegation reported:

> It cannot be denied that many reprimands – many of them justified – have been made about the patterns, models and colour combinations of crafts kept for sale. Surely, it is natural that in this kind of activity, in which aims for shape, colour, phi-

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46 The Senate was led by Samuel Werner von Troil (1833–1900) during the periods of 1885–1888 and 1888–1891. V. von Haartman, K. F. Ignatius and G. von Alfthan (1888–1891) also worked in these Senates. von Troil was an adherent of liberal thoughts and he defended Finnish autonomy and constitution when the Russo-Finnish relation was drifting into conflict due to the so-called post manifest (1890). Also, the Committee for Finnish Affairs was disbanded in 1891. (Selovuori & Parkkari (ed.) 1995, 72–76; Kalleinen 2007.)

> lanthropy and economy are to be combined, the difficulties fulfilling all demands are great. The shop nevertheless has according to its strengths sought to learn from the reprimands and to satisfy the different requirements. (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 11.)

Despite the difficulties, the sales business had turned profitable by 1905, and especially fabrics were in demand. Considering that the activity had not received public funding the association wished to emphasise that cottage industries proved to be a favourable occupation. (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 12.)

Along with the sales of craft products the FGHIA continued the craft education that the Central Committee of Relief had begun. During the years 1893–1895, there were 15 schools operating. Except for the actual teaching in craft skills, the schools were supposed to educate the pupils, of a minimum age of 15, in order, diligence and cleanliness. Also, the schools were to foster the pupils' 'self-esteem and their love for worthwhile activities'. Most of the items that the pupils made remained the association's property and were sold to cover the expenses of the schools. Extra students who used their own materials were eligible to keep their products but were also obligated to pay 5 marks per month for the education. (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 13–14.) The FGHIA upheld the schools in alliance with municipalities and local associations, but was soon to restrict this due to the lack of funding. On the whole, the association saw it as recommendable to invest in men's craft education, which was generally considered to be on a much lower level than women's craft education. Therefore, and after some experiments, the association established a vocational school in carpentry and woodwork industries in Helsinki in 1896 (ibid., 17).

In general, both the Central Committee of Relief and the FGHIA seem to have employed remarkable confidence in their action. This determination was connected to the fact that many of the associations' members were in or in connection to high positions. The way the association acted in order to promote cottage industries is significant considering its resemblance and proximity to central government, to the Senate and the administrative departments working under it. With officials and senators working in both of these organisations, the relations to central government were likely to be close and collegial. With regard to the female members' role in the association, it seems that their close relations' expertise was also of importance: for example, Hilma Schildt (née Hallberg, 1876–1921), who took responsibility for the association's craft shop, was married to businessman, *kauppaneuvos* (counsellor of commerce) Hjalmar Schildt (1849–1925) (Mauranen 2009).

Clearly, activities promoting cottage industries were marked by elitism and hierarchical relations, and toward the end of the century, cottage industry activities created a forum of philanthropist work with its own organisational basis. In this way, the action of the FGHIA is comparable to other movements that had the edification of people as their ambition. It must be noted, however, that in comparison to mass organisations that involved tens of thousands of people, the membership of the FGHIA only counted 263 people when it was founded in 1893, and by 1906 this number had risen only to approximately 500 people (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 7). Then again, instead of comparing the numbers of

members, it would be more interesting to see how the FGHIA brought together and upheld experience and expertise about cottage industry development work that had been achieved both within the spheres of administration and in organisational activities.

5.2 Cottage industry in 'our own country' – craft skills as civic skills

Along with the exhibitions that created festive visibility and publicity for cottage industry, the public meetings created a significant part of promoting the matter, as the 1875 exhibition and the meeting showed. The Kuopio cottage industry exhibition held in 1906 served as a paragon of this kind of activity, but already in June 1900, the FGHIA had called 'a general meeting for craft teachers and for those engaged in cottage industries' (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 26). According to the attendance lists, the meeting was attended by 166 people, which can be considered a rather abundant number. The meeting had attracted participants not only from southern parishes near Helsinki, but also from various parts of the country including Sortavala in East Karelia, Iisalmi in Savo (Eastern Finland), Turku and Rauma in West, Kajaani in North-East, and Oulu and Kemi, northern towns by the Bay of Bothnia. (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 150–161.)

The meeting nevertheless seemed not to have been intended for the men and women of practice: both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking rural workers were non-existent in the attendance lists. Instead, the list shows that the majority of the participants were either craft school or primary school teachers. Among the participants, there were 68 women, of whom 28 had announced that they worked as a craft teacher.[47] (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 150–161.) The meeting appears to have been to some extent bilingual, and the need for translations was paid special attention by the chair of the meeting, Viktor Julius von Wright. The chair recommended that only Swedish presentations would be translated into Finnish, and thus presumed that all participants knew enough Finnish in order to understand the Finnish presentations (ibid., 3–4). This implies that although Finnish was favoured as the meeting language, the assembly did not cling to lingual policies; detailed minutes of the meeting were published in both languages.

The meeting took place at one of the grand buildings of the time in Helsinki, the Fire Brigade's House, which a few years later also served as the assembly room for the Finnish Parliament (*eduskunta*). Held during three summer days, from 14 to 16 June 1900, the meeting opened a forum for talks that had been prepared in advance. The 16 presentations were mostly given by craft teachers, both men and women, but included also officials, experts and other prominent characters in society. The meeting followed a systematic procedure

47 A further 19 women worked as primary school teachers, and 8 women reported more generally that they worked as a teacher (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 150–161).

of two-round discussions. Presentations were first discussed in an open assembly and then forwarded to delegations for more specific debate. The delegations then presented their discussion with proposed resolutions to the meeting. The well-organised nature of the meeting is remarkable considering that debate on the procedural practices of the Diets had been lively in the late 19th century; the more parliamentary practice of concerted plenums was recommended instead of the estate-based negotiation. The meeting practice therefore seems to have imitated the structure of deliberations of the Finnish four-estate Diet, where plenary discussions and committee negotiations alternated. (Pekonen 2014, 150–154). In this respect, the cottage industry meeting followed the practice of procedural parliamentary models that were also applied in municipal meetings, in political parties, and in associations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Pekonen 2014, 261–262, 279–281).

In his opening words for the General Handicraft Industry Meeting, K. A. Brander,[48] chair of the board that had been preparing the meeting and the previous chair of the FGHIA, remarked that measures for developing cottage industries had not been strong enough. He reasoned that this was due to the lack of general discussion and gatherings of those interested in the matter. Brander underlined the general importance of cottage industry for all nations and hoped that the meeting would help 'promote cottage industry in our fatherland'. He complained about the decline of cottage industries, which he considered to be a result of the growing industrial production and the accordingly cheap prices of products. He nevertheless assured the audience that cottage industries could still flourish alongside industrial production and that these two even could work hand in hand. (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 2–3.)

It is notable that expressions in the 1900 meeting denoted a stronger nationalist tone compared to the meeting that had been held 25 years earlier, when it even had been emphasised that cottage industry was not about the 'national and such ideas'. But in 1900 the situation was different. Interestingly, it has been recorded in the minutes how Viktor Julius von Wright, who was elected to chair the meeting, had first refused this duty appealing to the point that he had 'only just participated the work of the Diet and therefore was tired and nervous' (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 3). Indeed, the 13th Diet had assembled from 23 January to 6 June 1900, and von Wright had attended this Diet as a representative of the nobility.[49] His exhaustion and anxiety are plausible taking

48 Karl Alfred Brander (Paloheimo) (1862–1949) worked at the time as the director of the insurance company Pohjola. Inspired by the Fennoman movement, Karl Alfred and his brothers Hjalmar Gabriel and Paavo Brander translated their surname to a Finnish version, Paloheimo, in 1906 (Ahvenainen 2008). The trend to translate Swedish surnames to Finnish was an increasingly popular way to strengthen Finnish identity in the late 19th century, but the wave of taking Finnish surnames in 1906 was a movement to commemorate the centenary of the birth of J. V. Snellman. Then almost 35,000 people translated their surnames (with families included, this might have applied to ca. 100,000 people). (Hanhivaara 1994.)

49 Viktor Julius von Wright (1856–1934), descendant of a noble family, was active in politics and a producer of cane furniture. After having studied in Germany and Denmark, he established his factory in Helsinki in 1879. During his study years, he took an interest in German debates on socialism. He expressed his interest in elevat-

into consideration the 1899 February Manifesto that launched an era of Russian oppression in Finland. The intensifying political atmosphere most likely influenced how cottage industry was then conceived.

The first wave of years of oppression (1899–1905) influenced Finnish society in many ways: in central governance and among political parties and the numerous newly established organisations in civil society. The restrictive Russification policies were opposed in the first place with pleads 'to restore the legal circumstances', as the preceding conditions in the autonomous Grand Duchy were then seen. Therefore, the significance of legal justification in governance was emphasised and it increased toward the end of the century: the turn from a civil servant state to a constitutional state marked the turn of the 20th century (Stenvall 1995, 40–42). Under the conditions of increasing political oppression, legal justification then became an important tool of struggle and, as Tuori has maintained (1983, 221–222), the style of legal argumentation could have also worked as a disguise for debating politically sensitive topics during the years of oppression. It is possible that cottage industry worked as this kind of a metatheme, especially as it was inherently a matter that was brought up in critical times.

The years of oppression also increased the juxtaposition between the political parties. Although the lingual dispute had previously drawn lines between the Swedish-speaking and the distinctively Fennoman camps, reactions to the February Manifesto intensified differences within the Fennoman movement. Having achieved popularity during the 1870s and 1880s, the Fennoman movement had involved a younger generation of politically active men and, increasingly, women. The young adherents, especially those of the so-called KPT group, proved to take more radical stances that were closer to liberal notions of individual freedom in contrast to the conservatism of the old leaders of the movement, such as Meurman and Yrjö-Koskinen. However, young radicalism dissolved quite soon into the establishment of the newspaper *Päivälehti* in 1889 that discussed themes of liberalism and democracy. Together with the more moderate, liberally accentuated *Valvoja* group, a Finnish- speaking, liberal coalition emerged within the Finnish Party; in December 1894, *Päivälehti* published the political programme of the new Young Finnish Party. (Siltala 1999, 280–298; Vares 2000, 37–57; Virtanen 2002, 96–102.)

Reactions to the February Manifesto illuminated the generational and mental differences between the Old and the Young Fennomans. The Old were inclined to favour a line of compliance with regard to oppression, but for the Young inspired by liberalism and constitutionalism, the Manifesto's constitutional offence was indispensable. Thus, although lingual boundaries did not disappear, the pro-Finnish opinions scattered into a wider spectrum that continuously included Swedish-speaking adherents. For example, Alexandra

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ing workers' status and chaired the Helsinki Labour Association (*Helsingin työväenyhdistys*) in its early years. His viewpoints have been recognised as 'the Wrightian labour movement' delineated chiefly as a social liberalist movement motivated to prevent radicalisation among workers. von Wright attended the Diets during 1884–1904. (Pinomaa 1931; Hanski 2000.)

Gripenberg, who attended the 1906–1908 cottage industry committee and was elected to Parliament in 1907 as a representative of the conservative Finnish Party, had learned Finnish as a second language. On the other hand, the Young sympathised with the strictly constitutionalist attitude of the Swedish Party. The earlier Swedish liberalism had its effect on the viewpoints of the Young Finns that then was characterised as the 'economic Fennoman movement'. (Vares 2000, 62–64; Virtanen 2002, 107).

An example of combining the national and the economic endeavours can be found in the activity of the Paloheimo (Brander) brothers, who had family connections to essential figures in the Old Fennoman movement (Keskisarja 2006, 14–16). However, K. A. Brander in particular was quickly recognised as a businessman, especially when he became the manager of the Pohjola insurance company. To him, the firm was more a patriotic and national institution instead of a mere insurance company; even the head office of the company represented the national endeavour, a design by the architect triad Gesellius–Lindgren–Saarinen, widely known for their application of a National Romantic style of *Jugendstil* (Keskisarja 2006, 62–65). Members of the Brander/Paloheimo family were also active in the spheres of cottage industry: along with Karl Alfred Brander, the 1900 meeting in Helsinki was attended also by craft teacher Helena Brander and architect G. A. Brander (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 152–155). In 1906, the Senate published a small report with numerical tables on state subsidies for cottage industry; it was accomplished by Frans Alfred Brander (Paloheimo), Karl Alfred's cousin (Paloheimo 1906).

Moreover, not only the practice of cottage industry but the respective policy, including organisation of craft education and plans for supporting the way of life that was based on cottage industry, might at this point have had some linkages to Tolstoyan ideas about passive resistance that Leo Tolstoy had advised for Finns (Hellman 2010, 82–83; Huxley 1990, 177–186). These ideas might have been familiar for K. A. Brander, but would definitely have been to craft teacher Helena Brander,[50] whose father was an adherent of the Tolstoyan movement (Halminen 1996). The ideal of discarding the bounties of the bourgeois way of life and, so to speak, returning to nature and simple farm life were characteristic of Tolstoyan ideas, and they met well with the ideas about cottage industry, in which a modest and self-sufficient life were essentially emphasised. However, the ideals about country life were probably easier to attach to the idea of cottage industry when the supporters of this idea were not themselves that likely to be in the position of a crofter or a landless person, to whom the practice of cottage industries was most warmly recommended.

In the minutes of the 1900 cottage industry meeting, direct comments on either the oppressive political situation or on the evolving nationalist party policies remained indirect and subtle at best; the lengthy debates focused on craft. Again, education became a popular theme. In over half of the presentations, craft education was addressed more or less directly: consideration was given to

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50 In 1919 Helena Brander (1872–1953) became director of the Wetterhoff school for cottage industries in Hämeenlinna (Halminen 1996, 131).

what kind of craft schools ought to be founded and how the relationship between primary school craft education and more vocational craft education should be dealt with. Special interest was paid to women's craft education and to how this could encourage independence among the women. Also, craft education in the folk high schools was brought under scrutiny, and finally, attention was turned to the need for official inspection in the various schools. (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 72–100.) Other presentations regarded the application of cottage industry as a special trade for the physically disabled and reviewed the status of craft skills among servants and vagrant people. Also, questions about the retail of craft products, the distribution of work within the organisation of cottage industries and the workers' possibilities to unite were discussed. In addition to these, architect Yrjö Oskari Blomstedt had prepared two presentations: one regarding the need for a special publication for the field of crafts and another talk demonstrating his views on improving people's sense of form and crafts. (Ibid., 100–136.)

The relation between cottage industry and the reshaping of citizenship was intense in some of the presentations. Craft skills were considered important especially among the common people and these abilities were chiefly justified as civic skills securing progress in the fatherland. Fredrika Wetterhoff, director of the working school for girls that she had founded in 1885 in Hämeenlinna, presented the first question of the meeting: 'What is the meaning of cottage industry for our people and how could it best be promoted in our country?' (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 72–74). Her justifications for the practice of cottage industries were mainly of a moral and economic nature: during the long Nordic winters, there would be plenty of time for farming families to make crafts that not only would bring them the required products but also would develop the makers' cleanliness and dexterity. Wetterhoff emphasised that craftwork would have a civilising effect, and as honest work it would reassert makers' self-esteem and 'offer support in life that for many otherwise feels heavy' (ibid., 72). In a quite straightforward manner, she disapproved of factory work that would mar the worker both physically and mentally, whereas cottage industry would 'help him be released from the seedbeds of large-scale industries' (ibid., 73). Indeed, repeating almost word for word similar viewpoints to Snellman's earlier argument, Wetterhoff affirmed the national significance of cottage industry:

> Taking these viewpoints into consideration, it ought to be clear that the development of cottage industry is a primary condition for the preservation of our nationality; for cottage industry does not separate family members from one another, but unites them with the shared pursuits in homes, from which the nation's moral power sprouts. (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 73.)

Wetterhoff reassured the audience that cottage industry was not to be seen as 'an empty utopia', but instead called for measures to be found to support and develop it, and again, 'to take care': 'In our country cottage industry is comparable to a child who is in need of care and education' (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 73). She maintained that the most important measure in developing cot-

tage industry would be the founding of craft teacher training schools that the state should support. This claim was likely connected to Wetterhoff's own interests to develop her working school. The general discussion on the question then concentrated mostly on the organising of teacher education and on the aims of craft teaching. Again, there seems to have been two points of view, one emphasising theoretical and pedagogic expertise and another one underlining the need for practical teaching that would concentrate on the everyday needs of the farming people. Wetterhoff nevertheless wanted to point out that it would also be important to be able to make decorative objects to diminish the industrial production and import of these items.

Wetterhoff's fear that cottage industry would be gathered as 'an empty utopia' reflects the distance between the supporters of the idea of cottage industry and those who were practising cottage industries. Added to this, some of the presentations are indicative of the bewilderment among the gentry and the landowning farmers about the emerging change in social relations and how these were interpreted as degenerating craft skills. On the other hand, the nostalgic discourse regarding crafts and general diligence in the old times can be conceived of as a general measure of dealing with the uncertain future; similar nostalgia had been expressed already in the 1873 committee report.

The issue introduced by farmer Kaarle Wärri[51] addressed the need to support craft skills among the servants and the vagrants. Wärri expressed his concern regarding the disappearance of pastime craftwork in farmhouses. His reflection illustrates the altering relation between the landowning farmers and their servants and the change in habits and everyday life with rumination on the past and the future. Again, craft was considered a part of good citizenship that secured high morality:

> It belongs to the characteristics of a time of progress that the so-called 'good and old' must give way for the new and better. […] Pastime craftwork belongs to the good manners that are on their way to disappearing. Not more than some two decades ago, the whole Finnish adult population who was skilled in crafts would spend their morning and evening hours diligently at craftwork making and repairing all sorts of farming and household tools. Many old Finnish idioms express that this kind of work has been of great national economic meaning since age-old times. Along with material advantages, that kind of twilight pastime had moral and spiritual benefits; time was not wasted, but on the contrary offered a chance to improve spiritual talents comparatively better than ordinary farm work could do. To some extent, it inspired and enlivened the makers. […] Nowadays the dark time of the year is not spent in this way any more. In many places, pastime crafts are not made at all. This is the general tendency. The result of this has been that craft skills have sunk both among the servants and the vagrants. (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 113–114.)

Wärri did not claim that solutions to this situation would be easily found. He held the employing farmers themselves culpable for the situation and called them to participate in pastime craftwork, but as a more efficient factor, Wärri also turned to craft education in primary schools. General discussion on the matter became heated. Reasons for the diminishing time spent on craftwork

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51 Kaarle Wärri (1839–1923) represented the peasantry estate at the Diets from 1867 on (Hanski 2007).

were partially seen as farmers' failure to keep up this activity, but on the other hand failures were seen in servants' attitudes, in that they would prefer placements where they would not be obliged to make crafts. In more direct expressions, servants and vagrants were accused of not being willing to work or being outright indolent. Primary school teacher Björk assured the participants of the meeting that they were witnessing 'the golden era of the working class' that would not let itself be guided to the disappearing craft practices (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 30). In the resolution on the matter the importance of good example was emphasised: 'prominent persons of the parishes' ought to look after the possibilities for the children of limited means to attend school, and farmers employing servants should increasingly practise crafts in their households. Also, the local farming, economic and youth associations were called to support these pursuits by arranging exhibitions and giving awards for enthusiastic craft activists. To these resolutions, agronomist Jernström added the requirement for state subsidies to the local societies in order to enable such craft activities. (Ibid., 66–68, 146–147.)

The worry about practising twilight craft-work in landowners' houses suggests that crofters, rural workers, servants and handymen were possibly already considered a political challenger or at least an increasingly restless societal group of the time. Indeed, at the turn of the 20th century, the so-called peasant question became prominent and culminated in the wave of rural strikes of 1903; the mobilisation was organised in 1906 when land tenants assembled at their first representative meeting in Tampere. Reasons for restlessness were many. A significant rise in land rents had emerged already in the 1880s and another rent increase hit the first decade of the 20th century. Changes in the international market of agricultural products and structural changes regarding the commercialisation of agriculture in Finland also contributed to the conflicting relations among the rural population, particularly between the landowning farmers and the land tenants. Still, even though reasons could be traced back to changes in international conjunctures, ramifications of those were experienced at the local level. Especially in the early decades of the 20th century, thousands of crofters were evicted, which led to growing resentment among the land tenants and the rural workers. (Peltonen 1992, 239–249 & passim.) The notorious pinnacle of the conflict between the landowners and the landless culminated in the 1918 civil war.

Cracks in social relations had emerged long before. Peltonen has detailed the original connection that appeared between the crofter's issue and the February Manifesto: at the same time as the collection of signatures for the so-called Great Petition (*suuri adressi*), which was addressed to the Emperor-Grand Duke in order to demonstrate opposition to the restrictive policies, rumours about land partitioning started to circulate. In many places, crofters had refused to sign the petition and instead speculated on the land partitioning talks. Peltonen emphasised the relevance of this rumour in many aspects as a conscious political act, a form of peasant radicalism. Hopes on the re-partitioning of land had emerged since the 18th-century general land partitioning (*isojako*), but in

1899 these hopes were connected with the wishes of demolishing land taxation and even of suspending salaries from civil servants and priests. In the background, there seemed to be the belief in the good ruler who would see the state of distress of his people and who would chastise his corrupt minions. However, whereas such rumours and hopes can be recognised as the common people's so-called naive monarchism, Peltonen has pointed out that similar naivety also applied to the act of compiling the Great Petition as an expression of belief in the goodwill of the Emperor. Actually, in the 1890s, under the new stricter order of Alexander III, his predecessor, Alexander II, had become an object of adoration exactly as the lost, good ruler. As Peltonen mentioned, an example of this kind of adoration is found in Topelius' commemoration of Alexander II that he wrote in 1894. (Peltonen 1992, 257–261.)

Among the upper classes, the land partitioning rumours embarked on a counter-reaction, a campaign against such talks. Lectures were arranged and leaflets were disseminated 'to correct' common people's perception on the matter. But as Peltonen notes, this reaction was rather illustrative of the gentry's attitudes toward land tenants and rural workers. Although the dire need for land tenancy reformation had been acknowledged, the issue was still not considered worthy of reformative action; education and support in common people's economic activities, for example cottage industries, were supposed to suffice. (Peltonen 1992, 262–265.) In this way, debates on the elevation of craft skills among the servants and the vagrants clearly illustrate the constellation of the emerging cottage industry policy. Whereas Wetterhoff discussed the national importance of cottage industry, other discussions exemplified the paternalist attention that was continuously focused on the rural workers, the land tenants and the landless people. Craft education was repeatedly seen as a route to decent work ethic and citizenship, as a tool of moral edification and as income generation that was also supposed to dissolve the peasant question.

In the 1900 cottage industry meeting, the topic had nevertheless been sincerely embraced. In his closing words, von Wright assured attendees that the thorough discussions had clarified many issues and that the minutes of the meeting would serve a rich source of information. 'Thus, I hope', von Wright continued, 'that the resolutions the meeting has approved will result in reforms which would be of great significance for our country and especially for its handicraft industries' (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 70). The responsibility to take these resolutions further was left to the FGHIA: 'One can hope that the Finland's General Handicraft Industry Association will eagerly advocate the matters that have been presented here' (ibid.).

Accordingly, the FGHIA appointed its own delegations for negotiating the national significance of cottage industry, the organisation of education, marketing and sales of cottage industry products, organisational activities and publishing about cottage industry (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 26–27). The association informed other parties about its investigations, among others the official quarters such as the Superior Board of Education and the Board of Industry, but also boards of craft schools, agricultural societies and the Finnish Society of Crafts and Design.

On the basis of its own deliberations, the FGHIA then turned to the Senate and presented its opinions about how cottage industries ought to be developed in the country and gave its petition that the Senate would appoint a committee to research these matters. In the report of the committee that the Imperial Senate had appointed in March 1906, the minutes of the 1900 general cottage industry meeting were indeed recognised as important and 'wide and rich in content' (KM1908:20, 88–89).

Figure 9 Members and experts in the state's cottage industry committee 1906–1908, picture collage. (Source: SKMA)

The primary task of the 'Great Cottage Industry Committee' (1906–1908) was to create guidelines for the rationalisation and elevation of cottage industries by studying these practices in Finland and by comparing them internationally. Viktor von Wright was appointed the committee chair. Apparently, his experience both as a producer of cane furniture, thus having experience of handicraft industry, and as a politician familiar with workers' social issues – having created a social liberalist labour movement of his own – was highly valued. The committee had six members. The increasing participation of women in public tasks was also visible in this committee membership with its three female attendants. The women's movement was prominently represented by Alexandra Gripenberg (1857–1913), a writer, long-standing chair of Finland's Women's Association, and a member of parliament (Sainio 1999). Nanny Odenvall had been working since 1887 as director of the Wetterhoff School, and Aina Snellman ran a shop selling cottage industry products in Vaasa (Anttila

[2010], 2; KM1908:20, 225–226). Karl William Koskelin (1865–1957), an agronomist and farmer from Central Finland, had taken part at the Diets of 1899–1905 as a representative of the peasantry estate representing the Young Finnish Party; he was also among the first members of parliament (*Kansanedustajat 1907–*, 2007). The committee also included architect and artistic director of the Central School of Industrial Arts, Armas Lindgren (1874–1929), and craft teacher and active proponent of cottage industry, Lauri Mäkinen (1877–1935) (Nikula 2005; Hellsten 2009).

The von Wright committee examined the field of cottage industry more thoroughly than had been done in the previous undertakings. The committee report extended to over 1200 pages and included five volumes (KM1908:20–24). The committee's studies on cottage industry in Finland were exposed in two appendices, one concentrating on the matter in the framework of the 1906 Kuopio cottage industry exhibition and the other presenting large-scale statistics on the practice of cottage industries. Instead of striving for extensive statistics that would cover the whole country, the study focused on 'the most important and popular branches of cottage industry' in a few places that were well known for their lines of production (KM1908:20, 31; KM1908:23).

In comparison to the 1887 survey, this study on cottage industries was more constricted, but also more profound. The report detailed that even in the collection of information more attention was paid to expertise. On the other hand, the cautious procedure could be observed with regard to the aftermath of the general strike that had taken place in autumn 1905:

> In order to avoid misunderstandings in the gathering of the basic information that easily come about in such special fields of study as the one at hand and that affect the results, if the gathering [of information] was performed by someone less acquainted with the countryside, the committee decided to collect this information by sending that person, who had been selected as the committee's statistical assistant, the Treasurer of the Board of Prison Administration[52] A. E. Stenius, to accompany one of the committee members to those localities that the committee had selected as their objects of research (KM1908:20, 32).

With this assistance, the statistical research was undertaken by Lauri Mäkinen. The research period lasted for one year starting in November 1905. Mäkinen had grown up in Sortavala surrounded by craftwork and craft education and he continued to follow in the footsteps of his father, Eero Mäkinen, who had been educated in the Jyväskylä teacher training seminar. There he had acquainted himself with Uno Cygnaeus; they remained in correspondence, and Cygnaeus seems to have encouraged Eero Mäkinen in his craftwork pursuits (Kuoppamäki 2008, 160–168).[53] Thus, as a man of practice himself, Lauri Mäkinen had

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52 *Vankeinhoitohallituksen kamreeri.*

53 Eero Mäkinen (1845–1902) moved from Alavus to Sortavala, East Karelia, in 1880 to work as a craft lecturer in the local teacher training institution. He also established a small factory that produced different utensils needed at primary schools; one of the main items was the harmonium. Later, in 1887, Mäkinen founded a carpentry school with the Swedish school of Nääs, an initiative of the craft pedagogue Otto Salomon, his inspiration. (Kuoppamäki 2008, 230–243.)

good prospects to undertake a field study on the production of cottage industries. This is reflected as detailed analyses of the statistical information about different cottage industries in various places. The several tables in the report concerned, for example, the landowning status, the extent of education, and the income rates of the people practising cottage industries. It was repeatedly observed that cottage industries were mostly practised among smallholders, crofters and other land tenants, but it was now also statistically shown that the incomes that cottage industries yielded remained low. To offer a frame of reference for the reader, income rates were compared to those earned in railway work and by farmhands. (KM1908:20, 45–46.) Even though the figures showed that one could earn more working on railway building sites, cottage industries were again recommended as a more decent line of work:

> But on the other hand, one must consider what benefits cottage industry offers, not only with regard to the economic aspect but also to the moral aspect in comparison to the restless, vagrant railwayman's life, along which it must be noted that railway building work is much more strenuous than cottage industry work. […] The figures show that cottage industry, when it is developed to produce objects of greater value, yields higher wages than farmhand's work, along with which it must be considered that the person practising cottage industries, even when only a tenant,[54] is independent and eats his own bread and alongside his work can dedicate his time to family life. (KM1908:20, 46.)

The idyllic family life that the income-generating cottage industries would support was brought up again a few pages later. A justification for cottage industry was now presented in the form of general wellbeing. Interestingly, the committee wished to accentuate how easily the practice of cottage industries would lead to access to a new house with light and tidy work spaces. These kinds of conclusions could nevertheless have sounded rather extravagant for those struggling to keep their crofts, into which people had invested decades of work (Peltonen 1992, 290–295). However, although statistics had proved the scarcity of life, the committee's intention clearly was to idealise cottage industry as a trade and as a way of life:

> It can be claimed with good reason that people practising cottage industries live in more favourable health conditions than most of the surrounding population. […] It is apparent that cottage industries cannot be practised successfully unless the workroom is not light and tidy, because otherwise the work cannot follow the necessary precision and cleanliness. When the worker realises that careful work is higher valued and paid more, his own advantage requires him to arrange a light and tidy workroom as soon as possible. […] The person practising country cottage industries, when careful, will earn relatively easily the small sum of money needed for the building of such a workroom, for which many artisans in the cities would have reason to envy the country worker. (KM1908:20, 72–73.)

To emphasise the blessings of cottage industry, the committee report went on to illustrate the improvements that this line of work would bring:

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54 The original text refers to the term *mäkitupalainen*.

> It is impossible to even think that those people practising cottage industries who, having always accomplished their work with precision and tidiness and who are in the position to feel satisfaction in their work, would settle for living in such dim and untidy shelters as the poor people around them. The wealth that cottage industry activities creates brings about new houses, the windows of which are larger, and the floors, walls and ceilings of which are easier to keep tidy. (KM1908:20, 73.)

The report also affirmed that such reforms would be cheaper to actualise in the countryside than in the cities. In this way, the intentions of cottage industry policies were similar to the objectives of the organisations that focused on improving households, to practically enlighten the rural homes (see Heinonen 1998, Ollila 1993). In this part, the committee report also sought to openly answer the critique that had been presented against cottage industry. The source of critique is conceptualised as 'the social politician' who had cast doubts upon cottage industry because industry safety legislation and the related inspection did not apply to cottage industries. Furthermore, because earnings remained low, the workers in cottage industries were more dependent on their employers than actual professional artisans. (KM1908:20, 72.)

Reprimands about cottage industry practice had been presented in a booklet published by the Helsinki-based *Työväen Sanomalehti O.Y.* (Workers' Magazine Ltd) in 1908. The writer, Hilma Jahnsson, gave an overview of the historical formation of cottage industries and detailed the effects of industrialisation on this line of work in other European countries, in America and in New Zealand. The example of the development in Germany and Austria gave Jahnsson reason to conclude that cottage industry workers created the most miserable part of labour. She referred to the scientist Schwiedland'[55] according to whom cottage industry workers were to form the fifth class that would be below all others (Jahnsson 1908, 17).

Illustrating the situation in Germany, where a lot of literature on cottage industry (*Hausindustrie*) had been published in the 1890s, and where a conference on workers' safety in cottage industries had been arranged in Berlin in 1904, Jahnsson maintained that cottage industry created an outright threat for the labour movement. In Germany, there had been claims that the state simply should forbid the practice of cottage industry. She nevertheless gave in that as a pastime, cottage industry could offer a subsidiary trade for farmers, and for women it would offer a source of income. However, Jahnsson emphasised the importance of workers' unions in the cottage industry field and, moreover, preferred shorter shifts for women in factories and called the state or municipal bodies to organise day care for children. (Jahnsson 1908, 16–21.)

It seems that with her booklet, Jahnsson most of all wanted to demonstrate the critique that was addressed to cottage industry in other countries. In the last pages of her work, Jahnsson stated that 'it cannot be said that in Finland there would be any kind of cottage industry question' (Jahnsson 1908, 44). Following the situation in Germany, Jahnsson perceived cottage industry primarily as the putting-out system instead of the self-sufficiency providing skilfulness or craft

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55 Eugen Peter Schwiedland (1863–1936), was an Austrian national economist.

traditions; she defined cottage industry as 'the form of production where the worker, working at home, no longer works for the end-user [of the made product], but for the third person, the trader and the capitalist' (Jahnsson 1908, 4). However, she remarked that in Finland where two out of three of the population worked in agriculture, the old style putting-out system that had been applied to weaving was disappearing. Jahnsson was more worried about the future of industrial production that might increase the application of the infamous cottage industry production in Finland. Therefore, she hoped that her study on the cottage industry question abroad would give a lesson, an experience, that would guide people in Finland to more efficient work on behalf of labour safety legislation 'without the need to first take the detour of cottage industry' (Jahnsson 1908, 45).

In the early 20th century, cottage industry was an object of development of notably different circumstances than it had been in the 1860s considering only the economic development and the growth of industries in the latter part of the 19th century. At the turn of the 20th century, social inequalities and class distinction were brought up vigorously, of which the organisation of the labour movement in 1899 and 1903 served as substantial evidence. The ideological and also the political significance of cottage industry seemed to increase alongside the intensifying situation that had been stirred by uproar in different parts of the Russian empire. Opposition to the imperial rule grew and affected opinions in the Finnish Grand Duchy. The pinnacle of this development was achieved in the general strike of 1905.

