

**LOOKING AT THE OTHER -
HISTORICAL STUDY OF
IMAGES IN THEORY AND
PRACTISE**

Edited By
**KARI ALENIOUS,
OLAVI K. FÄLT &
SEIJA JALAGIN**

Department of History,
University of Oulu

OULU 2002



EDITED BY KARI ALENIOUS, OLAVI K. FÄLT & SEIJA JALAGIN

**LOOKING AT THE OTHER -
HISTORICAL STUDY OF IMAGES IN
THEORY AND PRACTISE**

OULUN YLIOPISTO, OULU 2002

Copyright © 2002
University of Oulu, 2002

ISBN 951-42-6633-1 (URL: <http://herkules.oulu.fi/isbn9514266331/>)

ALSO AVAILABLE IN PRINTED FORMAT
Acta Univ. Oul. B 42, 2002
ISBN 951-42-6632-3

ISSN 0355-3205 (URL: <http://herkules.oulu.fi/issn03553205/>)

OULU UNIVERSITY PRESS
OULU 2002

Preface

Historical image research has been particularly applied to studies of relationships between cultures and between peoples. There have also been studies that deal with the images of certain important individuals. Through long continuous development, the theory of historical image research has become increasingly established, and it seems that there is practically no limits to its possibilities. It has even been claimed that one could approach all historical sources through the image research, since every source is at the same time a relic as well as a reflection of the past.

The purpose of this publication is, however, not to speculate directly on the various theoretical aspects of the historical image research, but rather its applicability to different study instances. An overview of the theoretical framework of historical image research is presented in the introduction. The articles introduce cases of image research from three viewpoints: (1) images of distant cultures, (2) images of neighbouring peoples, including the enemy image, and (3) images of politically influential persons in various times and cultural contexts. The authors examine the use of sources, different interpretation possibilities and their limitations – the historical image method as an instrument of analysis and as a viewpoint. All the authors are experienced researchers at the Department of History of the University of Oulu, and their work is much along the lines of the strong tradition of historical image research carried out at the department since the 1970s.

Oulu, February 11, 2002

Kari Alenius

Olavi K. Fält

Seija Jalagin

Contents

Preface
Contents

Introduction

Olavi K. Fält	7
Gendered Images – Western Women on Japanese Women	
Seija Jalagin	12
Guided by the Bushmen to the Finnish Namibia Myth	
Teuvo Raiskio	32
The Images of Neighbours: Estonians and Their Neighbours	
Kari Alenius	53
Image Research and the Enemy Image: The Soviet Union in Finnish Newspapers during the Winter War (November 30, 1939 – March 13, 1940)	
Sinikka Wunsch	73
On the Applicability of Image Research to the Study of Medieval Hagiographies	
Mari Mäki-Petäys	89
Historical Image Research and the Use of Emperorship as the Symbol of the International Relationships in Japan from the Beginning of the 20th Century to the World War II	
Olavi K. Fält	104

Introduction¹

Olavi K. Fält

Images have been studied fairly intensively in the fields of history, social psychology and international relations in recent decades, the first work of this kind having taken place mostly in the United States and Japan. According to Akira Iriye, this was partly because people in both countries were especially interested in the uniqueness of their national character.² Later a considerable amount of work along the same lines was done in Nordic countries.³ Many theories have been put forward in the course of this already relatively long research tradition, and I have attempted here to fit them together into as consistent a theory as possible designed to serve the needs of historical research in particular.

It is convenient to start out from the notion put forward by Melvin Small that the study of images is a broader field than that of opinions. The opinions of large masses of people in the past are inaccessible to the historian until the dawn of the Gallup Poll, and one is therefore obliged to go for the broader but more diffuse concept of image.⁴ I do not see the difference between images and opinions as lying exclusively in the fact that the latter

-
1. See Fält, Olavi K.: *Global History, Cultural Encounters and Images. Between National Histories and Global History*. Eds. Stein Tønnesson, Juhani Koponen, Niels Steensgaard, Thommy Svensson. Historiallinen Arkisto 110:4. FHS/Helsingfors 1997, 59–70; Fält, Olavi K.: *The Historical Study of Mental Images as a Form of Research into Cultural Confrontation. Comparative Civilizations Review* No. 32 Spring 1995, 99–108.
 2. Iriye, Akira: Introduction. *Mutual Images. Essays in American-Japanese Relations*. Ed. by Akira Iriye. Harvard Studies in American-East Asian Relations 7. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1975, 1.
 3. Alenius, Kari: *Ahkeruus, edistys, vihamielisyys. Virolaisten Suomi-kuva kansallisen heräämisen ajasta tsaarinvallan päättymiseen (n. 1850–1917)*. With an English Summary: Hardworking, progressive, arrogant. The Image of Finland in the eyes of the Estonians from the period of national awakening to the end of the Tsarist era (approx. 1850–1917). *Studia Historica Septentrionalia* 27. Jyväskylä 1996; Burgman, Torsten: *Japanbilden i Sverige 1667–1984*. Uppsala 1986; Fält, Olavi K.: *Eksotismista realismiin. Perinteinen Japanin-kuva Suomessa 1930-luvun murroksessa*. With an English Summary: From Exoticism to Realism. The traditional Image of Japan in Finland in the Transition Years of the 1930's. *Studia Historica Septentrionalia* 5. Oulu 1982; Holmberg, Åke: *Världen bortom västerlandet (The world beyond the West) Vol. 1. Svensk syn på fjärran länder och folk från 1700-talet till första världskriget*. Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum et Litterarum Gothoburgensis Humaniora 0072-4823 28. Göteborgs Kungliga Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-samhället 1988; Holmberg, Åke: *Världen bortom västerlandet (The world beyond the west) Vol. 2. Den svenska omvärldsbilden under mellankrigstiden*. Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum et Litterarum Gothoburgensis Humaniora 0072-4823 34. Göteborgs Kungliga Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-samhället 1994; Hägerdal, Hans: *Väst om öst: kinaforskning och kinasyn under 1800-och 1900-talen*. Lund University Press 1996. See also de Anna, Luigi: *Vieraiden kansojen kirjallisesta kuvasta (Literary Images of Alien Peoples)*. Historiallinen Arkisto 96. Jyväskylä 1991, 21–24.
 4. Small, Melvin: *Historians Look at Public Opinion. Public Opinion and Historians. Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Ed. by Melvin Small. Detroit 1970, 22.

cannot be studied in past time, however, for they are really two quite separate things. Since we are obliged to study images rather than mass opinion in the distant past, even though both are accessible in the more immediate past, we may refer to images as an intellectual heritage handed down to us, which we carry with us whether we like it or not. This heritage contains within it various latent images which remain basically the same regardless of how many new features we may add to them in the course of time.⁵

My basis is that, in the first place, an image is longer-lasting and more durable than an opinion or attitude and that images are simplifications of the reality which they describe. It has been said that an image is like a map that we have in our head, which depicts reality but is not in itself real by comparison with the objects which it represents. An image is real enough, of course, if we think of it as an object of study or as a factor influencing various decisions, for instance. By simplification I mean that certain details are easily filtered out from an image, leaving it in a reduced form. The permanence of images is further emphasised by the fact that we are inclined to accept messages which lend to support to an existing stereotype. A further important feature from the point of view of research into cultural encounters is that the images that we form of things or people that are strange to us tend to be unfavourable ones.⁶

Whether it is really the case that we accept ideas that support stereotypes rather than ones that go against them, or that our images of strangers are predominantly unfavourable, is in the end something that has to be demonstrated separately for each topic of research. They are hypotheses connected with the nature of images which each researcher in the final instance has to resolve for himself.

The further pivotal hypothesis from which research into cultural encounters sets out is that a strange, distant culture is regarded as a good and revealing object of study in terms of image research, on account of the fact that long geographical distances and sharp cultural distinctions create a fruitful environment for images possessing simple, bold outlines and metaphorical content. It is precisely when we are dealing with a strange culture that the typical features of an image stand out exceptionally clearly. It is as if this kind of images were able to expose us best of all. In the words of Harold R. Isaacs, when we are studying people's personalities, their attitudes towards distant, strange things can be more revealing than those towards features of their immediate surroundings.⁷

Although image research makes much of the permanence of images, it is possible for an image to change. This is often seen as occurring either through very dramatic events that arouse powerful emotions or else cumulatively, as a consequence of repeated events that argue in the same direction.⁸ However, the change very seldom extends to the deep

5. Cfr. Said, Edward W.: *Orientalism*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1978, 206 ("latent Orientalism" and "manifest Orientalism").

6. Boulding, Kenneth E.: *The Image. Knowledge in Life and Society*. Second Printing. New York 1959, 8, 111; Buchanan, William and Hadley, Cantril: *How Nations See Each Other. A Study in Public Opinion*. With the assistance of Virginia Van S. Zerega, Henry Durant, James R. White. University of Illinois Press, Urbana 1953, 1-3, 96; Knudsen, Bård Bredrup: *Elite Images and Perceptual Predispositions: A Study of Some National and International Images of Western Europe. Affinity, the Rank of Nations, and Images of Norway and Norwegian Foreign Policy*. The Fridtjof Nansen Foundation at Polhøgda, Lysaker. The Institute of Political Science, University of Oslo 1979, 29; Small 1970, 22.

7. Isaacs, Harold R.: *Scratches on our Minds. American Images of China and India*. New York 1958, 399. See also Anshel, Eugene: Introduction. *The American Image of Russia 1775-1917*. Ed. with an Introduction and Comments by Eugene Anshel. New York 1974, 12.

8. Deutsh, Karl W. and Merritt, Richard L.: Effects of Events on National and International Images. *International Behavior. A Social-Psychological Analysis*. Ed. by Herbert C. Kelman. Published for the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. Printed in U.S.A. 1965, 183.

basal flows, the latent images, which are easily able to withstand pressures imposed by periods and cultures. Observations of differences are mostly attributable to the fact that things are given different relative weights at different periods.

We now come to the crux of the matter, the question of what we are really studying. The specific object of study in image research is the creator or possessor of the image, the person who has a certain image of a phenomenon or thing in his mind. The reason for this is very simply that the source material is concerned with the process of creation of the image and not with its object. Historical image research draws attention to what an image is like, how we have formed a particular image of a certain thing, why we have this image, what purpose it serves, what changes have taken place in it, and what all this tells us of the creators of the image. It is of secondary importance whether the image is a "correct" or a "wrong" one, as one cannot even aspire to "correctness" in such a matter. On the other hand, we can easily come to terms with the creator through the medium of the image itself.

The first thing which deserves attention when we set out to examine the actual process of image research is the source material. As suggested indirectly by my reference to images as a cultural heritage, sources must be understood in as broad sense as possible here. Merrill D. Peterson gives expression to the complexity of sources by saying that an image is a mixture of memories, hopes, myths, love and hate.⁹ This definition already serves to point to the second major problem, definition of the sources and what they can tell us. The first problem is the partly hypothetical nature of the theory of image research, as mentioned above, an account of which it is in the last resort up to the researcher himself to make sure of the correctness of the theories he uses. These problems in themselves are also challenges for such research, the solutions to which are supported by the fact that the questions set out for historical image research to answer, the method to be used and the field of research can easily straddle national boundaries and starting points which are often almost insurmountable for historians. The language, methods and problems are universal in the same way as those of the natural sciences, for instance.

The multiplicity of sources and the problem of what they are able to tell us are matters that come to the fore particularly when one sets out to study the "mass images" that have prevailed within a society in general. The twentieth century has been said to be the "age of the masses", during which "elite images" have not been of the same significance as earlier.¹⁰ It has to be remembered when studying the image of a country or its culture that the population at large has not had spokesmen to give expression to its views, whereas elite images are very much easier to study in this respects, as the sources available to us, especially from earlier times, may be regarded as having been largely products of a cultural elite.

Ruth Miller Elson has noted that virtually no traces have been preserved of the ideas which ordinary people accepted. What they thought on particular subjects is probably lost for ever to historical research. All we can do is examine the ideas contained in the books which such people read.¹¹ Small is making essentially the same point when he says that the scholar can do no more than attempt to assess the material which probably influenced

9. Peterson, Merrill D.: *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*. New York 1960, VII.

10. Dawson, Raymond: *The Chinese Chamelon. An Analysis of European Conceptions of Chinese Civilization*. London 1967, 161.

11. Elson, Ruth Miller: *Guardians of Tradition. American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century*. Lincoln 1964, VII.

people's images of certain things. The scrupulous historian can go no further.¹² I believe that Elson and Small reach the crux of the matter where the only possibility for determining mass images is to base the research on various forms of written source material referring to the subject being considered.