According to Tikka (2008, 15), at least two large stories culminated in the 1905 general strike. First, the strike created a moment for reclaiming the autonomous status of the Finnish Grand Duchy. This legalistic contest emphasised the establishment of the constitutionalists and especially the Young Finnish Party. Secondly, the strike envisioned the possibility to challenge the patriarchal class order and created a chance for the labour movement to mobilise the masses to demonstrate to claim their rights. (Tikka 2008, 15–41.) Generally, the occurrence created a watershed that restructured different political stances and affected the development of civil society through the mobilisation of various social movements. On the one hand, political groupings were solidified, but also new stances were moulded that discarded previous social borders. (Pollari et al 2008.) After the strike, people celebrated the November Manifesto that cancelled the restrictions given in 1899, and more reason for satisfaction was found in 1906 when the appointed new Senate, led by Senator Mechelin, approved the unicameral parliamentary reform and equal right to suffrage. The latter formed a breakthrough across the social stratum as equality in elections was confirmed for both sexes (Sulkunen 2008).

The establishment of cottage industry policy in the early 1900s was deeply connected to this restructuring of Finnish society that witnessed not only the stabilisation and splits of the Fennoman aspirations but also the marching in of the land tenants and the labour movement, and the women's movement. Among all these groups, many topical themes of the day – including the reor-

ganisation of work, production and consumption – were addressed with divergent emphases and interests. Cottage industry, which embodied the aspirations to elevate the standard of living through self-help and personal initiative, clearly illustrated the perception of the liberal constitutionalists on how to solve social issues.

The 1905 strike has also been recognised as a divider on how the common people were recognised among the middle and upper classes: the illusion of the modest, graceful and virtuous folk shattered along with the emergence of demonstrations and threats of violence. On the other hand, impressions of urban intelligentsia defending the working classes were also affected. The Young Finns promoting parliamentary democracy had appeared as a possible political ally for the workers, but in the course of the strike, political and mental differences between the two were highlighted. Moreover, whereas the Mechelin Senate succeeded in instilling the unicameral parliament and universal suffrage, the peasant question still remained without answers. (Klinge 1997, 416–429; Niemi 2008; Pollari et al. 2008, 53–56; Tikka 2008, 30–40.) Against this, the promotion of cottage industry in the early 1900s indeed appears as the political intelligentsia's consolation policy for the working masses.

The connection of the idea of cottage industry to the 1905 general strike was very clearly presented in Y. O. Blomstedt's booklets about cottage industry. In his *Clarion Calls on Behalf of Our Cottage Industry Matter* (Ojoinen 1906) the writer came up with cottage industry as an answer to the requirements that the labour movement claimed for. Perhaps in order to better communicate his message to the Finnish-speaking commonalty, Blomstedt used a Finnish surname, Ojoinen,[56] as his pen name in the publication. The publication, which previously had been printed in the magazine *Nuori Suomi*,[57] illustrates the aims of the early cottage industry policies – Blomstedt actually termed his text as a programme (Ojoinen 1906, 12–13).

An advocate of the Young Finnish efforts, Blomstedt's vivid tone of writing appears sympathetic to the pursuits of the labour movement, although emphasising the ideal of entrepreneurship and economic independence. Nevertheless, he expressed criticism against how cottage industry had earlier been put into practice focusing on the incapability of the government to comprehend the extent of landless people and their living conditions as not much more than statistical tables. The following ironic description might describe the policies practised in the late 19th century:

> The flock of unemployed has previously appeared to the world only temporarily as a lack of work among the factory workers and as deathly ghosts of the back country woken by the hunger years. The activity of the authorities then extended to the appointment of upper and lower committees that were hastily cobbled together, and to

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56 Blomstedt made use of the name of his childhood homestead, the Ojoinen office house in Hämeenlinna (Stolt 1996, 6–8).

57 *Nuori Suomi* (1905–1907), literally 'Young Finland', was a weekly printed magazine of the Young Finnish Party. It was reproduced at the *Päivälehti* printers. *Päivälehti* had been suspended in 1904 because of Russian censorship, but it was soon followed by the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*. (Vares 2000, 43.)

their extensive reports that sunk under the green cloth[58] or fell upon dividing donated lands and other estates. This led either to the squander of forests, decay of farming, and to – the beggary – of the previous possessors. […] In the hunger lands the frantic mouths were fed with free pieces of charity that made these hungry ghosts lazy. […] Relief schools of 4000 marks were founded here and there to make plant stakes, toys, etc. Produced items were then left to rot in stacks and corners or to lie in stock. […] The centre of governance and administration remained in the distant capitals of the counties and of the country without giving to the local boards the autonomous operating and organising power. (Ojoinen 1906, 4–5.)

Figure 10 Architect Yrjö Oskari Blomstedt (1871–1912) lectured future primary school teachers in drawing, crafts and geography at the Jyväskylä teacher training seminar. After graduating from the Polytechnic Institute in 1895, Blomstedt continued his studies at Sortavala teacher training seminar where he had already substituted Eero Mäkinen in drawing lessons. Blomstedt took part in many cultural activities but took special interest in ethnology and craft heritage. He was an active proponent of cottage industry and wrote several booklets on the topic. (Stolt 1996; Voutilainen 1996. Picture source: SKMA)

These critical remarks were followed by rephrased claims of the workers that, according to Blomstedt, culminated in the claim for 'initiative and executive power in compiling the working programme for local persons who are capable of cooperating' (Ojoinen 1906, 5). Using rich, metaphoric language, Blomstedt

58 Blomstedt might have used this expression either as a synonym for 'falling into oblivion' or as a metaphor of forestry, as indicated by his reprimand of 'squandering forests'.

proceeded to the need for new societal programmes that would include cottage industry. He compared society to a steam engine in need of maintenance:

> Opening the safety valves will not help any more, because the small explosions convey that a disaster is on its way. With cautions and trifling laws and orders to the machinists, the situation cannot be solved any more. The only way is either to entirely inspect the boilers, to cleanse them of harmful stones, or better, to plan wholly new, appropriate ones, that are spacious enough for the enormous amount of steam that moves the machine, but that now unnecessarily incites the small machine and everyday threatens it with a giant explosion and the halting of the machinery. (Ojoinen 1906, 7.)

Obviously, 'the halting of the machinery' directly refers to the general strike. Having painted this picture of turbulence and the need for new constructions, Blomstedt proceeded to his programme that would bring 'long-term support even to the poorest of the population, help them in their everyday troubles of livelihood, and that in general would raise the economic condition of our country' (Ojoinen 1906, 7). Blomstedt's visions were largely similar to the plans presented at the 1900 meeting that he had also attended. Due to the heated spirits of the general strike that had been preceded by yet another experience of crop failure in 1902–1903, Blomstedt's attention was decidedly focused on the landless people, crofters and smallholders, to whom he vigorously addressed his thoughts. The top-down point of view is nevertheless apparent – Blomstedt even did not hesitate to frankly label cottage industry as the hunger trade that the poor should learn in order to help themselves:

> Rise up together to cooperation! [Rise up] To acquire your own homes, to lift the low roofs of your cottages, to widen the windows, to use forests and other raw materials! Rise up to lift up the hunger trade, the cottage industry! Show how the four million that the state spent on your aid in the last hunger year could bring about lasting results when spent on one's own. (Ojoinen 1906, 13.)

In another popular booklet on the matter, published in the series *Villagers' Booklets* (*Kyläläisten kirjasia*), Blomstedt had written 'About the Significance of Crafts in the Nation's Economy' (Blomstedt 1904). Here, he again emphasised the practical use of craftwork in the dawning era of industrial production, but also repeated the moral value of craftwork. Actually, Blomstedt had reserved a passage of his text to clarify the 'public's relation to craft production'. He admitted that it would not be reasonable to solely acquire domestic products if there were similar items of better quality and of cheaper price available in factories and in imported wares, but he wished to underline the nationalist role that cottage industry had in the national economy:

> What can be required or as a national hope be expressed is that the general public [should] utilise proper, home-made handicraft wares. For it would be totally wrong of us if we shun the efforts of our own people only because the items are domestic, and admire foreign items only because they are thought to be finer or a penny cheaper. We should always think that when we buy products made by our own people, we are practically pleading our national cause. At the same time, we support the income of our neighbour and, thus, in general their national, domestic pursuits. (Blomstedt 1904, 15.)

Blomstedt remained strict with regard to the quality of domestic products, though at the same time he called for understanding and encouraging support for the beginners in craft trade. At the end of his text, he lastly pleaded to J. V. Snellman's authority:

> Let us finally recall at this point the words of the great J. V. Snellman: 'Of the various fields of activity hardly any can be of such great significance for the survival of Finnish nationality than strong domestic industry; the smallest effort in its advance deserves great respect'. (Blomstedt 1904, 16.)

The practical aspect of cottage industry, the actual craftwork that it entailed, reassured people that the idea of cottage industry would not at any point have remained a totally empty utopia. Various issues of practice, whether regarding craft education or craft trades, were discussed in meetings, in the delegations of the FGHIA, and in official committees. Specialised expertise on the matter grew: in connection to the 1906 Kuopio cottage industry exhibition, separate meetings for craft teachers and for those practising crafts[59] were organised (*Kutsumus* 1906).

Along with the expanding professional interests in craft, the enthusiasm to promote cottage industries was exceedingly considered a part of national progress. The best interest of 'our country' provided important arguments for justifying cottage industry practice, although there were also many faults against it. These reprimands, based on the example of other countries such as Germany, could nevertheless be nullified with the general, underdeveloped circumstances of the Finnish Grand Duchy. Interestingly, cottage industry policies thus seemed to balance between the backwardness and the progress of the nation: the backwardness of the country justified the practice of cottage industries that then would engender progress and wealth for the nation.

Although the economic benefits of cottage industry were attached more clearly to nationalist endeavours, the development on the matter nevertheless built on the administrative traditions, especially on that of organising poor relief, and in general on the hierarchies of a patriarchal class society. From the viewpoint of a bourgeois or an aristocratic member of the Young Finnish Party, enthusiastic to strengthen the legally and economically autonomous position of a national whole, the idea of cottage industry epitomised a practical possibility to promulgate nationalist economic thought that would create more refined and more independent rural citizens. Then again, the notion of the citizen that the idea of cottage industry entailed leaned strongly on the heritage of the virtuous subject that even in poverty and distress would prove to be highly moral and committed to work.

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59 Perhaps the previous meeting had grown to an exhausting extent. Still, the meetings were based on prepared presentations, inclusive of resolutions that the meetings were to discuss in two rounds, first in a preliminary discussion that would delegate issues either to be handled by separate committees or to be dismissed. The meetings were declared public, but participants of the meeting were obliged to pay a fee to attend meetings, 2 marks for the general craft meeting and 3 marks for those attending the craft education meeting. (*Kutsumus* 1906, 14–16.)

The 1905 general strike envisioned a possibility to break away from this order, the disparate relation between upper and middle classes, willing to develop cottage industry, and the commonalty, the smallholders, the crofters and the landless, on whom practices of cottage industry were imposed. On the other hand, it is possible that with the supposition of creating wealth even for the poorest cottage industry was also used to blur the social boundaries among the rural population. The ignorance of social differences regarding farming has sometimes led to overly homogenising interpretations of rural population, as has been criticised by Peltonen (Peltonen 1992, 266–267, 313–316). The illusion of the societally and politically deaf/mute or naive rural people that was first put to action by the nationalist edification project appears to have also applied to conceptions of rural craft activities.

Figure 11 Tekkalan Marjaana's cottage in Huhtaa, Humppila, South-Western Finland, in the late 1920s. Cottage industries were recommended especially to smallholders and landless rural people as a possibility to raise their standard of living. (Source: Esko Aaltonen, (photographer), Ethnological collections, National Board of Antiquities.)

Indeed, referring to Väinö Linna's famous saga illustrative of the lifeworlds of a rural community in South-Western Finland, *Under the North Star*[60] Peltonen pointed out 'the culture of piled rugs' as the demarcation between landowners and crofters (Peltonen 1992, 216). The making of piled rugs by the landowning

60 Linna's trilogy *Täällä Pohjantähden alla* was originally published during 1959–1962; an English translation was published in 2001–2003.

farmer's wife could have had different meanings as a possibility to allocate time and funds to the creation of refined pieces of craft, whereas the land tenant's spinning or carving served to create extra income. With the administrative qualities of the term 'cottage industry', it was nevertheless possible to put both of these craft activities in the same statistical column. Levelling all rural crafts as cottage industries, it was also possible to justify them as especially rewarding, moral and civilising work, although these trades created even less income than railway or road work, which had typically also been applied as forms of relief work.

Therefore, although promoted with virtuous, anthroposophist ambitions, the idea of cottage industry as a preventive instrument of poor relief seemed to resuscitate the experience of famine that calcified not only the hierarchical social relations but also the practice of rural craftwork as 'the hunger trade' to which attributes of poverty and distress were attached. But conjoined with the refined memory of the Great Famine of the 1860s, cottage industry was increasingly considered part of the particular, genuine Finnish culture. In this way, the idea of cottage industry served in the building of the nation and in the imagining of a decent citizen, who through his or her economic and craft skills proved their cultural development. However, the cultured citizen was not only to be trained in skills but was also supposed to be aware of new modes of production and consumption. A point of reference to develop cottage industry was found in international comparison.

5.3 International role models of expertise and visions of cooperation

The rise of the cottage industry policy at the turn of the 20th century was thoroughly rooted in the substantial transformations of the economic policies of the late 19th century. Along with the liberalisation of the trade legislation, cottage industries were positioned as legal means of production. Until the late 1860s, production of craft items had been regulated by the guild system, although in Finland its significance remained relatively light. In the scarcely populated countryside, other regulatory systems for craftworkers were also applied that complemented the guild system. (Alf-Halonen 1954; Uotila 2014, 55–91; Vainio-Korhonen 1998, 9–22; Waris 1939.) Cottage industry then offered a new term for the diverse rural craft practices that had prevailed before, but that had been beyond the official spheres of craftwork. In the early years of the 20th century, when cottage industry distinctively became a target of official development work, it was also increasingly conceived of as a way to guide people to advance their economic skills, as evidenced by the minutes of the 1900 General Cottage Industry Meeting, the von Wright committee report of 1908, and the diverse booklets of the time. Blomstedt, who was active in making this idea popular, made the economic goal of cottage industry explicitly clear in the title of his

1903 booklet: *How through Cooperation Should Handicraft Industry and Household Skills be Developed in the Countryside* (Blomstedt 1903).

Cottage industry was quickly connected with various ideas about economic activity, from conceptions about consumption and customers' needs to the arrangement of economic communities. The matter of cooperation was presented in the 1900 cottage industry meeting by agronomist Johannes Jernström. In the first part of his presentation, he argued for the specialisation of craftworkers and gave an example of the Swiss practice of making watches using a separated working process (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 104–106). Although Jernström doubted the abilities of the craftspeople to make use of cooperation, he nevertheless believed that by founding local centres to support the purchasing of materials and the retail of products, such activity could be promoted:

> When these [craft] depots could be organised so that each seller of handicraft products would become part of the shop's profit in relation to the price gained for their sold products, and additionally if these craft depots could acquire their partners' materials, tools, etc. of best quality and stock price, it would hereby become possible for the handicraft worker to join a cooperation that otherwise seems to me hard to achieve considering the prevailing circumstances and the level of education of those practising in the handicraft industry. (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 107.)

Jernström had written actively in favour of establishing diverse organisations of agricultural interest, but it seems that his viewpoints did not achieve much popularity. According to Mäkinen (2004), Johannes Jernström (1844–1903), who for a short while had studied at the Söderkulla agricultural school founded by C. J. Wikberg, has been overlooked in Finnish agricultural history because he represented the archaic, Swedish-speaking tradition of agricultural development work that was increasingly criticised and disregarded by the rising group of Finnish farmers enlivened by the Fennoman movement; in Mäkinen's words, Jernström 'belonged to the Swedish-speaking camp that was losing its positions' (Mäkinen 2004; transl. EK).

The paternal attitude towards the common people and reprimands of their inability to take heed of the general economic development was also present in the von Wright committee report. In a passage discussing the value of diverse imported wares that might easily have been produced domestically, the committee referred to the possibilities to compete with factories through cooperatives. The committee saw hindrances to this progress not only in the lack of funding but also in the lack of leading expertise:

> In our country, there is not a single person whose sole purpose would be to act in favour of cottage industry, who, with advice and guidance, would be involved in planning and leading the activities that the state, associations and private persons have instigated in order to promote cottage industry (KM1908:20, 81).

But the greatest obstacle, the internal factor, was found in the people:

> In addition to the mentioned outward aspects, the characteristic detectable in our national character as it appears in the prevailing circumstances must be considered. For it is as usual as it is regrettable that our commonalty lacks understanding in how important it is to use one's time in an economically profitable way. Also in the countryside, among the hirelings and the rent servants, the perception has been growing that working hours ought to be shortened, and together with this, the reluctance to occupy their moments free of farm work with cottage industries has grown. (KM1908:20, 81–82.)

The quotation hardly leaves room for hesitation about the committee's recognition of the social relations between the landowning estates and the land tenants, workers and the so-called vagrants. Blomstedt had dressed the marching in of the labour movement into metaphorical words of a societal machine, but the contempt for the labour movement's demands that were addressed in the 1900 general cottage industry meeting were more profound in the von Wright committee report. Again, taking into consideration the official nature of the document, it seems to have enabled rather direct views on the issue: although a significant document, the committee report was likely to remain a policy document addressed chiefly to the circles of governance, to associations and active persons that were close to cottage industry. Then again, these associations, as has been noted above, mainly brought together people with higher social standing.

Along with Blomstedt's publications, Lauri Mäkinen gave out booklets that sought to serve the general public, as shown by the popular style of their texts. A paragon of this pursuit could be found in Mäkinen's experiment with being a playwright. In 1908 the FGHIA published a short text written in a form of dialogue; the writer advised that the text should be 'read aloud solo or as a dialogue in the festive occasions of folk high schools and cottage industry schools' (Mäkinen 1908, 1). In the play, the young man Antti has returned to his home village from the folk high school and tells about the impressions and lectures he had learned there to the Toukola house farmer, to his wife and to the land tenant of the farm, Matti. Through Antti's enthusiasm, Mäkinen sought to disseminate the idea of local specialisation in crafts and the importance of cooperation; the dialogue is presented as Antti's rehearsal for the coming Sunday's local cottage industry meeting. The figure of Matti on the other hand illustrates the meagre tenant life and the importance of cottage industry for increasing one's income:

> Matti, although the matter mostly applied to him, kept on drawing calmly on his pipe. Being a man of few words, he hardly intervened in the discussion. But his blue eyes had a special glow as he followed with his glance in turns Antti and the smoke that rose toward the ceiling. He approved of the boy's ideas, although, experienced as he was, he knew that not all would turn around as well as the young man dreamed in his youthful enthusiasm.
>
> But surely a lot of that programme could be carried out. Maybe now he could ask at least the youngest of the children to come back home to realise the 'specified distri-

> bution of work'. And with his eyes bright with gratitude and with confidence in his voice, he said: 'Surely I will come to that meeting'. (Mäkinen 1908, 11.)

Mäkinen's application of a play to disseminate the idea of cottage industry among the people reflects in an excellent way the different pursuits and topics of the early 20th century, from the issue of landless people's position to the economic modernisation, without forgetting the women's movement: as a direct continuation to the cited passage, the farmer's wife enquires whether women are allowed in the meeting, which Antti confirms and adds: 'We are living the time of total parity' (Mäkinen 1908, 11).

Drama offered a practical media for promulgating the Fennoman ideas in particular, and it had been widely applied as an informative and pedagogic tool for popular enlightenment since the 1850s. The numerous youth associations that became popular since the 1890s typically involved drama as their activity, though musical and sport activities were also included. Drama was quickly adopted in the labour associations that were increasingly established along the first decades of the 20th century. (Helminen 2007, 136–142.) The activity of the amateur drama groups gradually led to the formation of the twin system of Finnish theatres: in larger towns, there was often a city theatre and a labour theatre that were subsidised by the state and also by the city, although differences appeared (ibid., 146–160).

The diverse pursuits to strengthen Finland as a national whole were fortified with international examples and models. The von Wright committee, appointed to create plans and recommendations for the organising of craft teaching and other measures for promoting the practice of cottage industry among the people, found their examples especially in other European countries. A frame of reference for the concept of cottage industry was essentially found in national economic research in the German-speaking area, but investigations on the status of cottage industry in other European countries constituted a remarkable part of the committee report.

Examples from Europe had been recognised earlier as important points of reference for developing cottage industries in Finland, but Alexandra Gripenberg's composition of nearly 400 pages provided a profound appendix to the 1908 committee report. In the report, which was reminiscent of a travelogue, Gripenberg explained observations and information about actions taken for the benefit of cottage industries in other countries. The report is also illustrative of Gripenberg's writing skills[61] and of her international activity, as she counted as one the women of her time who had a chance to travel. In 1887–1888, she had travelled to the USA and represented Finland at the international women's conference in Washington, but she also travelled in Europe and visited Great Britain several times (Tuulio 1959; Ala 1999, 155–167). By 1908, Alexandra Gripen-

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61 Since she was a young girl, Alexandra Gripenberg (1857–1913) had had aspirations for a writing career, and Zacharias Topelius had become an influential supporter of this. Gripenberg nevertheless devoted herself to the women's movement and politics, but she kept writing. Among other things, she wrote actively to the magazine *Koti ja yhteiskunta* (*Home and Society*), which she had founded in 1889. (Ala 1999, 135–141; Tuulio 1959; Sainio 1999.)

berg had become a renowned person as the leader of Finland's Women's Association, as a writer and as one of the first female members of the parliament. Through the women's movement, she had also created a network of acquaintances that helped her to collect information for the report about cottage industry in foreign countries.[62] In the report, Gripenberg introduced cottage industry practices in Ireland, Switzerland, Austria and Germany, in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and in Russia.[63]

Gripenberg's report on Ireland is remarkable considering that the history of Irish famines has been found to be comparable with the experience of the 1860s' Great Famine in Finland. Yet, it is worth noting that both the geographical and political circumstances of the two countries deviated considerably from each other (Ikonen 1991; for general information about the Irish famine, see Ó Gráda 2000). Indeed, in Ireland, Gripenberg found an ideal of cottage industry practices: 'Ireland is the country that has the greatest prerequisites for maintaining cottage industry' (KM1908:21, 1). Describing the Irish nature, Gripenberg opened her examination of cottage industries in Europe, in which she could again make use of her literary skills:

> As long as the Atlantic waves shall wash the bare cliffs of Donegal, as long as the small villages of Classaghroe and Derrynacong are surrounded by the large peatlands, as long as there will be people living on the inaccessible mountains of Galway, as long these people are forced to practise cottage industries as their subsidiary trades. This has been recently realised by the Irish statesmen and researchers of national economy. (KM1908:21, 1.)

She then introduced the familiar positive effects of cottage industry creating an income for the poor country homes and civilising them at the same time: 'The eye and the hand sharpen and gradually cottage industry affects the whole human development' (KM1908:21, 2). Along with the more poetic descriptions of its benefits, Gripenberg paid attention to the historical course of cottage industry activities in Ireland. She brought up Ireland's famines in the 1820s and 1840s. The measures used to overcome these troubled years seem to have been very similar to those applied in Finland roughly at the same time: from the 1820s to

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62 This is also mirrored in her report on cottage industry abroad. In the opening lines, she wished to thank Ishbel Hamilton-Gordon (1857–1939, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, Scotland), Pauline Chaponnière-Chaix (1850–1934, Switzerland), Charlotte Norrie (1855–1940, Denmark), Betzy Kjelsberg (1866–1950, Denmark), Lilli Zickerman (1858–1949, Sweden), Anna Hierta-Rezius (1841–1924, Sweden), and Anna Filosofova (1837–1912, Russia). With the exception of Zickerman, who had an active role in developing cottage industry in Sweden, they all were active members when not directly leaders of the women's movements in their respective countries. (KM1908:21, x.)

63 However, although Gripenberg's report included an extensive chapter on cottage industries in Russia, it appears that Gripenberg was heavily assisted in this part. Regarding the whole of Gripenberg's report, the section on Russia might even seem slightly disjointed, especially as the chapter lacks Gripenberg's personal style of writing. It is notable that there are no apparent political stakes regarding Russia's oppression policies. Instead, the text patiently explicates diverse sorts of products from different parts of Russia. Nonetheless, cottage industries in Russia were connected to landowning conditions, which of course is interesting regarding the history of serfdom in Russia.

the 1850s, mostly private persons, monasteries and convents worked for the sake of promoting cottage industries, but in the 1860s, the government had taken its first initiatives in examining the status of cottage industries and the supply of raw materials. Gripenberg further reported that these enquiries led to the allocation of the first state subsidies for cottage industry. During the 1870s and 1880s, associations started to pay attention to cottage industry, but it was only after the establishment of an official organ for farming and technical teaching in 1900 that the measures for bettering cottage industries became successful. (KM1908:21, 3.)

Gripenberg described in her report different fields of Irish cottage industries categorised by material, inclusive of wool, linen and osier, and pointed out that spinning, weaving and lacemaking employed most of those practising cottage industries. In other words, cottage industries employed mostly women, and women were also active in developing cottage industry. Gripenberg described enthusiastically the growing lacemaking in Ireland, emphasising the role of women in promoting these skills: the nuns of the convent of Yougal started the making of point lace in their efforts to create work for the distressed during the famine of 1847–1850; rose point lace was developed by 'miss L. Maclean, one of the most warmest friends of the poor' during the same years of crisis; and in Limerick, famous for the special Limerick lace, a school was founded for lacemaking by Mrs R. Vere O'Brien. Moreover, in 1887, Mrs Power-Lalor[64] was appointed to work as the first female inspector of lacemaking. (KM1908:21, 19–22.)

In fact, Gripenberg's examples are illustrative of the interpretation of how the 19th-century Irish lacemaking made a significant part of 'the social imaginary [imagery] of the Victorian period', as has been claimed by Freedgood (2003, 642) in her study on specific historical books that represented handmade lace. In the British Isles, traditions of lacemaking had been well established by the 18th century and lace was favoured by the ruling class; the lavish use of lace in Queen Victoria's wedding dress is thought to have boosted lacemaking in the 1840s (Freedgood 2003, 626). However, lace not only applied to the rising Victorian middle-class's mimicking of the royal style, but it also created a utopia of female economy: 'Beginning in the 1860s, lace books helped their readers to imagine an alternative economy, one run by women for women working both by hand and at home that might form a bulwark – albeit a phantasmatic one – against the moral, physical, and aesthetic depredations of industrialisation' (Freedgood 2003, 628).

Freedgood emphasised that the enthusiasm to promote lacemaking in the latter part of the 19th century was intertwined not only with the philanthropic will to support the economies of rural households, but also to restrain the spinoffs of industrialisation such as rural depopulation. Furthermore, pleading to its markedly female history, lacemaking was represented as an activity that

64 Mrs. Mary Power-Lalor (née Ryan, 1850–1913) created a career as a benefactor of the poor children and elderly women, to which end she started the 'Distressed Ladies Fund' in 1886 (KM1908:21, 19–22).

would unite women across social classes and thus blurred the boundaries of consumption and production: 'Women from Queen Edgitha to Victoria are imagined as makers or patrons of lace; supply and demand are replaced by need and duty as affluent women are enjoined to support the efforts of laboring women' (Freedgood 2003, 628).

Along with appealing to the ruling authority, to the power of the female monarch over the female subjects, the morally enriching duty of lacemaking was considered rewarding as such and it helped to ignore the disparities between the Victorian aristocracy and the labour women and between the motives of their craft work:

> The labor-woman, on the other hand, must produce a commodity for exchange. And yet her labor, like that of the more affluent handworker, is represented as beneficial for reasons that transcend the vagaries of commodity exchange: lace making is its own reward because it promotes such excellent qualities as individuality, artistry, cleanliness, and industriousness. The idea of labor thus becomes usefully clouded and overdetermined in representations of lace making: socially prescribed handwork provides the reassuring idea that all women work. (Freedgood 2003, 636.)

In her report, Gripenberg witnessed the philanthropic aspirations to organise lace production in Ireland. She introduced the Cottage Industry Association of Ireland as one of the most important associations. It was headed by characters of the upper class. Gripenberg reports that the association was founded in the 1880s, 'when lord Aberdeen was for the first time the viceroy of Ireland' and during which time 'lady Aberdeen[65] had travelled to see the poorest parts of the country to see what needed to be done to improve the population's circumstances' (KM1908:21, 31). The association specialised in lace industry, which is exemplified by its purchase of lace for 10,000 pounds during one year. In 1905, Gripenberg reported that the association was in correspondence with 23 Irish lace cooperatives. (KM1908:21, 31.)

Even though the practice of lace production is conceivable as part of the philanthropic pursuits of the Victorian higher estates, the plans nevertheless applied the ideals of rational, economic organisation. The tasks of the Irish cottage industry association were, according to Gripenberg's report:

> to get the Irish cottage industry organised, create connections between the different fields of cottage industries, disseminate good designs among those practising cottage industries, create domestic and foreign markets for Irish cottage industry products, arrange rational teaching in the practised fields of cottage industry and to bring to practice new applicable fields of cottage industries, and to organise exhibitions (KM1908:21, 31).

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65 Along with introducing the influence of the chair of the Cottage Industry Association of Ireland, Lady Aberdeen (Lady Ishbel Hamilton-Gordon), Gripenberg also mentioned other upper-class women who were active in promoting cottage industries. These included Lady Eleanor Stopford, Lady Louisa Hamilton (Duchess of Abercorn), Lady Domville and Countess of Arran, who all had founded schools or otherwise organised production of different kinds of cottage industries in their localities – not least among their own crofters' wives. (KM1908:21, 25–26.)

Economic rationality was emphasised along with the introduction of another important organisation, the Congested District's Board, which had been established in 1891. Gripenberg explained that the board arranged courses in different crafts, for example, in coopering, carpentry and net making. It sought to help improve farming, fishery and the practice of cottage industries as subsidiary trades, but also arranged relief work. (KM1908:21, 32–34.) Here, Gripenberg also brought up the Board of Agricultural and Technical Teaching founded in 1900 by Sir Horace Plunkett, 'one of Ireland's most proficient statesmen and researchers of national economy in later times' (KM1908:21, 35).

The emerging expertise on organising cooperation formed an aspect of improving cottage industry production that was supported by inspection. The practice of inspection was inherently closely connected to education. In her report, Gripenberg introduced Irish education in cottage industries in permanent, itinerant and evening schools, and on courses explaining the teaching programmes of the schools. She emphasised the practice of school inspections, in which regard Plunkett had been ambitious. He had trained 'a group of excellent inspectors, who with vigour, pedagogic instinct and intelligence have accomplished their important but demanding task' (KM1908:21, 43). Inspections of cottage industry created a new field of administrative expertise that dispersed the ideal of systematic and precise bureaucracy:

> These often young inspectors have been obligated to penetrate the shrines of convents and try to delicately break the old-fashioned prejudices of the numinous sisters. In storm and rain they must visit and inspect original lacemaking courses in most distant mountain and fishing areas. The inspectors have to be familiar with whitework embroidery[66] and different kinds of lace, and they must work as mediators between the often dissatisfied teachers and courses or school boards. (KM1908:21, 43.)

Going on in her detailed account of the organising of cottage industry teaching and inspection, Gripenberg even presented the inspection forms translated into Finnish. It is therefore possible that the Irish example of inspection could have been applied in developing the monitoring of Finnish cottage industry schools, a task that was appointed to the Cottage Industry Office. Gripenberg reports the use of these forms with admiration of their precision:

> The inspection forms, similar for all schools that the inspectors follow, are superbly compiled. The inspector only needs to open his book to see by hour what is being done at the schools under their examination, for example at 11 o'clock on a Monday morning. (KM1908:21, 43.)

Inspection became an important part of the variety of expertise that was involved in cottage industry in Finland. In 1910, after Lauri Mäkinen had spent his first year as the Cottage Industry Inspector, he gave out the first inspection report on the circumstances of cottage industry practice in Finland (Mäkinen 1910a). But already in 1905 Blomstedt had compiled an inspection report on weaving and craft schools that had been operating in 1903–1904 (Blomstedt 1905). These reports complete each other and together give rich descriptions

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66 Gripenberg might also be referring to, for example, mountmellick embroidery.

about craft education and about other craft activities connected to associations or private craft shops of the early 20th century. The need to create systematic knowledge is apparent in both reports; whereas Blomstedt had created statistical tables, Mäkinen called for the use of account books in cottage industry schools (Blomstedt 1905, 77–81; Mäkinen 1910a, 35.) However, along with this statistical interest, it is notable how Mäkinen supported the use of regional meetings important to hear the local craft teachers:

> The signatory has considered it most probable that if I as an inspector arriving from Helsinki and, moreover, as a member of the recent cottage industry committee shall go to negotiate reforms [concerning cottage industry education] with a lone country teacher, he/she would not dare to freely express his/her opinions but is instead all too willing to agree with perceptions coming from the more exalted status. (Mäkinen 1910a, 24–25.)

With regard to the tendency to use the notion of cottage industry even consciously as a homogenising term, it is interesting that both Blomstedt and Mäkinen paid attention to the quality of products sold in various handicraft and cottage industry shops. Interestingly, Blomstedt in particular characterised the activities of the Friends of Finnish Handicrafts as 'fulfilling the home artistic (*kotitaiteellinen*) aspirations of the upper class', and Mäkinen saw that even the FGHIA shop had concentrated on 'offering more exclusive wares for sale' – both then called for more attention to the general public's practical and aesthetic needs (Blomstedt 1905, 51–53; Mäkinen 1910a, 52–53). Whereas Blomstedt had focused on inspecting the schools, Mäkinen's office duties required more general information about the status of cottage industry production and sales. Therefore, the report also included tables of local practices of restrictions concerning the peddling and outdoor market trading of cottage industry products. In general, Mäkinen intended to point out the national economic significance of cottage industry, estimating the yearly value of production rising to nearly ten million marks. (Mäkinen 1910a, 59–69.)

To enhance the trade of cottage industries, the cooperative action, of which the Irish case served an impressive example, was repeatedly brought up in Gripenberg's report. She extensively quoted Irish supporters of cooperation, Pater Finlay, 'a catholic priest and professor at Trinity College in Dublin, eager supporter of cooperation in the field of cottage industry' and Lady Betti Balfour, a founding member of a craft cooperative in Dalkey, who underlined the importance of applying the commercial principles to practising cottage industries and the suitability of cooperation for working women. Through cooperation, they would be stronger together against the intermediaries' deals and conditions that typically sought to lower the wages of cottage industry workers. (KM1908:21, 50–54.)

As a concluding remark, Gripenberg quoted Horace Plunkett's words at the Dublin cottage industry exhibition in 1897 that probably also found a receptive audience in the Finnish circumstances and thus was a good example:

> We have not offered large amounts of money and so much trouble for the raising of cottage industry only, because it is so important for the national wealth. Our point of

> departure is the fact that the greatest obstacle for the industrial development of our country is the lack of capable people, i.e. lack of people educated in diligence and dexterity. The objective of all those agricultural societies that we have founded has been to make farming more productive. […] The principle we have followed and that will take us to our objective, is cooperation. (KM1908:21, 55–56.)

Plunkett's example as a promoter of cooperative action was noted in Finland, in the first instance by Hannes Gebhard (1864–1933), who together with his wife Hedvig Gebhard (1867–1961) worked to establish cooperatives in Finland. Indeed, the enthusiasm to promote cooperation within cottage industry appeared as a parallel to the cooperative boom of the early 20th century. The founding of the Pellervo Society (est. 1899), an association that supported and guided the founding of and the work of various cooperatives was connected to the 1899 February Manifesto. The Gebhards conceived of cooperative action as a patriotic and an ideological movement that, under the influence of the then oppressive imperial policies, created an economic possibility of resistance retaining autonomy. (Östman 2012; Inkinen & Karjalainen 2012, 34–37; Mauranen 1989.)

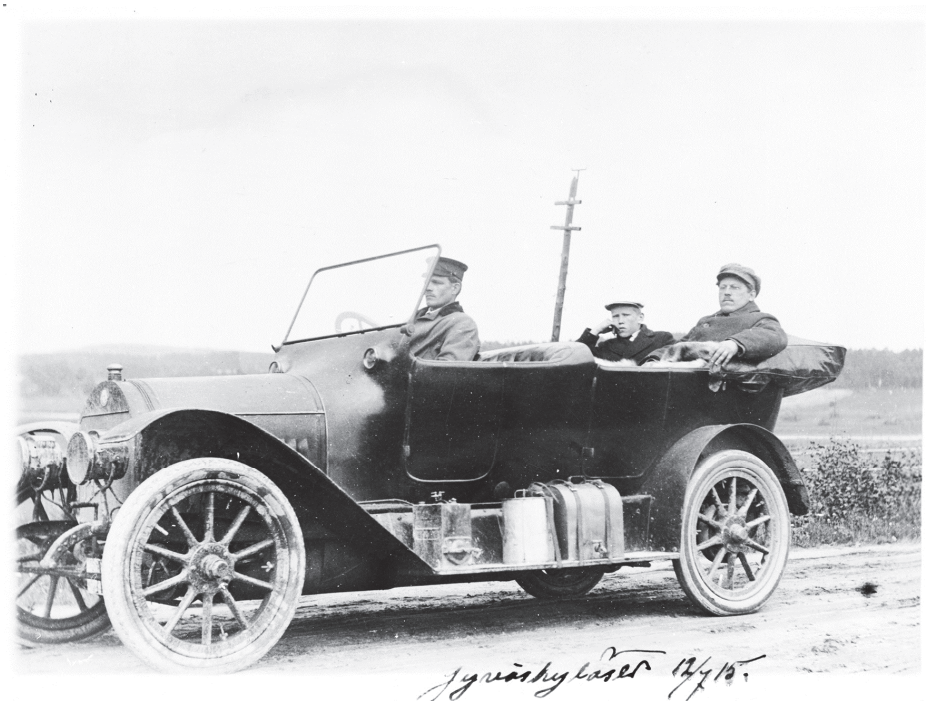

Figure 12 Cottage Industry Inspector Lauri Mäkinen (Kuoppamäki) on an inspection visit, possibly on 12 July 1915 in Jyväskylä, as has been written on the photo. Cottage industry posed a concept of modern society, and the status of cottage industry production and education was inspected making use of another novelty of the early 20th century, the automobile. Names of the chauffeur and the young man sitting on the backseat, possibly Mäkinen's assistant, are not known. (Source: SKMA)

In general, the objectives of promoting cottage industry in Finland and in other countries were similar, but still, Gripenberg recognised that in certain areas, cottage industry had quite a different meaning in comparison to the perception of the concept by the von Wright committee. Gripenberg exemplified in her report the many downsides that were connected to cottage industry. This applied especially to Germany, where cottage industry had been questioned altogether, just as Hilma Jahnsson had emphasised in her critical booklet on the matter. Gripenberg, however, referred to the differences and difficulties by comparing the circumstances. The crucial difference in the idea of cottage industry, as it was promoted in Finland, was the use of the same concept as a denominator for subcontract work that flourished in German-speaking areas. This putting-out system had been recognised as a severe problem and as outright exploitation of women and children as cheap labour.

Gripenberg gave several examples of faults regarding payments, working hours and working conditions in practising cottage industries, especially when it had been applied as putting-out work. Again, she referred to inspectors as a special group of experts who had brought up and discussed the various social problems that were linked to cottage industry. For example, in Switzerland, the paediatrician Fridolin Schuler worked as the first factory inspector to diminish child labour and to improve working conditions. (KM1908:21, 59, 73–82.) In Austria, Gripenberg reported about the measures that the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Education and trade museums had taken to promote cottage industries. There were also many state-funded schools that taught cottage industries, such as embroidery and lacemaking, weaving, carpentry and masonry. Once more, the practices of the cottage industry schools in other European countries clearly created an example for developing a similar education in Finland; as an example, Gripenberg listed the disciplinary rules of an Austrian itinerant lacemaking course. (Ibid., 98–112.)

Solutions regarding the cottage industry practices varied. In Austria, as well as in other countries, cottage industry was considered an indispensable subsidiary trade of the small farms that should be developed and rationalised in order to create better incomes. An essential part of this rationalisation was again the use of cooperatives, and also the state's role in acquiring cottage industry products for hospitals and mental asylums was brought up. (KM1908:21, 116–121.) But in Germany, where the term cottage industry generally had a dubious reputation among philanthropists and economic researchers, there had even been handed prizes and grants to guide weavers' children to other trades. However, Gripenberg reported that the children nevertheless often returned to their homesteads to continue weaving as their trade. (Ibid., 125, 180.)

Although weaving and other crafts had been practised widely and for a long time as cottage industries, the problems seemed to have been growing more severe. As Gripenberg noticed, 'in few countries has the position of cottage industry been discussed with such enthusiasm as in Germany', although opinions varied about whether these trades should be supported at all (KM1908:21, 151). Actually, she pointed out that the government started to pay

attention to cottage industry weaving only after a typhus epidemic had spread among weavers in Glatzgebirge in 1892. Gripenberg reported that an anthrax epidemic had appeared among brush-makers; the disease tended to spread in the bristles that were used for making brushes – a reason why trade inspectors had often claimed brush making as an inappropriate cottage industry (ibid., 145–146). To improve the weavers' situation, educational workshops were opened to spread better equipment and guidance, there were commissioned orders of cottage industry products, and again, children were guided to other trades. (Ibid., 152–156.) Medick's (1996) in-depth microhistorical investigation on weaving as a cottage industry in Laichingen, in Baden-Württemberg, southern Germany, serves as an example of how these trades were deeply rooted in local economies and social structures.

But similarly to Ireland, in Germany private individuals had nevertheless started to favour cottage industry. As an example, Gripenberg mentions Princess of Hannover Schönaich-Carolath, who in 1902 started a four-year course in weaving (KM1908:21, 174). Moreover, the importance of associations and cooperatives in developing the status of cottage industry was emphasised, although the examples again show the role that the members of the nobility, including also the German Emperor and Empress, had in promoting cottage industries, especially weaving. The deeds of the upper-class philanthropists and weavers' cooperatives are seen to work largely for the same end – to improve the productivity of cottage industries.

Whereas Gripenberg emphasised the rich debate that cottage industry had evoked in Germany, the Nordic countries focused on the organisational endeavours for developing cottage industries. Norway was introduced as the 'true home-country of cottage industries', but yet the decadence in craft skills that the technical progress in farming and industries had caused was also noticed in the Nordic countries. Gripenberg again paid attention to the various associations that had begun to cherish cottage industries and traditional crafts. The previous times of successful craftwork were cemented with the various anecdotes of highly skilful and diligent craft workers, even referring to the epic tales of *Edda*, the ancient collection of Norse mythology, according to which 'such will to work and dexterity that cottage industry claimed "did not exist among the family of slaves"' (KM1908:21, 223). Another story of remarkably more recent origin told of a Norwegian farmer who had saved his estate by producing wooden spoons as a cottage industry. Although spoon making proved to be a successful way of creating income, Gripenberg also reported that 'in some places people called it slave's work and were suspicious about it, because it had been applied as forced work in Fredrikstad's prison' (ibid., 226).

In the Nordic countries, attention was focused on the livelihoods of the smallholders and the landless people, and not so much on the working conditions of those already practising cottage industries. Cottage industry was repeatedly considered an essential subsidiary trade for the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish farms. In each of these countries, the traditional craft skills were considered jeopardised by industrial production in factories and the more effi-

cient farming tools and techniques. The problem was not only that the factories competed with cottage industries, but more importantly that the increasing wealth altered the ways of life in country homes: the master no longer spent his evenings making crafts with his servants (KM1908:21, 201).

To promote cottage industries in Denmark, the *Dansk Husflidsselskab* ('Danish Cottage Industry Society') had been founded in 1873, inspired by N. C. Roms' book *Den danske Husflid* (1871) (KM108:21, 203). Other associations were founded, including the *Dansk Kunstflidsforening* ('Danish Art Craft/Handicraft Society'), established in 1900. Instruction in cottage industries was even conducted in the Danish army. During the winter, the troops were taught crafts by officers who had passed courses in cottage industry (KM108:21, 2018). Cottage industry associations founded in Norway were united with *Den norske Husflidsförening*,[67] which was established in 1891. In 1899, a general cottage industry meeting was arranged in which a separate committee had been appointed to develop further the measures for the bettering of Norwegian cottage industries. These efforts gave rise to various courses and schools. Gripenberg mentions, among others, *Den Kvindelige Industriskole i Kristiania*, industry school for women in Kristiania (Oslo), which had been founded in 1875 by an association promoting women's craft skills (KM1908:21, 249). Again, inspection followed the organising of education that was arranged through church administration. The status of cottage industries had been studied and inspected by J. A. Lippestad who had reported his inspection travels in a 1903 printed book. (KM108:21, 252).

Glambek's (1988) study on the phenomenon (*husflidbevegelse*, cottage industry movement) in Norway proves that cottage industry appeared also there in the 19th century. Cottage industries had been promoted since the earlier part of the 19th century, especially by natural scientists Fredrik Christian Schübeler and Peter Christen Asbjørnsen. Of special impact was the work by Eilert Sundt (1817–1875), theologian and early sociologist, who promoted cottage industry not only as being able to instil a proper work ethic and diligence but also as a practical self-help tool for the poor. Sundt undertook early studies on the distribution of cottage industries in Norway. (Glambek 1988, 35–42.)

In comparison to the Finnish development, it is of interest that Glambek has recognised two phases in the Norwegian cottage industry movement. The earlier phase (1800–1870) concentrated more directly on pursuits in developing liberal trade and industry in Norway, whereas the focus later moved distinctly to heritage and folk art. The tendency is similar to Finland, and thus it would be of interest to compare how the idea of cottage industry and the respective movements (*kotiteollisuusaate/husflidbevegelse*) were applied to nationalist aspirations concerning the pursuit of independence in the respective countries. As Glambek has detailed, in its second phase, cottage industry was promoted in Norway by various museums of industrial art (*kunstindustrimuseene*). Glambek

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67 With the original name similar to the respective organisations in other Nordic countries ('The Norwegian Cottage Industry Organisation'), it is today known in English as the Norwegian Folk Art and Craft Association.

has pointed out that in this regard, the bond between museums and cottage industry was stronger in Norway than elsewhere in Scandinavia (Glambek 1988, 11). However, in Finland, the initiative for a special cottage industry museum had emerged in 1888 when the Senate had appointed funds for this end. The basis of the collection of foreign cottage industry products was acquired by Vera Hjelt in 1889; this collection was added to with items obtained at the 1900 Paris world exhibition. Therefore, the purpose of the cottage industry museum was chiefly that of disseminating information about proper products and tools. The 1908 committee report then suggested that the museum should be divided into a Finnish historical-ethnological collection and a model collection of both foreign and domestic items.[68] (KM1908:20, 206–212; Heinänen 1998.)

That the idea of cottage industry grew into a specifically Nordic phenomenon is further illuminated with the Swedish development. As Gripenberg noted in her report, in Sweden 'the danger exposed to the country in the decadence of cottage industry' had become a topic of interest earlier than elsewhere in the Nordic countries. The connection of primary education and craft teaching emerged in Sweden in a similar way to Finland:

> Dexterity in cottage industries that previously had been learned at home from the parents was missed, and skills in even the simplest rudiments of dexterity that were required in traditional forms of cottage industry started to disappear. To prevent this from happening men's and women's crafts were included in the curricula of primary schools, and special cottage industry schools were founded either at folk high schools or by economic societies and private persons. (KM108:21, 281.)

According to Gripenberg's account, central characters supporting education in cottage industries and crafts in general were Hulda Lundin, the state's advisor in handicraft industry, who had educated craft teachers in women's cottage industries, and pedagogue Otto Salomon. Gripenberg introduced Salomon as the leader of the Nääs seminar in which men and women were educated to work as craft teachers. Salomon was a contemporary of Uno Cygnaeus, and the two knew each other and their ambitions to develop craft education in elementary schools. (KM1908:21, 281)

The organisational work for developing cottage industries had begun in 1845 when *Svenska Slöjdförening*[69] had been established. The *Handarbetets Vänner* (Friends of Handicraft) association was founded in 1874, focusing on women's cottage industry 'in its artistic and patriotic aspects'. This example was then followed in the equivalent Finnish association founded in 1879. (KM1908:21, 290–293.) Interestingly, Gripenberg pointed out that much of the work done in favour of cottage industries had remained as 'deeds of the upper class'. She also

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68 Despite the early initiative, Craft Museum of Finland was first established in Jyväskylä in 1982; then the title of the museum was Cottage Industry Museum of Finland. Until the launch in Jyväskylä the collections of the museum had been kept stored for decades (since 1933) due to lack of proper exhibition rooms. (Heinänen 1998.)

69 Known until 1976 as the Swedish Society of Crafts and Design, the name of the organisation today is *Svensk Form*.

saw that the founding of the *Föreningen för Svensk Hemslöjd*[70] association in 1899 created the 'uniting power' for Swedish cottage industries (KM1908:21, 297).

Also in Sweden, the experience of crop failures reassured people of the importance of supporting cottage industries and people's craft skills; cottage industry practice had been promoted to redeem the crop failure experienced in the northern part of the country in 1902. The Central Committee of Relief – Gripenberg referred to this organisation with a similar term that was known in Finland – funded these activities. Smallholding, the livelihoods of the landless and the control of hunger all conjoined in the development work for cottage industry. Indeed, Gripenberg moved on to characterise the motive for these activities that she at this point termed as a movement: 'The intention of the cottage industry movement is not to practice charity that kills one's self-esteem, but only to get the matter arranged so that the people self are able to help themselves' (KM1908:21, 315).

Cottage industry movement was connected to the progress of the national economy, but also served as an arena for focusing on the importance of household economies and the economic communities organised regionally and locally among the craft producers. The movement was significantly inspired by the cooperative movement of the turn of the century. Emphasising the importance of cottage industry in the national economy, Gripenberg extensively quoted Lilli Zickerman, a leading character in the Swedish cottage industry movement (*hemslöjdsrörelse*):

> The concept of cottage industry does not only mean gaining wealth for the whole nation, but it also includes the duty to help the poorer ones practising cottage industries so that they can take care of themselves; cottage industry must strive for raising the moral and the economic status of the people. Cottage industry must regain its powers, strive for the highest goals possible and to make itself known, to gain acknowledge and to find new possibilities of development, especially in Sweden, where the time of the rebirth of cottage industry has begun. The development of cottage industry will produce millions for working families that are currently lost abroad. (KM1908:21, 316.)

Trying to answer the question of what cottage industry in Sweden was all about, Lundahl (1999) has pointed out the significance of Zickerman in this movement with emphasis on cherishing traditional crafts and the bourgeois idea of home, ideals of which were visualised at the time most prominently in Carl Larsson's picturesque aquarelles. Also in Sweden, the national romantic tendency channelled attention to common people's craft culture, but inspiration was found in contemporary artistic movements; the Arts and Crafts Movement for one fed the admiration of the rustic lifestyle. (Lundahl 1999, 207–210.) When *Föreningen för Svensk Hemslöjd* was established, Larsson was asked to be the chair, but after his rejection, the association was led until 1947 by Prince Eugen. Other active members of the movement came from higher social background. (Ibid., 212–226.)

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70 A central organisation similar to the Finnish Craft Organization (previously known as the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry Associations), this organisation is called in English as The National Association of Swedish Handicraft Societies.

Similarities between Swedish and Finnish movements are apparent regarding the connection between smallholding and crop failures, but also in relation to the application of craft as a self-help tool and as an educative method that the connection between Otto Salomon and Uno Cygnaeus had already exemplified. The Swedish movement offers an especially interesting point of reference for the Finnish idea of cottage industry due to the often close relation that the typically Swedish-speaking adherents of liberal viewpoints had to Sweden. Later, since the 1920s, the Nordic countries created a specific unity with the establishment of the Nordic Cottage Industry League (*Pohjolan kotiteollisuusliitto / Nordens hemslöjdsförbund*) in 1926; Lauri Mäkinen took an active role in the founding of this Nordic organisational cooperation (Ylönen 2003, 112–113). In her article on the ambivalent relation of internationality and nationalism concerning cottage industry, Barbro Klein has remarked that this 'most Swedish movement of all', 'the Swedishness police' never was bound to national borderlines (Klein 1999, 177–178; transl. EK). Instead, it was inspired by international comparison and political and ideological trends that were absorbed into the composition of the idea of cottage industry. Also, as Klein has pointed out, discussions that accompanied the emerging ethnological studies, museum institution and the cottage industry movement at the turn of the 20th century show that political and ideological meanings were incorporated even in the design of craft items (Klein 1999, 177).

5.4 Form follows ideology – the symbolic and aesthetic cottage industry

The different roles of home are of essential significance when studying the history of cottage industry; literally, 'home' formed half of the concept both in Finnish (***koti****teollisuus*) and in Swedish (***hem****slöjd*). Also in Sweden, among the expansive middle classes of the early 20th century, home was increasingly considered as the woman's arena that she would manage and control, although, following the ideals of sense of duty and decency, this work would have had to remain almost invisible. In order to increase attention, functions of home were taken into consideration in the planning of new abodes for the workers. Functions of home were divided into separate spaces and the need for hygiene and cleanliness in homes was emphasised. Interior design was in general supposed to indicate good taste and certain national authenticity. The proper style that combined the admired characteristics of traditional crafts with the modern taste was disseminated effectively through designs of cottage industry items. (Thörn 1999, 114–124.)

Along with the idealisation of home, which had previously been promoted most prominently in Topelius' texts, Swedish influence on notions of home were reflected in early 20th-century Finnish magazines, such as *Koti ja yhteiskunta* (*Home and Society*, 1889–1910) with Alexandra Gripenberg as editor-in-chief,

and in *Käsiteollisuus*, edited by Mäkinen (Heinänen 2006, 295–320). Through these illustrated magazines, among others, the proper style of home was introduced to Finnish readers. Discussing cottage industry and its development both at home and abroad, the essential function of *Käsiteollisuus* was to spread designs with explanations for domestic use. Many of the designs reflected the modern styles of *Jugendstil* and Art Nouveau that, although inspired by simplicity and organic forms, often deviated from the rustic objects that generally had been produced as cottage industries. But influence flowed both ways: at the turn of the 20th century, against the backdrop of political struggle under Russian oppressive policies, rural crafts and their traditional patterns became an important instrument for creating national authenticity. Thus, instead of only being an object of cultivating modern tastes, the practice of cottage industry also turned into a motive of ethnological studies and a carrier of national material culture, most prominently in the form of Karelianism. In the article series later published in the magazine *Kotiteollisuus*, Paula Tuomikoski (1978; 1979a–c) claimed that the period from the 1890s until achieving independence in 1917 was the most significant with regard to the cultural political meaning of cottage industry.

In her versatile article series, Tuomikoski handled many topics that were more or less closely related to cottage industry policy, such as developments in craft pedagogy. But although the influence of European trends in industrial art and art education were noted, Tuomikoski tended to refer to craft traditions or generally to 'folk culture' as authentic findings that artists and architects searched for especially in Karelia, where these were supposed to be even more pure. Moreover, as a rare example of historical investigation on the cultural and political contents of the topic, it is remarkable that these articles did not include references to the systematic application of cottage industry in crop failures since the 1860s' famine; Tuomikoski only remarked that 'the rural population had got used to resorting to crafts in crop failures in order to get money to acquire grain' (Tuomikoski 1978, 8; transl. EK). Still, activities of the Central Committee of Relief or of Finland's General Handicraft Industry Association were not mentioned at all. Indeed, the author even seems to have conceived of cottage industry rather simply as folk culture or as folk art without problematising such interpretations.

Of course, as has been prominently illustrated by Hobsbawm, national traditions 'were found' when not deliberately invented across Europe during the period from the 1870s until the First World War (Hobsbawm 2006b, 263–269). An era of imperialism and nation building, this phase also witnessed the emergence of various industry exhibitions and, more famously, world expositions as showcases of international comparison and competition in industrial, economic and cultural developments. These events, the foundation of which is typically seen in the Crystal Palace exhibition in London in 1851, were also followed in Finland, and the world exhibitions of Paris 1867 and the 1873 exhibition in Vienna also influenced the building of the 1875 cottage industry exhibition in Helsinki. In the manner of the large international show venues, the 1875

Helsinki exposition sought to festively exhibit the diverse products from the cottage industries on the national level. (Smeds 1996, 107–112, 133–141.)

World expositions not only represented the futuristic progressiveness that materialised especially in different machines, but also the rivalry between nations in progress and in economic wealth (Syrjämaa 2007). The rise of the empires was experienced in Finland in many ways also with regard to cottage industries. In the 1870s and the 1880s, Finnish cottage industries were supported by the Emperor-Grand Duke with endowments to study and develop the field, but along with the unifying and more repressive imperialist policies at the turn of the 20th century, finding its first climax in the 1899 Manifesto, cottage industries were also seen as an expression of Finnish nationalism.

The 1900 World Exhibition in Paris has been interpreted as an exceptionally remarkable event for the strengthening national self-esteem in Finland. The architects and artists attending this exhibition were well recognised. Not only did artist Akseli Gallen-Kallela participate in the event both with paintings and designs for textiles, but the young architects Armas Lindgren, Herman Gesellius and Eliel Saarinen attended the exhibition design. The Finnish Pavilion won special attention due to the political situation: Russian oppression in Finland had been recognised in Europe, so the Finnish Pavilion with its ample collection of pieces of artwork and crafts served as a special symbolic representation of the Finnish people and of its distinctive culture. (Smeds 1996, 276–345.) However, it cannot be ignored that, for example, the triad of Gesellius–Lindgren–Saarinen worked at the forefront of creating the National Romantic style in architecture that largely owed itself to the designs of Art Nouveau, *Jugendstil*, and the Arts and Crafts Movement. The influence of the new style was also applied to the design of craft items that were intended to be produced as cottage industries; Finland's General Handicraft Industry Association worked as an intermediary in this part.

The overview of FGHIA's work of the years 1893–1905 showed that the gap between the makers of cottage industry products and the buyers had been observed: cottage industry items did not always fulfil the customers' requirements. Partially the conventional models of craft products were considered old-fashioned and partially small items that the buyers would have demanded were not made at all – the makers of crafts did not even seem to know about such products. To bridge this disparity between the supply and demand, the association sought to provide the makers with patterns and blueprints of models that would have been both tasteful and practical; the magazine *Käsiteollisuus* served as a specific channel for this end. In this way, the association tried to elevate the design of cottage industry products and thus aspired to support design that would be of specifically Finnish style.

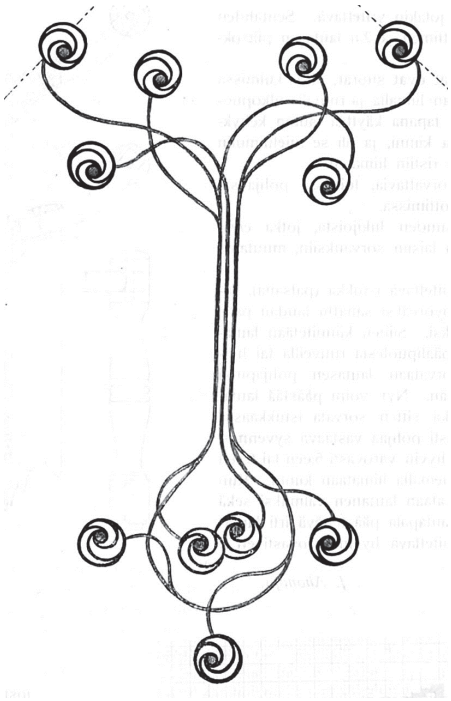

Figure 13 The stylised rose motive was also popular within the Scottish Arts and Crafts Movement, most prominently in the works of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret MacDonald Mackintosh (see Cumming 2006). Here, a design for a table cloth by Ilona Jalava. (Source: *Käsiteollisuus* 1907 (3), 40.)

This design reform was also promoted through exhibitions and competitions at different levels and in various ways. In 1894, the FGHIA had arranged a display of crafts jointly with the Vaasa agricultural exhibition, and a year later the association participated in an exhibition of Finnish industrial products in London (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 23–24). An original way of presenting and circulating products of Finnish small industries was the use of itinerant exhibitions. This kind of exhibition was put to action with the consul's wife Anna Böning leading it, and the exhibition toured in the cities of northern Germany. A similar itinerant showcase was organised in Russia in 1902, and in 1903 the association took part in a fair that travelled along the Russian rivers on a ferry. This exhibition method was considered practical also in the Finnish circumstances with the numerous inland waters. (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 24–26.)

In 1898, the FGHIA had arranged a furniture design competition; of the seven participants, architect Eliel Saarinen was selected as the winner. Two years later, cottage industry was even connected to the Paris world fair. The FGHIA attended the Paris world exhibition with a collection of furniture that was awarded a silver medal. Later in the same year, this set of furniture was the first prize in the association's lottery: a gentleman's (smoking room) suite including a large sofa with lamp fixtures, a bureau, a bookcase and two armchairs

all designed by the triad Gesellius–Lindgren–Saarinen. (*Yleiskatsaus* 1906, 20–21, 24.)

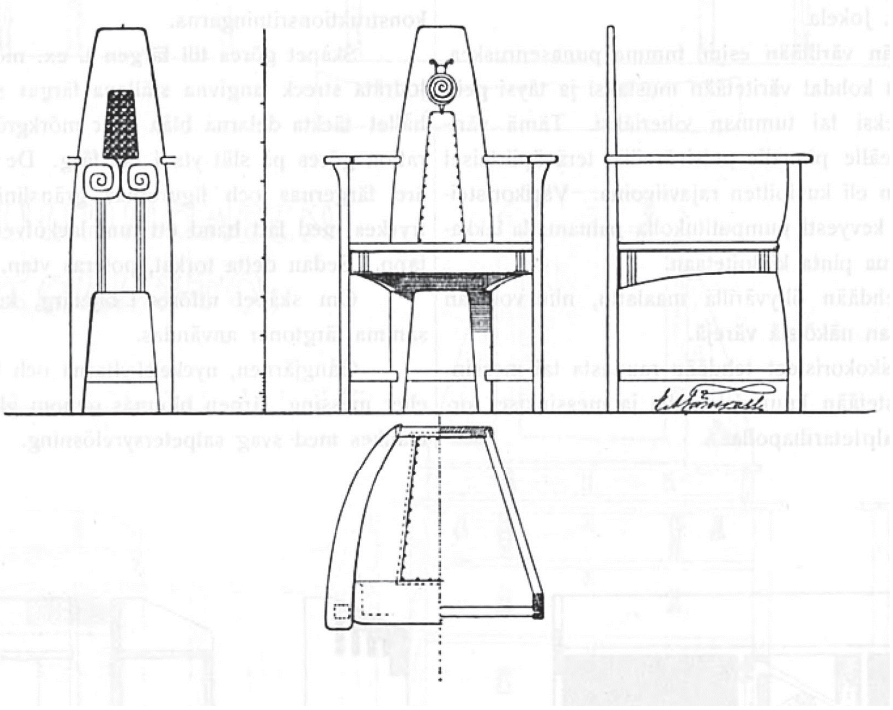

Figure 14 Design of a ladies' desk chair by E. A. Törnvall followed the trends of *Jugendstil* and Art Nouveau. According to the instructions, the chair is white in colour with blue-grey upholstery and with embellishment of a brass plate in the back rest. (Source: *Käsiteollisuus* 1907 (7A), 11.)

The importance of sense of form had been emphasised already by Uno Cygnaeus who had repeated his viewpoints about educative handicraft in the 1875 cottage industry meeting. In the 1900 meeting, the topic had been addressed by Blomstedt (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 115–132). His presentation was based on the dual conception of craft, on the one hand as an educative activity and on the other hand as practical work. With regard to craft as an educative measure, Blomstedt referred to Cygnaeus, to his notion of craft as part of formal education, but also to the education of a sense of form. Blomstedt wished to emphasise the internal effect of craft, 'the moulding of the personality of the maker', and he concluded that craft lessons would serve as tools for organising and developing 'the right conception and sense of form' (ibid., 116–117). He then presented a detailed plan for a series of handicraft exercises. In a similar manner he listed measures to enhance 'the development of form in people's handicraft industry' (ibid., 115). Blomstedt's list included, among other things, a collection of local craft museums and the organising of craft exhibitions. In the closure to his presentation, certain attributes of a new era were apparent – ex-

pertise and administration that would work in the nation's best interest like a machine:

> When I add to this that inspectors specialised in their profession are indispensable to superintend and to direct the execution of the above ideas not only in craft education but also in the fields of the whole country's general handicraft industry, the machines and machinists are ready to work for the practical education of the fatherland and to serve handicraft industry following the lines I have presented above. (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 132.)

To convince his audience, Blomstedt finally referred to Walter Crane, illustrator and a part of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Following Crane's words about national art representing the circumstances surrounding it, Blomstedt repeated the importance of developing handicraft industries on the national basis and wished that the Finnish art industry and handicraft industry would work in the same way. (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 132.)

Blomstedt rephrased these visions in his popular booklets. In the 1903 publication focusing on cooperation, he introduced readers to John Ruskin, Williams Morris and Morris & Company. Blomstedt also brought up the influence of the architect and designer Henry van de Velde, and the illustrators and painters Otto Eckmann and Gerhard Munthe. As an example of respective development in Finland, Blomstedt named Earl Louis Sparre and the Iris factory.[71] (Blomstedt 1903, 14–16.) It is remarkable that Blomstedt without hesitation connected the 'artists' and the gentry people's pursuits in industrial art' to the development of sense of form and sense of art among the rural population and called for the craft skills of farmhands and crofters to be increased. He disapproved of the state's relief work projects, such as road building, ditching and temporary cottage industry work. Again, he emphasised the need to organise cooperatives to increase national wealth:

> Let every citizen, as well the city as the country dwellers, take part in developing the dexterity of the people, in raising the handicraft industry, and in securing [every] individual's future. To this forces the love for one's neighbour, to this obligates the progress of the fatherland. (Blomstedt 1903, 18.)

As the first cottage industry show in 1875 had exemplified, exhibitions were considered important for promulgating information about new products and technologies, and also about ideas of rational time-use, dexterity and of proper aesthetics regarding different products. The world exhibitions created the quintessential role model that was keenly followed in Finland through newspaper articles, in which visits to the exhibitions were reported. In August 1906, a large cottage industry exhibition in Kuopio was organised. This event served the aim

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71 Louis Sparre (1863–1864) was a Swedish earl who settled to Finland in the 1890s. A painter and a graphic designer, Sparre was acquainted with Gallen-Kallela. Sparre was taken by Karelianism and the new styles of industrial art. His designs for the Iris factory in particular have been renowned in later design history, but he also designed for the Friends of Finnish Handicrafts, and together with his wife Eva Mannerheim they started a design bureau (*Ritbyrån Eva och Louis Sparre*, 1902–1908). Sparre later moved back to Sweden. (Amberg 2007.)

of the von Wright committee to review the field of cottage industry production. For one, the show continued and affirmed the tradition of participating in and arranging exhibitions and competitions and prizes. With juries judging the exhibited products, these events were important in guiding craft makers to good taste. Aesthetic guidance was an important task of the cottage industry teachers, advisors and consultants, although the practical, technical teaching was of primary attention.

Figure 15 Cottage industry products exhibited in Kuopio in 1906. One objective of the Kuopio cottage industry exhibition was to inspect the distribution and quality of different craft products. This included stave containers and other works of carpentry. (Source: SKMA)

The late 19th-century art industry movements were recognised in the von Wright committee report, but still cottage industry was inherently connected with the repeating crop failures and, on the other hand, with the general industrial development. The array of measures taken to promote cottage industry since the 1870s was largely reviewed with regard to the national(ist) context. (KM1908:20, 84–92.) Accordingly, the Kuopio cottage industry exhibition reflected the various intentions attached to the respective idea. In part, the display of the various manually made objects can be conceived of as a local reproduction of the famous world exhibitions boasting the emerging local small industries. Yet, the exhibition was consciously organised to inspect the level and extent of cottage industry production in the country; the exhibition was analysed and reported from this viewpoint as part of the 1908 committee report (KM1908:22). The 1906 exhibition and the meetings aimed at supporting the

assignment of the committee; calling together an exposition of craft products from various parts of the country served at the same time as a tool for creating statistics on the status of and to demonstrate the extent of cottage industries. As part of its report, the committee also gave detailed instructions on the arrangement of cottage industry exhibitions and competitions (KM1908:20, 183–203).