The influences that one receives in early childhood are regarded as particularly important in this sense. As Boulding points out, the basic structures of the images that form in an individual mind are laid down in childhood, so that a crucial set of sources for examining these consists of school books, which in effect create the images that a person retains throughout his or her entire adult life.¹³ The next sources in order of importance for Small are popular literature, the railway bookstall and non-fiction, especially popularized non-fiction, followed by travel guides, magazines, books and newspapers. Plays and their scripts (for the theatre, cinema or television) and pop songs lie in a category of their own.¹⁴

As mentioned above, the historical study of images tells us more about the creator and examiner of an image than about the subject of it, and thus I would take as a hypothetical starting point for analysing sources and images connected especially with cultural encounters the notion that people's concepts of other people and cultures are dependent on their own outlook on the world, which will be influenced by time, place, their personal background and education, the basic make-up of their personality and the political circumstances and power relationships prevailing at the time when certain opinions were being formulated. These images can thus be defined as the individual's subjective information on the world, incorporating all his beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and preferences. The decisive thing is thus what the subject of image, e.g. an alien culture, means in terms of the person's own aspirations and fears. Consequently the prevailing circumstances will alter the weighting and significance assigned to the aspects of an image, i.e. they will affect which features in it are most prominent at a particular moment in time. Likewise, the image of a particular thing may be either favourable or unfavourable depending on how it relates to the aspirations, interests or fear of the person examining it, and depending on the environmental conditions prevailing at the time, e.g. political and economic factors. In other words, we are receptive only to images of a certain kind at any one moment in time.¹⁵

When analysing images it would seem reasonable to group them from different viewpoints. I have found those set out by Iriye¹⁶ to be particularly useful when adapted to the needs of each examination separately, and have made use of the following: the global viewpoint, that of world politics, the cosmopolitan viewpoint, that of universal values and cross-cultural relations, the nationalist viewpoint, the particularist viewpoint, that of inter-

12. Small 1970, 24.

13. Boulding 1959, 56, 68.

14. Small 1970, 25–28.

15. Isaacs, Harold R.: Some Concluding Remarks: The Turning Mirrors. *Mutual Images. Essays in American-Japanese Relations*. Ed. by Akira Iriye. Harvard Studies in American-East Asian Relations 7. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1975, 259; Greenberger, Allen J.: *The British Image of India. A Study in the Literature of Imperialism 1880–1960*. London 1969, 6–7, 203; Boorstin, Daniel J.: *America and the Image of Europa. Reflections on American Thought*. New York 1960, 37?39; Isaacs, Harold R.: Sources for Images of Foreign Countries. *Public Opinion and Historians. Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Ed. by Melvin Small. Detroit 1970, 95; Echeverria, Durand: *Mirage in the West. A History of the French Image of American Society to 1815*. Forward by Gilbert Chinard. Princeton, New Jersey 1957, 281–282; Glazer, Nathan: From Ruth Benedict to Herman Kahn. The Postwar Japanese Image in the American Mind. *Mutual Images. Essays in American-Japanese Relations*. Ed. by Akira Iriye. Harvard Studies in American-East Asian Relations 7. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1975, 168.

16. Iriye 1975, 17–21.

ests, experiences and prejudices of an individual or group, and the provincialist viewpoint, that of indifference or ignorance. These viewpoints as such do not carry any qualitative implications, but rather each of them can subsume favourable, unfavourable, neutral or even conflicting attitudes according to the case in point.

Analysis is also facilitated by clear discrimination between the levels of images. As intimated above, there are at least two distinct levels, for which I have used the expressions “elite image” and “mass image”. Boulding speaks of images that are the property of a small influential group and images that are the property of a great body of ordinary people.¹⁷ One method of analysing opinions that I regard as particularly useful when applied also to images is that of Alf Johansson in which he distinguishes three strata: decisive opinion, articulated opinion, including public debate, and popular opinion.¹⁸

All attempts to define levels have dangers attached to them, however, for it has been observed in the study of attitudes that when one approaches these through written documentation one is by no means studying the attitudes of the most representative group but rather those of the most powerful, most vociferous, most educated or most fanatical individuals.¹⁹

17. Boulding, K.E.: National Images and International Systems. *The Theory and Practice of International Relations*. Ed. by William C. Olson, Fred A. Sondermann. Second Edition. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1966, 54.

18. Johansson, Alf: *Finlands sak. Svensk politik och opinion under vinterkriget 1939-1940*. Sverige under andra världskriget. Stockholm 1973, 3.

19. Filene, Peter G.: *Americans and the Soviet Experiment, 1917-1933*. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1967, 2.

Gendered Images – Western Women on Japanese Women

Seija Jalagin

In the times when every foreigner saw the same sights in the Island Empire, obtained the same stereotyped glimpses of the people's life, and was contented with the half-comprehended information given by his guide, it was easy, and alas! fashionable, to describe the "toy country" and its "fairylike" inhabitants with glib security in large print. Those times are gone for ever.

(Mary Crawford Fraser, December 1898¹)

In this article, I use the research approach of mental images to study the image 19th-century western women had of Japanese women. By studying the images and perceptions of individual western women, I trace the different patterns they used to define the 'other', in this case, the Japanese culture and women as its representatives. The research of the western (female) image of Japanese women reveals a multifaceted process of image formulation where the central conceptions are gender, otherness and cultural valuation.

One should, in fact, speak of images, in plural, rather than of a singular image of Japanese women. It can, however, be argued that the texts of western women writing about Japan can be read as variations of one big text, that is, an expression of the same genre of western female writing in the context of cultural encounter. Thus, each writer participates with her text in creating the general western female image of Japanese women. This is not to say that each text as such would form one part of the image, instead when analysed together, these writers' perceptions on certain aspects of Japanese women can be seen to form one part of the image of Japanese women as a whole. For example, studying the perceptions of the position of Japanese woman in society shows that the image consists of contradictory elements related to the issue. It is then for the researcher to analyse the underlying factors that affected the writers to produce such a varied, and in many cases inconsistent, image.

1. Fraser, Mrs. Hugh (Mary Crawford Fraser): *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan. Letters from Home to Home*. Vol 1. Hutchinson & Co, London 1899, vii.

I will concentrate here on analysing the texts and not focus on the reception of the texts in their own time. My opinion is, however, that these texts among many others formed an image of Japanese women which was transmitted to the readers, and that in this way they contributed to the creation of the overall image of Japanese women in the West. The image of Japanese women in the West has been discussed in several studies.² None of them deal with it specifically from the point of view of women writers. Usually the image of Japanese women is dealt with as a part of the broader image of Japan in the West, although many researchers bring out that the female image was a central element of the whole image of Japan. In the late nineteenth century, before the Russo-Japanese War in 1904–05, one can even speak of the feminisation of the image of Japan in the West, which points to Japan being regarded as a far-away, exotic country that did not need to be taken too seriously.³

The western women whose texts are analysed in this article wrote about, visited or stayed in Japan in the late 19th century. I have chosen five women of approximately 150 western women who published some 200 books on Japan in the late Tokugawa, Meiji and early Taishō periods, that is between 1854 and 1918.⁴ Making a complete list of western female writers on Japan is an arduous task. Many western visitors of Japan who wrote about their visits to Japan – especially women – were left in history as publishers of only one work, and it is extremely difficult to find biographic information of them. Even determining the sex of the author is sometimes difficult. Some writers used only the initial of their first name, and several of these turn out to be women after the researcher has struggled for days to find out who the authors really were.⁵ The five women presented in this article were mostly ‘avec’ travellers. That is, they travelled due to their spouse’s or some other close person’s work.

The five women I have chosen as representative of the larger group of western women in Japan in the late 19th century had very different backgrounds and interests.⁶ Some of

2. On the general image of Japan in the West, see Ashmead, John: *The Idea of Japan 1853–1895: Japan as described by American and Other Travellers from the West*. New York 1987; Cecil Jr, L. Moffit: *Our Japanese Romance: The Myth of Japan in America, 1853–1905*. Ann Arbor University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1982; Lehmann, Jean-Pierre: *The Image of Japan: From Feudal Isolation to World Power* London 1978; Littlewood, Ian: *The Idea of Japan. Western Images, Western Myths*. Specker & Warburg, London 1996; Yokoyama, Toshio: *Japan in the Victorian Mind, 1850–1880; a Study of Stereotyped Images of a Nation*. Ph.D. Thesis (unpublished), University of Oxford 1982.

3. See for example Lehmann 1978; Littlewood 1996.

4. I have written about western women writing on Japan in another article: Jalagin, Seija: *Western Women in Meiji Japan* (forthcoming). The 150 western, European and North American women who published altogether some 200 books on Japan represent a fairly complete list. In compiling the bibliography, I used the microfiche collection *Western Books on Asia: Japan* (Research Publications International) as a basis. The collection consists of some 3,500 titles published in western languages between the 16th century and 1940. The 19th and 20th century part of the collection is dominated by English-language publications, as most of the westerners in Japan were from Great Britain and the United States. In addition, I have searched the bibliographies and library catalogues for books on other western languages, such as German, French, Dutch and the Scandinavian languages, and Finnish, of course. In selecting the books I used as a criterion that the author had been to Japan herself.

5. For example, Anna d’Almeida, one of the writers analysed here, published her work with the name Anna d’A. which made it laborious to identify her.

6. The materials analysed here are published texts by five women: a collection of letters, a memoir, a travel description, a novel and a book categorised as general description. The writers were three British women, one American woman and one Canadian woman, since most of the westerners in late Tokugawa (1859–67) and Meiji Japan (1868–1912) were from Great Britain and the United States. About 60 % of visitors before 1918 were from these countries. Jalagin, Seija: *Western women in Meiji Japan* (forthcoming).

Anna d’Almeida, *A Lady’s Visit to Manila and Japan*. Hurst and Blackett, London 1863; Margaret Tate Kinnear Ballagh, *Glimpses of Old Japan*. Methodist Publishing House, Tokyo 1908; Catherine Schuyler Baxter, *In Bamboo Lands*. The Merriam Company, New York 1895; Mary Bickerstaffe, *Araki the Daimyo. A Japanese Story of the Olden Time*. Jackson, Walford, and Hodder, London 1865; Mrs. Hugh Fraser (Mary Crawford Fraser), *A Diplomatist’s Wife in Japan. Letters from Home to Home*. 2 vols. Hutchinson & Co, London 1899.

them stayed in Japan for a short time, some for years. This enables one to analyse what kind of an influence the period spent in Japan had on the image of Japanese women created by these visitors. One also needs to ask how the image was influenced by their personal backgrounds: class, nationality, education, religious and ideological thinking, and professional identity. Conversely, it is important to study whether there was a pattern that made the women to create similar image(s) despite the differences in their personal backgrounds and interests. In other words, what can the study of the image of Japanese women tell us about the ways western women encountered another cultural sphere and women as its representatives?

One could assume that western women identified themselves with the women they were depicting due to certain features common to all women. What we need to ask, however, whether or not this was the case. Perhaps they were, after all, more tied to cultural differences than to an ideology of shared womanhood. Were the western women travelling around the world primarily cultural agents echoing the idea of western superiority? Or were they “cultural missionaries, maternal imperialists, feminist allies”, as Barbara N. Ramusack has defined English women in turn of the 20th century India⁷?

Brief contacts and cultural barriers

Unknown Japan and its unknown women

Lady Anna d'Almeida arrived in Japan in the summer of 1862 with her husband and little daughter. The burning midday sun kept the passengers onboard the ship in the Nagasaki harbour until the evening. Anna d'Almeida, who had travelled broadly in Asia, had time to think of her experiences. The lot of the Chinese woman was miserable, she thought, since “the bride is sold by her parents”.⁸ In Shanghai she had witnessed a wedding ceremony. Until the wedding the daughter had been kept inside the home and “she is then disposed to the highest bidder, and dispatched from the paternal roof, where all her life of limited joy [---] has been passed, with the gentle mother who lovingly tended her infant years, and guided her childish steps.”⁹ According to d'Almeida, the lot of the mother was no better: “[she] is left to live out her lonely existence, uncaring and uncared for by the voluptuous father, who has, probably, long since discarded her for a younger and ‘fairier favourite.’”¹⁰ The gloomy image of the Chinese women was completed with the general western conception that infanticide was rampant in the nation. D'Almeida concluded that it was the baby girls who were facing this fate because they were considered an economic burden to the family.¹¹

7. According to Ramusack British women in India can be seen “as cultural missionaries preaching a gospel of women’s uplift”, but she would prefer to use the term “maternal imperialists”, which is more accurate and reflects the women’s experiences. They could also have acted as “feminist allies when Indian women had particular need of their organizational and communications skills.” Ramusack, Barbara N.: *Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminists Allies. British Women Activists in India, 1865–1945. Western Women and Imperialism. Complicity and Resistance.* Edited by Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel. Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1992, 132–134.