Completing the information explicated in the committee report appendix, a concise account on the exhibition was also published. This general account, which mostly reflected the organisation and funding of the event, was printed in Swedish. According to it, the initiative for organising the Kuopio cottage industry exhibition[72] came from the Industrial Board by Superintendent Axel Fredrik Tigerstedt in February 1905 and the respective proposal had been sent further to the Imperial Senate in May (*Redogörelse* 1907, 3*)*. This, among further correspondence between the Industrial Board and the Imperial Senate's Trade and Industry Commission (*Senaatin kauppa- ja teollisuustoimituskunta*), was printed in length in the report. The exhibition was prepared by a special exhibition board with Viktor von Wright again in the leading position. Other members included Lauri Mäkinen, Aina Snellman and Nanny Odenvall, who were also members of the von Wright cottage industry committee. Further exhibition board members included architects Yrjö O. Blomstedt and Valter Thomé, craft teacher Frans Jokela, agronomist Arno Reuter, and artist Louis Sparre. Architect Armas Lindgren, also included to the great cottage industry committee, was the exhibition commissar. Rolf Thesleff was initially the exhibition secretary but yet another architect, W. G. Palmqvist, later occupied this position. Indeed, architects' interest in promoting cottage industry appears to have been remarkable. (Ibid., 9–13.)

The exhibition was organised concertedly with the 11th general agricultural exhibition, but it created a display of its own with temporary constructions to create the exhibition premises. The exhibition was first due to take place at Kuopio industrial school, but when this was considered not spacious enough, the local military manège was considered, but as even this was found to be too small, the exhibition area was extended to the nearby field; the necessary constructions were designed by Armas Lindgren. (*Redogörelse* 1907, 17–18.) The expansion of the exhibition area is to some extent reminiscent of the large display areas reserved for the use of world fairs, although the Kuopio event hardly competed with these enormous shows. Still, the exhibition crew, together with Yrjö O. Blomstedt, Valter Thomé, and later W. G. Palmqvist, was endowed with the expertise of architects and interior designers who were familiar with the then contemporary styles that flourished at the various international exhibitions. Following the style of the day, the main entrance of the Kuopio exhibition area epitomised characteristics of *Jugendstil*. Furthermore, to clarify the nationalist endeavours of the event, the entrance was festooned with large flags with the emblem of the Finnish lion on them.

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72 The Kuopio exhibition was termed in Swedish as *Allmänna Slöjdutställningen*. The exact Finnish title of the event was *Yleinen käsiteollisuusnäyttely*.

Figure 16 Entrance to 1906 Kuopio cottage industry exhibition. The temporary constructions for the exhibition were designed by architect Armas Lindgren and the scene was embellished with flags carrying the national symbol of the Finnish lion. (Source: KM1908:22.)

The report detailed the additional funding of the event. These parts of the report show, for one, that the expenditure increased from the originally estimated 40,000 marks, and the Senate's Trade and Industry Commission compensated these costs repeatedly; the last request for extra funding is dated to March 1907 (exhibition took place in August 1906). In the report's correspondence, the following names reappear: K. J. Ståhlberg, who then served as Head of the Trade and Industry Commission, and A. Listo (Lilius). Akseli Listo (1856–1921), commission's secretary, had also attended the 1900 cottage industry meeting with a presentation on the distribution of work in the field of handicraft industry (*Yleinen kotiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 100–104); a member of the burgher estate, he had participated in the Diets and was later elected to the parliament representing the Old Fennoman Finnish Party (Hanski 2000). Kaarlo Juho Ståhlberg (1865–1952), on the other hand, was one of the key figures of the Young Finnish Party, a leader of its Ståhlbergian wing. In 1919, Ståhlberg became the first president of the Republic of Finland. (Vares 2000, 77–79.) A jurisprudent, Ståhlberg was familiar with the essential theme concerning cottage industry, because in his dissertation he had analysed Finnish legislation on vagrancy (Ståhlberg 1995 [1893]). In a way then, the Kuopio exhibition report directs more attention to the allocation of funding itself and to the point that attitudes of the Senate to endow the exhibition were positive; Mechelin's senate (1905–1908), appointed after the general strike, consisted chiefly of the liberally minded representatives of the

Swedish and the Young Finnish parties, which had marked a triumph for the constitutionalists (Vares 2000, 76–77, 80–82).

The symbolic meaning of cottage industry was therefore manifold. For one, the objectives of the Kuopio exhibition were not only of an aesthetic nature aspiring to distribute information and norms of proper taste and quality of craft items, but it also intended to demonstrate the national significance of cottage industry. In the late 1880s, it had still been reported that cottage industries were on a low level both innumber and in quality, but along with the growing ethnological interests, the exhibited collection of cottage industries in 1906 seemed rather to prove that skilled and diligent people, who, with the support of active members of society and public funds, had made it through the years of oppression. With further development, education and control, cottage industry trades could then grow, and with the help of professional design expertise, the objects would also meet the requirements of modern taste. Thus, on the one hand 'folk craft' was considered a carrier of heritage but on the other hand, it was brought under control in a straightforwardly administrative way, overseeing what was supposed to represent national craft both in the traditional and in the modern sense.

Interest in common people's practice of cottage industries seemed to remain a matter of the middle and upper classes, and popularity of promoting cottage industries coincided largely with the peak of the Young Finnish Party; its adherents even considered it a general party permeated with the will to help the rural citizens in their national economic endeavours. The experience of Russification policies of the 1899–1905 era clearly affected how the idea of cottage industry was perceived, possibly even as a practical method of passive resistance, but at least as an expression of national unity that had been demonstrated in the 1900 Paris exhibition. In general, the idea of cottage industry – which was promoted as self-help, as supportive both to individual entrepreneurship and to self-organised cooperatives, and that cherished the uniqueness of handmade crafts, even though these would be made according to some professionally designed model – is to be understood in the first instance as substantiation of the liberal political culture in Finland at the turn of the 20th century. Considering that the liberalist tendencies have gained relatively little research attention in Finland, this notion would call for closer investigations as such and also for international comparisons with respective developments in, for example, Scandinavia and the British Isles (cf. Thomas 2004).

It must be noted, however, that despite the participation of the liberally minded young architects and artists aware of international trends, it would be an exaggeration to claim that cottage industry would have only been a Young Finnish project, for, as we have seen, the idea also involved Old Fennomans, and in its previous stages adherents of the Swedish-speaking liberalists. On the other hand, in the early 1900s, the labour movement got organised, and von Wright's social liberalist pursuits were overrun by the socialist movement. In this regard, the Kuopio exhibition could in part be seen as the climax of the liberalist celebration before the shocking results of the first parliamentary election

in 1907 that testified to the triumph of the Social Democratic Party. Only 13.1 % of all votes were given to the Young Finns whereas the conservative Old Finns got 27.3 % of votes. (Vares 2000, 119–122.)

All in all, with the several meanings intertwined with cottage industry, the Kuopio exhibition could be characterised as an enactment of a new political tradition. The use of vernacular cultural practices has been made present in many ways to indicate national authenticity, but what is more to the point, and as was emphasised by Hobsbawm, is the recycling of traditions for new purposes (Hobsbawm 2006a, 6). Indeed, considering cottage industry as an invented tradition, it does not suffice to explain cottage industry as modern design professionals taking inspiration in vernacular patterns, not even as reforming those patterns to serve modern aesthetics. Instead, cottage industry was invented as a political tradition to serve equally political ends. As the repeated complaints of dissipating craft practices among farmers and their servants illuminate, cottage industry served as a newly invented tradition, a method for cementing bonds of loyalty between the master and the subject (Hobsbawm 2006b, 263–265). Following the general characteristics attached to invented traditions, cottage industry policy was intended to cherish, to re-design and to control Finnish crafts that symbolised original Finnish folk culture but also legitimated the work of the FGHIA and the official bodies that took part in developing cottage industries, the Board of Industry and the Senate. Furthermore, especially as a cultural political invention, cottage industry appeared as a means of socialisation, as 'the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior' (Hobsbawm 2006a, 9).

5.5 Experience and expertise

Cottage industry policy largely built on traditions of administration and of respective office culture. In particular, the activities that emerged in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries created a strong basis for the later organised promotion of cottage industry. The long traditions of development work on cottage industry were carried within the established cottage industry planning, education, inspection and administration work. Cottage industry expertise can therefore be to a large extent recognised as a fruit of office culture that produced special knowledge in statistics, by international comparisons and through exhibitions.

Lauri Kuoppamäki[73] continued to work as the Chief Cottage Industry Inspector until he died in 1935. The Cottage Industry Office, where the inspectors

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73 Lauri Mäkinen started to use his father's original surname, Kuoppamäki, in 1920. Along with reporting on the conditions of cottage industries, Kuoppamäki was very active in many other aspects; among other things, he was a member of the board of the museum for art industry (Design Museum) and of the Finnish Society of Crafts and Design (*Taideteollisuusyhdistys*). He also worked as the executive manager of the Finnish Fair Cooperative in 1920–25, and in the 1917 election he even became for a

worked, was part of the Board of Trade and Industry until 1926. It was then transferred to the Board of Agriculture; in 1938, the office grew into the Cottage Industry Department. Since 1917, Kuoppamäki was assisted in the inspection work with separate inspectors for women's and men's cottage industries. Frans Jokela worked as the men's cottage industry inspector during from 1917 to 1937, and Anna Henriksson worked as the inspector for the women's cottage industry until she retired in 1941 (Lähdeoja 1969, 369; *Anna Henriksson* 1942).

The organisational basis was established in 1913 with the establishment of Finland's Cottage Industry Delegation in the first General Cottage Industry Representatives' Meeting (*Ensimmäinen Yleinen Kotiteollisuusedustajakokous* 1913). The FGHIA became one of the member associations that the Delegation, later the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry Associations, and the representative meetings connected to create a nationwide organisational network for cottage industry; by the 1940s, 22 regional cottage industry associations had been founded (KM1949:34, mon., 44–45). In many ways, the representative meetings expanded upon and cemented the legacy of the initial meetings in Helsinki in 1900 and in Kuopio in 1906. After 1913, the general meetings were organised every third year with the Delegation elected for a three-year period at a time. The first decades of this organanisation have been documented with general descriptions of each three-year period by Anna Henriksson (Henriksson [1944]).

The general meetings continued to create a forum for discussion on topical themes of cottage industry. Also in this regard, continuity proved to be strong. The programme of the meetings was based on the procedure of the 1900 and 1906 meetings: the Delegation called the member organisations for presentations and selected issues that it considered most important. However, the same topics continued to be brought up. For example, education and consulting turned out to be important issues time after time. It was followed by other themes such as promoting craft skills, cherishing craft traditions, issues about materials and designs, and questions concerning exhibitions and competitions. (Henriksson [1944]; Ylönen 2003, 104–105.)

It is nevertheless notable that, although the organisation was registered first in 1934, the activities continued on a regular basis. Here, the late 19th-century foundations in semi-official and administrative work appear to have been significant in supporting the delegation form as a contemporary model of organisation that was typical in the early 20th century. Ylönen has compared the formation of the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry Associations to that of the Central Organisation of Small Industries (*Pienteollisuuden Keskusliitto*, a predecessor to the Federation of Finland's Entrepreneurs (*Suomen yrittäjät*)) that was previously known as the Industry Delegation (*Teollisuusvaltuuskunta*). Also, Finland's Local Heritage Federation (*Kotiseutuliitto*) had previously worked as a delegation for local heritage research. (Ylönen 2003, 93.)

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short term a member of parliament representing the Agrarian League. With regard to the reference to Z. Topelius in the CIPC report, it would be of interest that Mäkinen's first wife was Topelius' granddaughter Anna Matilda Nyberg (1879–1923). (Hellsten 2009.)

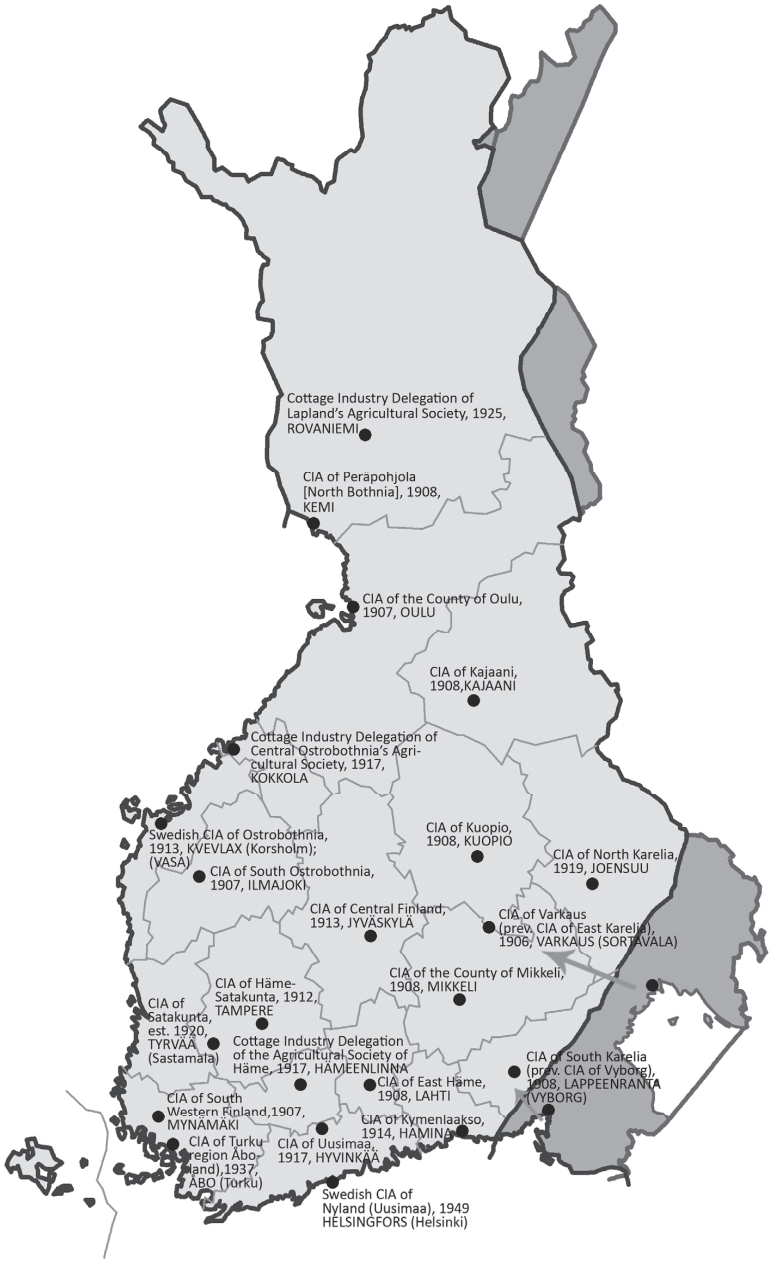

Figure 17 Distribution of regional cottage industry associations (CIA), their office locations and founding years as detailed in the CIPC report (with minor additions based on Ylönen 2003, 51–53). The Karelian regional associations were transferred as indicated on the map. The dark grey areas mark territory cessions caused by the Winter War and the Continuation War. Regional borders (as of today) show the associations' general spheres of operation. (KM1949:34, mon., 44–45.)

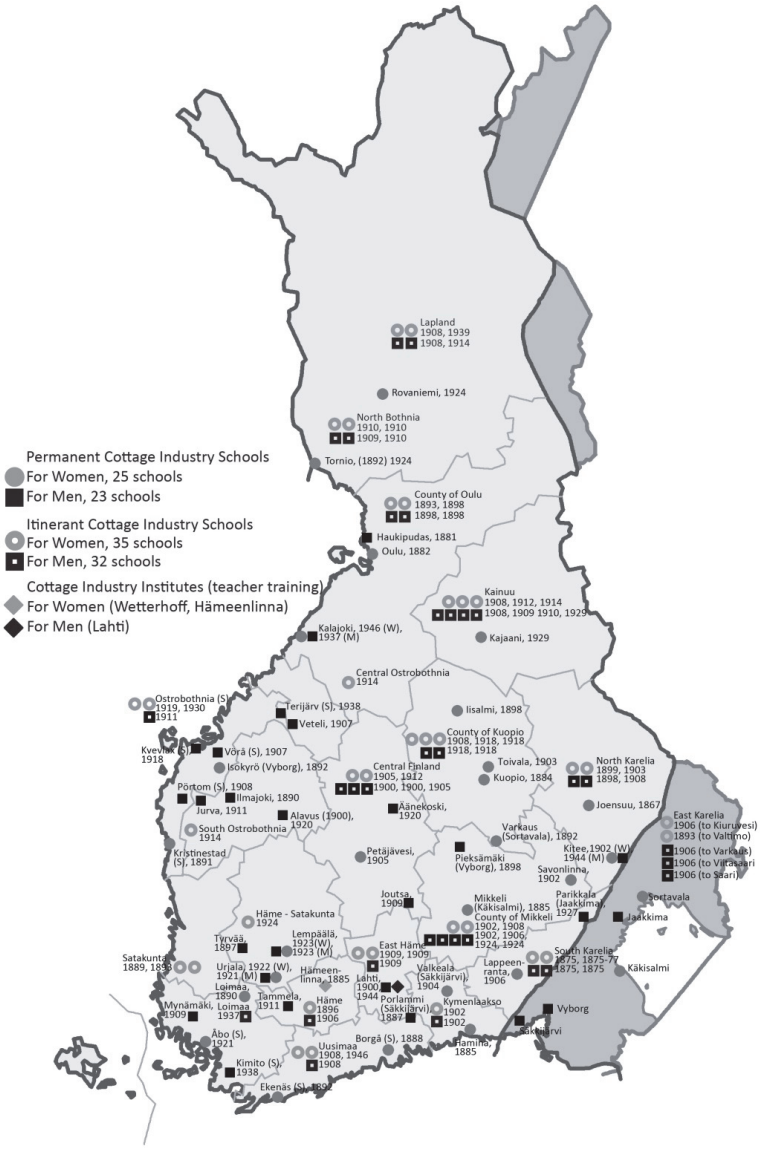

Figure 18 Distribution of permanent and itinerant cottage industry schools, locations of the permanent schools and founding years of the schools as detailed in the CIPC report. Schools in the lost territories were relocated. Nine of the permanent schools, in western and southern parts of the country, operated in Swedish (S). (KM1949:34, mon., 20–23.)

Along with dependence on previous meeting protocol, the composition of the Delegation seemed to remain stable. In her report, Henriksson aptly wrote about the Delegation of 1916–1919: 'When almost all previous members were re-elected to the delegation, it could work in more accustomed ways' (Henriksson [1944], 13). A prime example of this stability could be seen in the essential role that von Wright continued to have in the Delegation. Although in the 1900 meeting he had tried to refuse to chair the meeting, he continued to work as the chair of the Delegation and of the triennial meetings until 1928 when he resigned from these duties. He was then followed by architect Rafael Blomstedt.[74] Other long-standing members of the Delegation included Ellinor Ivalo and, as in the manner of continuing the family's representation, Helena Brander. Also, Augusta Laine, sister to Helena, took part in the Delegation's work in separate working committees. (Henriksson [1944], 11–12; Ylönen 2003, 94–95.)

The Delegation worked on a small basis, including only five members with their substitutes. When the turnover of the members remained low, the Delegations of 1913–1946 involved only 19 people. Many of them worked actively in other associations, as for example Ellinor Ivalo, who belonged to the founding members of *Ornamo*, the Finnish Association of Designers. Also active politicians, such as Toivo Ikonen (Agrarian League) and K. V. Åkerblom (Swedish People's Party), and academics, most prominently Professor of Ethnology and later Minister of Education Kustaa Vilkuna, participated in the Delegation work. In 1937, cottage industry received its highest official recognition when President Kyösti Kallio together with his wife Kaisa Kallio pledged to work as protectors of cottage industry work.[75] (Henriksson [1944], 32; *Suomen kotiteollisuustyön suojelijat* 1937.)

Stability in the composition of the Delegation and the triennial meetings with the usual themes of debate was likely to strengthen conceptions about cottage industry promotion work as a political sphere of its own kind. Detailing the founding meeting of 1913, Henriksson compiled the motives of the triennial general cottage industry representative meetings and of the Delegation in the following way:

> Thus was founded the central organ for Finland's cottage industry organisation, the delegation that was supposed to execute between the representative meetings the tasks appointed to it by the representative meeting, and in other ways to monitor the general interests of cottage industry, to give pronouncements and on demand to give presentations to related officials on matters regarding cottage industry.
>
> It was decided that representative meetings that are public were to be held every third year. According to the constitution, the representative meetings will gather together representatives of those associations, the special interest of which is to promote the economic and artistic development of cottage industry, and representatives of those agricultural associations that include the promotion of cottage industry in their programme. The official, whose action focuses on cottage industry, is entitled to

74 Arno Rafael Blomstedt (1885–1950) first worked as a teacher and as the artistic director (1912–1943) and then as the rector (1943–1949) of the Central School of Industrial Art in Helsinki (Korvenmaa 2009, 102, 176).

75 This tradition of protecting craft work has been continued by Jenni Haukio, President Niinistö's wife (*Rouva Jenni Haukio käsi- ja taideteollisuusjärjestön suojelijaksi* 2012).

> send to the meeting its representatives, who will have the right to speak but not right of decisions. (Henriksson [1944], 5.)

Although the executive work was appointed to the small, five-person Delegation, the work of this network of experts, politicians and officials proved to be successful. Together with other MPs, K. V. Åkerblom had applied for legislation on cottage industry education. This led to the appointment of an official committee on the matter in 1926, with Inspector Kuoppamäki as the chair and Helena Brander and Oskar Ruohtula included in the committee membership. The committee report was further commented on by the Delegation, which found the propositions 'praiseworthily compiled'. (Henriksson [1944], 18–21.) The Act on Cottage Industry Schools was approved in 1929. The legislation on cottage industry education confirmed that cottage industry activity not only created a new field of expertise but also offered possibilities for new professional careers. However, the salaries of cottage industry teachers tended to drag behind that of other teachers, which offered a topic for further discussions. More attention was paid to the pensions of the cottage industry teachers, secretaries, advisors and consultants; Henriksson herself gave a presentation on the matter in 1938. (Ibid., 32.)

A strong consensus among the representative meetings and in delegation work seemed to prevail, but – possibly due to the restricted limits of these spheres –internal and, moreover, interpersonal conflicts appeared. This applied most strongly to the relation between the leading persons, the long-standing chair, von Wright, and Inspector Kuoppamäki. von Wright was critical of Kuoppamäki's leading positions in other corporations: in the Finnish Fair Cooperative and in another initiative that concentrated on export trading. Due to the contradiction, von Wright stepped aside the Delegation in 1928. (Ylönen 2003, 102–103.)

Henriksson's report on the first decades of the Delegation clearly demonstrates the specialisation of the field, and how the organisational, administrative and also political practices were quickly adopted in the Cottage Industry Delegation's activities. A further, comparative analysis on the different organisations in the fields of craft and industry on the one hand, and in the fields of rural heritage and industrial art on the other hand could further illuminate the paths and motives of specialisation in the area of making and manufacturing in its various forms.

However, a look at the titles of the presentations given at the triennial representative cottage industry meetings raise interest, given that the initial motive of cottage industry trades was to offer a subsidiary source of income for families and people of limited means. Indeed, although Henriksson documented the meetings in her report, mentions about crop failures, economic depressions or other crises that might have given reason for the Delegation to intensify their action are rather few. Discussing the working period 1916–1918, Henriksson referred to 'the external conditions', to the First World War that hindered the work of the Delegation – but she did not mention at all the civil war of 1918 nor the crop failure that preceded that violent autumn and winter. Cottage indus-

tries were supposed to offer subsidiary trades for smallholders and crofters, but Henriksson did not mention the conflicting relationship between the landowners and the land tenants that escalated into local outbursts of violence during the civil war.

The depression of the 1930s that followed the international economic crash was barely brought up in Henriksson's report. Discussions of the triennial cottage industry meetings addressed topics such as handing out medals and badges for working in cottage industry; cottage industry exhibitions; retaining and revitalising old folk (vernacular) cottage industries; and the question of bilingualism of the Delegation/Central Organisation. However, other topics might at least signal the ongoing deficiency at the time. In the ninth general representative cottage industry meeting in 1937, the following topics were presented: 'What can cottage industry associations and craft teachers do to secure the income of cottage industry workers?' and 'The organisation of cottage industry consulting for working families' (Henriksson [1944], 29–31).

Regarding the circumstances of war, a few years later Henriksson mentioned in the last pages of her report the tenth general meeting, held in August 1940, and, apparently referring to J. G. Hirvensalo, then the chair of the Delegation, emphasised the role of cottage industry amid the settlement of the Karelian evacuees. The motive of cottage industry work was then again to 'better the possibilities of living of the destitute people' (Henriksson [1944], 35). This, on the other hand, seemed to directly include all Karelian evacuees regardless of their socio-economic backgrounds – in the end, they had just lost their backgrounds, quite literally. Therefore, the most important thing was that the evacuees would again make their own living: 'By opening the possibilities to the practice of cottage industries for the resettled people it releases them from the support of the society' (ibid., 35–36). In the August 1940 meeting, the most important question was seen in the tasks that fell upon cottage industry education with the emerging reconstruction work. This work, however, was embraced in full force first after the Continuation War had ceased in September 1944. In the sphere of cottage industry, the task was not only embraced through practical craft courses but also through committee work, the CIPC.

Cottage industry was established as an area of national expertise. The tendency to promote the rural craft practices was, however, quite general in Europe, although a close example was found in the respective Swedish movement. Interest in supporting cottage industries followed the general liberal trends in the economy and the National Romantic enthusiasm to cherish genuine, national folk culture, although aesthetic inspiration was taken in modern styles of interior and industrial design. Cottage industry was increasingly bound to the ideals of the bourgeois home and family life, in which regard the roles of women were emphasised. Ideals of cleanliness, lightness and hygiene were imposed also on the workers' home.

Home was loaded with various responsibilities and duties, many of which were directly connected with motherhood or added to the wife's roles. The contrast between family life and working life outside the spheres of home strength-

ened and further underlined the separate and different roles of family members with wives as housekeepers and husbands as supporters. However, this contrast was not unambiguous in the sense that roles of home and the housewife would have only been that of rearing and caring. Indeed, along with the emerging attention on home economics and consumption, home was increasingly perceived as an economic unit, not only as a locus of consumption but also as a productive unit. Therefore, cottage industry appeared as a practice of the idyllic rural home as it was imagined in the mental and cultural frames of the upper classes. Indeed, following the claim of Freedgood (2003), and the risk that Wetterhoff had recognised, the idea of cottage industry created an economic utopia of cultivated, cultured production and consumption. Realities of the land tenants, rural workers and of the landless people could nevertheless have often been far from the idyllic views of the bourgeoisie with their elevated patriotic and nationalist endeavours.

Further, with a basis in administration and office culture, cottage industry moulded into a cultural policy that both reproduced and created expertise on and knowledge of national folk culture that was epitomised by craft items and craft practices. The new fields of research that specialised in traditions of material culture and folk traditions, the nationalistically attuned discipline of ethnology in the first instance, supported and added to cottage industry expertise. Nevertheless, cottage industry remained a sector of governance and administration that involved various social, economic and cultural political ambitions with civic education as its priority. Domestic dexterity, the ability to manually produce, was cherished with growing attention to genuine or traditional patterns and models of craft items, but this skilfulness was directly connected with economic skills, namely with the ideal of the independent entrepreneur and the capability to earn one's own living without welfare services. The historical experience of crop failures continued to serve as essential justification for this with the polished recollections of the Great Famine of the 1860s.

Critical moments in history have inflicted changes and turns in political choices. The rocketing of the Social Democratic Party to the lead in the first equal parliamentary election has often been seen as a signal of the change in power relations. As has been detailed by Vares (2000) the Old Fennomans drifted to the losing side in this phase, and the Young Finns even more so. As a whole, these years of transition have been described as the era of the breaking class society. Certainly, the contradictory relation between the organised labour movement and the ruling elites in the 1905 strike has been recognised in various ways. The creation of cottage industry policy in the early 1900s counts as one of the symptomatic acts reflecting larger change in societal relations – in the end, it is not likely that the moral value of making crafts at home would have been repeated just for the sake of it. Indeed, the turn to the imagined eternality – to the invented tradition – of cottage industry served as historical justification to maintain the power relation between the master and his servant. As the farmer and representative of the Diet Kaarlo Wärri had put it, even the old idioms

proved that twilight craftwork had been considered 'of great national economic meaning since age-old times' (*Yleinen käsiteollisuuskokous* 1903, 114).

It was pointed out by Hobsbawm (2006b) that the tracking of invented traditions can serve as evidence of developments and breaks that otherwise would be difficult to recognise. Cottage industry policy can be interpreted as a reaction to the break in societal relations and it was used as cultural policy to mend that tear. Actually, the idea of cottage industry appears as an early implementation of democratisation of culture: tastes and preferences of the upper classes were distributed to the common people through a medium that was considered suitable for them – crafts were to build the bridge over which art would step into each of even the poorest homes. At the turn of the 20th century the idea of cottage industry was largely an invented political tradition or rather a conceptual and administrative innovation that loaned from conventions of rural craftwork but that was rooted in administration and in the lifeworlds of the ruling elite.

Explicating the possibilities of studying invented traditions, Hobsbawm wrote that it would be the historian's task to recognise the invented tradition. In the frame of this research, his closing note is nevertheless even more interesting, because he points to the historical actor and to the choices that the historical actor has in the contingent horizons between past and future. Therefore, according to Hobsbawm, it would also be the historian's task to analyse what spurred the need to turn to traditions; 'to try to understand why, in terms of changing societies in changing historical situations, such needs came to be felt' (Hobsbawm 2006b, 307). This is what the next chapter shall concentrate on.

6 FACING LOSS AND CHANGE – COTTAGE INDUSTRY AND HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

Considering cottage industry as a 19th-century conceptual innovation that nevertheless built on administrative and other cultural conventions, and as a type of invented political tradition, a connector between these two notions would be the conception of modern time. The experience of Modern Age entailed a view to an open future, to which the cyclical time conception gave way.[76] Whereas this future and progress-oriented turn has been recognised as decisive for the emergence of various new social and political concepts, the experience of a temporal break has also provoked sensations of cultural loss. This chapter unravels the connection between the idea of cottage industry and the experience of entering modernity using Ankersmit's terms of the sublime historical experience and the traumatic cultural loss that followed the distinction between the premodern past and the modern present. With the four-point categorisation of historical oblivion, Ankersmit's theorisation underlines the role of forgetting in historical consciousness and the perplexing interrelation of being in-between the past and the present. As the categorisation of forgetting shows, harsh experiences can sometimes induce blocks in historical memory that are similar to psychological amnesia following traumatic incidences, but the overpowering historical and cultural transformations caused by, for example the Industrial Revolution, would compel the paradoxical need to memorise and forget the past at the same time.

The disparate relation between the temporal aspects of the past and future has also been illustrated by Koselleck with the terms 'space of experience' and

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76 The modernist alteration from the cyclical to the linear time conception and, consequently, to the notion of an open future enabled the idea of indefinite development as exemplified in the modern concept of progress (*Fortschritt*) that worked in a manner of a collective singular enclosing the sum of all development and improvement. But the new conceptions of linear time and of open future directly connected with perceptions of historical time, too. Along with the concept of progress, history was termed as a reflexive concept: history (*die Geschichte*) could then be an object of rumination *an sich* comprising a collective singular marker of the past. (Koselleck 2006, 77–81.)

'horizon of expectations'; it is characteristic of the Modern Age that expectations of the future could not further be solely derived from the basis of experience and instead the future had to be envisioned in new terms. With remarks on the emergence of various isms since the 18th century, Koselleck explicated that, among the many others, liberalism and patriotism then constituted movement concepts that 'in practice, serve to politically and socially re-organise the dissolving class society under the new collection of targets' (Koselleck 2006, 82; transl. EK), but that had to compensate the lack of requisite, collective experience with visions about future. 'Needless to mention', the author continued, 'that these are concepts of the industrialising world that is leaving the peasantry living world behind it' (ibid.).

The idea of cottage industry would count as a subcategory of liberalism, but it must be noted that the turn from 'the cyclical past' to 'the linear future' was not that straightforward. Although future-oriented, the idea of cottage industry was not motivated by turning one's back on the peasant ways of life; in fact, it was quite the contrary: the modernisation of peasant ways of life was to be controlled and 'taken care of' through administrative expertise. Thus, the idea of cottage industry fluctuated between the progressive aspirations and the intention to cherish the past. In the post-World War II crisis of material and mental distress, cottage industries were resorted to as a practical measure in the form of craft courses and advisory that would sustain continuity and belief in future in the middle of loss and deficiency, but these practices were connected to previous experiences of crisis and deficiency, to the cumulated experience and expertise in solving crises through cottage industry. In this way, the adequate space of experience continued to be found in the past.

Truly, the experience of crop failure that culminated in the Great Famine was a collective traumatic incident, the memory of which has been recollected and repeated from one generation to another. The cottage industry practice, again, was supposed to help manage the threat of irregularly repeating crop failures. The notion of a severe loss, in the meaning of crop failure and famine, was therefore inherently connected to cottage industry, adding an important semantic layer to the concept. But the experience of loss was not restricted to the failure of the annual harvest. What was repeatedly considered to be in jeopardy involved more: along with worrying about craft traditions, there was a strong concern about the disappearing ways of rural life altogether. Moreover, it seemed that especially rural workers and servants were losing their work ethic and decent modesty. The idea of cottage industry thus offered measures to answer different types of sensations of loss. Applying Ankersmit's notion about the sublime historical experience of the past slipping away, it appears that, considering the practice of cottage industry, the space of experience itself turned into an object of loss and of disengagement from a certain past (premodern) era.