8. D'Almeida 1863, 147.

9. D'Almeida 1863, 149.

10. Ibidem.

11. D'Almeida 1863, 172–173.

D'Almeida's first impressions of Japan were not favourable, either. The first islands of the country to appear in the horizon had, according to her knowledge, witnessed persecutions of Christians in the 17th century, although their present tranquil state indicated nothing of the kind. The negative perception was further reinforced by the half-naked men working in the harbour, who, for d'Almeida, seemed only repulsive.¹²

D'Almeida's book is a very typical travel description on Japan of the time. In the early 1860s, Japan was a relatively unknown country in the West. In the 1850s, it was forced to reopen after over 200 years of isolation from the outside world. During the seclusion, Japan was described in some books, mainly by the employees of the Dutch trading company, which were the only western representative with the right to function in Japan.¹³ These books were familiar to educated readers, and also to most of those who travelled to Japan, even after the reopening in 1859. From that time on, an increasing number of foreigners headed to Japan, and it became a habit to publish something of one's visit to the remote 'paradise', which was often depicted as the last El Dorado on earth. With the help of dozens, and as time passed, hundreds of travel descriptions the western 'arm chair tourist' was able to project his hopes and also criticism toward one's own society to this newly-found and eagerly-described paradise named Japan.¹⁴

Most travel descriptions focused on documenting the experiences of their authors, many of whom sojourned in Japan only a short time. During a brief visit they usually stayed in some of the few ports open to westerners¹⁵, since travelling inland was prohibited. Their knowledge of Japan was, therefore, based on the writings of earlier visitors and on their own superficial contacts with the Japanese. In most cases, the westerners had no knowledge of the language, which made it very difficult to acquire reliable information of the Japanese society. Travel descriptions of remote countries and cultures were naturally not intended as scientific reading, but more as eye-witness accounts, and to be taken seriously as such. For example, in the preface of her book Anna d'Almeida writes that she wished "only to represent Japan and its people as they exist at the present moment" and not to aim for a scientific description of ethnology or the country's early history.¹⁶ Therefore, she writes about the sites she visited and the people she met during her two-month stay in Japan. The text is based on her own experiences, and the superficiality of the contact is obvious, for instance, in her description of the Japanese women.

12. D'Almeida 1863, 183–184.

13. The following works were broadly read and regarded reliable: Kaempfer, Englebert: *The History of Japan*, which was originally published in German in the early 18th century; Thunberg, Carl Peter: *Resa til och uti Kejsardömet Japan åren 1775 och 1776*, which was published in several languages during the 19th century. Titsingh, Isaac: *Illustrations of Japan; consisting of Private Memoirs and Anecdotes of the Rising Dynasty of the Djogounsm of Sovereigns of Japan; a description of the Feasts and Ceremonies observed throughout the year at their court; and of the ceremonies customary at Marriages and Funerals: to which are subjoined, observations on the legal suicide of the Japanese, remarks on their poetry, an explanation of their mode of reckoning time, particulars respecting the dosia powder, the preface of a work by Confutzee on Filial piety, &c. &c.* (London 1822). *Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the Nineteenth Century from the accounts of Dutch residents in Japan and from the German work of Dr. Philipp Franz von Siebold*, which was published in the 1820s.

14. Jalagin, Seija: *Japanin yhteiskuntajärjestys ja sen murros 1859–1873 länsimaisten kävijöiden silmin* 'Japanese Social Order and its Transformation, 1859–1873, in the Eyes of Western visitors', Licentiate Thesis in General History, University of Oulu 1994 (unpublished), 109; Jalagin, Seija: *Japanese Social Order and Its Transformation, 1859–1873, as Seen by Western Visitors. Modulation in Tradition. Japan and Korea in a Changing World. Acta Universitatis Tamperensis. Ser B. vol 43*. Edited by Jorma Kivistö, Mika Merviö, Takahashi Mutsuko and Mark Waller. University of Tampere, Tampere 1993, 77–84.

15. In 1854 Shimoda and Hakodate were open to American vessels. In 1859, in addition to these two, Yokohama and Nagasaki were opened to foreigners as well. Yanaga, Chitoshi: *Japan since Perry*. Archon, Hamden Conn. 1966, 25–26.

16. D'Almeida 1863, vii–viii.

In describing an unknown culture, it was natural to start with the exterior features of people and places. In the western writing of Japan, men had throughout centuries paid attention to the female appearance.¹⁷ For Anna d'Almeida, Japanese women looked more beautiful than the Chinese women: their eyes were not as elongated and faces did not appear as cunning as those of the Chinese women.¹⁸ D'Almeida also described the careful hairdressing of Japanese women as well as their clothing, of which she seems to have been well informed.¹⁹

D'Almeida's image of the position of Japanese woman in society and inside the family was equally positive compared to that of the Chinese woman. According to d'Almeida, polygamy was forbidden in Japan by law, whereas in China it was exactly the system of concubinage that made the status of the women so miserable.²⁰ The Japanese women, on the other hand, seemed to her superior to all Asian women, since "The Japanese make companions of their wives in a more general sense than any Eastern nation I have seen or heard of."²¹ In Nagasaki, d'Almeida had a chance to compare her experiences and the things she had read to real life when the couple visited a home of a Japanese samurai officer. Since the women could not communicate with one another, Anna d'Almeida was limited to describing her appearance. Her face was heavily powdered, eyebrows shaven and teeth blackened. These three features were traditional of a married upper-class woman. For d'Almeida they represented a "tyrant custom" and ruined the appearance of even a beautiful woman.²² The appearance of Japanese married women had been an object of astonishment and ardent interest since the first contacts between Japan and the West in the 16th century. It is difficult to find a book on Japan that does not mention the blackened teeth and the shaven eyebrows. No matter how positive the image of Japanese women otherwise was, these features caught the western eye, astonishing at minimum, repulsive at most.²³ When it came to female appearance, the western ideals of beauty were so dominant that they were left unchallenged by the blackened teeth and powdered faces of the Japanese married upper-class women although the rest of the womenfolk in Japan were regarded as attractive, even beautiful.²⁴

After the visit, d'Almeida was informed that the officer "had fallen in love with his wife at a 'tea house', and purchased her from the proprietor of the establishment."²⁵ D'Almeida had, of course, read earlier western descriptions of the Japanese prostitution system according to which the parents were entitled to lease their daughters into the "tea-houses" (citations marks by d'Almeida as indicating the true nature of the places as brothels) for a certain period. D'Almeida had believed this was a custom among the lower classes only. In those cases, d'Almeida reasoned, it was out of economic necessity that

17. Jalagin, Seija: "The fidelity of the wife and the purity of the maiden" - The image of Japanese woman as an origin of a stereotype. *Japan - Reflections on the Eastern Mind*. Edited by Seija Jalagin. Acta Universitatis Ouluensis. Humaniora B30. Oulu University Press, Oulu 1998, 89-90, 92, 96.

18. D'Almeida 1863, 202-203. See also Baxter 1895, 63, 152-153.

19. D'Almeida 1863, 202-204.

20. D'Almeida 1863, 165.

21. D'Almeida 1863, 204.

22. D'Almeida 1863, 206.

23. Jalagin 1998, 89.

24. In defining stereotypes about the 'other' Stuart Hall talks about "the preoccupation with marking 'difference'." Thus when a woman of another culture did not "fit the ethnocentric norm which was applied to European women [...] she had to be constructed as 'Other'." Hall, Stuart, *The Spectacle of the 'Other'. Representation. Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. Edited by Stuart Hall. Sage Publications, London 1997, 265.

25. D'Almeida 1863, 207.

the parents sent away a daughter of only 7 or 8 years of age. "These poor children are, for their owner's own benefit, carefully tended, being kept in comparative seclusion until they attain the age of fourteen or fifteen, when they are compelled to commence an immoral cause of life, the poor girls, like too many sad victims in our own land."²⁶

Many writers expressed horror at the selling of girls into prostitution, claiming that the practise was an indication that, despite the progressiveness of Japanese society, it was on an inferior level of development compared to western civilisation. Some writers had, however, stated that these women were eventually able to get married, and quite well, too, after a career as a prostitute. In Anna d'Almeida's opinion, the couple she had met confirmed this. Compared to other western writers, particularly men, d'Almeida's tone is not as moralising. She only pitied the women, including the women in her own country. As a woman, d'Almeida considered prostitutes to be victims. This reflects a rather typical line of western (female) thinking that the prostitutes were 'fallen women' who had been seduced to immorality by men. They were not seen as taking action in their own life to ease, for example poverty but rather as victims of their own innocence and ignorance.²⁷ Although d'Almeida does not tell us anything about her life in England, she appears to have been a rather typical upper-class woman, whom one could easily imagine taking part in philanthropic work for 'fallen women', orphans and others in need. In the late 19th century West, philanthropy was considered a duty of good, middle- and upper-class ladies, and a suitable line of action outside the home sphere.²⁸

The fact that d'Almeida did consider both the Japanese and the European prostitutes as victims of patriarchal systems is rare in western writing on Japan. Although it was typical to depict the Japanese woman predominantly as objects of heathen traditions and a despotic, patriarchal culture, western men usually did not describe prostitution. One can find references to red light districts in certain cities or the selling of daughters into prostitution, but no serious contemplation on the issue nor comparisons between the West and Japan. Possibly male writers avoided too specific descriptions; it could, after all, have subjected them to suspicion of whether it was first-hand information. In their published texts, these men never mentioned their 'Japanese wives' either, although it was very common for western men staying in Japan for a longer period to marry Japanese women.²⁹ This marriage was not legal by western standards and the wife and children were left in Japan when the man returned to Europe or America. The system later became well known around the world by Giacomo Puccini's opera *Madame Butterfly*.³⁰

Anna d'Almeida's description of Japanese women, and of the whole Japanese culture, reflects the superficial nature of her contacts with the Japanese. She stayed in Japan only for a short time, and the inability to communicate directly with the people forced her to draw conclusions on what she had heard, read or seen. The many informal occasions on

26. D'Almeida 1863, 205.

27. Walkowitz, Judith R.: *Prostitution and Victorian Society. Women, class and the state*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1989, 32–47; Mahood, Linda: *The Magdalenes. Prostitution in the nineteenth century*. Routledge, London 1990, 56–59.

28. Perrot, Michelle: *Stepping Out. A History of Women in the West IV. Emerging Feminism from Revolution to World War*. Geneviève Fraisse and Michelle Perrot, Editors. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1995, 450–457.

29. Jalagin 1998, 96–97.

30. The opera is based on John Luther Long's novel *Madame Butterfly*, which was published in 1898. Long, an American lawyer and author, never visited Japan himself. Giacomo Puccini saw *Madame Butterfly*, adapted as a play on stage in London. Wordell, Charles B.: *Japan's Image in America. Popular Writing about Japan, 1800–1941*. Yamaguchi Publishing House, Kyoto 1998, 109, 112.

which she met Japanese women, would have given her a good chance to acquire first-hand information, if only they had had a common language. For example, when a group of local ladies wanted to visit her to see “the foreign lady,” the meeting was dominated by cultural differences. The polite hostess served her guests portwine at which they grimaced and moved from uncomfortable European chairs to sit on the floor.³¹

The occasional traveller in search of pleasure

An increasing number of westerners travelled to Japan since the 1860s, and the unknown Japan became a subject of study, interpretation and description in numerous books and articles. The rapid modernisation process of the Japanese society made it a popular place to visit and to see for one’s own eyes this “apprentice of the West” that had set as its goal to transform into “a nation of wealth and military strength”, *fukoku kyôhei*. In the Christian circles, namely the western missionary societies active in Japan, optimists expected Japan to convert to Christianity within one generation.³² Gradually, signs of Japan’s political expansionism began to worry the western nations and some of their representatives in East Asia.

In the occasional travellers’ writings, the flavour was, however, light and carefree. They came to Japan to search for pleasure. They did not waste time in familiarising themselves too deeply with the unique culture and customs of the country. Like present-day mass tourists, travellers a hundred years ago expected to find a new kind of experience and to have a good time. The occasional traveller did not see things from the point of view of the Japanese. Their descriptions are characterised by self-assertive distance, in which the western value system is dominant. The western woman visiting Japan defined, first and foremost, herself by looking at Japan as a foreign mirror.

Despite the growing tourism, travel literature maintained its popularity, and Japan remained a popular writing subject. So called globe-trotting – which included brief stops in selected places – became especially popular in the emerging field of tourism. One of these popular stops was typically a Japanese port town. Paradoxically, these visitors wrote about the most cosmopolitan and rapidly modernising part of Japan, namely the trading ports of Nagasaki or Yokohama, sometimes Tokyo, the renamed capital of the Meiji Emperor.