The post-war crisis summoned 'the urgency of the situation', a moment in which the idea of cottage industry was redefined or relocated between past and future. Craft practices helped overcome the post-war struggle, but cottage industry also appeared as an instrument of historical commemoration – and in-

creasingly as a matter of cultural heritage. The CIPC report of 1949 with its historically and politically loaded reference to the supposed previous promoters of cottage industry is one pivotal example of the significance of historical continuity in justifying cottage industry policies. Also, the personal archives of the committee members Yrjö Laine[-Juva][77] and Hulda Kontturi, held at the Craft Museum of Finland, are indicative of the strong historical consciousness of these people; among other documents, Laine-Juva's collections include manuscript drafts concerning the history of cottage industry, and Kontturi's collection could even be described as reflecting the precision of a cottage industry inspector and a connoisseur of the museum field (SKMA, Collections of Yrjö Laine-Juva, H.; M.; Collections of Hulda Kontturi). Laine-Juva's collections also include some typed versions and drafts of articles apparently intended for the magazine *Kotiteollisuus*, which offered the most important channel of information concerning cottage industry education, administration and also relevant committee work.

The magazine actually served as the general literary arena, in which the members of the CIPC published articles discussing the many topical issues about cottage industry. The texts also addressed the relation between the past and the present and the role of cottage industry as a mediator between them. While it is of some interest that the guidelines for future cottage industry policy were created in the late 1940s by only a handful of people, chiefly by Laine, Salervo and Kontturi, these CIPC members are of interest also as historical and political actors, who sought to organise and express their relation to the changing time. Consciousness of the past and of the break between the past and the present is apparent in their articles, and often these perceptions were further represented as characteristic of the idea of cottage industry.

In this part of the study, I first take a look at cottage industry as a field of expertise that was increasingly marked with interests in ethnological study and cultural heritage. Concentrating on the article material provided in the magazine *Kotiteollisuus*, I then move on to analyse how these texts mirror the drastic turn that stemmed from the experience of cultural loss as was detailed by the CIPC members. The committee worked from 1944 until 1949, but I have included volumes of the magazine from its beginning in 1936 in my scope of interest. This extension is relevant considering that the CIPC continued the work begun by the committee in 1936. Yrjö Laine had a crucial role in this continuity, both as the editor-in-chief of *Kotiteollisuus* and as the chair of the cottage industry committee of 1936–1946. Most often Laine but also Salervo, Kontturi and Vuolanto expressed their conceptions about the idea of cottage industry and about related themes on the pages of the magazine alongside their committee work. With a few exceptions, here I bring up articles that were authored by this committee membership.

[77] Yrjö Laine changed his surname to Laine-Juva in 1955 (see Figure 19).

6.1 Special expertise and the space of hardship experience

In the first decades of the 20th century, cottage industry became a distinct topic of expertise and professionalism that was adopted by public administration and that was elemental for the numerous associations that typically also ran cottage industry schools. In the 1930s, a generational change started to take place at the organisational and administrative level of cottage industry. This was not only marked with the stepping aside of von Wright in 1928 but more palpably with the passing away of Chief Inspector of Cottage Industry Kuoppamäki (Mäkinen) in 1935 (von Wright died in 1934). The change that came about was grasped by Yrjö Laine, who succeeded Kuoppamäki as the Chief Inspector and was appointed to chair the new cottage industry committee of 1936. In the same year, Laine started to chief edit the magazine *Kotiteollisuus* (preceded by *Käsiteollisuus* and *Lastu ja Lanka*) and continued in this task to the end of his life. A trained architect, Laine even drew plans for several cottage industry school buildings alongside his duties as Head of the Cottage Industry Department. As a student of architecture, Laine had taken special interest in vernacular architecture and in the interior design of peasant houses, and he had previously published in the magazine *Käsiteollisuus*. (E.K. 1942, 63–64; Ylönen 2003, 102, 123.) In his initial editorial for *Kotiteollisuus*, Laine embraced the new start that would follow the generational change. Commemorating the past 30 years that had lapsed since the 1906 events in Kuopio and since the beginning of Kuoppamäki's career, Laine bound his viewpoints to the future of cottage industry. In the editorial, he strongly articulated the generational transition:

> The generation that thirty years earlier was young now looks for who it can hand over its legacy. Today we cannot hide from the fact that the young who are mature enough to take this legacy are too few. […]
>
> It is now time for the young generation to decipher lines for the future of our cottage industry and to create a programme, according to which its lifework shall be carried out. Our young generation that already has stepped into active work no longer deals in the meaning of cottage industry for our time, nor does it doubt its [generation's] possibilities of living in the future. Its [generation's] personal experience has cemented the conviction that especially now cottage industry acts as a counterbalance to all that loose, shallow and light that so easily attracts the youth of our time, i.e. to that food for life that cannot give the young any tools to survive in life on one's own. In that [generation] lives strong the conviction that the continuity maintained by the previous generations shall not break for its part; it does not want to be worse than its predecessors: it wants to learn all their skills and to teach them to those coming after. (Laine 1936, 5–6.)

Generational experience was emphasised, especially with regard to comprehending cottage industry as a balancing cultural force that would prevent youth culture from becoming superficial, which Laine refered to as 'loose, shallow and light', by supporting the continuity of crafts and craft skills. Continuity was apparent also in the report of the Laine committee (KM1946:24, mon.) that followed the well-trodden path of the previous committees. The committee mapped and documented the field by collecting statistics, international compar-

isons were carried out again, and the efforts of various associations for the improvement of cottage industry were analysed. Plans on the organisation of the sale of cottage industry products continued on the once approved basis of centralising the organisation of retail. On the other hand, the Laine committee also addressed topics such as copyright and the need for protection of cottage industry products. Indicative of the ambition to stabilise cottage industry at the administration level, the report also brought up the possibility of appointing a permanent planning organ, a Board of Cottage Industry to support the work of the Cottage Industry Office that already steered and monitored the field.

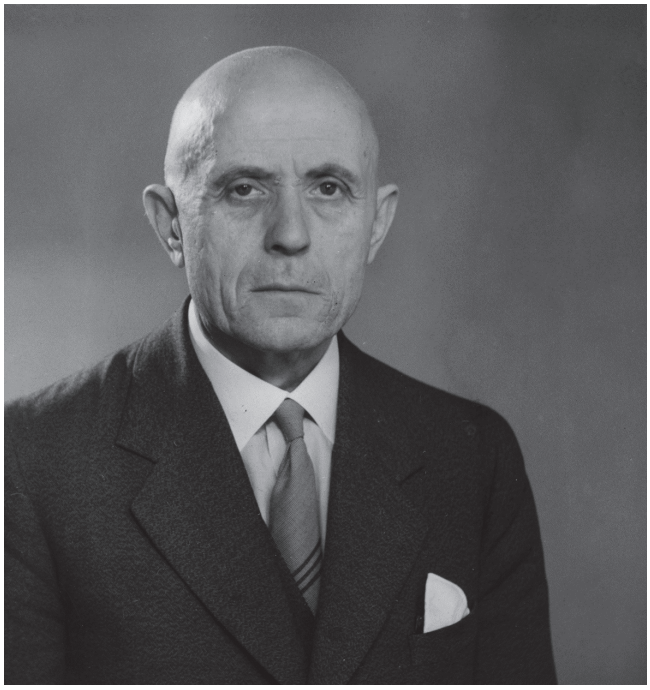

Figure 19 Yrjö Valdemar Laine (from 1955 Laine-Juva, 1897–1969) graduated in architecture at Helsinki University of Technology in 1921. Having substituted in educational duties at the university, Laine worked as an independent architect from 1931 to 1935 before starting in the post of Chief Inspector of Cottage Industry. Laine's expertise on peasant building and interior traditions reflected in many of his articles. Although Laine emphasised on many occasions the importance of developing cottage industries into a more professional trade, he actively promoted the combination of cottage industry with ethnological knowledge, local heritage work and with tourism (Picture source: SKMA).

The Laine committee report illustrates the progressive ambitions concerning Finnish cottage industries: there was a need to revise the line of cottage industry policy, not least regarding the definition of this field due to 'the fast economic and technical development of the last decades' (KM1946:24, mon., 1). The committee did thorough work in creating an accurate definition of cottage industry that then was later copied to the CIPC report. Novelties of the early 20th century were recognised in planning the future of cottage industries; broader

access to the use of electricity, for one, was considered a forthcoming possibility in the mechanisation of cottage industries (KM1949:34, 62). In general, the late 1930s seemed to give reason for optimism in advancing cottage industries, and therefore the outbreak of the Second World War most likely caused a huge setback for the plans of the Laine committee. The committee work was put on hold and was accomplished first in 1946, ten years after it had been appointed. Before the war, there had been plans for a new national cottage industry exhibition to be held in Helsinki in 1943 or 1944, and even the export of cottage industry products seemed to have strengthened its foothold during the 1930s with a permanent trade office and a showroom for Finnish cottage industry products established in New York in 1936. (Blomstedt 1938, 40–42; [Rintakoski] 1936, 144–145; SKMA, Collections of Yrjö Laine-Juva, H.)

The value of traditional style of design was realised as a marketing asset, but the originality of crafts was considered important, for example, with requirements for authenticity and quality labels. The strong emphasis that was put on continuity and cherishing the past is remarkable, because it seemed to change the perspective on rural crafts, which were increasingly viewed as culturally valuable heritage. Laine's initial editorial shows that instead of justifying cottage industry solely as income generation, this craft practice was explicated in the first instance as cultural work that was also termed as folk art:

> The natural mission of our cottage industry work is to teach [the people] to know and to keep the inherited forms, to keep them [the crafts] as good and noble as possible.
>
> Or do we not believe that such folk art that has created the linens of Häme, baskets of Siikajoki, the cloaks of Luumäki, patterned mittens of Kymenlaakso and Pohjanmaa [Ostrobothnia], and birch bark works of Keski-Suomi [Central Finland], would not have redeemed themselves the right to live also in this time. Surely we believe that. We perceive, possibly at least feel unconsciously, that there is something glorified, something artistically fully developed in these works, something that shall not be harmed by the passing trends of the day. Their secret is not solely in the form or the colour, but in these [works] there lives a part of this nation's [*kansan*] soul, something that will find its way to the Finnish heart as long as such will beat in this country. It is *our* duty to keep them for our posterity, for it shall not be done by any other nation on our behalf. (Laine 1936, 6; emphasis as in the original text.)

A vigorous take on heritage policy, this text excerpt is indicative of the role that ethnological expertise achieved in cottage industry work, as rural craft culture had turned into an object of the specialist's gaze. Along with the rise of the National Romantic movement and Karelianism at the turn of the 20th century, the relation between development of cottage industries and ethnological study of vernacular material culture grew closer, especially as the ethnological and folkloristic disciplines came up with the collecting and indexing of the nationalised antiquities' (Anttonen 2005, 79). 'Development' was surely seen as the most important word to term the future of cottage industry, but 'tradition' had become as important a term for discussing the past and the continuity of crafts and craft skills. This kind of dichotomy between past and future was apparent already in the 1873 committee report, which had recalled with nostalgia the times 'when

farmer's daughters would come to the manor house to get their cloth striped' or how the 'lieutenant colonel's coat was of "*homespun wool, home-woven cloth*"' (KM1873:1, 12).

In the CIPC report of 1949, the knowledge of craft traditions and vernacular design was underlined especially with regard to cottage industry education and design. The committee hurried the compiling of a specific textbook for cottage industry schools that would include knowledge of history, ethnography and geography and information about 'typical cottage industry products and production areas'; as such, the book would have actually appeared similar to the original conception of statistics as it was perceived in the first part of the 19th century (see chapter 4.1) (KM1949:34, mon., 34). Designs intended for cottage industry production were supposed to be created by professional designers, and in their education special attention was to be given to vernacular design, on which the models of new cottage industry products were supposed to be based. In the cottage industry schools, the rural people were thus educated to make use of designs that were to represent the authentic, vernacular Finnish style. (KM1949:34, mon., 39–40.)

Furthermore, in his 1936 editorial, Laine recognised traditional crafts as originating from some previous era that nevertheless should be cherished 'also in this time'. Categorising craft techniques by the regions where they were made, Laine could have referred to scholarly (ethnological) demarcations of folk craft culture, but it must be noted that similar categorisations had been used in creating statistics of cottage industry production. The use of questionnaires has been a seminal tool for ethnological disciplines, but as the 1887 enquiry showed, questionnaires had been used repeatedly to gather information about the practice of cottage industries. In a similar manner to the mapping of regional cottage industries, the collection of folklore then served the modernist nation-building process, as has been explicated by Anttonen: 'In the 19th century nation building processes, the collecting of information about that which was regarded as premodern became a legitimate activity in the making of the modern, especially in the definition of the national territory and in the writing and representation of its history' (Anttonen 2005, 82).

Truly, the interrelation between the political tradition of cottage industry and the emergence of ethnological disciplines is intriguing due to some similarities in the practices of creating knowledge and, focally, due to the similarity in their objects of interest. What is more to the point, however, is the similar intention to operate on the threshold between temporal categories of past and future, and quintessentially between the temporal notions of premodernity and modernity. With regard to Anttonen's summary on the intentions of the collecting and archiving activity of the ethnological disciplines as 'a comment on modernity, on one's own society, and its politics of culture' (Anttonen 2005, 80), it is remarkable that cottage industry appeared as the legitimate, administrative sphere of actualising such comments; as Laine maintained, cottage industry was to work as a counterbalance – as a cultural political offset, to which apprantly some Herderian ideals of the national soul hidden in vernacular expressions,

especially in the artefacts of the lower classes, had been adopted. Still, as the efforts to embrace technological innovations in cottage industry production would imply, the idea was not necessarily becoming any more conservative than it had been in its previous intentions to modernise the rural crofter; however, the original 19th-century vision of the smallholder who practised cottage industries appeared to drift further into the past.

During the 1940s, the ethnological viewpoints of the Cottage Industry Department[78] and of the CIPC were supported by Hulda Kontturi's expertise. Kontturi's master's studies had consisted of history, ethnology and sociology among other subjects, and before being employed in the Cottage Industry Department in 1940, she had worked for the ethnological department of the National Museum of Finland during 1935–1937, after which she worked for the Finnish Museum Association. Kontturi's main duties had included the cataloguing and organising of local museums, including the Sortavala local museum. Alongside her post as the Inspector of Women's Cottage Industry, Kontturi also worked as the secretary of the Finnish Museum Association, and in 1946 she moved to work full time for the association as the museum advisor. Although Kontturi left the inspector's office in 1945,[79] she still continued to work in the CIPC. (SKMA, Collections of Hulda Kontturi, H.; Vilkuna 1998, 53–55, 75.)

The administrative expertise of cottage industry was thus entwined with ethnological professionalism. But the act of objectifying rural crafts or craft techniques as premodern or as traditional with the support of ethnological and historical professionalism did not come without consequences for cottage industry. It seems that the practice itself started to be distanced beyond the temporal boundary of modernity into the past. The contradiction reflected directly as internal, conceptual ambiguities regarding the notion of cottage industry: traditional techniques and original materials were required while at the same time cottage industries were supposed to keep up with development and even to embrace new fields of production and manual work. Also, the gap between the specialising sphere of cottage industry administration with ethnological knowledge and the lifeworld of the people who were supposed to practise those industries only seemed to widen. On the one hand, rural common people were romantically viewed as the carriers of the nation's cultural soul but on the other hand, they were seen as in need of control and education. Manuscripts of speeches and presentations in Kontturi's personal archive show how the knowledge of old techniques of moulding fibres was found to be fundamentally

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78 The Cottage Industry Office, established in 1908, was transferred under the Board of Agriculture in 1926, and in 1938 the Office was re-established as the Cottage Industry Department. It was led by Yrjö Laine until 1942 when he moved to work in the Ministry of Trade and Industry. During 1943–1944, the Department was then led by Arne Appelgren (1902–1991), also an active member of the Finnish Museum Association; Appelgren left the office to work as the intendant of Ostrobothnian Museum in Vaasa. Since 1945 the Department was then led by Toivo Salervo. (Laine et al [1969], 15–16; *Kauppa- ja teollisuusministeriö* 1963, 193–198; Ylönen 2003, 101–102; Vilkuna 1998, 51.)

79 Kontturi was then followed by Toini-Inkeri Kaukonen, whose PhD dissertation in ethnology had handled the cultivation of flax and hemp in Finland (Henriksson 1946, 79).

important in solving the post-war deficiency, but the documents also indicate that as an expert on traditional textile techniques, Kontturi advocated cottage industry as a social political measure, with which 'persons who have, for one reason or another, strayed away from the usual ways of the society' could again be made into 'viable citizens' (SKMA, Collections of Hulda Kontturi, M.).

Figure 20 Hulda Aliina Kontturi (1906–1993), Inspector of Women's Cottage Industry (1941–1945) and the museum advisor for the Finnish Museum Association (1946–1949) was appointed the rector of the Helsinki Craft Teacher Institute (*Helsingin käsityönopettajaopisto*) in 1949, where she worked until retirement. Collections in Kontturi's personal archive indicate that she gave numerous presentations about craft traditions, especially about textiles, for example about national costumes, to the National Coalition Party's women's organisation in Helsinki, and more generally about her inspection work to the Zonta Club in Stockholm. She wrote often for the popular women's magazine *Kotiliesi*. Kontturi took active part in the activities of the Lotta Svärd organisation. The certificate from 1935 shows that she took part in air surveillance courses, which was one of her duties during the war-time. In the picture taken in 1940 Kontturi is dressed in the Lotta Svärd uniform. (Source: SKMA; SKMA, Collections of Hulda Kontturi, H.)

Although craft traditions won more attention as valuable cultural heritage, cottage industry was continuously recommended as the salient subsidiary trade of the smallholder. In Laine's articles, this practice was exemplified on the concrete level with lists of collectable natural materials and their correct use (Laine 1938, 3–4), and he even presented a correct way of establishing a small farm home that would practise cottage industries (Laine 1937a, 25–27). It was underlined how important it was to cultivate the people's entrepreneurial spirit and to keep the people in 'the healthy and natural conditions of the countryside' (Laine 1937b, 65), although the realities of the poorest would not have been quite that picturesque. In the article discussing 'today's issues' of cottage industry, Laine explicated the viewpoint of self-sufficiency that was inherently attached to cottage industry practice:

> Concerning the society, it is most preferable that cottage industry trades are in the first place promulgated in the worst areas of seasonal work and unemployment, because where self-help ends there charity begins, and those bitter experiences that have been gained everywhere where *questions of unemployment have been tried to be solved with financial aid* should not be repeated. (Laine 1937b, 65; emphasis as in the original text.)

Although cottage industry as a historical term has often been overseen, a look at a recent study nevertheless shows that these trades were sometimes practised in the depression of the 1930s. Recollections of oral history in Virkkunen's (2010) study on the experience of poverty indicate that subsidiary fields of work were important to overcome distress. However, these most often included logging, forestry, and work at construction and relief work sites that mainly employed men. (Virkkunen 2010, 148–151.) Country women of limited means, on the other hand, more often sought income in cleaning and laundry work, in farm work on larger estates, through picking berries or by giving treatments such as massage and blood-letting. However, some lines of craftwork, such as sewing, knitting, spinning and broom-making, were brought up as sources of income. Sometimes natural materials, such as bulrush and willow bark, were collected as sources of income (Virkkunen 2010, 196–198). Along with the more popular subsidiary fields of work, Virkkunen also found evidence that typical men's cottage industries were practised, such as making skis, small sleighs, shingle baskets, brushes, wooden dishes and holders, and other domestic utensils. Furthermore, work as a shoemaker or as a smith was included in the list of these more miscellaneous jobs. But, as was typical for many of the women and children, their products were often peddled in exchange for groceries, such as bread and grain, instead of money. (Virkkunen 2010, 214–215.)

The dichotomy of poverty that had been applied to the 19th-century Finnish poor relief policies, the categorisation of the needy either to 'the honourable poor' or to 'the dishonourable poor', continued to influence poor relief in the 1930s with norms of decency and morality that worked as indicators of eligibility for receiving help. Poverty continued to be considered a moral issue, and it was seen as a consequence of immorality, drinking or idleness. Asking for help and the giving of poor relief was therefore quintessentially a power relation, which applied also to unofficial modes of help, for example when cottage dwellers begged for help in larger farmhouses. Causing indignity for the one asking for help, by bashing or advising the person to better economy or higher morality, was a typical way of using power. On the more official level, the reception of social aid could have led, for example, to the loss of the right to vote in municipal elections. (Virkkunen 2010, 223–231.) Accordingly, being humiliated was a typical stigmatising sensation of poverty and the fear of humiliation was efficiently attached to asking for help that further fuelled the ideal of surviving on one's own. (Virkkunen 2010, 242–248.) In this regard then, the practice of cottage industries was justified as a method to avoid the humiliation of asking for help or as was put in the CIPC's report, to 'avoid falling on the society's liability' (KM1949:34, mon., 67).

Bearing in mind the von Wright committee's comparisons on income generation of cottage industries on the one hand and railway construction work on the other hand, reassuring people that the cottage industry work would be of a more decent kind, it indeed seems that this idea of decency continued to legitimate cottage industry. The moral advantage of cottage industry was then, quite obviously, to keep the hands busy – to keep up the image of decency and independence through a strong work ethic, although these craft trades might otherwise have remained a source of rather scant income. The practice of cottage industries was clearly linked to what the 'honourable poor' was supposed to be like. Actually, in this way, the conception of 'the poor other' that often has evoked sensations of compassion and will to help on the one hand, but also condemnation and will to punish on the other hand (Virkkunen 2010, 223), probably served in recognising the person practising cottage industries as the 'cultural other', as the abstracted object of ethnological knowledge and the target of the practical measures of cottage industry policy.

The attitude of the late 19th-century upper-class beneficiary of poor relief work, the spirit of teaching the poor to help themselves, thus continued to create an essential part of the space of experience, on which the cottage industry policy was based. Repeating the advantages of cottage industry work – how it would create income and savings and maintain a proper work ethic, that it would enhance dexterity and sustain cultural continuity – probably reinforced the experience of benevolent development work without having to meet the living conditions of the landless or the smallholders, or *their* experience of practising cottage industries for the sake of putting bread on the table. It cannot be denied, however, that conditions were deciphered on the statistical level over and over again, although more often attention was focused on the ideals of country life that were attributed as authentic, traditional or, indeed, as decent.

Viewing the rural craft traditions in a certain ethnological framework could have helped in creating a holistic representation of the past as the locus of culturally authentic craft skills and domestic idyll – as following some 19th-century Topelian kind of bourgeois ideals of decent and modest rural ways of life – that would serve in the abstraction of a collective history transcending the diversity of historical experience. However, it was possibly even easier to cast that holistic view to the future. Looking to the future of cottage industry in the mid-1930s, Laine actually emphasised equality among 'the cottage industry people':

> When we today depart to a new journey let us be tied together by the sense of affinity so tightly that the flaws in the character of each of us shall not hinder us from seeing not only the details but the whole, of which we are not but a feeble, small part. Seen through these eyes we no longer are old or young, women or men, seasoned or beginners, rich or poor, but we are equal toilers in the fields of our cottage industry, *equal*, for each of us is doing their best at their share of the strip. Penetrated with this thought, supporting each other, we shall today depart to a new road. (Laine 1936, 6; emphasis as in the original text.)

Only a few years later, following the outbreak of the Winter War, cottage industry work was attached with notions of shared experience of loss, and again,

with heroic survival of the individual on 'his share of strip' underlining the ideal of self-sufficiency. Indeed, already in early 1940, Laine turned his attention to the importance of using cottage industry in the employment of disabled veterans and referred again to the dangers of financial aid:

> The invalidity pension, as needed as it is in the economic sense, can affect some of its recipients in a demoralising way. They [disabled veterans] should not get the impression that they now are on charity: that insults their sense of dignity, which is not meant with the invalidity pension. Experiences of our care of the disabled veterans up to now have shown that this demoralising effect can be even greater among their families than among themselves. Children who do not see work at their homes cannot prepare for the coming fight of life. They will not turn into useful citizens. […] These experiences force us now, while the care of disabled veterans is being rearranged, to take into account that we should not settle for paying the nation's debt of honour to these disabled heroes by keeping them somehow alive till their grave, but instead we should see that their children can 'inherit the earth', it is, that they shall not only become young men and women mature for the fight of life, but also, if so is needed, they become heroes in their fathers' footsteps. Only then we can say that the offering of the disabled has fully borne its fruit for the fatherland. (Laine 1940a, 8–9.)

Although Laine did not dispute the value of the invalidity pension, he nevertheless insisted on the cottage industry practice as an educative method – or as a method approving the honourable citizenship of the disabled veteran and his children. Throughout the war years, the historically proven aspect of cottage industry as a practical social buffer, to which one resorted in society's hardships was solidified. Thus, as epochal and influential the Second World War turned out to be, from the viewpoint of cottage industry, it was also perceived as another crisis that the country had to come to terms with, especially on the level of people's everyday survival. In 1941, more attention was given to cottage industry expertise in reconstruction work; after all, experience of applying cottage industry in moments of trouble went back to the 1860s' Great Famine:

> Our cottage industry people have for their share had to cure the impairments inflicted on our people by wars, crop failures, and economic depressions, etc. on many occasions before this. Nursing the wounds hit by the Great Famine, we had to resort to the help of cottage industry, and among other things there were founded our itinerant cottage industry schools that then were like itinerant workhouses. Yet they are still working. (*Kotiteollisuustyön osuus jälleenrakennustyössä* 1941, 49.)

A man of practice, Laine took a strong position in his late 1940s' editorials and articles in politicking in favour of cottage industries and thus sought to strengthen the respective policy as a sector of its own. Laine actively wrote about acute issues concerning, for example, taxation of cottage industry production (Laine 1944b; Laine 1949b), about access to materials and the trade of materials important for cottage industries (Laine 1946b), and about the need for new cottage industry advisory offices (Laine 1946a). He also paid attention to practical aesthetic questions, such as the composition of cottage industry shop windows (Laine 1948c), and the correct decoration of cottage industry products (Laine 1945).

The land acquisition process with its possible effects was acknowledged in many ways in the work of the CIPC, and it was reflected on the pages of *Ko-*

titeollisuus. The CIPC recommended that in the implementation of the settlement process, premises, land and woodlots should be reserved for the needs of cottage industry schools (KM1949:34, mon., 25–26). The magazine repeatedly demanded state-run cottage industry schools and especially a cottage industry teacher training institute for men (*Kotiteollisuusopetusko umpikujaan?* 1941; K. L. 1942). The need for cottage industry schools in the new settlement areas was emphasised by Laine on many occasions and he insisted that especially the youth should be trained in craft skills. Again, cottage industry was to offer 'an effective educative method both in the ethical and in the aesthetical sense' that would be significant in hindering the fleeing of the population from the countryside to the cities (*Kotiteollisuus ja nouseva polvi* 1944, 66). While the traditional craft skills were retrieved in order to fulfil the practical needs, the object of control was now seen particularly in the rural youth. The need to advance the craft skills of the young people to keep them away from urban centres was explicated by Kontturi in her 1946 article 'Cottage Industry as the Servant of Rural Population':

> Unfortunately, most of the population working in cottage industries resort to it only at times of need, their working skills are very weak and, thus, their income rates remain low. When this kind of unprofessional rural population moves to towns and centres, it remains fully dependent on seasonal work and creates in the society such unstable material that is difficult to control in economically and politically difficult times. With the help of well-considered measures that raise cottage industry, at least a part of this material could be tied to the countryside and many a small farmer could be helped in achieving more tolerable living conditions, and at the same time the young people's breaking away from home and moving to centres could be prevented. (Kontturi 1946, 3.)

Kontturi's expressions concerning the ones who practised cottage industries show clearly the positioning of the maker as the subject in need of control by his/her superiors. Moreover, Kontturi's remarks on the 'politically difficult times' and the instability of the societal 'material' underline the role of cottage industry as a direct political instrument in controlling the poor, the cultural or indeed the political other. In the immediate post-war years that incited the fear of communism as the risky political other, Kontturi, who had volunteered during the war in the Lotta Svärd organisation[80], seemed to advocate cottage industry as a tool for curbing the heated spirits with the old trick: by keeping the hands busy (SKMA, Collections of Hulda Kontturi, H.).

While discussing the many seemingly rather mundane topics in his articles, Laine brought up issues and viewpoints that express the manifold intentions attached to cottage industry either as an ideological constellation or more directly as a political programme that led to educating and controlling the rural

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80 Voluntary defence organisation for women, Lotta Svärd organisation worked during 1920–1944. Recognised as part of the political white (in the 1918 civil war, the parties in conflict were the white (right) and the red (left)), Lotta Svärd organisation worked parallel to the civil guards. The organisation trained volunteer women for various duties in, for example, provisioning, medication, signalling and air surveillance. In 1944 the organisation was closed down and the use of the uniform and the emblem was forbidden (see Kinnunen 2006; Pohls & Latva-Äijö 2009).

population. To this end, Laine made use of specific collective address. For example, in a 1944 editorial, most probably written by Laine, the role and challenges of the regional cottage industry associations were discussed. The text summarised the dynamic look to the future and the view of cottage industry not only as a sphere within the agricultural board of administration but more generally as a unity in the society that was underlined with such collective expressions as 'the cottage industry people' ('*kotiteollisuusväki*') or 'cottage industry circles' ('*kotiteollisuuspiirit*') that again blurred the limits between officials, teachers, entrepreneurs and individual makers: 'The cottage industry associations' agenda of tomorrow has been extensively discussed in the circles of cottage industry people' (*Kotiteollisuusyhdistykset* 1944, 15).

Laine's uniting form of address to the field of cottage industry is noteworthy. Already in his initial editorial in 1936, he had emphasised the notion of equality, and he continued to call for more inclusive practices especially at the level of the local associations' work. Although the people practising cottage industries were easily embraced with collective expressions there were difficulties in involving them in activities of the regional associations. This gave Laine reason to criticise the somewhat stale position of regional associations; he even accused certain societies of an old-fashioned conception of cottage industry as mere household tinkering. Laine for his part was convinced that cottage industry ought to be developed in a clearly entrepreneurial direction and he suggested that more practising craftworkers should participate in the associations:

> As much as the work of those who have actively promoted cottage industry for decades must be acknowledged, it cannot be denied that our cottage industry work could have more flexibly followed the demands of development, if the share of those actually working in cottage industry trades would have been stronger in the associations than it is at the time. Adherents of the old-fashioned conception mentioned in the beginning have reckoned that the matter would be attended, although artisans are not actively participating in cottage industry associations' work; some have even suspected that this would develop cottage industry associations into cottage industrial trade unions. But what would the agricultural societies be like, if they would be led by Sunday garden farmers, or craft and factory associations, if they would not chiefly be attended by the craftsmen? (*Kotiteollisuusyhdistykset* 1944, 15.)

Laine's critique points to the tradition of cottage industry associations as a type of rural social club, the memberships of which had likely been collected from country towns' 'social elite' including teachers, officials and landowning farmers who were interested in crafts and craft heritage, but who were also keen to actualise their philanthropy by recommending crafts as self-help work. As it happens, these associations did not attract the makers or the craft entrepreneurs of the countryside, who, according to Laine, were increasingly finding other associations through which they could watch their interests:

> Finding their way to the *economic* societies of their field the bonds of those practising crafts in the countryside to the *ideological* cottage industry association will loosen, because it has not been able to help them effectively enough in their troubles. (*Kotiteollisuusyhdistykset* 1944, 16; emphasis as in the original text.)

Labelling the cottage industry associations directly as ideological societies, Laine challenged them to improve their practical level of action. At the end of the editorial, the writer emphasised that times were changing and so should the way cottage industry had been attended: it should be recognised altogether as a more professional field of work.

Despite this apparent willingness to renew conceptions of cottage industry, Laine was convinced of the importance of continuity. Approving the need to react to changing times, he called for changes and development at the organisational level, but at least as strongly he relied on the tradition and continuation inherited in the institutionalised forms of cottage industry. The established position of cottage industry institution with the administrative office, the Cottage Industry Department, and the central organisation, the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry Associations, also gave reason to take pride in this structural development that had supported the tradition of cottage industry policy to continue despite industrialisation. In his editorial of autumn 1948, Laine discussed the contemporary challenges that the settlement process had brought along and appreciated the growing organisational cooperation that possibly better incorporated those parties to whom cottage industry closely applied.

> At this point of time when the ongoing settlement activity quintessentially changes the structure of our agriculture, and the process of change in the rural trade and commerce requires special effectiveness from the cottage industry trades, the mentioned centralisation of cottage industry work will have even more significance, especially after both small farmers' associations have expressed their will to join the Central Organisation [of Cottage Industry Associations] (Laine 1948a, 1).

Institutional continuity and the repeating procedures involved in committee work were likely to strengthen the historical consciousness related to cottage industry. The role of cottage industry in solving crises was phrased repeatedly in connection to reconstruction work; relevance of the experience of the Great Famine was brought up again in Laine's editorial of 1942: 'Taught by the experience of the Great Famine our cottage industry work was advanced in a way that had great influence until the time preceding the war' (Laine 1942a, 1). Here, Laine explicitly stressed the importance of the special expertise gained through that initial experience, which nevertheless was in peril of being forgotten due to the years of economic growth of the late 1930s:

> In the good years of the recent time it was forgotten that craft skills cannot be retained in the people unless they are especially cherished and if in this development work *real professionalism and expertise* are not given the leading position. (Laine 1942a, 2; emphasis as in the original text.)

When in the post-war circumstances the tens of thousands of new smallholdings craved subsidiary income sources, this gave Laine cogent reason to emphasise the historically proven role of cottage industry in the settlement process: 'It is most natural', Laine wrote, 'that these [subsidiary] trades are first of all searched in the fields of cottage industries that for centuries have been naturally connected to agriculture as its subsidiary trades' (Laine 1948a, 1). At the

end of this editorial, Laine connected the post-war situation directly to the experience of the Great Famine, convincing readers that cottage industry would again bring relief to the acute crisis caused by the war:

> The wounds caused by the years of Great Famine were then effectively healed by extending cottage industry work substantially. To heal the wounds inflicted by the war and the economic depression it is wise to draw upon the same aid. (Laine 1948a, 2.)

The cumulative experience of cottage industry policy had increasingly turned into a matter of expertise and historical knowledge – into a political tradition. The administrative and organisational practices that had been adopted early created continuity on the practical level of advocating the idea of cottage industry, but exactly the notion of a severe experience of loss, quintessentially that of the 1860s' Great Famine, served as the cornerstone for continuing cottage industry policy also in the post-war conditions. Accordingly, in the post-war situation, historical consciousness created the basis of the idea of cottage industry.

6.2 Consciousness of the past and the sublime historical experience

Disparity between the conditions in which cottage industries were supposed to be practised and the experience of practising cottage industry policy is remarkable in consideration of the historical consciousness of cottage industry. The continuity of administrative practices, such as compiling statistics and monitoring the field of cottage industry production, demonstrates how the field grew into a professional expertise of its own kind, although loaning from national economics and, exceedingly, from ethnological disciplines. Along with these, cottage industry gradually grew into a topic of historical knowledge. Consciousness and knowledge of the past were, however, mostly constituted within the sphere of cottage industry, so to speak, as an extended justification for cottage industry policy. Historical reflection was important for the adherents of cottage industry, although this does not suggest that cottage industry as such would have been a history discipline in any academic sense.

However, academic historical research had an essential role in the historical justification of cottage industry. Expertise on ethnology and vernacular architecture at the Cottage Industry Department was secured by Kontturi, Laine and Salervo, but support of historical professionalism in cottage industry was found – as in the manner of following traditions of collegial practice – at the Department of Household Management. Head of this department, Katri Laine,[81] had investigated the history of the Otavala school for flax cultivation

[81] Katri Laine (1891–1960) worked for the Board of Agriculture as Head of the Department of Household Management (*Maataloushallituksen kotitalousosasto*) during 1937–1957. Possible family relations between Yrjö Laine and Katri Laine are not known. Instead, the archival collections of Hulda Kontturi show that Kontturi and

and spinning in her doctoral dissertation (Laine 1935). Based on this study, she published an article scrutinising cottage industry policies and education in the 18th and the early 19th century in *Kotiteollisuus* (Laine 1940). Also, reading the 1942 article demanding the creation of a cottage industry teacher training institute for men, it seems that the author behind the initials K. L. was Katri Laine, considering that the argument of historical justification of the text was largely built on reading the 1873 cottage industry committee report (K. L. 1942).

Based on this particular article, it also appears that it was Katri Laine's historical studies that gave remarkable substance to the CIPC's historical justification of cottage industry. Indeed, the list of 'the notable men at the head of the state's monetary institution, such as Lars Gabriel von Haartman and J. V. Snellman' hails directly from Katri Laine's article. The magazine arguably formed a salient forum of discussion and exchange: not only were the actions of committees and administrative departments reported in the magazine, but articles published in this paper were also observed in committee work. Moreover, the historical legitimation that the listed names gave to cottage industry was phrased explicitly in the article: 'Already these names guarantee for cottage industry teaching the status of honour that it ought to have in the nation's economic life and in the education of the people' (K. L. 1942, 43). However, instead of concentrating on these historical authorities, the article focused on the 1873 committee and its initiatives to establish a state-run cottage industry school for men, but, interestingly, the author did not identify any of that committee's members. At the time of writing the article, the more prominent names of von Haartman, Snellman, Cygnaeus, Meurman and Topelius apparently gave more 'honour' to cottage industry than those of Conradi, Hedman, Jansson, Nylander, Olsoni, Wahren, Wikberg or Ignatius, who had compiled the 1873 committee report.

Clearly, the historical justification of cottage industry policy in the circumstances of the reconstruction period was based on a practice similar to other contemporary fields of administration, in which the value of historical continuity was connected to political planning: legitimation for policy planning was found in historical milestones. Historical research thus answered the need to maintain the perception of national continuity as a part of the post-war reconstruction process. (Kettunen 1994, 75–86.) An expert on the history of cottage industry and the domestic sphere in general, Katri Laine belonged to the patriotic historians who had started their research work before the Second World War and who had found inspiration in the 19th-century Fennoman and patriotic icons such as Snellman, Topelius and Runeberg; as Laine articulated in her article, the characters she named gave established historical glory to cottage industry. Furthermore, Katri Laine's conservative, 'Christian idealist nationalism' appeared also in her activity in the Lotta Svärd organisation; alongside her office work, Laine wrote her historical study on that organisation, although she did not have the time to finish the work. (Kinnunen 2005, 245–247.)

Katri Laine were in correspondence in the 1940s. (Lähdeoja 1970, 365–366; SKMA, Collections of Hulda Kontturi.)

Historical studies of the inter-war period (1918–1939) slanted by patriotic tones have later been termed as fruits of 'the black period of nationalist bluster, narrow-mindedness and intolerance' (Ahtiainen 1994, 21; transl. EK) that in hindsight gave reason to deem all pre-war historical studies as partial or unreliable. On the other hand, the patriotic and conservative biases were later (over)compensated with studies that sought strictly to apply neutral objectivity in interpretation. Taking as an example historical studies of Russification policies, Ahtiainen has pointed out how the overly neutralising interpretations caused the ignorance of the experience of the historical actor: 'in research the emotional sensations and experience of the persons of that period were not given any significance as historical reality. They were replaced with jurisprudential scrutiny and with theories of political science' (Ahtiainen 1994, 29). Against this historiographical frame, it can be seen that cottage industry policy was legitimated in the CIPC report based on the then contemporary tendencies in historical research, in which recognition of political traditions and administrative continuity, as well as the patriotic and conservative tones, was considered important. Still, instead of accusing the Cottage Industry Production Committee of foul nationalism or of a backward-looking reactionary tendency because of their historical claim, it is more of interest to look at how the relation between the past and the future was generally negotiated on the pages of *Kotiteollisuus*. Indeed, with regard to Ahtiainen's notion about the historical actor's sensations, it is striking how in the articles in *Kotiteollisuus*, the authors' feelings of the past are apparent to the extent that it cannot be ignored. Actually, the historical actors' writings about moods and feelings relating to temporal breaks and to continuities offer a source to analyse the motivation that drove them in their cottage industry development work in the time of returning to peace and in the process of stepping into modern time.

The traumatic experience of the 1860s' famine with its numerous casualties has been recollected in folklore and in oral history, and the memory of this tragedy was also made use of in the idealisation of the subject's survival in deficiency. The idea of cottage industry, with the repetitious references to the Great Famine, appears to have worked as an institutionalised memory of surviving the loss that crop failure inflicted. However, especially in the post-war years, the experience of a more concrete loss was entwined with the threat of cultural loss. Yrjö Laine had explicated that cottage industry as professional crisis management was built on experience of crises, but as this profession involved expertise on rural craft traditions, attention was focused on vernacular culture, which was considered endangered. Cottage industry had thus turned into a matter of history-oriented knowledge that sought to cherish the heritage of experience and that of certain craft culture. In this way, the idea of cottage industry – and the respective policy and administration – had developed into a field of expertise through which its adherents faced the challenge of temporal change, the transition to modernity. This teetering on the threshold between the past and the present made cottage industry parallel to ethnological disciplines, in which modernity was conceptualised as loss:

> Both the folklorist and the sociologist construct and represent their object of study within a general discourse of change and a grand narrative from tradition to modernity. Yet, one of the central ways in which the discourse on change is put forward in folklore studies is the conceptualization of the object of study within a discourse on modernity as loss. Loss of culture, loss of tradition, loss of identity, loss of traditional values, loss of morality, and loss of exceptionally valued folklore genres. (Anttonen 2005, 48.)

Anttonen's comparative view about the two disciplines' perspectives on change is not only illustrative of the historical nature of time that also concerns history of science, but also of the significance of the conceptualised temporal relations on how the change is made known. One viewpoint to change would be that of a process of modernisation, of development and progress, and another viewpoint on the phenomenon would be that of transformative change causing ultimate cultural loss. It is this sensation of loss, nevertheless, that fuels the desire to know the past. Constellations of knowledge about the past are not therefore only based on epistemological reasoning but also involve ontological aspects about sensations of being in time that also engender historical experience.

Several issues regarding the epistemological and, essentially, ontological conditions of historical research and knowledge were addressed by Ankersmit in his work on the sublime historical experience (2005). While it is not possible to dive in-depth into all those issues here, Ankersmit's theorisation on historical experience can be useful in unravelling the orientation to the past that characterised the idea of cottage industry. Ankersmit recognises three modes of historical experience. The first one refers to the objective historical experience, 'how people in the past itself – thus in what is the object of historical investigation – experienced their world themselves', and secondly, to subjective historical experience, with which he refers to the experience of past that, for example, the historian achieves through his/her research (Ankersmit 2005, 264). Thus, whereas the context of the objective historical experience would be that of a past present, subjective historical experience takes place in the present moment from which the past is investigated. The third type of historical experience, the sublime historical experience, is of a different kind because it is to be perceived as a fusion of the previous two. As Ankersmit points out, in the first two types the past and the present are considered as separate categories, but in the third type these are fused: 'sublime historical experience is no longer an experience of the distance between the past and the present' (Ankersmit 2005, 265). Furthermore, with this conceptualisation of historical experience, Ankersmit wishes to point out that consciousness of the past is not circumscribed to textbook knowledge, but instead it goes beyond perceptions of language and truth to emotions and sensations:

> Sublime historical experience is closer to moods and feelings than to knowledge; like them it is ontological rather than epistemological, and sublime historical experience is to be defined in terms of what you are rather than in terms of what you know, what knowledge you have. (Ankersmit 2005, 225.)

The emotional connection to the past and the essential role of feelings for the idea of cottage industry were exemplified in Laine's 1936 editorial. It is intriguing how he sought to grasp in words the sensations that he connected to products of craft heritage, the keeping of which was considered a main intention of cottage industry policy:

> *We perceive*, possibly at least *feel unconsciously*, that there is *something glorified, something artistically fully developed* in these works, *something that shall not be harmed* by the passing trends of the day. Their *secret* is not solely in the form or the colour, but in these [works] there lives *a part of this nation's [kansan] soul, something that will find its way to the Finnish heart* as long as such will beat in this country. (Laine 1936, 6.)

Of the CIPC committee members publishing in *Kotiteollisuus*, Toivo Salervo[82] excelled in compiling historical overviews of the development of craft-work, in which the emotional bond to the past flourished. Through rich narratives, he offered the reader the possibility to easily adopt stories about the past of craft-work that he then connected to contemporary challenges in cottage industry. In an article called 'About Dexterity Training' (Salervo 1946, 60–64) he gave a history of craft skills from their heyday in the undated past to the present moment disrupted by industrial novelties and the post-war struggles. By following a trajectory of specialisation and technical development, Salervo started his article by recalling the time when everything was done with one's own hands. Delineating crafts by gender, he explained how skills were transferred in paternal and maternal lines: every boy had to be able to make and repair tools, vehicles and furniture, and every girl needed to know how to look after the cattle, the home and the children, and to make all the linens and clothes needed. As an outcome of generational accumulation of skills, specialised craft trades emerged that often flourished in certain regions. (Salervo 1946, 60–61.) Reminiscent of an ethnological geography lecture, Salervo listed how craft trades had specialised and concentrated in Karelian towns and villages (the article was published in a special issue on cottage industries in West Karelia):

> People from Kyyrölä were famous for their pottery, Valkjärvi for its vehicles. Säkkijärvi had its special sleighs and high skills in making wooden dishes and boats. Dishes, ladles and spoons were also made in Ylämaa. People from Kirvu were skilled in making felt boots, people from Antrea skilled in making shingle baskets and those from Lemi in weaving root baskets. People from Koivisto were famous for making

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82 Architect Toivo Salervo (until 1906 Salenius, 1888–1977) worked as a lecturer in Jyväskylä teacher training seminar in 1913–1918 and as a teacher of drawing and carpentry in Jyväskylä secondary school during 1915–1919. In 1919 Salervo started to work at the Board of Education when he was appointed Inspector of Drawing, Carpentry and Penmanship; in 1931 Salervo created the first official type letters to be used in teaching writing in schools. Already during his time in Jyväskylä, Salervo was involved in cottage industry promotion work as he chaired the Cottage Industry Association of Central Finland during 1914–1918. Since 1934 Salervo was elected repeatedly as a substitute member of the Cottage Industry Delegation, and in 1945 he became head of the Cottage Industry Department. In 1948 Salervo was nominated the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry Associations' first *pääoltermanni*, the chief alderman, or the eldest of the guild, applying terminology of the historical guild system. (*Toivo Salervo* 1945, 10; Salervo 1932; Laine 1948b; Henriksson [1944]; Ylönen 2003, 102.)

> boats, people from Metsäpirtti famous for making wooden dishes, and from Nuijamaa one could get good sleighs. Wives and maidens from Joutseno excelled in the field of decorative works, and the weaving women from Luumäki and Säkkijärvi excelled with the precious blankets. Skills were passed on from one generation to another. (Salervo 1946, 61.)

Although Salervo's text appreciated the increase in skills across the generations, he nevertheless saw that the specialisation of craft trades decreased the level of skills achieved in homes. But the real change came with industrial production. It brought to homes foreign influence that 'lacked the warming traditional basis and family historical interest that the products made by fathers and mothers, by grandpas and grannies, or by aunts, used to have' (Salervo 1946, 61). The decadence of skills that industrialisation caused was then connected with the need to promote cottage industry. However, despite this connection, Salervo avoided using the term in his narratives and instead talked generally about crafts and skills. In contrast to Salervo's affectionate explanations about craft traditions, there appears to be a sharp turn from nostalgic recall of ancient craft skills to cottage industry rationalism in Salervo's tone of writing, when his historical overview took him to the present. Bringing up the effects of the settlement process, he reasserted the economic importance of cottage industry. Having reminded readers of the lost craft skills, he called for a raised level of cottage industry production that would increase national competitiveness and could even lead to the export of these products:

> That [competiveness] claims for high craft skills and for first-class conditions of dexterity. […] That is needed now more than ever – not only because small farm homes can support their income with craft-work but, in general, because only *with ample, competitive and high-quality production can we reach economic wellbeing again*, and thus dexterity and resourcefulness in practical working are of first-rate importance. Have we considered these matters enough? (Salervo 1946, 63; emphasis as in the original text.)

The contradiction between discussing the past and the present is remarkable considering the use of the concept of cottage industry. Craftwork termed as cottage industry is represented by Salervo as a contemporary matter that was connected with terms such as 'competitive production' and 'economic wellbeing'. Only a few paragraphs earlier, Salervo had described domestic craftwork in a way that dissipated terms of modern economy. Instead, the paragraph was filled with emotions attached to home-made crafts:

> Bought socks felt colder than those made of homespun wool of one's own sheep, knitted by the beloved hands. Bought cloths and towels did not prove as durable as those hand-woven of home-grown and moulded flax. Bought axe shaft did not fit the hand and thus was not as efficient to use as the one carved for the use of just those hands. And the bought tub would sooner break into a pile of staves than the one made for the use of one's own family, not to mention how the maker gladly hid the expression of one's feelings in the object meant for use by the beloved hands, pursuing beauty that cold mass production lacked. (Salervo 1946, 62.)

Salervo's style of presenting historical overviews was sometimes close to naivety and the texts rather close to children's stories entailing moral lessons. Obvi-

ously, the focal point of Salervo's article is about embracing 'the before' or 'the past' as the locus of primordial dexterity. The quintessential character of 'the past' is that it is lost; the past dexterity needed to be 'returned to' in order to achieve wellbeing 'again'. Indeed, it seems that while the person practising cottage industries was required to work within a frame of competitive markets, s/he also was supposed to build an emotional bond to the past and to the domestic craft practices – to take a stand in the present and in the past at the same time, so to speak. Thus, the past appeared not only to have been an object of knowledge but also a motive of experience.

With consideration of Ankersmit's notion of the sublime historical experience as closer to moods and feelings than to trite argumentation, the programmatic will of the adherents of cottage industry to cherish the connection to the past could thus even be conceived of as an ontological perspective of the past. The nostalgic, more or less historically correct, recollections of past craft skills served other than merely informative ends; Salervo's texts that typically included affective passages passed on to the reader values of cottage industry – one of the essential values was indeed to appreciate the past. In the CIPC report, there was devoted a section on 'edification action' (KM1949:34, mon., 66–67), and in *Kotiteollisuus* Reino Vuolanto, secretary of the CIPC and the executive manager of the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry Associations, made explicitly clear the importance of propagating the idea of cottage industry. In his 1947 two-part article 'Cottage Industry Association's Propaganda and Cottage Industry Shop's Marketing' (Vuolanto 1947a, 29–31; Vuolanto 1947b, 41–43), Vuolanto defined propaganda as 'information and edification activity' and as 'advertising of an idea' and then summed his viewpoint: 'Propaganda means presenting facts in a pleasant form that serves the listener. We take self either the positive or negative stance to different things. About the importance of advancing cottage industry we all agree.' (Vuolanto 1947a, 31.)

In the first part of the article, Vuolanto then discussed the principles of the idea of cottage industry, one of which was to respect unique craft-work. This was nevertheless directly connected to economic activity, to the creation of income and new entrepreneurs. This duality of economic utility and uniqueness of handmade craftwork led him, in the end, to title cottage industry as the paramount idea:

> Hardly any idea has such great and good principles, the effect of which is strengthened in that working gives personal joy of work to anyone who starts to make these products and at the same time gives economic support in the form of sales income or savings. It [the idea] therefore has such great possibilities of success. […] An idea that can serve as many [social] strata as possible will succeed. And in my opinion this is the core of cottage industry propaganda. (Vuolanto 1947b, 43.)

Although an economist, Vuolanto did not consider the idea of cottage industry solely as an economic matter, but indeed saw its basis in the 'principles that create the psychological basis for cottage industry work' (Vuolanto 1947a, 29). As Salervo's nostalgic accounts of craft history show, texts appealed to the reader's emotional reception that called for the reader's capability to relate to

the generational continuity of craft skills. With the practice of cottage industries, one could overcome the disparity between generational experiences, the transition period (*Übergangszeit*), with which Koselleck referred to the basic experience of the people of the era of modern history witnessing a transition in the perception of time, the break between the premodern and the modern times. But whereas the break between intergenerational experiences (*Erfahrungsbruch*) would have implied that 'lessons of the grandfathers seem to be already useless for the grandchildren' (Koselleck 2003, 297; transl. EK), the intention of cottage industry was to grasp those lessons and to mediate between the breaking generational experiences. The conception of the past in the idea of cottage industry was clearly a matter of emotions and attitudes. Vuolanto detailed the principles of cottage industry propaganda:

> As the most important of these [principles] I would put *the respect of elders*. That means to appreciate the work of ancestors in a way that the works of their hands are laid in the place of honour and set as an idol. Then cottage industry is a bridge between the times of our ancestors and the contemporary cultural development. (Vuolanto 1947a, 29; emphasis as in the original text.)

The metaphor of cottage industry as a bridge between the past and the present was repeated in several texts. For example, writing in 1940 about cherishing folk culture in the homes of the evacuees, Laine explicated the significance of inherited domestic utensils as carriers of sentimental value that would bridge the past and the present. Moreover, Laine connected the need for a temporal bridge to the concrete loss of home:

> The beloved items made by family members or by someone of the home village were left behind to be destroyed, items that with their sentimental values now would have the greatest significance in creating a bridge between the past and the present. (Laine 1940b, 75.)

Cottage industry thus had a special role as a temporal mediator between the past and the present and even as a therapeutic method in handling loss and survival of a more concrete kind. After all, the initial lesson that the experience of crop failures had taught people was that of *not forgetting*: not forgetting the risk of upcoming losses, not forgetting the experience of hardship, not forgetting the traditional skills. But despite this will to cherish the memory, traditions and the past ways of life were in danger of being lost to oblivion. According to Ankersmit, the sublime historical experience is 'the experience of a past breaking away from the present' and the notion of past yields from 'the historian's traumatic experience of having entered a new world and from the awareness of irreparably having lost a previous world forever' (Ankersmit 2005, 265). This transition from a certain past to a new present, the distinction between then and now, inflicts a complex sequence of recollection and forgetfulness. Considering the sublime historical experience as equivalent to the psychological notion of trauma, Ankersmit compares historical forgetfulness to traumatic amnesia and channels attention from historical knowledge to historical oblivion and to the categorisation of four types of forgetting (Ankersmit 2005, 318).

First, in everyday life, we easily forget most of the things that we do or what happens to us. Secondly, this tendency has its counterpart in writing history, in which some topics tend to be forgotten in the blind spot of research for one reason or another: 'Historians sometimes "forget" what has truly been decisive in the past, not because they deliberately wanted to distort the past but simply because they were ignorant about the significance of certain causal factors' (Ankersmit 2005, 322). The third and fourth types of forgetting Ankersmit connects with two kinds of traumatic experiences. Generally, a traumatic experience can be so severe that it causes amnesia or inability to address the topic in any discussion. The memory of a past incident is so strong that one remembers it too well: it needs to be forgotten. As the human mind can shelter itself from the shattering experience through amnesia, a similar phenomenon can happen at the societal level. In historiography, the amnesia-like historical silence can also serve as a psychological buffer that maintains identity. Here I am reminded of Hölscher's (2003, 10) expression of 'the wall of silence' regarding the events of the Second World War and the Holocaust in Germany. Ankersmit summarises this forgetfulness in the following way:

> The result was repression and the curious paradox that traumatic experience is both forgotten and remembered. It is forgotten in the sense that it can successfully be expelled from conscious memory; it is remembered in the sense that the subject of a traumatic experience will be seriously handicapped by it. (Ankersmit 2005, 322.)

Finally, the complex relation between remembering and forgetting is grasped in Ankersmit's view of the fourth type of forgetting. To clarify the difference between the third and the fourth kind of forgetting, Ankersmit distinguishes between two types of trauma. A crucial difference is found in the possibility of reconciliation. A traumatic experience that leads to the third type of forgetting, to amnesia or forgetfulness similar to it, can be broken by facing the experience:

> As soon as the traumatic experience can be narrativized (as paradigmatically will be the case in the psychoanalytical treatment of trauma), as soon as the traumatic experience can successfully be subsumed in the history of one's life, it will lose its threatening and specifically traumatic character. The traumatic experience has then been adapted to identity, and vice versa. (Ankersmit 2005, 323.)

But as he adds, a balance between the traumatising experience and identity is not always achieved, although it could be achieved. He also reminds readers about the stable nature of identity that strongly builds on the sense of continuity:

> Trauma may shake identity to its very foundations, but it will not result in the abandonment of a former identity for a wholly new one. It could not even do so, since trauma is always specific for the identity whose trauma it is – and it therefore necessarily presupposes the continuation of identity. (Ankersmit 2005, 323–234.)

Coherence and continuity of identity often overrule the facing of a painful past event, but some transitions, such as entering a new world as happened through the French Revolution or the Industrial Revolution, simply cannot be left to the

past, and therefore, as Ankersmit claims, they require adaptation to a wholly new historical and cultural identity that is 'far more fluid and far less fixed than is the case with individual human beings' (Ankersmit 2005, 324–330, 329).

The fourth type of forgetting thus refers to a collective trauma, to which no reconciliation as such is possible. Instead, the second kind of trauma leads, in the end, to the shedding and abandonment of the previous identity, and in this way serves the cause of forgetting. Ankersmit does ponder whether trauma then is a proper term at all. He nevertheless emphasises that the notion of identity is essential for understanding this second type of trauma that, due to its collective nature and, as I conclude, due to the conception of time in which the time span of a person's life is subsumed into that of a supra-generational extent, delineates it from the psychological notion of trauma. What is at stake in the second type of trauma is the transition to a new kind of collective or cultural identity. At this point it is worth looking at whether Ankersmit is addressing a similar conception that elsewhere has been referred to using the term mentality, which has also been connected to collective conceptions of self in certain periods of time. On the other hand, as collective mentality is often associated with most thinkable aspects of human life, it would be questionable to equate mentality with collective trauma; it is understandable that a collective trauma can affect the collective mentality, but would it be possible that a collective mentality would be all about trauma?

However, what makes Ankersmit's theorising of this second type of trauma, the collective irreparable loss, interesting with regard to the history of cottage industry, is how he develops it through the reactionary and conservative reactions to the past preceding the traumatic event. Ankersmit takes Karl Mannheim's analysis of conservatism as a product of the French Revolution as his example. According to this view, it is important to discern between conservatism and traditionalism, because, here, according to Mannheim, it was only after the French Revolution that people became aware of the traditions that their ways of life had been leaning on. The wish to cling to the preceding or the traditional way of life is then termed as a reactionary reaction. (Ankersmit 2005, 325–326.) Ankersmit connects this reactionary yearning for the past with the first type of trauma as a wish for healing the identity, in which the past has become 'an object of the desire of being' – the past idyll preceding the crisis has become an ideal state of matters. But for the conservative the past became an object of knowledge, and instead of trying to live and be like in the old days, a new world and a new identity had to be entered: 'however fiercely they [the conservatives] might condemn the Revolution, the world had irrevocably and inexorably acquired a new identity and […] the prudent and sensible person could only acquiesce in this' (Ankersmit 2005, 326).

Considering the history of cottage industry and the concrete and mental losses it involves, it is important to make distinction between the two types of trauma. With regard to the traumatic experience of a famine, or, of poverty and personal loss, one has to acknowledge the experience of those who suffered those losses. This would lead to questions that considerate, for example, the

actual practice of cottage industries among the people who faced the hardship in the first place, and the role that this practice had. Could this practice only have emphasised the experience of degradation as a measure of relief work that did not allow one to forget his/her losses? Or, did it serve as a therapeutic method giving a chance to forget the trouble by 'lifting up the paralysed spirit of the people', as had been reported from Viitasaari in recollections of the Great Famine (Häkkinen 1991c, 150)?

On the other hand, the following question could be asked: did the activity of promoting cottage industries consolidate the minds of the members of the upper classes, who were inspired by foreign trends of philanthropy and by ideas of liberal economy, but who nevertheless found themselves more or less helpless in supporting 'the other' amid the tribulations on the national scale? Taking the interpretation on a more psychohistorical level, it could thus even be pondered whether the idea of cottage industry, the benevolent development work on rural craft practices, turned into a politicised method of forgetfulness, reminiscent of historical amnesia that concerned the collective trauma of crop failure, quintessentially that of the Great Famine with its hundreds of thousands of casualties. Once again, one only needs to pay attention to the silence surrounding the theme in research and to the hesitation to address the concept even in related historical research (cf. Häkkinen 1991c, Turpeinen 1991, Virkkunen 2010).

But whereas the first more singular type of trauma, although collective from the perspective of all those who experienced poverty and loss of harvest, was more typical for those termed in cottage industry policy documents and respective articles as 'group of people', 'the commonalty' or even as 'the material' distanced from the cottage industry officials, the second type of trauma could have touched in the first instance the draftsmen of cottage industry policies. Indeed, it seems that the material losses of the people were reflected among the officials of cottage industry in the form of the collective trauma of irreparable cultural loss. In this way, the sublime experience of loss incited the need to be conscious of the past with the will to create knowledge about craft traditions. It caused the will to sustain those traditions and their cultural context, and the desire to retain the ways of life that were at risk of slipping into the past, too.

6.3 On the edge of cultural loss – the desire of being

There is an evident turn in the way cottage industry was conceived of as an object of knowledge: first, it had essentially been an interest of developing national economy and creating an income-generating instrument of poor relief that would instruct the common people to more entrepreneurial ways of life. Then, as a rural craft practice, cottage industry was recognised as a holder of national culture and, consequently, the theme was found to be close, if not parallel, to ethnological research interests. However, what makes cottage industry deci-

sively different from the pure scholarly practice is its inbuilt desire of being: the will not only to find out and to chart the practice of cottage industries but to retain those practices according to the political traditions of cottage industry. It is this desire of being that made the idea of cottage industry with its institutional formations a quintessentially cultural political constellation.

One of the aims of the CIPC clearly was that of sustaining cottage industry as a part of certain rural ways of life, especially in the post-war processes of settlement and land acquisition. Therefore, it was important to redefine and to update cottage industry even conceptually to make it match these projects. Cottage industries that, according to its definition, included most diverse craft practices – from fixing bicycles to building houses (in the meaning of carpentry), from weaving traditional piled rugs to the making of brooms using the state's leftover timber materials – were reified as a fundamental part of the society's post-war reorganisation. But along with the practical deeds of supplying the numerous needy with craft courses and blueprints for various domestic utensils and furniture, the critical post-war situation also gave reason to channel attention to issues concerning rural culture in general. The inevitable change and the will to sustain continuity, adapting to the conditions at hand and cherishing the legacy of the past, were both recognised as being important in several articles in *Kotiteollisuus*. Thus, the idea of cottage industry truly seemed to offer an incomparable idea in the process of returning to peace. Due to the tradition of using cottage industry as a social political life-buoy gripped at times of hardship, this practice as such highlighted the memory of the past crises and the 'works of the ancestors' hands'. In this way, cottage industry called for other aspects concerning those ancestors' ways of life and, generally, respective cultural and mental customs and attitudes.

The propagation of the idyllic rural life, as it had been promoted by, for example, the von Wright committee and by Y. O. Blomstedt in his booklets, continued to be strong in the 1940s. But instead of calling for the creation of new airy and light rural abodes with raised ceilings and widened windows, attention was more often channelled to the traditional farmhouse and its correct interior design. The topic was favoured especially by architects Laine and Salervo, who both emphasised the significance of traditional styles especially in the housing of the Karelian evacuees. In his 1940 article on 'Cherishing Folk Culture in the New Migrant Homes' Laine had explicitly called for saving the Karelian culture and identity especially in cases when all belongings had been left behind in the forfeit areas. He recalled the design styles of the early 1900s inspired by Karelianism and required the specific Karelian style to be cherished, which was something that the early 20th-century designers had failed at, because, according to Laine, that period of the early 1900s had fused the national ideals with foreign inspiration from, for example, Norway and Switzerland: 'and when the National Romanticism had reached its summit, it had been further fused even with motifs of Scottish stone architecture'(Laine 1940b, 76).

The aspiration to sustain national cultural authenticity was only growing within cottage industry. Remarkably, this article by Laine (1940b) was printed

adjacent to a text introducing the reader to the latest trends in German interior design. Indeed, at this point, the National Socialist ideals of proper home interior were praised in *Kotiteollisuus*, although it must be pointed out that this single article was not signed by any of the CIPC members. However, the principles were considered largely similar to the idea of cottage industry, as the author of pen name L. pointed out:

> Although the new German home interiors illustrate the austere style of the stern time, their principal idea is healthy. The structure, to which the functionalist style often did injustice, gives the basic form for the new German line of furniture and the correct, rational use of material is no longer done wrong. The homely nuance is achieved by using national paragons as the basis of design, but there is no question of *copying*. More likely, it was the sin of functionalism as it tediously repeated the internationally worn-out forms. (L. 1940, 72; emphasis as in the original text.)

Laine acknowledged the new German style and pointed out, perhaps with a hint of criticism, how the style had been adopted in Finland, as 'also here wooden surfaces are left unpainted or are treated with the wire brush or the blowtorch, or they are with other methods made to look as if many generations had worn them before us' and as 'lately furniture designs have often been seen that are based on the German folk gothic[83], the folk style that has been as popular in Germany as the Gustavian style has been in our folk homes' (Laine 1940, 73). Laine nevertheless stressed that other folk styles had been borrowed in Finland and referred to applications of the English Windsor chair.

But whereas the international loans from one 'folk style' to another were approved, the modern style of construction plans intended for the settlement buildings, ones that were circulated by the Department of Settlement Affairs (ASO), were harshly criticised by Laine, who considered the modern type-planned houses even at their best only suitable for 'the rural official' with rooms in the houses 'similar to the urban abode including even the small cubbyhole of a "model kitchen"' (Laine 1940, 105). Instead, in 1937, Laine had published his own plans designed specifically for smallholders who practised cottage industries. In the plans, he had sought to take into detailed account the daily routines and various tasks of the small farming home (Laine 1937, 25–27).

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83 The original expression in Finnish: *'saksalainen kansangotiikka'* (Laine 1940, 73).

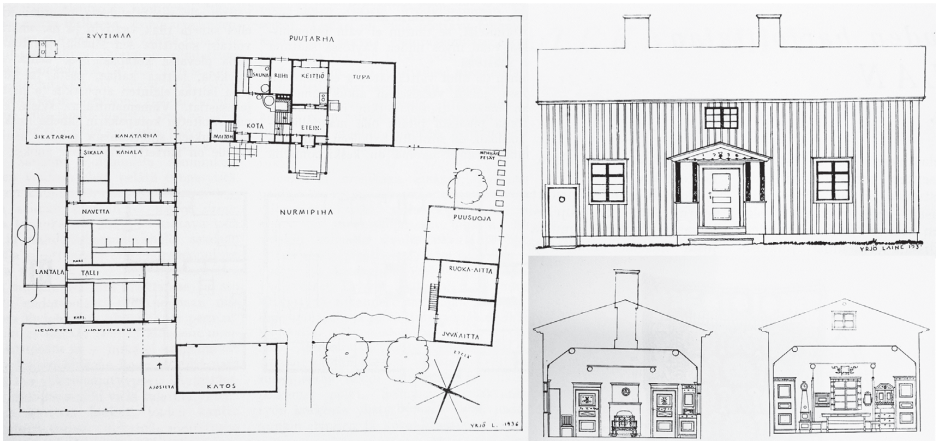

Figure 21 Plan for a smallholding. Architect Yrjö Laine presented his schemes for a smallholding in *Kotiteollisuus* in 1937. Explicating his plans, Laine emphasised the 'minimum needs' as the principle in constructing the buildings. However, in comparison to housing plans of the Department of Settlement Affairs (ASO) (see chapter 3, Figure 4) Laine's plans were very detailed: the general plan of the farm even shows the placing of the vegetable garden (*ryytimaa*) and the beehives (*mehiläispesät*). The sectional drawing illustrates the peasantry style of interior design. With regard to the yard, Laine underlined that there would be no need for flowerbeds or gazebos; instead, a rose bush by the house and the casual pathways would suffice: 'That kind of a yard, in a manner of speaking, plays the high rhapsody of work, in which resides the happiness of each man and of our whole nation' (Laine 1937a, 27). (Source: Laine 1937a, 25–27.)