Anna d’Almeida had written about Japan with a comprehensive approach in order to cover all areas of life and society. Katherine Schuyler Baxter came to Japan 30 years later “to gain insight not only into the delightful customs of the great common people, but into the arts and the industries, and into the beautiful and touching worship of ancestors as well.” She wanted to become familiar with the most aesthetic elements of the Japanese culture. In the foreword of her work, *In Bamboo Lands* (1895), Baxter hoped “that this unpretentious chronicle may prove as enjoyable to the readers as did the journey through Dai Nippon to the tourist.”³³

31. D’Almeida 1863, 207–208.

32. Drummond, Richard H.: *A History of Christianity in Japan*. William B. Eerdmans Publishing, Grand Rapids, Michigan 1971, 192.

33. Baxter 1895, Preface.

In a few months, she visited the most popular tourist sites. These included a visit to Yokohama, a trip to mountain Fuji which was considered holy by the Japanese, a visit to the various temples and shrines of Kamakura, the ancient capital of the first *shōgun*, the 12th-century military ruler. She also travelled to Nikkō, Aomori and Hakodate in the north, as well as the ancient highway between Tokyo and Kyoto, the Tōkaidō.³⁴

Baxter writes about Japanese art, religious ceremonies, the people, their livelihoods, houses, and the nature. She had studied those by reading on board the ship from Vancouver to Hong Kong all the books in the ship library dealing with China and Japan.³⁵ According to her, travelling was “education in itself - it teaches cosmopolitanism that one can never learn from books. To see ancient civilisations, other types of humanity, and other variations of scenery, is a source of such endless delight”. High principles and cosmopolitanism did not, however, mean that she would have respected foreign cultures, or “other types of humanity” for their own sake. Instead, the foreign cultures represented forums where the traveller was able to find pleasures. Travelling the world created a cosmopolitan spirit for the person who had seen foreign cultures and joined the privileged group of people in distinction to the ones who had to be content to reading about them. The image Katherine Schuyler Baxter creates of Japanese women is a clear indication of this.

Baxter described the appearance of Japanese women in a way that indicates directly her motives as a traveller in search of pleasures. “There is something exceedingly attractive in the Japanese women.”³⁶ The party employed a young Japanese woman as a seamstress “just for the novelty of having such a bewitching little creature to look at.”³⁷ The Japanese woman was clearly perceived as an object, which was emphasised by the lack of common language. After a few days, the attractiveness of the object had faded: “her manner so shy and diffident as to be almost embarrassing at times. She said nothing, accomplished nothing, and apparently that small brain that lived under that enormous coiffure thought nothing.”³⁸ Baxter’s interpretation of a Japanese woman was, therefore, actually degrading. The silent and respectable behaviour which was typical of the Japanese hierarchical social system was not a positive feature in Baxter’s opinion.

At the background of Baxter’s perceptions, one can detect Pierre Loti’s broadly-read novel, *Madame Chrysanthème*, which had been published in 1887. Loti, a French naval officer himself, writes with autobiographical tone about the Japanese wives of two French officers as dolls, as silly girls, in a way similar to Baxter’s later description of the seamstress her party had employed. Baxter had read Loti’s story, and she even imagined that she saw *Madame Chrysanthème*’s dwelling in Nagasaki.³⁹ Unquestionably, she was using Loti’s words when referring to the Japanese seamstress. Baxter’s preconceptions were shaped long before she laid eyes on the shores of Japan. By despising the Japanese woman, Baxter defined herself: the liberated and independent western woman. A brief cultural contact emphasised the role of cultural differences in the encounter of the traveller and the Japan of the 1890s. Baxter had the chance to travel, to move among foreign peoples and cultures; she was free to educate herself by travelling, and therefore different from the Japanese women who lived under the rules of patriarchal society. According to Bax-

34. In addition, Baxter and her friends visited Osaka, Ōtsu, Nara and Nagasaki, Miyanoshta, Hakone and Nagoya.

35. Baxter 1895, 31.

36. Baxter 1895, 62.

37. Ibidem.

38. Baxter 1895, 63.

39. Baxter 1895, 376.

ter, the life of a Japanese woman was over when she married: "The life of a young girl [--] is as careless and happy as the life of a European, but the marriage is stern reality."⁴⁰

Numerous superficial observations, of which an internally conflicting image is constructed, are characteristic of travel books. Baxter's work demonstrates this most vividly. Although Baxter had an opinion that marriage was a hard experience for Japanese women, she described the upper-class women in a very positive light. In Tokyo, her party was invited to the home of a Harvard-educated Japanese lawyer, and there Baxter learnt to know the man's wife and mother. After describing their appearance, she concluded that a Japanese woman "is always a reigning beauty." In addition, she wrote, "Both ladies had that indescribable charm of person and grace of manner that seem to be the birthright of every Japanese woman."⁴¹ In the case of these women, she did not state that there was an empty head beneath a magnificent hairdo. The ladies of this house had a status equal to Baxter's, and that broke the barrier of cultural differences. During the visit Baxter was also told about the traditional customs of the married women to blacken their teeth and shave their eyebrows, but "our friends were not thus disfigured."⁴² She considered this as a hopeful sign that the first step has been taken in "the right direction, (which) will result eventually in the Asiatic wife attaining her rightful position in the household, as companion and counsellor of her husband."⁴³

The image of Japanese women by Catherine Schuyler Baxter reveals more contradictory elements when one studies her perceptions of the life of the ordinary people. The rickshaw driver's family seemed happy and content. The husband symbolised a harmonious relationship with nature, the wife was young and pretty, and together with the children they "lived cosily and happily on his father's farm near Ôtsu."⁴⁴ The Japanese children were, according to Baxter, the happiest in the world because their parents loved them tenderly.⁴⁵ Baxter, therefore, arrived at the same conclusion in case of the common people as did many other western visitors of Japan at that time: they were seen as natives who lived their simple and happy lives untouched by the destructive influence of higher civilisation. Hunger, poverty and misery did not catch the eye of an occasional traveller. Even the raising of the silkworms, textile industry being the largest branch of industry in late 19th-century Japan, Baxter described in a romanticised fashion: taking care of the well-being of the worms was well suited to women's tender hands.⁴⁶

When describing lower class women, Baxter could be both mean and romantic. The upper-class women, on the other hand, she considered parallel to herself, and defined through that the status of herself as a liberated, western woman. In all aspects hers was, anyhow, a far better lot. Giving up old traditions was for Baxter a sign of progression, but the Japanese should not go too far. In the streets of Tokyo, she had happened to see a Japanese lady dressed up in the latest Parisian fashion and the sight awoke only disgust in her: "I shall never forget her indescribably grotesque figure as she posed with a self-conscious air, exactly like a dummy in a shop window. The sight was ugly and painful."⁴⁷

40. Baxter 1895, 261.

41. Baxter 1895, 153–154.

42. Baxter 1895, 153.

43. Ibidem.

44. Baxter 1895, 266.

45. Baxter 1895, 195.

46. Baxter 1895, 128.

47. Baxter 1895, 150.

Baxter felt sorry that the woman had to be mauled by the dress: "No wise Japanese will lightly change the old for the new."⁴⁸

Already in the 1870s, the first westerners had regretted the disappearance of 'the old Japan',⁴⁹ and Baxter made no exception when she visited the country in the 1890s. During her short stay, she was mainly looking for the elements of the traditional Japanese culture to satisfy her own aesthetic desires. The Japanese enthusiasm to adapt western customs was too much for some: at first it had been proof of the superiority of the western culture, but soon the Japanese were being accused of imitation and superficial changes.⁵⁰ At the background of these comments, one can sense annoyance at the disappearance of things enjoyable in Japan, cultural features that were determined to be uniquely Japanese and as such likely to emphasise the difference from one's own cultural background. The anxiety of the westerners about the rapidity of change in Japanese society did not, in my opinion, mean that they would have cared for the value of the Japanese culture in itself.

For Baxter, too, the most important thing was to experience all the beautiful and the exotic one could find in Japan. The criterion was, above all, one's own liking. For instance the Japanese music was, according to Baxter, abrasive to the ears.⁵¹ Similarly, theatre was a disappointment, since, "It was too Europeanised to be interesting."⁵² Baxter wanted to enjoy the 'the old Japan'; she wanted to see and experience it, to own part of it and to belong to the group of westerners who had seen the world and with their writings declared the civilised manners and superiority of the western culture.

Generally speaking, the status of woman in society was regarded as a criterion of the level of the entire Japanese civilisation, and the westerners expected Japan to proceed in the way pointed to by the West.⁵³ For an occasional female traveller, it was also a means to define and interpret one's own womanhood and the status of women in one's own country. Without exception, the status of western women was considered the best in the world. Thus the women of a foreign culture were represented as first and foremost 'the other'.

Conflict between paganism and Christianity

Souls to be saved

In the writings of western women who stayed in Japan for a longer time, the Japanese woman is represented as 'the other' in a totally different way than in the texts dealt with before. Ability to communicate in Japanese and personal everyday experience not only added to the knowledge of the Japanese way of life and society, but also promoted per-

48. Ibidem.

49. Yokoyama, Toshio, *Japan in the Victorian Mind, 1850–1880; A Study of Stereotyped Images of a Nation*. St. Anthony's College, Oxford 1982; Jalagin 1994, 98–99.

50. Fält 1990, 67–69, 75, 78, 80, 83–86; Jalagin 1993, 75–84; Jalagin Seija: Suloinen japanitar: Länsimaisten kävijöiden kuva japanilaisesta naisesta 1859–1873 (Sweet Japanese Girl. The image of the Japanese woman as acquired by Western visitors to Japan in 1859–1873). *Japani – Kulttuuri, nainen, murros*. Toimittanut Seija Jalagin. Acta Universitatis Ouluensis. Humaniora B22. Oulu University Press, Oulu 1996, 75.

51. Baxter 1895, 160.

52. Baxter 1895, 83.

53. Fält 1990, 65–69, 73–77; Jalagin, Seija: Mikado – From Spiritual Emperor to Enlightened Sovereign. The image of the Emperor of Japan, 1859–1873, as seen by Western visitors. *Leaders and Leadership in Japan*. Edited by Ian Neary. Japan Library, Richmond 1996, 61–62.

sonal understanding and new perspectives. The texts I have chosen to analyse here are of very different kinds of writers. First, I will look into the perceptions and experiences of an American missionary wife and then continue to analyse religiously-motivated writing from a broader perspective with a fictional story. My second example of a western woman who stayed in Japan for a longer period is a British diplomat's wife.

Margaret Ballagh⁵⁴ came to Japan on missionary work in 1861, when the practise of Christianity was still under ban in the country. Margaret Tate Kinnear and James H. Ballagh celebrated their wedding just prior to leaving for Japan in June 1861. Their first home was on the ship, which after leaving New York sailed around Cape Horn to reach the Pacific and arrived in Shanghai in September. From China, they continued to Japan in October. After sailing for three weeks, the Ballaghs were in the lively port of Yokohama, which was rapidly transforming into the most cosmopolitan city in Japan.

The Ballaghs settled in Kanagawa near Yokohama in the house of medical missionary James Curtis Hepburn, who had come to Japan a year earlier. Although the practise of Christianity was forbidden for the Japanese, the missionaries started their work immediately after the reopening of the country in 1859. To the Japanese, they explained that their purpose was to look after the religious needs of the westerners in Japan. Soon they were active in teaching English to the Japanese, who wanted to learn western languages, and naturally they used the Bible as their teaching material.⁵⁵ In the early 1860s, there was only a handful of western missionaries in Japan, and their writings were eagerly read in their home countries. The letters by missionaries were regularly published in the magazines of missionary societies in order to maintain the missionary enthusiasm. The supporters at home needed to read about the work and its progress, and in turn they secured the flow of funds to continue the work.

Margaret Ballagh stayed in Japan for five years, during which time she gave birth to three children. In 1908, her letters to home were published as a book titled *Glimpses of Old Japan 1861–1866*. No doubt the aim was to emphasise the importance of missionary work in Japan. Especially 'the old Japan' was an interesting topic, and Ballagh's letters describe the many difficulties of the early missionary effort in Japan. In the 40 years between the time when the letters were written and published, Japan had gone through a profound modernisation process. Many westerners wanted to relive the old, untouched Japan, where the leading figures were the two-sworded *samurai*, and the city streets were not filled with silk hats, tail-coats and European taffetas.⁵⁶

The letters of Margaret Ballagh reflect fresh and genuine feelings of lived reality in Japan in the 1860s. To dispel the prejudicial views of friends and relatives at home, she described her first impressions: the Japanese were not savages but "polite, intelligent and progressive."⁵⁷ The Ballaghs' "opinion of the Orient" was inquired in the letters from home to which Margaret Ballagh answered firmly that it was time for the Americans to learn to know Japan as a neighbouring country because there was also going to be an increasing number of Japanese travelling to the United States in the future. Many called

54. Margaret Tate Kinnear Ballagh was born in 1840.

55. This was the most common way of getting attention of the local people and widely used in early 20th century, too. It was not only the protestants, but also the Catholics who organised language classes, in English and in French. See for example Drummond 1971.