Discussion on the need to cherish folk culture and to maintain the distinctive style of farmhouses continued in the post-war years. Criticism focused on changes in the old farmhouses and on the modern style of the new settlement homes. Possible compromise between the traditional style and modern home was detailed by Salervo in an article that explicitly concerned rural interior design, titled 'Folk Objects in the Modern Home' (Salervo 1948a, 1948b). The tension between the past and the present appears sharp in Salervo's concern about changes in interior design, especially concerning the primary room of the farmhouse, the '*tupa*', that was more often replaced with a separate kitchen. In his narrative style, the writer exposed the modernisation of the farmhouse without hiding his disapproval of the change:

> We have seen the traditional, complete *tupa* interiors of farmhouses getting all the more rare year by year. Cooking on the romantic but impractical fireplace has come to an end; even the master has found the old hearth an ineffective consumer of wood. Along with a proper stove, the rational household economy has required for organising food and cleaning cupboards, a water pipe and a sink to the house, which all have delightfully furthered the completion of domestic tasks. But the necessary reshaping has rarely been made to the *tupa* as it could have been done, but instead the *tupa* has generally been replaced with a separate kitchen. The nature of *tupa* has thus crucially changed. And in many cases – perhaps in most cases – the traditional interior of *tupa* has been given up and instead new furniture has been bought from the town. (Salervo 1948a, 49.)

Salervo's article then turned its attention to the post-war situation and to the worry about the change in the rural way of life culminating in the vast housing and land reform projects. Although Salervo cherished the old farmhouses, he also saw the needs compelled by the settlement process; not even the sturdiest proponent of continuity and tradition could ignore the drastic change, especially for the lives of the evacuees:

> In the planning and execution of the new buildings, the traditional *tupa* has generally been discarded. This has been the case especially among the evacuees, who have been forced to settle down in a much more constricted way, and the small apartments of the city tenements have been seen as the model to their abodes. When the new interior design is strange to its occupants and their way of life, and when also in everything else the mind has been rid of the past as carefully as possible in order to bear to live and to try again, it is understandable that also the former decoration traditions have been discarded. (Salervo 1948a, 49.)

It is remarkable how the recognition of loss has here been phrased in the form of indispensable oblivion: 'the mind has been rid of the past as carefully as possible in order to bear to live and to try again'. In this part, the text is thus illustrative of the dual notion of trauma embraced in the post-war years. Salervo showed his compassion to the loss referring to the first type of trauma with the amnesia-like oblivion of the painful loss while at the same time his text is indicative of his own pain concerning the second type of trauma, that of irrecoverable cultural loss. Salervo could not comprehend why the old rural houses that had not been harmed by wartime destruction were altered to match the modern style and insisted on keeping the traditional furniture, because these houses would represent authentic peasant culture. Conceding the need to forget, on the one hand, Salervo was also appalled by the threat of forgetting. He wondered whether one was forced to admit that the traditional folk objects just would not suit the modern time: 'Is the traditional basis of them to be abandoned for good – the achieved cultural values to be lost?' (Salervo 1948a, 50).

The experience of cultural loss can be regarded as a universal distress, but it has had a specific role for fields of expertise concerning cultural heritage. Whereas Ankersmit remarked that history is a conservative science in consideration of objectifying the past as the target of historical knowledge (Ankersmit 2005, 328), the same would apply, in part, to folklore studies. As has been pointed out by Anttonen, for folklore studies the cultural loss caused by modernisation jeopardised even the whole discipline: 'Folklore, with tradition as its claimed synonym, became for both 19th and 20th century scholars a continuous near-death experience, as the research object was perpetually talked about in terms of living and dying' (Anttonen 2005, 49). This devolutionist view in folklore theory implied the perishing of folklore due to modern change and progress. Indeed, although Anttonen explicates that tradition is largely of modern nature, modernity and tradition nevertheless create a conceptual polarisation of temporally opposite directions. The past, and also the peripheral, have often signalled the locus of authenticity whereas the gliding toward the modern present has implied transfer to all that is 'fake, artificial, superficial and trivial' (ibid.). As an attribute of cultural purity has been considered the intact state

without political or scholarly interventions, or any (other) forms of modern standardisation: 'While in the "folk culture" of premodernity cultural expressions were allegedly spontaneous and transmitted spontaneously, in a modern society they are regarded as rule-governed and channelled into the regulated activities of associations and semi-official activity groups' (ibid.).

Against the notion of cultural authenticity, which the political and organised forms of action would contaminate with the impurities of modernism, it is enthralling how the complex relation between cultural loss and modern progress was grasped within cottage industry policy. With its new, liberal aspirations to increase national wealth and progress, to promulgate the elation of free trade and the entrepreneurial spirit, the idea of cottage industry was, precisely in its modernity, late from the beginning in sheltering cultural authenticity from the modernist impurities. Attitudes in this regard also fluctuated. For example, although Laine repeatedly demanded tradition and the authentic vernacular style, in his 1942 article he nevertheless approved of the standardisation of cottage industry products. He reasoned that instead of being an outcome of modern rationalisation, standardisation took place naturally, of which the crystallised forms of traditional objects only served as evidence. Furthermore, Laine emphasised that in the standardisation work of cottage industries expertise in cottage industry institutions should be made use of. (Laine 1942b, 35–36.)

With its systematised basis of action, cottage industry was supposed to embrace authenticity by sustaining ways of life that would keep and animate that original culture. However, this desire of being was externalised to be substantiated by 'the other' – by the smallholder. Therefore, the desire of being, the promulgation of a certain notion of supposed authentic rural cultural agency, can be observed as the recognition of a past identity that no longer prevailed, but the reanimation of which could have worked as reconciliation in the second type of trauma of cultural loss and the transformation of collective cultural identity. Thus, whereas the core of the idea of cottage industry was that of liberal, economic development, it was also characterised by the inherently conservative, elitist attitude to preserve the hierarchical power relations of class society. This was perceived in the late 1940s as signalling cultural authenticity, of which the smallholders who worked in cottage industries would serve as evidence. The image of the smallholder was to work as the cultural 'other' on whom the lost identity was possible to be projected as reconciliation of the loss of collective cultural identity. Actually, Ankersmit (2005, 349) summarised the change of identity as seeing oneself as the other:

> We look at ourselves as if we were looking at somebody else. Put differently, we suddenly become aware of a previous identity of ourselves, of the kind of person that we had been up to now and had never realized that we were, and this we can do only thanks to our having acquired a new identity.

However, instead of seeing the change in self, the reactionary desire of being transmuted into a programmatic will to keep the previous identity of 'the other' and not yet admitting the irreparable loss.

The processing of cultural loss is reflected in Salervo's other texts, in which he embarked on cultural political topics more directly. In his 1945 article 'About Culture and Cultural Work', Salervo set out to discuss the question about what is culture (Salervo 1945). Reminiscent of the recognition of the modern as everything that is false, the need for the article stemmed from 'the cross-swell of culture and false culture', with which Salervo mostly referred to the import of foreign products and the admiration of those above the domestic and homely objects and habits. According to him, foreign inspiration and import wares endangered domestic (folk) culture: 'Conceptions of what is culture and cultural work seem to be so confused, and so much culture is devastated in the name of culture that it seems reasonable to bring this question up' (Salervo 1945, 1).

Typical of his style of writing, Salervo started the article on cultural differences by describing a historical development of cultural diversion that would explain differences between northern and southern cultures. Whereas Laine with his approval of standardisation of traditions had adopted the use of terms of the Modern Age, Salervo set out to follow ideas of rationalism. He emphasised that culture builds on the expediency of lifestyles: '*Culture is only that to which the true, positive needs of life, and the traditions built on those, give the right of existence*' (Salervo 1945, 1–2; emphasis as in the original text). While Salervo understood that his archaic description of cultural development according to the different environmental and climatic conditions might have been insufficient, he set out to give a wider definition of culture. Indeed, he formulated a near-textbook definition of culture as a way of life that did not only include language and religion but even such forms as road networks and social structures. Still, the peak of culture was to be found in its mental forms:

> In developed circumstances culture is much deeper and wider than presented above. It has received notable support from the cultural traditions of the previous generations – from spoken language, religion, knowledge and skills, existing buildings, tools and utensils with their decorations, clothing, fields, roads, domestic animals used, and from much more beyond description – social order, school system, etc. But even then culture is represented by the mental values, and in general by the richness, character and level of the mental life; on the other hand, economic livelihood and the needs promoting the happiness of man and the society, and the methods, habits and other extrinsic forms developed to fulfil those [needs]. Even then the foundations of culture consist on the one hand of traditions, on the other hand of wellbeing and of fulfilling the needs that promote happiness. (Salervo 1945, 2.)

Consequently, from these general remarks about cultural traditions and the needs of a happy life, Salervo moved on to discuss and compare the different expedient ways of life: 'each group of a nation has a different culture, because all *real culture is closely involved with the expedient way of life*' (Salervo 1945, 2; emphasis as in the original text). Considering that cottage industry policy had been established in close connection to office culture, chiefly by administration professionals, it is more interesting that Salervo directed his discussion on culture and false culture towards the comparison between interiors of the office home and of the farm home:

It seems to be often thought that, for example, the official's home represents more authentic culture than – let us say – the farmer's home and thus its way of life, interior, etc. are sought to be imitated. In many cases it has been easier for the official's home to follow development more widely and to gather richer stimuli than it has been in the steady farmer's home. Therefore, it is expected to give, and it can give, valuable improvements to many cultural factors. But it has been seen imitated in much that is not expedient for the farmer's home – that is not responsive to his tradition-based, natural way of life, the only basis of material culture. (Salervo 1945, 2.)

Figure 22 Toivo Salervo giving a speech at the 40th anniversary of the Cottage Industry Association of Central Finland in June 1953. During his working career in Jyväskylä, Salervo chaired this regional association in 1914–1918. (Source: SKMA)

Salervo went on to detail differences in interior design, decoration and furniture in respective housing cultures, and then drew his conclusions about 'real culture' with notions of continuity and modesty at its core:

Real culture is in all circumstances only that which fulfils the existing spiritual hunger, or, that is based on living life and is harmonised with that, or, that at least has respective immediate traditional basis. […] Real cultural development is evenly continuous, not jumping as it is with regard to the development of housing in office

> homes due to circumstances, and in general in homes that change apartment. […] Real culture also has a certain label of modesty. (Salervo 1945, 2.)

Salervo's urge for continuity and permanence applied to the farmhouses, to which the image of the office home prone to changes offered a counterpoint. At the same time, this affirmation of the cultural authenticity of the farmhouse served to assert the existence of 'national groups'. Indeed, in this way, Salervo cemented the distinction between ways of life as a natural part of the national cultural unity: 'Had whichever national group produced any valuable cultural result, it is a matter of honour for the whole nation to cherish that and to develop it further. That is cultural work'. (Salervo 1945, 3.) However, at the same time, Salervo's good-willed authentication of traditional farmhouses and their ways of life as real culture also incorporated the legitimation of class distinction and therefore served to cement the subject position of the rural dweller.

The idea of cottage industry served in its own way in the adjustment amid the temporal conditions of the post-war years. Cottage industry policy was continued on the basis of traditions of philanthropic methods and values of economic education. But whereas Laine called for reformatory improvements in cottage industry associations and administration, the immaterial heritage of cottage industry – referring to Levi's often rephrased title – lay at the bottom of this policy. This heritage included traditional craft techniques, the tradition of dexterity, but also traditions of modesty, even the tradition of obedient resignation under the harsh circumstances. Salervo's categorisation of the different 'national groups' and the distinction between officials and farmers, again, is indicative of retaining the subordinate social relations that were characteristic of how cottage industry was applied in the 1860s' famine: flour sacks and linen skeins were traded between the officials and the needy according to the moral axioms of a strong work ethic and internalised citizenship, in both of which obedience to authorities was emphasised. More importantly, the fact that cottage industry had been successfully moulded into an institutionalised form during the early years of the century guaranteed the possibility to reify this political legacy in the pragmatic action of, for example, cottage industry education, but also in the form of committee work.

Indeed, the procession of the second type of trauma of cultural loss seems to have caused the continuous and, by the 1940s, the ever-growing need to justify and to adapt cottage industry policy with regard to societal and cultural changes, even though this would have caused the paradoxical desire of being – of how the 'other' should be – in order to reconcile the sensation of loss. It is therefore apt to ask, whether cottage industry always offered that much help for those in actual loss of nourishment and property or whether it helped more those who found their paradise lost and themselves in societal and cultural confusion. When debating in favour of increasing small farmers' income by practising cottage industries, the worry was probably even greater about retaining certain conceptions of the rural way of life and its traditions and, furthermore, about sustaining certain societal relations and order in society. Along with promulgating the ideals of economic independence and self-sufficiency of the

smallholder, the tradition of cottage industry policy was also to restore the distinctively conservative content of the idea as 'the cultural counterbalance' in the modernising society. Instead of posing a problem of ideological contradiction between the two as it has been recognised (Vares 2012), this certain duality between the more liberalist and the more conservative viewpoints seems to rather have created the essential internal polarity of the idea. Indeed, the idea of cottage industry was consciously conceived of as a connector between temporal continuities hailing from the past and progressive development heading into the future, truly, as a bridge between the past and the present. Even if contradictory, this position was conceived of as a desired one – as the sublime essence of the idea of cottage industry.

6.4 Cultural transformation and the sublime

A major notion of Ankersmit's discussion on historical experience is the parallel nature of trauma and the sublime historical experience. What connects these two is the certain mode of dissociation, simultaneous directness and indirectness of the sublime and of the traumatic experience. He exemplifies this with the so-called 'cheese cover experience' of patients suffering from derealisation: 'Some transparent but impenetrable screen seems to have been erected between themselves and the "normal" world' (Ankersmit 2005, 336). Observing the world like from behind a screen thus leads to the notion of indirectness of experience. Still, it is exactly the consciousness of seeing the world like from under a cheese cover that enables the directness of experience: 'Derealization places us, on the one hand, in a realm *beyond* or *outside* the cheese cover, so that we can experience *it* as an objective reality, while, on the other hand we are nevertheless aware that we see the world *through* it'(Ankersmit 2005, 337; emphasis as in the original text). This simultaneous indirectness and directness of experience could further be termed as 'the fusion of an objectification of experience with the object of experience' (ibid.).

Generally taken, what is at stake here in consideration of sublime historical experience is the awareness of the temporal distinction between the past and the present and, specifically, the awareness of transformation concerning cultural identity. Remarkably, it is this recognition of the past as separate from the present that also induces new identity, as Ankersmit has remarked with further reference to the consciousness of Western modernity:

> Constitutive of the identity of contemporary Western man is his realization of being no longer part of a prerevolutionary, preindustrial, and still predominantly Christian Europe. To put it in one comprehensive formula: *in all these cases, one has become what one is no longer* – with all emphasis on the 'no longer.' What one used to *be,* one's former identity, is now transformed into the identity of the person who *knows* (and no longer *is*) his former identity. One now is what one is, because one no longer is what one was – and this not being any longer what one was, is what one has essentially now become. (Ankersmit 2005, 333; emphasis as in the original text.)

Indeed, as an experience of an all-encompassing, revolutionary change without the chance of reconciliation and thus forcing transformations in the collective cultural identity, the second type of trauma can be recognised as a process, perhaps even as a therapeutic dealing with a break in temporal continuity in the sense of slow comprehension of the separation between the temporal aspects of the past and the present, of then and now. In this regard, it must also be noted that on the most practical level of cottage industry, the actual craftwork could even be considered as parallel to the sublime sensation as a hands-on activity that goes beyond language and through which the traditional craft design could be remade and thus be grasped in the most concrete way.

The idea of cottage industry could therefore be regarded as the moment of sublime experience or as the cheese cover experience, through which one could dwell indirectly on the directness of cultural loss, a loss that was not gladly admitted. As was seen, sensations regarding the connection to the past were repeatedly mentioned in the articles in *Kotiteollisuus*, whereas the distinction between past and present found more subtle expressions in the CIPC report. The duality of cottage industry or rather its nature of being in-between temporal categories was compressed by Yrjö Laine in his 1949 editorial, in which he titled cottage industry as 'a trade and cultural work'. In this text, Laine again discussed the consequences of the settlement and land acquisition project and underlined the importance of cottage industry as smallholders' necessary subsidiary trade. At the end of his article, he also underlined the need to cherish the traditional crafts:

> When developing income-generating cottage industries that take over new, modern fields of production the traditional, old folk craft practices must also be taken care of. They form a part of our still living, valuable folk culture and therefore it belongs to our cultural responsibilities to cherish them. […] Cottage industry can blow away the dust of many local museums, the past and the present shake hands with each other and the past of our home tract becomes living reality even for the next generation. (Laine 1949a, 16.)

The metaphor of past and present shaking hands is to be taken seriously as reflective of the sublime historical experience, which was also exemplified by Vuolanto with his details on the psychological basis of cottage industry work and the reassurance about how cottage industry would make 'a bridge between the times of our ancestors and the contemporary cultural development' (Vuolanto 1947a, 29). Assessing the history of cottage industry policy as intentional and meaningful activities, this sensation of historical mediation should not be underrated, because exactly this kind of sublime experience could have strongly motivated that activity, and especially because the notion of loss created such an important part of the essence of cottage industry policy. Indeed, cottage industry policy can be interpreted as an institutionalised form of crisis management, both in the sense of creating practical measures to overcome times of deprivation and in the sense of handling losses, be those concrete losses of homesteads caused by the war or the loss of an idyllic past with traditional continuity and patriarchal order.

Furthermore, as a bridge between the past and the present, the idea of cottage industry offered a topic to discuss the cultural transformations of society. Actually, it is likely that cottage industry better functioned as a concept in cultural political debates than as a credible or adequate means of sustenance for the hundreds of thousands of people, who were to start their lives from scratch on the numerous settlement farms, on which the daily workload chiefly consisted of land clearance and building work, the daily tasks of a farming household and, additionally, forest work. The discrepancy between the ideological content of cottage industry and the realities of the post-war smallholding family were acknowledged by Salervo (1946, 62) as he admitted that 'we actually should put on display that farmhouse mother of numerous children, who would have the time, if she had the skills, to sew her own clothes alongside her plenty household duties.'

Recognising cottage industry as a cultural political concept is further supported by the notion that by conjoining the past and the present, cottage industry rather worked as a constant reminder of the crucial distinction: by underlining the illusionary meeting of the temporal categories, the idea of cottage industry possibly turned into a landmark of an era meeting its end, witnessing a local 'cultural suicide' (Ankersmit 2005, 343), in which the draftsmen of the CIPC report probably were both in the role of the culprit and the casualty. In other words, the decisive cultural political outcome of the political tradition of cottage industry was, ultimately, that in the meaning of cottage industry, Finnish craft culture became what it no longer was. This claim is to be understood against the construction of cottage industry policy, of which the immaterial heritage of citizen education and of sustaining certain power relations between the master and the servant or, in general, between the ruling elite and the classes of modest and obedient rural common people created an essential part, whereas the actual craft practice would have served as the substantiation of the idea. Consequently, following Forty (2010, 61), the modern design of items intended for cottage industry production came to reflect the ideological circumstances that they were designed in instead of the original craft items of the past that they were supposed to be based upon. Furthermore, the network of cottage industry schools created a channel to promulgate the conception of cottage industry inclusive of notions of citizenship and of Finnish craft culture – a fruit of the cultural political tradition of cottage industry.

The significance of the concrete support of craft courses is not to be underrated, but it must also be pointed out that the experience of the collective cultural loss was probably felt most palpably among the ideologically inspired adherents of the idea of cottage industry, to whom consciousness of the past and the affectionate relation to the past essentially motivated respective administration and policy planning. The idea of cottage industry thus was important as an instrument of historical reflection and, finally, as a cultural strategy in encountering cultural change, not only including changes in ways of life and consumption but also applying to changes in civil society, especially to the change of citizenship from subject position with essential moral duties to obedience and re-

spective modesty to that of a member of society with emphasis on citizens' civil rights. Cottage industry created one forum of negotiation on the changing cultural and social boundaries, a forum that was repeatedly legitimised on the official level, as was evidenced by the work of the CIPC.

7 COTTAGE INDUSTRY POLICY – FROM CRISIS WORK TO MANAGING CULTURAL CHANGE

To summarise the idea of cottage industry, the article concerning cottage industry propaganda is worth another look. In that article, Reino Vuolanto convinced his readers that cottage industry would offer the paramount idea that would serve most different parts of the social strata. The activity would bring joy of work, create income and even give a sensation of a cultural and historical bridge between the past and the present. Vuolanto's article gives one example of how cottage industry was used in the late 1940s as a *schlagwort*, as a political slogan with which one sought to address people of different backgrounds and even with colliding historical experiences (cf. Koselleck 2006, 84–85). It was possible to embrace in one concept the diversity of aspects from cherishing craft traditions and the heritage of certain peasant ways of life to advocating the values of independent craft entrepreneurs' lifestyle, of dexterity and diligence, and even of citizens' willingness to self-sacrifice. Looking at the history of cottage industry shows that the concept entailed a temporal structure with decipherable layers that included a whole variety of cultural, historical and political preconditions.

Koselleck emphasised the importance of semantics in exploring the temporal structure of concepts. It is important to note that despite the openness of the future that the notion of the Modern Age brought along, a sort of temporal one-way street, the semantic use of a concept is significant due to the structure of repetition. Yet, the meaning that the repeating use of a concept yields is linguistically and culturally bound: 'Semantics, one could say, indicates or favours a certain way to organise and direct experiences and thoughts. Each individual speech act is dependent on the repeating semantics. This fundamental fact constitutes the temporal internal structure of each of the concepts that we use.' (Koselleck 2006, 93; transl. EK.) The semantic guidelines of the concept of cottage industry were similarly created through repetition and notably in a certain cultural and political frame. Indeed, although the term was programmatically convicted in the late 20th century of belonging to some past era, cottage industry nevertheless is to be conceived of as a modern political concept that was gener-

ated as part of the national turn in administrative language and as part of the modernisation process including the import of liberal economy, industrialisation and new conceptions of home and family life.

However, the structure of repetition sprouted from the temporal rhythms of the agricultural household. The practice of cottage industry was deeply bound to the cyclical time conceptions: crafts were supposed to be a daily task taking place especially in the twilight time and more so in the wintertime. This cyclical repetition was supposed to create the basis of cottage industry activity that also was to accustom the maker to effective time management. What made this regular repetition of craft-work essential, however, was the risk of the irregular, unforeseeable but nevertheless repetitive occurrence of a crop failure. Indeed, educating the maker to the productive and effective regular practice of cottage industry was to offer a practical method to manage the irregularities that time would bring.

The programmatic applications of this practice were designed within spheres of administration and as part of envisioning a modern political and increasingly national regime. A foundation stone for the advance of cottage industries is to be found in the Age of Utility in the 18th century Swedish monarchy, but the quintessential turn and the key moment for the later legitimation of cottage industry policy is found in the endeavours to alleviate the Great Famine of 1867–1868 through the means of cottage industry production. J. V. Snellman was a prominent promoter of this practice, although considering the outcome of the deathly famine and his conviction of the supremacy of cottage industry over other sorts of relief work, such fame could be, in hindsight, of dubious nature. Strong agitation on behalf of cottage industries was nevertheless followed with official committee work on the matter. Cottage industry from then on served as a conceptual tool for the negotiation of national development, and it was embraced especially by people who advocated the liberal thought of free trade and entrepreneurial spirit. Indeed, in the 1870s, cottage industry was more likely conceived of as parallel to general industrial and economic development instead of being the reactionary counterpart. The large-scale and frequent industry exhibitions prove this, with the 1875 Cottage Industry and Working Exhibition as a significant example of this kind of activity. Cottage industry can be read as the progressive, future-oriented concept that through its abstract nature also supported the statistical and administrative categorisation of the otherwise variegated rural craft practices.

Based on the cultural and political preconditions of administrative traditions and on the lifeworlds of those who primarily actualised administration cottage industry also appears as a type of invented political tradition that found its ‘origin’ in the experience of the Great Famine. However, perceptions of cottage industry as an object of development both in the sense of enhancing productive efficiency and in the sense of promulgating entrepreneurial spirit and economic thought, especially in the meaning of self-help, were shared and copied internationally. As a member of the 1906–1908 von Wright committee, Alexandra Gripenberg collected extensive examples of cottage industry practices in

other European countries. On the other hand, the practice was also criticised through international comparison, as Jahnsson's report showed. Still, promoting cottage industries as 'the natural subsidiary trade' of the smallholder seems to have been an especially popular tendency in the Nordic countries, and in Finland such connection was cemented and proved with statistical tables that were compiled first by the Inspector of Poor and then more regularly by the Inspector of Cottage Industry who worked at the Cottage Industry Office/Department, which was established in 1908. Along with the rising National Romantic movement, the image of the smallholder was idealised and coupled with further ideas about the dexterous and economically independent citizen who was active in the rural cooperatives. It seems that this ideal picture was advocated especially in the early 20th century, possibly even as part of passive resistance policies at the time of Russian oppression. Furthermore, especially after the 1905 General Strike, cottage industry appears to have been the social liberal reaction to the mass organisation of the workers and the smallholders.

The tradition of cottage industry policy then strongly continued the heritage of Snellman's (Hegel-based) ideals of the home and family-centred citizen enlivened by the national spirit. It would even seem that the ideal of the *Aufhebung* of the self, the resignation under harsh conditions that nevertheless would create the basis for the realisation of the burden of work as the individual's possibility to connect with the nation, was concretised in the ideal of cottage industry that, in any case, had been advocated by Snellman. On the other hand, the later glorification of Snellman as a statesman and as the primus motor of the Fennoman movement might have further influenced the perception of the smallholders' craft activity as an exceptionally patriotic deed: crafts were estimable, because even Snellman thought so. To the conservative and patriotic historicist elite, other historical authorities of the 19th century were involved, including von Haartman, Topelius, Cygnaeus and Meurman, as shown by the clue in the CIPC report.

A characteristic of cottage industry policy is also that it has been advocated by a rather limited circle of people. Despite the use of collective address, especially used by Yrjö Laine in his editorials and articles in the 1940s calling for more inclusive practices, cottage industry remained more a matter of administration than a matter of the people. Pleads to historical continuity therefore read as the historical actors' choice of type of legitimation for cottage industry policy as a cultural strategy and thus maintaining this political tradition. This maintaining endeavour further suggests that cottage industry policy as such became more of an object in need of protection than the actual craft techniques that in general were seen to be in need of modernisation with the help of design professionalism. The tradition of cottage industry policy therefore seems to have embodied the notion of institutional path dependence repeating and recycling similar if not the same programmes and practices that also fortified the semantic connotations of the respective concept.

The historical look to the roots of cottage industry policy offers a view to systematic acts to stabilise achieved consistencies. However, at the same time,

the perception of different historical and political traditions beneath the idea of cottage industry affirms the relevance of the intellectual legitimacy in institutional continuity. This again channels attention to the thought and attitudes of the historical actors. Kangas and Vestheim pointed to this aspect as essential to institutions: 'legitimation is grounded in actor's subjective orientations and beliefs about what is considered appropriate and morally correct' (Kangas & Vestheim 2010, 274). Historical and political actors' orientations, attitudes and beliefs, then, are historically bound in the sense that they appear in connection to their experience both on the individual but also on the generational level. Indeed, the relevance of generational experience has been proven significant, as was noted by Kangas and Vestheim: 'Institutions reflect historical experience: When institutions have been established through complex struggles and bargaining among organized groups, they have a continuing effect on subsequent decision-making, policy and the processes for building new institutions' (Kangas & Vestheim 2010, 282).

In a similar way, the institutionalised form of the idea of cottage industry, the Cottage Industry Department in the Agricultural Board and the Central Organisation of Cottage Industry Associations, is to be reflected against the background of their intellectual history that creates the basis for analysing the political history of the significantly cultural phenomenon of developing cottage industry. However, as per the aim of this study, the intellectual history of the cottage industry policy should not be circumscribed to a quasi-objective observation of ideas rolling along the timeline of history, but it needs to get closer to the historical actors. Therefore, the membership of the CIPC posed an important stepping stone in the analysis of the history of cottage industry policy. Making use of the historian and official Katri Laine's historical claims, the CIPC even worked as a gatekeeper of this history, although the CIPC's citation of the list of ancestors of cottage industry policy also offered the keys to that gate in the form of a microhistorical clue.

The need for political legitimation even seems to have invoked the aspect of cottage industry policy increasingly as cultural policy, especially as the application of cottage industry as an instrument of social policy faltered right from the beginning in the 1860s. Instead, the cultural heritage value of traditional craft techniques that were attached to the heritage of peasant ways of life served as major cultural content that also legitimated the continuity of cottage industry policy. Similarly to the ethnological discipline, the notion of cultural loss was embraced among the proponents of the idea of cottage industry. The need to cherish the past, and indeed not only the traditional techniques but also the memory of past experience of hardship, fuelled the desire for knowledge and consequently expertise, and the desire of being, creating guidelines for the proper smallholders' way of life.

In the situation of crisis and loss that the Second World War created, the many old craft practices were revived to fulfil practical material needs. In the form of reproducing traditional or tradition-based craft objects, cottage industry offered practices of reconciliation to the experience of loss, while at the same

time cottage industry was also conceived of as a method of control, especially in relation to the rural youth. In this way, cottage industry policy confirmed the semantic layers of the concept as a type of poor relief work – as a method of education and control – and as a cultural political instrument commemorating certain craft heritage (inclusive of the National Romantic design innovations of Finnish style). The situation also gave reason to propagate cottage industries as traditional subsidiary trades, especially as the settlement and land acquisition projects of the reconstruction period led to the mushrooming of smallholdings.

Even more decisively, the idea of cottage industry served the objective of not forgetting the break between the ideal (premodern) past with its original traditions and modernity with its technological and societal novelties. Indeed, the idea of cottage industry substantiated the impossibility of reconciliation to the cultural transition that followed not only the process of industrialisation but, possibly even more so, the emerging democratisation and, by the post-war years, the emerging welfare society. The idea of cottage industry with its expertise of rural traditions was thus appointed the task of mediating the sublime historical experience, the dialectic sensation of connecting with the past ways of life yet being conscious of the need to adjust oneself to the novelties of the modern era – applying a counter-image of Anttonen's summary – to be modern through tradition.

It is claimed that cottage industry policy served as a cultural strategy by sustaining the continuity of social and cultural models that cherished expediency and obedient modesty as signifiers of 'real' rural culture. Along with the established institutional structures, it could be maintained that cottage industry policy was created as an institutionalisation of a certain mentality that built on the worldviews of the upper (and increasingly) middle classes agreeing with the development of the liberal economy but also with hierarchical order and distinction between the bourgeois and the rural ways of life. As the history of cottage industry policy shows, the diverse rural craft practices, especially when correctly practised, were conceived of as the elemental manifestation of original Finnish folk culture (even if redesigned to match the modern taste). In other words, the tradition-bound craft practices of cottage industry epitomised the rural dwellers' subservience as a dying ethnological species.

Shifting focus to the effective history of cottage industry policy, the semantic connotations of cottage industry, 'the hunger trade', and their possible impact on contemporary craft practices should be reflected, because the conceptualisations that the cottage industry policy produced are seminal in how crafts have been perceived and classified. Their semantic and temporal structures call for the de- and reclassification of craft in order to negotiate craft culture from within – that process is largely yet to take place. Thus, more research attention is required on how crafts are valued and seen on cultural political agendas, on the circumstances of craftwork and on how the diverse actors of craft culture, artisans, designer-makers and artists self perceive their work and roles in society.

With its institutional and conceptual structures, cottage industry policy has indisputably had a great influence on Finnish craft culture. It is therefore possible that as part of its immaterial heritage, cottage industry policy could have traumatised Finnish craft culture, which might have led to the direct need to forget the concept itself. This was epitomised in the early 1990s' nomenclature on crafts and art industry offering a method to dissipate the semantic sediments that the concept of cottage industry had gathered. A traumatic experience can be faced through the method of narrative and be subsumed to a person's life story, but to transformative cultural traumas such reconciliation is not available. The notion of irreparable loss and change calls for outspoken acknowledgement of the pastness of the past instead of silenced oblivion, especially when the past is caught hovering in the present in attitudes, beliefs and valuations, and in political traditions. It is exactly this need to make a distinction between the past and the present that invokes the need to rewrite history.

EPILOGUE: EXPERIENCES OVERLAPPING IN TIME

In an article concerning the sacred places of the Khanty people, ethnologist Anna-Leena Siikala (2004) explained the significance of landscape as a carrier of historical memory and the specific role that holy groves have in the culturally and historically loaded landscape that at first sight might only seem plain forest. Meanings given to natural places and the ritual use of sacred places with the items of offering alter the way the landscape is perceived: 'When the visible artefacts and locations in the landscape are interpreted as traces of intentional activities in the past, a landscape is created in which time and space are intertwined into mental maps depicting the community and its embeddedness in the world' (Siikala 2004, 141).