56. Jalagin 1994, 98–99.

57. Ballagh 13.11.1861 (1908), 24.

Japan an enigma, but in Margaret Ballaghs' opinion there was now reason to solve this enigma and to get to know the Japanese "with sympathy and without prejudice".⁵⁸

The first step in getting to know the Japanese and their culture was to learn the language. Mastering the language to some extent, at least, was naturally the condition for a missionary to carry out his work. The Ballaghs had started to study Chinese on their way from America to Asia, so that reading Japanese would be easier, but the actual study of Japanese was begun in Japan. Time and time again, Margaret Ballagh pained with slow progress of studies. A few hours a day did not seem to take one anywhere; the house was constantly full of guests; and the birth of the first child in spring 1862 kept the mother busy from morning to night. The language studies shrunk to non-existent.⁵⁹ The study of Japanese *kana* writing was relatively easy, but the learning of the Chinese characters was laborious. After becoming familiar with the writing system and through it the Japanese civilisation, Ballagh came to the conclusion that "the women in Japan are much more important personages than in many half-civilised lands."⁶⁰ The *kana*-writing was expressly developed by women and the entire Japanese as a literate language was based on it. While men had been satisfied to copy the Chinese characters to be able to write in Japanese, women had developed their native language and, therefore, given birth to the national literature.⁶¹

Margaret Ballagh, like so many other visitors to foreign countries, described the appearance of the Japanese people to visualise the physical environment of her new life. The prettiness of young Japanese girls was ruined by blackening the teeth and shaving the eyebrows when getting married. Luckily, the Japanese did not bind the feet of the women like the Chinese.⁶² In fact, Margaret Ballagh was surprised and pleased to find out how considerably the Japanese treated women. For example, the women had social freedom to visit anyone they wanted. In Ballagh's words, "almost as much at liberty to walk and visit as in our own land."⁶³ In her opinion history, too, testified to the power of women: nine of Japan's 120 rulers had been Empresses and the supreme deity of the nation's traditional mythology was female.⁶⁴ In addition, Ballagh assured that she had seen so much of the country's customs that she knew the women commonly to rule the housekeeping and to be her husband's companion both during good and bad times. Unfortunately men were not always very faithful in Ballagh's mind because polygamy was practised to some extent.⁶⁵

On the other hand, Ballagh was also aware of the subjective nature of her own views. Japan was, according to her, so unique and different from western culture that it was difficult to describe it accurately. Especially in the case of the family life, the cultural difference between Japan and the western countries was impossible to surpass: "its peculiarities are not transferable. [...] If I attempt to present them, they fall in distorted shapes on your vision."⁶⁶

58. Ballagh, March 1862 (1908), 38.

59. Ballagh 1908, 82.

60. Ballagh, March 1862 (1908), 40.

61. Ibidem.

62. Ballagh 1908, 86.

63. Ibidem.

64. Ballagh refers to the main deity of *Shintô*, Amaterasu Ô-mi-kami, the Sun goddess.

65. Ballagh 1908, 86.

66. Ballagh 1908, 83.

The Japanese women were, in Ballagh's opinion, as good mothers as women elsewhere in the world: attached to their children, tender and patient. Japan was commonly called the "paradise for babies", and according to Ballagh "these babies make Japan a paradise", because "it is true of this land as well as of Ceylon's Isle that 'only man is vile'."⁶⁷ The traditional western attitude toward Japan – and toward many other non-western cultures – reflects well from Ballagh's words: women and children are seen as objects, whereas men established the rules and were thus seen as the origin of problems. The whole society was shaped by men; paganism and despotism, as well as feudal backwardness, had their origins in a system dominated by men.

Both Ballagh and d'Almeida compared Japan to China, which is very typical of 19th-century western descriptions. China was in the 1860s far better known than Japan. Most westerners came to Japan via Chinese ports. In comparison to Japan, China always lost.⁶⁸ The Chinese were considered dishonest – most Chinese the westerners were dealing with were traders – and again the level of the civilisation was measured by the female status, which appeared to be really miserable in China. The westerners interpreted the tied feet as an indication of oppression, and polygamy was considered the ultimate cause for the poor status of women in Chinese society. In Japan, polygamy was a prevailing system among the wealthy *samurai*, but the westerners had very few contacts with them. Due to language problems, descriptions were usually based on one's own observations in treaty harbours and restricted areas around them. Families of merchant shops, teahouse girls and peasants, men and women labouring side by side in the paddies became objects of interpretation and sources of the positive image.

The letters of Margaret Ballagh tell about increasing familiarity with Japanese culture, improving language abilities, and her broadening experience amidst the people of Kanagawa. Although her view of Japanese women seems very traditional, it is, however, marked by sensitivity and sympathy toward the Japanese customs and way of life. This was, however, a result of time and adaptation. During the early days in Japan, Ballagh had faced internal contradictions. Her religious beliefs were on trial in the heathen environment. Ballagh felt that she, as a devoted Christian, should have hated paganism, but all she could feel was indifference.⁶⁹ The culture shock may have been so powerful in the beginning that the agony when affronted by paganism was short-lived. Ballagh's description of her experiences sounds typical of missionaries in the early stages of work. The knowledge of language was so crucial that all effort had to be focused on studying the language. As time passed and contacts with local people grew deeper, the Japanese became familiar faces instead of pitiful pagans. The grand mission transformed to everyday life.

From this point of view, Margaret Ballagh's letters are an interesting source material for the researcher of images. The letters transmit a fresh view, intended to be read by those close to the writer. She was able to unload her feelings, dispel receiver's prejudices and, on the other hand, encourage herself by describing, and thus defining the Japanese reality in which she was living. There is, nevertheless, a tendency which needs to be taken into consideration when analysing the published texts of missionaries. They wrote numerous reports and letters about the miserable spiritual stage of the 'pagans', and these were

67. Ballagh 1908, 87.

68. Jalagin 1998, 98–99; Thomson 1973, 251.

69. Ballagh 20.11.1861 (1908), 34.

commonly published in the journals and annual reports of the mission societies. Writers tended to emphasise the negative sides to argue for the importance of their work and in this way guarantee constant economic support from the home congregations.⁷⁰ The motive of writings colours the image that is derived from them, and, therefore, other sources are more important for determining the image as a whole.

In the case of Ballagh, it may be that only some of her letters were selected for publication, and, therefore, many of her views remain uncovered. The published letters, however, open a door to the relatively poorly-known Japan in the early 1860s, through the eyes of a western woman. Ballagh herself examined that period critically in a footnote: there were only six to eight converts in Kanagawa as a result of twenty years of missionary work. Their first home in Japan had been a Buddhist temple converted into a home for a Christian family and this modification had created an illusion of victory over paganism. Twenty years later, it was again "desecrated by idol worship".⁷¹ The Ballaghs had returned to Japan and settled in Yokohama, but they had kept in touch with their first mission field, which did not wake too much hope for the productivity of the work. As an experienced missionary, Margaret Ballagh was able to afford to confess the hardship of the work when editing her letters for publication. On the other hand, the publication of letters in 1908 served the same function as other material published by the missionaries: "to interest the youth of our own and other lands in missionary work".⁷²

Encouragement was really needed because, since the 1890s, the Christian missionary work had been in difficulties in Japan: the number of church members was reducing, missionary schools were discontinued or faced with a decrease in the number of students when the nationalistic spirit was rising, and by 1914 the missionary work in Japan had progressed less than it had in China.⁷³ The objective of Ballagh's book was, therefore, to tell about the hardship of the early missionary work and encourage the supporters and missionaries during the difficult times.

The empowered Christian women in fictional writing

Works published to support religious motives are a specific genre from the point of view of the study of images. In addition to Margaret Ballagh's letters, I take another example, Mona B. Bickerstaffe's novel *Araki the Daimio*, published in 1865. The main figure in Bickerstaffe's novel is the Daimyo of Araki, who was also a trustee of the Tokugawa Shōgun.⁷⁴ The story dates to a critical period in the 17th century, when Christianity had been successfully preached in Japan for over fifty years. Due to political reasons, the practise of Christianity was forbidden in 1614, and all westerners, except the Dutch, were expelled from Japan by 1639. The Japanese Christians were persecuted and forced to denounce their religion, or they were beheaded.⁷⁵

70. Sandra C. Taylor, *The Sisterhood of Salvation and the Sunrise Kingdom: Congregational Women Missionaries in Meiji Japan*. *Pacific Historical Review*, February, 1979: Volume XLVIII, Number 1, 32.

71. Ballagh 1908, 35.

72. Ballagh 1908, Preface.

73. Thomson 1973, 256–257. For a more specific analysis of Japan, see Drummond 1971.

74. Shogun, the military ruler. In years 1600–1867 Japan was ruled by the Tokugawa family. After this family was overthrown, the emperor was returned to power. The Daimyo were independent lords of provinces. Their number was 250–300 during the Tokugawa period.

75. Sansom 1980, 130–133.

In the beginning of the book, the Daimyo gets into an accident during a trip from Hakone to Edo⁷⁶ and resorts to the help of a man named Sako Miyako. While recovering from his injuries, he meets his host's daughter, Ama, who captures his heart with her beauty. Bickerstaffe created a heroic story of the power of man's love versus the even more powerful love of God. Sako Ama had, according to the story, converted to Christianity and could not accept life with a pagan man. In the end, broken-hearted Araki commits *harakiri*, a ritual suicide, after letting the Shôgun down due to his desire and love for Ama, and after realising the depth of Ama's conviction.

The novel cultivates all the clichés connected to the Japanese woman in descriptions from the 16th to the 19th century. Araki's household in Edo is described as a harem: "he could not have told why he thought her more lovely than the fair ones who adorn his harem at Yeddo, some of whom are almost faultlessly beautiful."⁷⁷ The Daimyo's polygamy was described with the term 'harem' although the family system of the samurai was not equivalent to that. In the minds of the westerners, harem became, however, associated with the subdued status of oriental women, and the inhabitants of a harem were described as sex slaves.⁷⁸ In Bickerstaffe's book Ama was not even able to think of living among a half a dozen wives, "and she recoiled with horror from a fate that would deprive her of all freedom of thought and will, and place her in a position nothing better than affluent slavery."⁷⁹ According to Bickerstaffe, a woman's lot as a powerful man's concubine could best be described as slavery, whereas Christianity was introduced as the liberating force. A wife's lot wasn't described as pleasant in other respects, either. A group of Sako's underlings who had become aware of Christianity is described with mocking words: women had ruined their natural, God-given beauty by blackening their teeth, shaving their eyebrows and painting their lips; men, on the other hand, had tattooed all parts of their bodies. The appearance alone indicated, in the writer's opinion, that they were extremely ignorant and pitiful people, although sincerely innocent in their new faith.⁸⁰

The objective of Bickerstaffe's writing is evident: to demonstrate the triumph of Christianity in the world, also in Japan, which had a history of persecuting Christians. Published in the middle of the 1860s, the novel was intended to provide encouragement for new missionary effort in Japan. Despite the title, *Araki the Daimyo*, Sako Ama turns out to be the main character of the story. Her religious conviction empowered her to go against the noble suitor, and then against her father although filial piety was particularly known to be an unbroken value in Japan. In the end, Sako Ama converts her father and drives her tormentor to despair by escaping the country for good. In this way, Bickerstaffe illustrates that the Christian heroine would rather abandon her home country than betray her faith by marrying a pagan. Therefore, she will not become Araki's enslaved concubine, who would be "in his eyes, as any other piece of furniture, to be selected for the adornment of his mansion; and already his money had enabled him to purchase as many as he pleased of those animated playthings whose beauty caught his eye, and of whom he tired as quickly as does a child of his new toys."⁸¹ The polygamous system was

76. Edo was renamed Tokyo in 1869.

77. Bickerstaffe 1865, 33.

78. See: Melman, Billie: *Women's Orients. English women and the Middle East, 1718–1918. Sexuality, Religion and Work*. Macmillan, Houndmills 1995, 59–63.

79. Bickerstaffe 1865, 40.

80. Bickerstaffe 1865, 80–81.

81. Bickerstaffe 1865, 156–157.

thus construed as an embodiment of male desire, and no indication was made of the importance of getting an heir to the family lineage.

According to the story, Araki's love for Ama was unique because "she was something more than a painted puppet", and if the two had ended up together, Ama's love might have been able to make cruel Araki a better man.⁸² Bickerstaffe aimed, therefore, to testify about the power of the Christian faith even in the case of the most unrepentant pagans. Although Ama was depicted with the stereotypical clichés of Japanese women, she was, above all, making individual choices. Christian conviction was seen as the individualising power with which a Japanese woman was able to rise above her countrymen and to defy traditions such as blind obedience toward one's parents as well as the enslavement of woman in marriage. A similar image was created of Chinese women by the missionaries, but, in contrast to Sako Ama in Bickerstaffe's novel, a Chinese woman had to sacrifice her life for her faith. Additionally a Chinese woman is also typically depicted as forgiving her family, violent husband and heathen customs in her deathbed. Thus, the message of western missionaries indicated that converting families was the only way to rescue Chinese women from misery.⁸³

The educational objective of Bickerstaffe's novel is emphasised by not allowing the reader to become emotionally too involved with the story, although the text itself is very much emotion-evoking. Bickerstaffe addresses the reader from time to time directly: "Dear Reader" and so on. She also refers in footnotes to the western authorities whose books on Japan are used to explain strange concepts.⁸⁴ In this fashion the author has tried to create an authentic atmosphere in the novel. The story was not intended to be mere entertainment for the reader, but serious information dressed in a form that evokes emotions, such as concern for the 'heathen souls'. The last chapter of the novel is appropriately named "Review of the Past – Hopes for the Future", which repeats the stages Christianity went through from its introduction in Japan in the 16th century to the persecutions of the 17th century. In the end, the author encourages the reader to believe that the Japanese people, after they first become free of feudalism and the old traditions, will become more favourable toward Christianity. Bickerstaffe does not for a moment doubt the progressiveness of the western, especially the English, culture when ending her book in the following words:⁸⁵

82. Bickerstaffe 1865, 157.

83. Davin, Delia: British Women Missionaries in Nineteenth-century China. *Women's History Review*, Volume 1, Number 2, 1992, 265. In general, it was typical for protestant missions to emphasise the work of missionary women in cultures that strictly separated women's and men's spheres of life, such as China, India, Japan and the Islamic countries. Women were, in these countries seen as the crucial figure inside the family. Converting the wife and the mother would promote the conversion of the family, and ultimately that of the whole nation. See for example Williams, Peter: "The Missing Link": The Recruitment of Women Missionaries in some English Evangelical Missionary Societies in Nineteenth Century. *Women and Missions: Past and Present. Anthropological and Historical Perceptions*. Edited by Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood & Shirley Ardener. Berg, Providence/Oxford 1993, 43; Taylor, Sandra C.: Abby M. Colby: The Christian Response to a Sexist Society. *The New England Quarterly* 52(1) 1979, 73.

84. Bickerstaffe refers, for example, to Rutherford Alcock, the ambassador of Great Britain, whose two-volume work *The Capital of the Tycoon* was published in 1862, as well as to Isaak Titsingh. See Bickerstaffe 1865, for example p. 65.

85. Bickerstaffe 1865, 175.

"when the upper classes become educated Christians as well as intelligent beings, and the peasantry are redeemed from the darkness of heathen ignorance, we shall hear of no more cruel deeds; no more massacres [---] but peace and prosperity (such as can only be found in happy Protestant England,) may reign in the 'Land of the Rising Sun.'"

Bickerstaffe's novel prepared readers to encounter an unknown country with a history of persecuting Christianity that had turned into a nation of pagans waiting for Christian salvation. Fictional writing allowed Bickerstaffe to depict the characters in her story any way she wanted. Her choice of illustrating a period in remote past loaded with tragic legends of persecution enabled her to create a story appealing to the readers, at the same time that it set the author's hands free to associate them with 19th-century western individualism. It was not the 'real' Japanese Bickerstaffe depicted. Instead, she removed them of their cultural background and made them act according to western Christian models.

Breaking the stereotypes

When a person spent many years in a foreign culture, her image of it differed greatly from that of the short-time visitors, as already pointed out in the case of Margaret Ballagh. In addition to women in missions, there was a group of western women who stayed in Japan for years, namely the wives of officials and other professionals. They usually did not have a public role of their own, unless the spouse's work required it. Of these numerous women, I have selected Mary Crawford Fraser, whose image of the Japanese woman and the entire Japanese culture was based on broad knowledge and a humane attitude.

Mary Crawford Fraser arrived in Japan in the spring of 1889, when Hugh Fraser was appointed as the ambassador of Great Britain in Tokyo. Five years later she returned to England as a widow and missed Japan dearly: "whatever comes, Japan will always be my second home --- east of the sun, west of the moon."⁸⁶ Carefully edited and with hundreds of illustrations, *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan* was published in London in 1899. Fraser's relationship to Japan comes across as very warm and understanding from the beginning. Due to her status, she spent her time in upper-class circles, where the darker aspects of society were not visible. Furthermore, the Japanese court and governmental circles of the 1880s were progressive vanguards of westernisation that created a positive image for the entire country.⁸⁷

When describing Japanese women, Mary Fraser systematically breaks down the old stereotypes. She was irritated by the numerous books which "had a great deal to say about the *musume*, the pretty, plebeian tea-house girl, or the *geisha*, the artist, the dancer, the witty, brilliant hetaira of Japan."⁸⁸ In her opinion, these did not at all describe a typical Japanese woman. Mary Fraser had for years had a falcon's view on the lives of women and girls of different social classes, although the majority of the women she knew more intimately were of upper-class families. Among the servants of the ambassador's house-

86. Fraser II 1899, 425.

87. The tide was slowly turning and in the 1890s a more nationalistic policy gained ground. It was manifested in the 1889 Meiji Constitution and the Imperial Rescript of Education in 1890. For example Sansom 1987, 356–373.

88. Fraser I 1899, 346. See also the quote in the beginning of this article.

hold there were, however, representatives of the common people: entire families, some including three generations. She also visited many schools, hospitals and other institutions, becoming familiar with the lives of the ordinary Japanese.

Mary Fraser set herself to educate readers about the deepest layers of Japanese values. Children were dearly loved in Japan, but in the middle of all that tenderness, they were socialised to discard their selfish needs and to take other people into consideration in all circumstances. Especially the girl's sense of responsibility grew to be very rigid.⁸⁹ Fraser wanted to emphasise that unselfishness and self-sacrifice were not necessarily a sign of Japanese women's weak status, but that they were instead basic values built into the culture. Japanese ways of thinking were very different from western ways, and one had to be on guard against interpreting them by the western standards.

Fraser agreed with many other writers that marriage, without doubt, brought hardship to women. However, this hardship was not due to keeping concubines or the nature of marriage. It was extremely rare for a husband to have concubines, from the simple fact that it was very expensive. Furthermore, concubines were not a threat to the wife's status because she was the mother of all of her husband's children and was responsible for both the household and the education of the children. The concubine had a position as a respected maid, which was not at all a miserable fate for a young woman, according to Fraser.⁹⁰ In Japan, marriages were rarely based on love because the Japanese had a long tradition of arranged marriages. It was, however, in Fraser's opinion unnecessary to pity Japanese woman for this. Surely she could not miss something she did not know of. From a very young age, girls were taught to have a sense of responsibility and, according to the Japanese way of thinking, love was not a prerequisite for marriage.⁹¹ Fraser was well aware of the common attitude of western women towards the lot of Japanese women. She brought up how inconsolable a marriage without love must appear in the eyes of a western woman. For a western woman to enter such a marriage would mean losing her sense of self-respect.⁹² Fraser, therefore, set herself to criticise the western individualism and desire for love: "the common amusement called 'falling in love' has absolutely nothing to do with the affectionate and careful fulfilment of the duties of married life, and that the crown of an all-absorbing worship of one human being for another may be, and often is, granted without that passing preliminary ailment having been contracted at all."⁹³ In her opinion, an enduring marriage was based on the sense of responsibility and love, if that was how it was to be, but love alone was not enough to make a marriage last.

In Fraser's opinion, conflicts in Japanese marriages resulted from the relationship between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law because a husband was not able to oppose his mother in order to defend his wife. Therefore, a young wife had to endure commands and the fact that the mother-in-law treated her as a maid. The birth of an inheritor, especially that of a son, usually improved the daughter-in-law's situation.⁹⁴ According to Fraser, the dominant feeling of a Japanese woman was love toward her children, which was "recognised as a national virtue."⁹⁵ Therefore, the children were treated with tenderness

89. Fraser I 1899, 349.

90. Fraser I 1899, 346–350.

91. Fraser II 1899, 222–224.

92. Fraser II 1899, 223.

93. Fraser II 1899, 224–225.

94. Fraser I 1899, 353.

95. Fraser II 1899, 227.

and respect, which in England was “the unrealisable dream, of many a broken-hearted mother – powerless to protect her children from the drunken cruelty of the brute who is their father, or, in a superior class, from the more refined torture inflicted by schoolmasters, and other bullies.”⁹⁶ Fraser, an upper-class lady, may not have seen the rough reality of the families of common people in Japan. Her image is coloured, above all, by critique toward her own society and its drawbacks. No doubt, the years in Japan and affection toward the Japanese had made her more critical to the English way of life. She, then, not only aimed at educating her readers of the ‘real’ Japan, but also pointed out what was wrong in the English society.

All in all, the image of Japanese woman constructed through Fraser’s writings is a result of deep and open-minded familiarisation. She was capable of and willing to look at the Japanese culture from its own point of reference. She was well informed, travelled broadly and acquired all-inclusive information of the Japanese society. With her book, Fraser consciously strove to break down what were, in her opinion, twisted views of Japan. Her image was not numbed by a fiercely religious worldview, only her upper-class background and environment may have obscured bringing into light all shades of reality.

Conclusion

In this article, I have studied the western female image of Japanese women in the 19th century in order to find out how western women encountered a foreign culture. In many ways, the women whose texts I have analysed here can be viewed as strong advocates of western values and cultural merits. However, there are notable variations in their attitudes toward Japan and the Japanese women. It is not as much the ideological, in these cases mainly religious, worldviews that affected their perceptions. The most perceptible differences between these women’s views grew out of their contact and knowledge of the Japanese culture and society. Those who stayed in the country for only a short time tended to project their own rather superficial experiences to the image that can be found in their writings. Furthermore, on many occasions they rely on earlier writings about Japan. A short-term stay or contact usually means that the image becomes dominated by negative preconceived expectations, as can be seen in d’Almeida’s and Baxter’s perceptions. In their writings, the Japanese woman plays the part of a mirror in which the western women saw themselves as something completely different from the Asian women. The perceptions of Anna d’Almeida, Catherine Schuyler Baxter and even Mona B. Bickerstaffe tell of the Japanese woman, first and foremost, as the ‘other’. Without closer contacts with the local people, the western women’s image of Japanese women shows us that these writers were, above all, defining themselves. Thus, the image tells us more about its creator than the object of the image.⁹⁷

D’Almeida, Bickerstaffe and Baxter incontrovertibly considered the social position of western women to be far better than that of Asian women, which served to strengthen

96. Ibidem.

97. The image and its research has been theorised by Fält, Olavi K.: *Eksotismista realismiin. Perinteinen Japanin-kuva Suomessa 1930-luvun murroksessa. From Exoticism to Realism. The Traditional Image of Japan in Finland in the Transition Years of the 1930s.* Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys, Rovaniemi 1982; Boulding, Kenneth: *The Image. Knowledge in Life and Society.* Ann Arbor 1973; Isaacs, Harold: *Sources for Images of Foreign Countries. Public Opinion and Historians. Interdisciplinary perspectives.* Edited by Melvin Small. Wayne State University, Detroit 1970.

their own feeling of superiority. Consequently, one can hardly find any real concern for the well-being of the womenfolk of a foreign culture in the writings of short-term visitors. The situation is quite the contrary with those who stayed in Japan for a longer time and whose relationship with the people grew more intimate. In this article, I have analysed the writings of two such women, Margaret Ballagh and Mary Fraser who represent the group of western women writing on Japanese women with sympathy and understanding. Their image was not so strongly influenced by the profound cultural differences between Japan and the West. To some extent, the same can be said of western men writing about Japan and the Japanese women. However, contrary to women, the men still considered Japanese women above all as the 'other'.⁹⁸ For male writers, gender was a distinguishing factor, regardless of years of experience, knowledge, and relationship with the country and its people. Therefore, Ballagh and Fraser reflect, to some extent at least, a sense of shared womanhood that could surpass cultural differences. In describing Japanese women and analysing their position and significance in Japanese society, they also contemplated the position of women in their own western societies. Japanese women were, therefore, a mirror used to criticise some aspects of the writers' own culture.

To return to the role of western women and their writing of 19th-century Japan and the Japanese women, they can be regarded as western cultural agents. Some of them can be defined as cultural missionaries, since they expected Japanese society to experience the development of western societies, which would, among other things, mean equality for women. They did not necessarily, however, themselves function to change the position of Japanese women. The short-term visitors can, therefore, be called cultural imperialists, since they were above all advocates of western superiority. The ones who stayed in Japan for a longer time and became the advocates of Japanese culture and people I would define as cultural mediators.