Sacred places can be intentionally hidden or they can be located in a distant spot, only to be found by insiders of a certain group, but due to other reasons, holy groves have also been left out of use. They then become overgrown, but can still be recognised. As Siikala wrote:

> Discarded groves are overgrown in peace and transform into a landscape occupied by extraordinary beings. Despite the overgrowth, the places act as sign-vehicles of the collective memory. They represent the past of the group, tradition, which in the present day does not necessarily have the same meaning as before, but which, despite this, provides materials for experiencing the continuity of the group's culture. (Siikala 2004, 150.)

Specific places in the landscape can also provide meanings beyond religious meanings. On the side of a certain road in Ostrobothnia, one can find an unrefined stone, to the side of which a few robust words have been engraved: *tie tehty* [road made] *1867 Aleksander Nikolj*. The story of this road, *Tokerotie*, is the usual one: it was built as a relief work site during the tribulations of 1860s, and the workers got their pay in flour – mixed with water, the flour was eaten as '*tokero*' (Häkkinen 1991c, 138–139). Also, other construction sites of the late 1860s, such as canals and stretches of railroads, can carry similar kinds of memories of the Great Famine years, although this memory would be 'overgrown' by the everyday use of them and they thus would drop into oblivion.

Examples of places that can look very ordinary – forest scenery, a stretch of a road – but that at the same time can open as locations with specific significance clearly illustrate the idea of historical distinction, even the sublime cheese cover experience as illustrated by Ankersmit. One suddenly becomes extremely conscious of one's surroundings, like Sartre's character Roquentin sitting on the bench (Ankersmit 2005, 336–337) or the one given only a few months to live observing his surroundings through the eyes of the one who is exceptionally conscious of being alive (Hollander 2011, 59). This directness of indirectness was further discussed by Hollander as the basis of the art of self-distancing.

For my own part, the experience of direct indirectness applied to a moment when I truly realised the surroundings of the old settlement village where I had grown up, like a discarded grove that was made visible. The village gravel road bordered with the few houses (some of them built following the style of the type-planned houses), the old primary school building closed down many decades earlier, and the overgrowing fields suddenly appeared to me as a distinctively historical landscape. This experience, however, took place at the time when I was reflecting on my choice of studies in textile design. Having found proof of my initial hunch about the historical roots of the institute of higher education that I studied at, I also realised the subtle connection between these historical observations. This let me experience 'the continuity of the group's culture', to sense the sublime presence of the past, but it also made me feel entangled with lines of historical continuity. Indeed, back then I experimented in challenging conventions rather vigorously, but I also continued to create design collections to match current colour trends and interior styles. This allegedly economically profitable 'education to modernism', of which I did not want to recognise myself, seemed to be of a very different kind in comparison to my interests in craft as an alternative media in artistic expression. To continue on the cheese cover experience, observing the glass cover like from beyond it while still being under it, the perplexing realisation felt like having run headlong up against that glass cover.

Following Ankersmit's notions on historical experience, it has not been the intention at any point of this study to claim that this experience would be connected to historical truths, while neither is it meaningful to understate its significance. Paralleling historical experience with the aesthetic experience, it was emphasised that these are experiences without subject and object. 'Experience is something that is undergone' instead of an object that the subject would have (Ankersmit 2005, 252). Comparative to a trajectory between the subject and the object, this conceptualisation also led Ankersmit to maintain that altogether there is no certainty where historical subject ends and historical object begins: 'Everything is fluid and uncertain here; and precisely this fluidity and uncertainty define the territory in which history and historical writing can thrive. This is the territory of historical experience' (ibid., 262). Actually, a general description that Ankersmit (2005, 282) gave of his work *Sublime Historical Experience* was that 'the book can be read as a recommendation to historians to take more seriously than they presently do how the past sometimes may be given to

them in historical experience.' With this he wanted to advise researchers not to remain silent about the subjective or indeed about the sublime historical experience, and he even claimed historical experience to be the next stage 'of the development of historical writing over the last one and a half centuries' (ibid., 315).

As a researcher's guidebook to the trajectory of experience, Ankersmit's theorisation has helped to recognise and term the bafflement with my own wormhole-like experience, but it also – and decisively, regarding this study – offered a schema to analyse the historical experience that was so apparently significant in the composition of the idea of cottage industry, especially in the immediate post-WWII years. The greatest 'use' of my personal sublime experience might actually have been that of having the eyes or rather the moods and feelings for the sublime historical experience of the historical actor; perhaps the personal pain of being stuck with the past could have resonated with some previous pain of losing the past.

However, for Ankersmit (2005, 350–363), awareness of pain can even be recognised as a decisive shift for Western historical consciousness. Again, what is scrutinised is the sensation of the past slipping away and the painful awareness of distinction between the past and the present that on the one hand inflicts collective suffering and on the other hand fuels the desire to know about the past. Historical writing helps to handle this awareness: 'Historical writing, discourse, and historical consciousness mediate between trauma and suffering themselves on the one hand and the objectification of trauma and suffering that is so much characteristic of Western civilization on the other' (ibid., 359).

The idea of cottage industry constituted a line of historical consciousness that articulately served as a sphere of mediating between suffering and the objectification of the traumatic losses concerning both the more concrete damage and the mental damage. It is therefore intriguing that in his discussion on Western historical consciousness, Ankersmit imports, through Proust, the term of idea as a remedy to the cultural pain inflicted by collective, historical suffering:

> Ideas are produced by pains; at the moment when they change into ideas, they lose part of their harmful effect on our heart, and yet, initially, the transformation itself suddenly generates a feeling of joy. The succession can be found only in the order of time, for that matter, for it may seem that the idea is prior, whereas the pain manifests itself only after the idea has entered our mind. But there are different families of these ideas – and some are joys right from the start. (Proust (1952–1964) in Ankersmit 2005, 359.)

The transfer of pain into an idea is akin to the feeling of mastery over anguish; this is to be recognised as a negotiation about the past. In a similar way, the CIPC's endeavour to legitimate the idea of cottage industry as a specific policy and the discussions in the magazine *Kotiteollisuus* can be seen as traits of the general, Western historical consciousness, and therein as a typical activity of organising being in time. I set out to study this typicality with the help of the exceptionality of the clue that hinted that there was more to see than the archival landscape first promised. Making this discarded grove visible, I searched through files and scrutinised documents to analyse what the historical and po-

litical actors – the proponents of the idea of cottage industry – could have seen beyond the temporal horizontal line; in other words, what they saw that we cannot see. It is most likely that they could have related to something in the past that is not seen in this study. On the other hand, they might have seen something more familiar than we first might even be willing to admit. Historical experience as *magistra vitae* seems to fail time after time, but for the study of what we are seeing now, it is recommendable to mediate between the temporalities of experience.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Kotiteollisuus ja kotiteollisuusaate ovat osa suomalaista yhteiskuntahistoriaa ja etenkin osa käsityön ja muotoilun historiaa. Kotiteollisuudella on määritelmällisesti tarkoitettu kotitalouden omaan käyttöön valmistettuja käsityötuotteita (kotitarvekotiteollisuus) tai ansiotulon muodostamiseksi myyntiin tarkoitettua käsityötä (ansiokotiteollisuus). Kotiteollisuuden alaa on myös pidetty kansatieteellisen ja esineperinteen tutkimuksen kohteena, mutta kotiteollisuutta ilmiönä on laajimmin tutkittu osana taloushistoriallista tutkimusta (Virrankoski 1963; Virrankoski 1994). Kotiteollisuuden voikin tulkita rinnasteisena protoindustrialismille (Kriedte et al. 1981). Tutkimushuomiota alan hallintoon (Laine et al. 1968) ja järjestötasoon (Henriksson [1944]; Ylönen 2003) on kohdistettu kuitenkin niukasti.

Käsityön ja muotoilun historian tutkimukselle voi nähdä jossain määrin ominaisena aspektitutkimuksen: käsityötä on tutkittu historian alojen, etnologian, pedagogian sekä erityisen käsityötieteen kannalta (Uotila 2014; Vainio-Korhonen 1998; Spoof (toim.) 2003; Anttila 1996a); muotoilun historiassa huomiota ovat tavanomaisesti saaneet tietyt henkilöt tai alan yritykset, mutta myös muotoilun professiotutkimus ja muotoilun representaatiot ovat saaneet tutkimushuomiota (Wiberg 1996; Kalha 1997; Takala-Schreib 2000). Kiinnostus käsityön ja muotoilun historian tutkimukseen on kasvanut erityisesti alojen vakiinnuttua Suomessakin akateemisina tiede- ja tutkimusaloina 1980-luvulta lähtien. Erityisesti muotoilun historian mallimaana on ollut Iso-Britannia. Brittiläisen *Journal of Design History* -lehden ensimmäisessä pääkirjoituksessa muotoilu määriteltiin laajasti taloudellisena ja yhteiskunnallisena ilmiönä sen sijaan, että muotoilu nähtäisiin suppeasti vain tuotesuunnitteluna tai merkityksellisinä taideteollisuusesineinä (Bailey 1988).

Kotiteollisuusaatteen keskeinen pyrkimys oli edistää käsityötaitoa ja kätevyyttä, ja tältä osin teema on läheinen käsityölle ja käsityöperinteille. Kuitenkin kotiteollisuuteen haluttiin vahvasti liittää käsitys korkealaatuisesta ja omaperäisestä, suomalaisesta muotoilusta. Näin kotiteollisuus kytkeytyi läheisesti myös muotoiluun. Suomessa muotoilun historiaan liittyvien tulkintojen voi kuitenkin usein nähdä kytketyn vahvasti tiettyihin institutionaalisiin ja käsitteellisiin konventioihin. Kotiteollisuuden ja taideteollisuuden välinen suhde on tulkittavissa paitsi kronologisesti toisiaan täydentävinä myös polaarisena, vastakohtaisena. Kotiteollisuus on liitetty maaseutuun ja perinteisiksi nähtyihin maaseudun elämäntapoihin, kun taas taideteollisuus on mielletty urbaaniksi ja ennen kaikkea modernin ajan ilmiöksi.

Väitöskirjassani kuitenkin osoitan, että kotiteollisuuden käsite on nähtävissä 1800-luvun lopulla etabloituvana, modernina hallinnollisena ja poliittisena käsitteenä. Kotiteollisuusaatteen välityksellä pyrittiin aktiivisesti kehittämään Suomen suuriruhtinaskunnan taloutta, ennen kaikkea taloudellista ajattelua ja elämäntapaa. Kotiteollisuuden edistämisessä keskeisen sijan kätevyyden ja muotoajattelun ohella saivatkin kansalais- ja yrittäjyyskasvatus: kotiteolli-

suuden avulla pyrittiin kasvattamaan taloudellisesti toimeliaita ja riippumattomia kansalaisia.

Kotiteollisuuden edistämistyölle omaksuttiin valtion keskushallinnosta institutionaalinen perusta. Suomalaista kotiteollisuutta pyrittiin kehittämään osana viranomaishallintoa komiteatyönä 1800-luvun lopulta alkaen; ensimmäinen kotiteollisuutta käsitellyt komiteanmietintö laadittiin vuonna 1873. Tämä väitöskirjatutkimus pohjaakin komiteatyönä syntyneihin dokumentteihin, mutta tutkimuksen lähteinä olen käyttänyt myös muita dokumentteja, kuten raportteja ja kokouspöytäkirjoja, pienpainatteita, sanoma- ja aikakauslehtiä. Lisäksi olen hyödyntänyt Suomen käsityön museon (ent. Suomen kotiteollisuusmuseo) arkistoa personaliakokoelmien ja valokuvakokoelmien osalta.

Tutkimukseni käsittelee kotiteollisuusaatetta aate- ja kulttuurihistoriallisena ilmiönä, joka on muodostanut merkittävän osan suomalaista kulttuuripolitiikan historiaa. Tutkimukseni metodologisen viitekehyksen perustana on monialainen näkökulma historialliseen tutkimukseen. Keskiössä ovat historiallinen, poliittinen toimija ja tämän historiallinen kokemus sekä käsitykset menneisyydestä. Lähtökohtaa menneisyyden tulkinnallisuudesta havainnollistan Otto Mäkilän teoksen *He näkevät mitä me emme näe* (1939) avulla. Historian uudelleentulkintaa ja historiallista kokemusta erittelen Reinhart Koselleckin ja F. R. Ankersmitin käsitteiden avulla.

Tutkimuksessani analysoin kotiteollisuusaatteen kulttuurista, ideologista ja poliittista taustaa. Tarkastelen, ketkä kotiteollisuutta pyrkivät edistämään 1800-luvun lopulla ja 1900-luvun alussa ja selvitän heidän sosio-kulttuurista taustaa sekä aatteellisia ja poliittisia kytköksiä. Tätä pohjaa vasten analysoin kotiteollisuusaatteen muodostumista (kulttuuri)poliittisena traditiona ja sen uudelleenperustelua, legitimaatiota toisen maailmansodan jälkeisinä vuosina. Tutkimuksessani esitän, että kotiteollisuusaatteen ytimessä olivat hallinnosta ja virkatyöskentelystä periytyneet traditiot, vahvasti liberalistiseen ajatteluun viittaavat näkökannat sekä historiallisen kokemuksen teema. Erilaisten historiallisten menetysten ja siten historiallisen trauman käsittely muodosti käsityön kulttuuriperinnön ohella kotiteollisuusaatteen keskeisen kulttuurisen sisällön.

Tutkimustyöskentelyn perustana on mikrohistoriallinen tarkastelutapa. Sen myötä tutkimukseni aikarajaus on duaalinen, kaksitahoinen. Työn lähtökohtana on Suomessa jatkosodan jälkeen, marraskuussa 1944 asetetun Kotiteollisuustuotantokomitean mietintö (KM1934:34, mon.). Suhteutan komiteatyötä ajankohdan muuhun komiteatyöhön liittyen ennen kaikkea asutus- ja maanhankintaprojektien suunnitteluun, sillä kotiteollisuuden ajateltiin olevan tarpeellinen sivuelinkeino kymmenillä tuhansilla uusilla pientiloilla. Tutkin Kotiteollisuustuotantokomitean mietinnössä käytyä käsitekeskustelua ja -määrittelyä, ja Koselleckin käsitehistoriallisia näkemyksiä soveltaen tulkitsen kotiteollisuuden käsitteen historiallisesti kerrostuneena merkkinä. Dokumentissa on kuitenkin myös vahva ‘tyypillisen poikkeuksen’ elementti, jonka perusteella otan tutkimuksen perusjuonteeksi mikrohistoriasta tutun johtolankametodin. Dokumentin viittaus Lars Gabriel von Haartmaniin, Johan Vilhelm Snellmaniin, Uno Cygnaeukseen, Zacharias Topeliukseen ja Agathon Meurma-

niin kotiteollisuuden aikaisempina edistäjinä ulottaa historiallisen tarkastelun aina 1700-luvulle asti, joskin tutkimus keskittyy 1860–1910-lukujen väliselle ajanjaksolle.

Tutkimuksessani tuon esiin sen, miten kotiteollisuusaatteen edistäminen ankkuroitui monin tavoin 1860-luvun suuriin nälkävuosiin, erityisesti kriisivuoteen 1867–68. Senaatin finanssitoimituskunnan johtajana tuolloin toiminut J. V. Snellman pyrki painokkaasti viemään läpi ohjelman, jossa hädänalaisten ihmisten oli määrä valmistaa käsityöartikkeleita myyntiin ruoka-apua vastaan. Kotiteollisuus siis merkitsi vastikkeellisen avun muotoa. Kotiteollisuusaatteen voi kuitenkin tulkita luontevaksi osaksi Snellmanin yleisempää valtio-opillista ajattelua, käytännölliseksi menetelmäksi iskostaa maakansaan työlle, kodille ja kansakunnalle omistautunut asenne. Idea kotoisen kätevyyden kautta aikaansaatavasta kotitaloudellisesta säästöstä ja toisaalta käsitöitä myymällä leivässä tai rahassa ansaitusta tulosta kohdennettiin ennen kaikkea maaseudun vähävaraisiin, niinkutsuttuihin maattomiin ja irtolaisiin, näiden itsensä elättämisen keinoiksi, itseavuksi. Näin ollen kotiteollisuus liitettiin tiiviisti maaseudun elämismaailmaan, mutta perustaltaan kotiteollisuuspolitiikan suunnittelu oli keskus- ja hierarkiajohtoista. Kotiteollisuusaatetta voi pitää ensisijaisesti elitistisenä ilmiönä, joka ajallisesti limittyi 1800–1900-lukujen vaihteen yläluokan muihin filantropisiin toimiin.

Kotiteollisuuden harjoittamiseen liitettiin tiiviisti ideat käsityöstä työ- ja kansalaismoraalia kasvattavana ja ylläpitävänä toimintana, ja kotiteollisuusaate on nähtävissä samanaikaisena kansakoulun käsityön oppiaineen kehittämisen kanssa. Molemmissa tapauksissa käsityö nähtiin jopa kurinpidollisuuteen asti kasvattavana keinona, mutta kotiteollisuuden suhteen pyrkimykset olivat leimallisesti työteliäisyyteen ja omavaraisuuteen suuntaavia, siinä missä Uno Cygnaeuksen käsityöpedagogiikan taustalla painottui lapsen persoonallinen kehitys. Vuoden 1873 kotiteollisuuskomitea pyrkikin selvästi viemään kansakoulua yleisemmän kotiteollisuuskoulun suuntaan. Tämän komitean jäsenet edustivat paitsi keskushallintoa myös liberalistisia näkemyksiä. Jäseniin lukeutui muiden muassa Forssan tekstiilitehtaan johtaja Axel Wilhelm Wahren, joka pyrki tehdasyhteisössään kehittämään työläislasten ja -nuorten koulutusta, ja joka komitean kahden muun jäsenen ohella oli vuonna 1880 perustamassa Suomeen liberalistista puoluetta.

1870-luvulla teollisen tuotannon merkitys vahvistui Suomessa ja kaupankäynnin lainsäädäntö liberalisoitui. Tällä oli huomattava vaikutus käsityövaltaiselle tuotannolle, jota oli säädelty lailla. Ennen kaikkea maaseudun käsityönä tulkittu kotiteollisuus vapautui kilta- ja pitäjänmestarijärjestelmien kautta ylläpidetystä säätelystä. Helsingissä vuonna 1875 pidetty yleinen kotiteollisuusnäyttely (Kotiteollisuus ja Työtätekevä Näyttely) ja sen yhteydessä pidetty yleinen kotiteollisuuskokous ilmensivät kotiteollisuuteen liitettyjä ambitioita orastavan teollistumiskehityksen tukemiseksi. Näyttelyä ja kokousta esiteltiin laajasti liberalistisen aatesuunnan foorumina toimineessa *Helsingfors Dagbladissa*. Vuosikymmenen mittaan voimistuneen fennomaanisen liikkeen äänenkannattajassa, *Uudessa Suomettaressa*, kotiteollisuusnäyttelyä raportoitiin myös, mutta

teemasta muodostui myös kärkevän kielipolitikoinnin aihe, sillä lehdessä esitettiin terävää kritiikkiä näyttelyn jäjestäjien ruotsinkielisyyden ja -mielisyyden johdosta.

1800–1900-lukujen vaihteen useat ilmiöt nivoutuivat myös kotiteollisuuden kehittämistavoitteisiin. Näihin liittyivät visiot maaseudun kotiteollisuutta harjoittavista kuuliaisista alustalaisista, jotka edelleen kehittäisivät taloudellista toimintaansa osuuskuntatoiminnan välityksellä. Ideaali viittaa ajanhengen mukaisesti myös tolstoilaisuuteen ja siten sen voi nähdä myös yhtenä passiivisen vastarinnan keinona 1900-luvun ensivuosien venäläistämispolitiikkaa vastaan. Kädentaitojen säilyttäminen ja kehittäminen alkoi etenkin kansallisromantiikkana tunnetun virtauksen myötä 1900-luvun alkuvuosina muuttua myös kulttuuripoliittiseksi tehtäväksi. Torppariongelmana tai ”sosiaalisena kysymyksenä” tunnettua ilmiötä sen sijaan alettiin kasvavissa määrin lähestyä paitsi maatalouden kehittämisen ja kotitalousvalistuksen myös maareformi-suunnitelmien kautta.

Sekä vuoden 1900 yleisen kotiteollisuuskokouksen että vuosina 1906–1908 toimineen kotiteollisuuskomitean puheenjohtajana toimi nimellään kulkeneesta sosiaaliliberaalista työväenliikkeestä tunnettu huonekalutehtailija Viktor Julius von Wright. Hän toimi pitkään myös Suomen kotiteollisuusvaltuuskunnan puheenjohtajana ja saattoi siis tätä kautta löytää kanavan näkemyksilleen käsityövaltaisesta työstä. Ideaali kotiteollisesta elämänmuodosta näyttäytyikin vaihtoehtona torppareiden sekä maaseudun ja kaupunkien työläisten massajärjestäytymistä vastaan. Kotiteollisuutta edistämään pyrkivä yhdistys, Suomen Yleinen Käsiteollisuusyhdistys, joka perustettiin vuonna 1893 jatkamaan Hätäavun keskuskomitean työtä, pysyi kuitenkin jäsenmäärältään vaatimattomana ajankohdan moniin muihin järjestöihin verrattuna.

Kotiteollisuuden kehittämistyölle oli ominaista erilaisten kartoittavien raporttien ja tilastojen laadinta, ja kotiteollisuudesta muodostui erikoisasiantuntemuksen ja etenkin kotiteollisuuden koulutusverkoston kautta uuden professionalismin ala. Esimerkiksi Kuopiossa vuonna 1906 pidetyn yleisen kotiteollisuusnäyttelyn tarkoitus oli juuri kartoittaa eri maakuntien kotiteollisuustuotteiden määrää ja laatua. Näyttelyn tuloksia raportoitiin osana vuonna 1908 annettua kotiteollisuuskomitean mietintöä. Tämän komitean myötä kotiteollisuuden asema osana valtionhallintoa etabloitui, sillä sen perusteella perustettiin vuonna 1908 Teollisuushallitukseen kotiteollisuuden tarkastajan virka. Viran täytti Lauri Kuoppamäki (vuoteen 1922 Mäkinen). Kotiteollisuustoimisto siirtyi Maataloushallituksen alaisuuteen vuodesta 1926, mutta Kuoppamäki jatkoi ylitarkastajana kuolemaansa asti, vuoteen 1935. Vuodesta 1918 asetettiin lisäksi mies- ja naiskotiteollisuuden tarkastajan virat. Kotiteollisuuden järjestötyön keskukseksi perustettiin vuonna 1913 Suomen kotiteollisuusvaltuuskunta. Yhdistykseksi rekisteröitymisen myötä (1934) nimeksi vakiintui sittemmin Kotiteollisuuden Keskusliitto. Liiton jäsenpohjan muodostivat alueelliset kotiteollisuusyhdistykset.

Kotiteollisuuden hallinto ja kehittäminen oli vahvasti henkilöitynyttä, ja von Wrightin lisäksi juuri Kuoppamäki toimi aktiivisesti myötävaikuttaen vah-

vasti alueellisten kotiteollisuusyhdistysten perustamiseen. Lisäksi hän alkuunpani kotiteollisuuden ja käsityön alaa popularisoivan *Käsiteollisuus*-lehden (1907–1931), jossa muun muassa esisteltiin mallipiirustuksia kodeissa tehtävää käsityötä varten. Vuosisadan alussa kotiteollisuuden eduista kirjoitti aktiivisesti myös arkkitehti, Jyväskylän seminaarin veiston ja piirustuksen lehtori Yrjö Oskari Blomstedt. Ajoin hyvinkin värikkäissä teksteissään Blosmtedt pyrki voimakkaasti aktivoimaan maaseudun asukkaita kotiteollisuuden harjoittamiseen elintasonsa kohottamiseksi.

Erityisesti kotiteollisuuden harjoittamista varten laadituissa käsityömalleissa välittyi selvinä tyylilliset vaikutteet 1800–1900-luvun vaihteen taideteollisuusliikkeistä niin jugendtyylistä, Arts & Crafts -liikkeestä kuin art nouveau'stakin. Kuvaavaa on, että vuoden 1906 Kuopion kotiteollisuusnäyttelyn järjestelyissä oli mukana useita nuoria arkkitehtejä, kuten Armas Lindgren ja Valter Thomé. Lindgren oli myös mukana von Wrightin johtamassa kotiteollisuuskomiteassa. Suurten, kansainvälisten teollisuusnäyttelyiden esimerkkiä seuranneen näyttelyareenan sisäänkäyntiportin Lindgren suunnitteli jugendtyylille ominaisia piirteitä noudattaen. Taideteollisuustyylien ja maailmannäyttelyiden innoittamien näyttelypuitteiden sisällä esitellyt kotiteollisuustuotteet olivat kuitenkin arkaaisempia muotoja noudattaneita puuastioita, työkaluja, veneitä, suksia ja erilaisia tekstiilejä.

Kuten vuoden 1908 komiteanmietintö osoittaa etenkin komiteajäsen Alexandra Gripenbergin laajan kansainvälisen vertailun osalta, kotiteollisuusaate muodosti taideteollisuusliikkeen rinnalle jopa yleiseurooppalaisen liikkeen. Pyrkimyksenä ei ollut yksinomaan kansallisromantiikan elähyttämän yläluokan kansanomaisten esineiden keräily vaan selväpiirteisesti rahvaan kannustaminen taloudelliseen toimeliaisuuteen. Kuitenkin kotiteollisuus saavutti jokseenkin yhtenäiseltä vaikuttavan muodon erityisesti Pohjoismaissa; Pohjoismaiden Kotiteollisuusliitto perustettiin vuonna 1926.

Kotiteollisuuden käsitteen vahvana semanttisena sisältönä säilyi sen merkitys maaseudun vähävaraisten sivuelinkeinona ja etenkin pula-aikojen hätätyönä. Toisen maailmansodan puhkeaminen ja etenkin sotaa seurannut pula-aika ja jälleenrakennuskausi korostivat kotiteollisuuden merkitystä käytännöllisenä pulan lievittämisen keinona. Vaikka toisen maailmansodan päättyminen monella tapaa tultiinkin myöhemmin tulkitsemaan historiallisena nolla-hetkenä, rauhaanpalaamisen kannalta kyse oli myös arjen rytmeihin ja jatkuvuuksiin palautumisesta. Tässä yhteydessä toistettiin myös kotiteollisuuden historiallista merkitystä katovuosien sosiaalipoliittisena välineenä. Kotiteollisuuspolitiikan soveltamisen kannalta kyse olikin jälleen yhdestä yhteiskuntaa kohdanneesta kriisistä, joka oli lievitettävissä kotoisten kädentaitojen avulla. Samalla tosin pyrittiin kontrolloimaan etenkin maaseudun nuorisoa, pidättämään heitä kotiseuduillaan ja näin ehkäisemään maaltapakoa käsityötaitojen avulla. Tutkimuksessani esitän, että kotiteollisuusaate instituutioineen muodosti pohjimmiltaan kulttuuripoliittisen tradition, jonka kautta tuotettiin jatkuvuutta menneisyyteen, etenkin pula-aikojen muistoa toistaen, mutta myös uusinnettiin kulttuurista ideaalikuvaa uutterasta ja omavaraisesta pienviljelijästä. Etenkin nälkävuoden

1867–1868 kokemuksen ja sen ratkaisupyrkimyksen kotiteollisuuden keinoin voi katsoa muodostaneen kokokemustilan, jonka perustalta kotiteollisuuspolitiikkaa suunniteltiin vielä toisen maailmansodan jälkeisinäkin vuosina.

Suurten nälkävuosien kokemus on tulkittavissa kollektiivisena traumaattisena kokemuksena, joka oli sukupolvinen, mutta jonka muistoa myös siirrettiin sukupolvittain. Monin tavoin kehittymätön maatalous ja kasvavan maattoman väestön ongelmallinen asema saivat pulavuosien kokemuksen tuntumaan laajalti myös 1890-luvun kadoissa. Toisaalta myös kotiteollisuuden soveltamisesta katouhkan hallinnassa kumuloitui kokemusta: laadittiin komiteamietintöjä, järjestettiin näyttelyitä, kokouksia ja selvityksiä. Kato- ja pulavuosien aiheuttamat kriisit ja niihin reagoiminen loivat kotiteollisuustoiminnalle ohjelmallisen pääsisällön: pulakokemus pakotti varautumaan tuleviin koettelemuksiin luomalla valmiuksia pahan päivän varalle eli kehittämään kansan käsityötaitoja. Teollisen tuotannon kasvun myötä kuitenkin myös kulutus maaseudulla muuttui. Siksi maaseudun käsityö, kotiteollisuus, ja perinteiset kädentaidot alettiin pian nähdä myös katoavana kulttuurina, mitä siivittivät karelianismi ja kansallisromanttiset virtaukset. Mutta katoavaksi alettiin nähdä myös vaatimaton ja tottelevainen alamainen, kun sekä työväki että torpparit ryhtyivät 1900-luvun alussa järjestäytymään. Vuoden 1905 yleislakko enteili sääty-yhteiskunnan horjumista: yläluokkainen ideaalikuva ahkerasta ja tottelevaisesta maakansasta alkoi murtua.

Näin kotiteollisuusaatteeseen nivoutui monella tapaa menetyksen ja muistamisen teemat, joita tutkimuksessa jäsennän F. R. Ankersmitin (2005) historiallista traumaa koskevan teoretisoinnin avulla. Ankersmit erittelee yksittäiseen kriisiin, kuten pulakokemukseen, liittyvän traumakokemuksen, mutta tämän lisäksi hän liittää traumaattisen kokemuksellisuuden myös niihin laajoihin muutoksiin, jotka vaikuttavat yhteiskunnassa käänteentekevästi. Yhtenä esimerkkinä Ankersmit nimeääkin teollisen vallankumouksen. Tutkimuksessani osoitan, että kokemus kotiteollisuuden soveltamisesta pulakriiseissä ja toisaalta kokemus teollisuuden läpimurrosta ja yhteiskunnallisten suhteiden kriisiytymisestä tiivistyivät olennaiseksi osaksi kotiteollisuusaatetta. Kotiteollisuusaate on siksi tunnistettavissa käsityöhön ja muotoiluun sidottuna kulttuuripoliittisena strategiana ja mentaliteettina, joiden tuottaman tradition pohjalta kotiteollisuuspolitiikkaa tuotettiin uudelleen myös toisen maailmansodan jälkeisinä pulavuosina, joille leimallisia olivat laajat asutus- ja maanhankintajärjestelyt. Kotiteollisuus ei siis merkinnyt vain perinteiseksi miellettyä maaseudun käsityötä, vaan myös yhteiskunnallisten ja kulttuuristen roolien järjestämistä menneisyyden ja nykyisyyden, tradition ja modernin kynnyksellä.

Etenkin Kotiteollisuustuotantokomitean keskeisten jäsenten, viranhoitajien ja kotiteollisuuden aktiivien Yrjö Laine[-Juvan], Toivo Salervon, Hulda Kontturin ja Reino Vuolannon *Kotiteollisuus*-lehdessä julkaisemat artikkelit kotiteollisuuden merkityksistä aatteena ja kulttuurityönä välittävät sodanjälkeisinä vuosina toistuneen huolen katoavasta maaseutukulttuurista. Teksteissä välittyivät heidän menneisyyden käsitykset ja kokemukset kulttuurisesta muutoksesta suhteessa sodanjälkeiseen nykyhetkeen ja tulevaisuuden odotuksiin. Samaan

aikaan kotiteollisuuteen ja käsitöiden harjoittamiseen liitettiin etenkin Karjalasta evakuoitujen ihmisten menetykset ja tarve muistaa, mutta myös tarve unohtaa ja jatkaa elämää. Kotiteollisuuteen liittyi ajallinen sillanrakentaminen menneisyyden ja nykyisyyden välillä. Käsityöperinteet tuottivat kulttuurista jatkuvuutta: ajateltiin että käsityön kautta menneisyys ja nykyisyys kohtaavat. Toisaalta kotiteollisuus pyrittiin legitimoimaan moderniin aikaan sovitettavissa olevana elinkeinona, jonka kautta kärsityt menetyksetkin voitaisiin unohtaa.

Ankersmitin teoriaa subliimista historiallisesta kokemuksesta seuraten väitän, että kotiteollisuusaate kulttuuripolitiikkana implikoi toisen maailmansodan jälkeisinä vuosina pikemminkin sodan aiheuttamien menetysten ja epävarmuuden sekä yleisemmin modernin murroksen käsittelyä ja etenkin maaseutunuorison kasvatusta ja kontrollia, kuin realistista asutus- ja pienviljelyprojektin elinkeinopolitiikkaa. Kotiteollisuuden käsitteen voi tulkita jopa iskusanana, joka kattoi sekä ideaalin omavaraisesta pienviljelijän elämäntavasta että käsityön kulttuuriperinnön välittämisestä. Lisäksi kotiteollisuusaatteen mukaisen käsityön ajateltiin välittävän subliimin, ylevän jatkuvuuden ja yhteydentunteen kokemuksen aikakerrosten välillä. Kotiteollisuuden aiempi merkitys katovuosien kriisityönä painottui siten kulttuurisen murroksen hallintaan. *Kotiteollisuus*-lehti tarjosi foorumin murroksesta käytävälle keskustelulle, kun taas komiteatyön kautta tuotettiin käytännön toimintasuunnitelmaa tuon murroksen hallintaan mm. kotiteollisuuden kaupan ja koulutuksen järjestämisen kautta.

Sodanjälkeisten vuosien Kotiteollisuustuotantokomitea pyrki uudelleenlegitimoimaan kotiteollisuuden asemaa valtion hallinnossa toistaen aatteen historiallista ja ideologista taustaa ja heijastaen siihen liittynyttä historiallista kokemusta. Maataloushallituksen kotiteollisuusosaston ja alan yhdistys- ja koulutuskentän kautta institutionalisoituna poliittisena traditiona kotiteollisuusaate on voinut muokata ja leimata, jopa stigmatisoida suomalaista käsityökulttuuria voimakkaasti. Tarve käsityön yhteiskunnalliselle ja kulttuuriselle tutkimukselle, joka huomioi tämän historian, on siksi huomattava.

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