98. Jalagin 1998, 97–98.

Guided by the Bushmen to the Finnish Namibia Myth

Teuvo Raiskio

My doctoral dissertation research deals with the Finnish missionary work among the Bushmen and the image of the Bushmen it has transmitted. The starting point of this theme was my interest at the time in the Bushmen and their way of life.¹ My research work was a learning process, which still continues long after the work was completed partly because of the anxiety caused by the sensitive topic, further necessitated by my personal function as a researcher – from a psychological need to work on the topic.

In 1870, missionaries of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission arrived at the invitation of the German Rhine Missionary Association in Ondonga, located in the northern part of modern Namibia, where the *Ovambo* tribe (a Bantu tribe) became a long-term object of the Finnish missionary work. The pastoral spiritual and secular power with its missions brought a new element to Ondonga's social life, in which the Finnish missionaries, who had a central part in spreading the western culture, formed a part of the local elite. The life of the “pagans” was influenced in other ways besides the proselytising. The beginning of the change was often the giving of a Finnish name to the convert. A need emerged to expand the operation to the Okavango region, and also to the realms of teach-

-
1. Raiskio, Teuvo: Oudosta kulkijasta ihmiseksi: Suomalainen bushmannilähetystyö ja sen välittämä kuva bushmaneista vuosina 1950–1985. (From a Strange Wanderer to a Human Being: Finnish Missionary Work among Bushmen and the Image of Bushmen 1950–1985). Oulu 1997. The oldest inhabitants of southern Africa, the Bushmen (the San), live in the Kalahari and its surrounding regions (Botswana, Namibia, Angola, South Africa). There are a few of them also in the Namibia desert. Numerous rock paintings and drawings (as old as 27,000 years) found in southern Africa were made by the Bushmen's ancestors. This art is an indicator of the Bushmen's golden age, dating before other people forced their way into the region about 2,000 years ago. At that time, the Khoikhoit, who are linguistically related to the Bushmen (Nama), arrived in the region. After that, strong farming and pastoral tribes of the Bantu arrived in southern Africa. The arrival of the whites starting at the end of the 17th century pushed the Bushmen northward from southern Africa to their recent settlement areas in the Kalahari, the altitude of which is 1,000–2,000 meters above sea level. The Kalahari is a typical open semi-desert forest savannah in which, in addition to big trees, also shrubbery grows. The climate is characterised by high temperature, aridity and large differences in temperature. My research deals with the regions of eastern Ovambo and Kavango, which, belonging to the Mega Kalahari-zone, are forest savannah and wood. The rainfall varies from 140 mm in January to no rain at all during June and July. Some of the Bushmen still live, at least part time, following their old hunting-gathering way of life, but the majority of them earn their living today as workers in the farms of the whites and the Bantu. In 1988, the number of the Bushmen was estimated to be 70,000–90,000. The Bushmen live in family groups (bands) of 25–60 individuals, which form the basis of the mobile way of life. The Bushmen are, as an average, short and light coloured with yellowish tinge, and they have Mongoloid eye folds.

ing, education and nursing (in the 1930s). The work to convert the Bushmen (the *Khoisan*) started in the 1950s in Okavango, especially in the Mpungu mission station.

The Bushman work did not actually become an organised operation until the end of the 1950s. Encounters between the Finnish missionaries and the Bushmen had been infrequent earlier, mainly due to the mobile hunter-gatherer way of life of the Bushmen. It was partly due to the old tradition of the missionary work that starting in 1959 the missionary work among the Bushmen was centred in the mission stations (Okongo and Ekoka) established in the territory inhabited by the Bushmen in eastern Ovambo. The western Christian culture attempted to approach the hunting-gathering Bushman culture from the mission stations by at the same time dictating the conditions of encounters. The missionary work among the Bushmen gained strength at the beginning of the 1960s, and the number of the Bushmen in the mission stations increased. Now and then some of them returned to the bush, especially during the rainy seasons, when the conditions to survive by foraging were better. This was considered a defeat and a return to paganism in the missionary circles. It was thought that farming and living in permanent settlements was best for the Bushmen because the old way of life was thought to be dying out, and the Bushmen were no longer thought to be able to live in the wilderness.

There have been visible changes in the attitude toward the Bushman culture in the Bushman missionary work since the early 1970s. The Bushmen were no longer lured to the mission stations as enthusiastically as before, and the missionaries started to make attempts to convert the Bushmen in the bush. This change was influenced by common outside pressures: colonies' striving to gain independence, a shift of the popular attitude against colonialism and the oppression exercised by it. At least these outside factors – combined with the practical problems in the missionary work among the Bushmen, mainly economic ones – influenced the ideology of the missionary work in which greater attempts were made than before to understand the alien cultures. The mission stations, however, continued to be local economic and social units, and they were still, with the various services they offered, allurements for cultural contacts.

As a result of the Namibian civil war, the operation of the Finnish missionary work among the Bushmen ended in 1976 in the mission stations of eastern Ovambo, and the work continued in Okavango (Kavango) as developmental aid work: nursing, linguistic work, teaching, and various instruction in models of developmental aid. The circle of the Finnish missionary work among the Bushmen closed because the work started in the early 1950s as nursing in Mpungu of Kavango when nurses who perceived the Bushmen as strange wanderers of the woods presented the image of the Bushmen. The expansion of the missionary work among the Bushmen dates to the 1960s and stabilised in the 1970s. All of these stages are clearly visible in the image of the Bushmen presented. The stations' becoming more African and the civil war had meant that the work of the Finnish mission became in the 1980s developmental aid work with an emphasis on nursing. At that time, nurses already described the Bushmen as a familiar part of the human life in the mission stations of Kavango in the middle of the civil war: a strange wanderer had become a familiar human being.

The missionary work sided with the new rising power against South Africa's apartheid politics. This was partly to safeguard the continuity of work, but the choice was also clearly humanitarian because the civil war aggravated the area's conditions and, therefore, made the oppression and different defects more visible. The Bushman project suffered a

setback in the 1980s due to the war, and the local church together with the government started it again after Namibia gained independence in the 1990s.

Image research is a good tool for ethno history

My own research brings to light also the viewpoint of ethno history, in which it is typical that there is basically only written material produced by westerners dealing with the events. Therefore, there exists only the image transmitted by one-sided sources. In this case, it would be honest to approach the issue also by using the methods of image research when it is more clearly seen that we have only a narrow sliver of events that have sometimes occurred. A few of the active writers are, therefore, significant creators of “the reality” and possibly influence also the formation of a broader mass-picture. The ethno history does not always bring to light that we are often dealing with the images of influential individuals. Getting into the world of the source’s writer is well founded and, therefore, increases the possibility to map the presenter’s relationship with the culture he meets. Image research, when successful, may describe the life fruitfully and, therefore, one may get at least close to the life from which the narrow material originates.

The considerable strength of historical image research is critical to the visible paradigm. The research will not succeed without an outline and multidisciplinary approach. This approach, in which the doors are flexibly open to different fields of science, is a prerequisite starting point of image research. A question will rise whether it would be sensible to turn the fitting ideals of image research back to traditional history writing so that the question of the visible frame of reference would become more visible. This brings to light not just the illusion of truth, but also the possibility of deeper explanation through the multi-scientific approach. Above all, the more visible paradigm hopefully increases the amount of theoretical-scientific speculation and discussion in relation to the research as well as to the scientific community. The scientist’s own inner world will then become more clearly and visibly a part of the research. This starting point of the broad worldview of the individual and the paradigm is the base from which the research frame of reference opens up. It would be good to bring to light the researcher’s relationship with the studied phenomenon in the evaluation of the integrity of the work. In this way, the problem of the possible hidden paradigm would be reduced.²

The cross-scientific explanation of the world of the source’s maker reaches through an individual his relations to the environment and society of his time. Explaining the historical image research is based on the “factual bases” of the historical research and its methods, but the visible paradigm improves the possibilities for explanations and through them opens an avenue to a broader understanding. Wouldn’t this be good for other aspects of the study of history as well because sources referenced regardless of their apparently broad base have been written by people from basically similar backgrounds, and this kind of material may, therefore, describe an event from a narrow viewpoint? The traditional research of history brings easily into light the researcher’s fact illusion, which is made up of the apparently solid conclusions of a small elite. Life, however, is not just commands, minutes of meetings and work reports. The problem of the chaotic modern days, which has also always existed in the past, is completely skipped when an extravagantly organised image of the past is constructed. Chaos, illogicality and irrationality have central

roles in life. The new research of chaos is bringing more information about this, for example, through methods of fraction geometry. We may not be able to create order sought after especially by the researchers of history into chaos, but we have started to understand it better and in new light. Already now we can see more clearly the punctuality and diversity of the environment's phenomena as different from "the world of order" created by people.

The chaotic nature of our world is also increased because our senses have limited frequencies. Also from this world of reality only a small part is transmitted, depending on an individual's various abilities and gifts, varying from hallucinations to analytical goals in receiving information about our environment. Psychology provides, for its part, good tools to explain even our irrational world. The new psychological research brings a human to light as a psychosocial creature in relation to his/her cultural and natural environment, as well as a part of his/her own time and in relation to his/her evolutionary background.

An endeavour to become an independent sub-field of history can be a threat to the historical image research because there would be a considerable danger for the paradigm to become narrower and through that dogmatism. One should be flexible in both traditional study of history and in multidisciplinary research, without which image research cannot survive. Excessive isolationism can lead to the introduction of basic assumptions that are increasingly less subjected to critique into the image research and, therefore, the reduced room to manoeuvre restricts the starting points of research. This may, for example, result in the selection of certain research topics in which narrowly defined ideals of the image research act. In this case, such research material that is clearly descriptive in respect to some (typical research) becomes typical research material. This set up may, in its part, be creating an illusion that there exists an objective, historical truth in relation to the image.

-
2. A hidden paradigm, which may be either unintentional or intentional, means that part of the source's presenter's world and persona remain hidden so that, for example, possible insider contacts/interests and its goal oriented aims will not become visible. The instrumental significance of the knowledge comes thus into light. Politics is typical goal-oriented action operating with emphasised partial truths, which then also includes hidden frame of reference through which unpleasant facts are intentionally hidden. Religion and intentional action associated with it, such as the missionary work, also easily lead to operation with partial truths so that the status of one's own operation would survive and strengthen. The problem of hidden paradigm also exists in science and, therefore, the significance of one's own worldview and persona for the starting point, conclusions and adaptations of the research. An effort to isolate the research to a compartment of professional logic in which there is conscious (or unconscious) effort to keep one's own persona (and emotions) separate from the research may lead to a misled view that the irrational world of people could not effect the research set up. A desire to hide the paradigm may be especially great when there is at the background strong conviction and need to seek support from this worldview. Also, science, in which one tries to explain surrounding phenomena and explain things perceived as mystical, may act like politics and religion. The starting-point paradigm of science should be more questioning than assuming, so that the danger of lapsing into the religious science would be smaller. For example, there are values and attitudes associated with the evolution theory that are very much emotionally loaded and restricting. The origin myth of the western science-religion, onto which some scientists desperately hold and fight against contradictory information, could be the big bang theory and the evolution (cosmic, chemical, biological and cultural) following it. There are many gaps in different stages of this theory, and declaring this theory as the correct one has been all too premature. On the other hand, evolution theory from the big bang to the human cultural evolution coincides surprisingly well with the description of origins described in the Bible's Genesis. Is our Judeo-Christian ethnocentric origins myth so restricting to our way of thinking that we attempt to prove it scientifically correct? Many scientists, however, see this trap and justifiably attempt to question also the assumption paradigm of evolution theory, which has served primarily the western viewpoint and worldview. For example, the western operation during colonialism sought justification from both the Bible and evolution theory, such as social Darwinism. The science-religion can also be associated with atheism and an attempt to construct (by seeking support for one's belief – by using science when appropriate, like in a convictional theology) the un-God and its philosophy. Also, an atheist's assumptions of divinity are on the other side of death's border, and not a single critic against the religious texts proves that God does not exist. The western religion and its philosophical orientation are also strained by the admiring pathos of the ancient Greece. This for its part is also restricting the view to examine human life further from the evolutionistic and cultural relativistic viewpoints.

All written sources provide different images of the past where even the best research represents a scientific image of the time.

A human being himself, by transmitting the image through sources, shapes that subjective reality which is seen through the material. The study of history is largely under mercy of this often narrow and one-sided piece of evidence that comes from the past. However, by explaining this visible part well also by using methods of image research, it is possible to get at least close to that human life lived in the past from where the source originates. The idea of a flexible image research would connect methods of the traditional writing of history and the image research with each other, thus improving the possibilities to address also new and smaller, but possibly important, questions dealing with human life. The study of history would not necessarily always need to seek topics where the massive traditional formula would be realised.

Do we have anything other than an image of the (written) past transmitted by an individual? The multidisciplinary approach and knowledge accumulated through it will provide better answers also for this question. This possibly endless discussion and deliberation could be part of the visible paradigm of historical image research, which is its strength and potential.

From euphoria to culture shock – crisis of an individual colours the image of the foreign culture

The basic starting point of image research is that a person's written or reported words reflect the presenter's personality, mainly reflecting his or her worldview of the moment, and this worldview is based on things he has learnt and experienced in different ways. A distant image is often dominated by the lack of actual contact, stereotypical assumptions and preconceived views.³ Organising the world through mental images both describes the subjective world of a human as well as shapes it through shaping of the image. A mental image of the environment gains shape in everyone's mind, but not everyone infuses this image into sources as metaphors; pictures, artefacts, etc. A trace from the past does not make visible the world which is shown, for example, by the observation equipment that even surpass our senses created by people in modern times, but a more or less chaotic world of the incomplete human in relation to the environment and society of his time emerges from the past.

An image reflects a life that has been lived, but it is not itself everyday reality but an individual's interpretation of it. Humans vary in their abilities to sense the environment, and our senses can also mislead us. We examine, for example, a stone objectively from the outside, but we examine another person as if from the inside – through one's own persona and the world of experiences. The objective observation is weakened also by the fact

3. Fält, Olavi K.: *Maaillmankulttuuri - tulevaisuuden haaste idän ja lännen kulttuurien kohtaaminen*. Faravid 14/1990. Jyväskylä 1991, 239–240; Fält, Olavi K.: *The Historical Study of Mental Images as a Form of Research into Cultural Confrontation*. *Comparative Civilizations Review*. No 32. Spring 1995, 99–101; Small, Melvin: *Look at Public Opinions. Public Opinions and Historians. Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Detroit 1970, 22; Alenius, Kari: *Ahkeruus, edistys, ylimielisyys. Virolaisten Suomi-kuva kansallisen heräämisen ajasta tsaarinvallan päättymiseen (n. 1850–1917)*. Jyväskylä 1996; de Anna, Luigi: *Vieraiden kansojen kirjallisesta kuvasta Historiallinen arkisto 96*. Jyväskylä 1991, 22–24; Isaacs, Harold R.: *Sources for Images of Foreign Countries. Public Opinions and Historians. Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Detroit 1970, 93, 96–97; Jalagin, Seija: *Japanin yhteiskuntajärjestys ja sen murros 1859–1873 länsimaisten kävijöiden silmin*. Oulun yliopisto 1994.

that, for example, our most central sense, the visual sense organisation, is not created to make objective observation but to make sensible interpretations quickly from rapid situations and danger situations. It has been important through evolution that the senses have served the survival and continuation of life. However, an individual can sense hallucinations or experience natural phenomena, such as mirages, which distort reality. The limitations of senses combine with different learned abilities of an individual to form a view of things that together provide a frame for the image formation.

Different mental images of a human function as a frame of reference, which is also the basis for the shaping of a new image because things are mirrored in relation to one's previous knowledge and experiences. Different individuals may describe and interpret the same occurrence in a very different way, which is a fact that is encountered constantly, for example, in police work. The more distant the description is from the occurrence, the greater the effects of environmental pressures and expectations emphasised in the description of this occurrence, and interpretations based on the mental images of an individual become more common.

A good example of an approach through mental images is falling in love, when a person who has fallen in love constructs from his/her object of love in his/her mental images an ideal person, which can differ a great deal from the everyday personality of the other person.⁴ Emotions, distance, and uncertainty add their own, even stereotypical, emphases of the other person, and similarly familiarity, regularity and everyday occurrence of meeting the other make the view more realistic. We approach the other person through our own inner world, and this approach is based on intuitions, emotions and knowledge – emotional intelligence.

The image transmitted by an individual is associated with his abilities, expectations, possibilities, motivations, and different possible ideological (political, religious, schools of thought, etc.) and assignment related (hobbies, job, professional, professionalism...) emphases, which for their part direct, limit, and emphasise a view, which may also be associated with different (developmental) crises. Experience, education, profession and the experience of the world based on these, combined with an individual's ability and receptiveness to different things, provide foundations for the shaping of an image.

The realisation of the image in relation to other people and cultures is often associated with regular daily encounters and familiar relations based on them. An encounter is the precondition for the personal shaping of the image and may, therefore, violate the earlier view, which may have been based on rumours, stereotypical expectations and prejudices. Transference is always associated with the encounter. Here, an individual's emotions and the updated and accumulating knowledge define and possibly change the view of the other person – and also often of his/her society.

My research also brings up an individual's different crises and learning processes in transmitting the image. The ability to transmit an image of a foreign culture is partly due to the individual's stage of adaptation in relation to the foreign culture. Culture shock is part of the acculturation process in a foreign culture. It is also a kind of developmental crisis in which an individual must examine his/her own inner world in relation to the new

4. Määttä, Kaarina: Mitä tapahtuu kun rakastuu? – rakastumisprosessi korkeakouluopiskelijoiden, tutkimustiedon ja runoilijoiden näkökulmasta. Rovaniemi 1997; Määttä, Kaarina: Kumppanin valinta rakkausskeemaa muokkaavana kokemuksena. Rovaniemi 1995; Määttä, Kaarina: Miten rakkaussuhde säilyy ja kehittyy: teoreettista tarkastelua. Rovaniemi 1997.

strange culture. We are also dealing with a socialisation process, the end result of which is influenced by the individual's motivations as well as broader abilities to adapt to new demands. The most common formula of culture shock is that the beginning excitement (*euphoria*) changes to disappointment and depression (*culture shock*), and at the end of this adaptation process progressing through stages is possibly a condition in which an individual's attitude to a foreign culture through acculturation is as if realised. This process also includes different defence mechanisms of the psyche with their reflections.⁵

When an individual experiences something upsetting – for example, an accident – he goes into a traumatic crisis of which the first stage is *shock*. During this stage, an individual does not really understand what has happened and powerful defence mechanisms control and also defend him. The shock is followed by *reactions* during which understanding of what has happened become clearly visible. However, defences and regressions still become dominant now and then, and this is seen, for example, as an attempt to deny what has happened or to make sense of what has happened by looking for a scapegoat in an attempt to deflect the bad feeling away from oneself. The reactions continue, depending on the situation, for days or months, or in some individuals they can control the entire remaining life. The next stage in a crisis is the *fixing stage*, during which an individual has clearly worked out what he has experienced and attempts through his actions to fix and compensate for the loss. The successful passing through a crisis leads to *becoming re-directed*, or to a kind of acculturation to the new situation of life. New challenges in life are considered meaningful and the powerful event in the past is set in its place as a deep life experience.⁶

In many ways, there are similarities between an individual's acculturation to a foreign culture and going through a crisis process. However, they are not entirely comparable because going to live in a foreign culture cannot be considered a traumatic crisis even though it almost invariably leads to a crisis. It is, therefore, appropriate to ask whether the term culture shock is appropriate for describing an individual's reaction about foreign culture. The term shock refers to a life-threatening situation where one is not in control of his life and is, therefore, misleading as a description of one's adaptation with associated reactions in a foreign culture. In any event, researchers refer to an individual's 'culture shock' as the acculturation process by which a disappointed, negatively critical and depressed human being emerges during a developmental crisis.

Euphoria is a very typical stage when we go to a foreign culture. The euphoria stage is clearly a kind of "border stage" where an individual may experience emotions. The brains distribute good feeling through increased hormonal activity and, therefore, also provide protection when confronted by powerful experiences. The foreign country comes to one's mental images in lovely, romantic and positive light. My study of the Finnish mission's image of Bushmen brings well to light that the euphoria stage can be seen as romanticising the foreign culture and striving for admiring views of this culture and its phenomena. On the other hand, the desire to romanticise the missionary work, for example, is emphasised. In this case, the image becomes associated with an attempt to explain the justifica-

5. Bennett, Milton: Towards Ethnorelativism: A Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity. Yarmouth 1993; Taylor, Edward: A learning model for becoming interculturally competent. International Journal of Intercultural Relations. Vol. 18, No. 3. 1994; Furnham, Adrian and Bochner, Stephen: Culture Shock. Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments. London and New York 1994; Sinclair, Kevin: Culture shock! China. Kevin Sinclair with Iris Wong Po-ye. Graphic Arts Center, Portland (Or.) 1994.

6. Cullberg, Johan: Tasapainon järkkyyssä. Keuruu 1991, 141-142; Achte, Kalle: Depressiosta voi päästä. Juva 1991.

tion of one's own work and missionary work through a familiar frame of reference, supported by other Finnish missionaries, the world of values of the missionary work and one's own broadly familiar culture. The view is still also controlled to see the foreign culture through positive lenses, and negative and repulsive views do not commonly appear in euphoria (during the euphoria stage).

Strong emotions are part of life as a whole and its experiences. Euphoria is like falling in love, in which a human being may experience great happiness. Feelings are emphasised, and the rational side of the emotional intelligence can be weaker. It is exactly in euphoria where one can feel most strongly one's own world of feelings encountering the foreign culture. Euphoria is a powerful, subjective experience of an individual, not necessarily having large association with the reality of the foreign environment, but the experience may be decisive in respect to the change of image and, through it, a decisive, powerful experience toward a new, more realistic view of a strange foreign culture. Euphoria is, therefore, also a great, happy opportunity.

It was typical for the Finnish missionaries in respect to the image of Bushmen that the first forest trip to the Bushmen - especially during the lush rainy season - was a powerful experience that did not correspond with preconceived views. Encountering the Bushman culture in the Bushmen's own cultural environment generally awoke admiration of the norm system of Bushmen's old way of life, which also included mild ethno-romantic traits. However, concrete meeting with the Bushmen while feeling euphoria was a powerful participating experience that usually changed and realised the image of Bushmen.

Those researchers and missionaries who had a great deal of distance without participating in encounters were in the greatest danger of lapsing into racist thinking, on the one hand, and into ethno-romanticism, on the other hand. The first practical encounter, possibly also experiencing euphoria, already broke this old stereotypical frame of reference. Experiences were very significant for the Finnish missionaries because, regardless of euphoria and exactly because of it, the encounter provided decisively new viewpoints in relation to the Bushman culture and gave a chance to examine the frame of reference. The missionaries described with pleasure these experiences of the first forest trip in their publications in Finland. This appeared especially in cases of the female missionaries who had done missionary work in the 1950s to 1970s: nurses and teachers.⁷ The importance of an individual to transmit the new image of Bushmen was significant, but this pre-required a participating encounter and also experiencing euphoria in the beginning.

7. Desire "to take care" is visible in descriptions of Bushmen of nurses doing missionary work, and they described the Bushmen from their profession's viewpoint, which included the everyday customer-nurse relationship. Empathy, interest and some fear toward the strange Bushman culture are visible in the nurses' image of Bushmen. Kavango Mpungu's Finnish missionaries' Bushmen mission work was in the 1950s mostly hospital work. It was not until the 1960s that founding of the agricultural clearings was started. The broader ideology of the missionary work was in the background. Its aspiration was to get converted people under the influence of the mission stations. Encounters between the missionaries and the Bushmen were irregular still in the 1950s. At that time, there were at least temporary border zones for cultural contacts, and it made it possible for the nurses to receive empirical information of Bushmen and to transmit the image received to Finland. When we come to the 1960s descriptions of nurses working among the Bushmen, they are still focusing on their nursing work to a great extent, and everyday encounters had made the Bushmen customers of everyday nursing work. The nurses took care, when necessary, of Bushmen's basic needs (food, water), nursing care, as well as took care of the basic function of the missionary work, the religious converting. The nurses' concept of people and, therefore, their image of Bushmen appear to be comprehensive because spiritual and physical needs were seen as converging. The holistic view and image of Bushmen had, however, basically gained shape from the needs of the Finnish missionary work and nursing work associated with it. Functions of the care taking are also selfish because the caretakers often feel they are divinely called to their care-taking work. This element is emphasised in the missionary work in which the belief in God, the spirit of self-sacrifice and the desire to take care came together.

Euphoria is commonly followed by reactions or stages which are commonly called culture shock, where a person expresses his/her disappointment of the foreign culture turning out to be less lovely and not quite corresponding with preconceived views of an individual. In this stage, it is typical, for example, to evaluate the foreign culture and its people in a cynically and negatively critical way. At the same time, there is an elevated ranking of one's own and foreign culture. These reactions are, however, necessary for a person to progress from his/her crisis in a healthy way. Only by working on one's experiences, feelings, disappointments and depression can the individual move to the next stage, which is acculturation (adaptation).

Missionaries of the Bushmen mission stations clearly experienced culture shock when confronted by new, partly strange, ways of life. The Bushmen also experienced the shock, and missionaries' descriptions reflect this shyness and fear. The fact that the shock was mentioned also indicates that the missionaries, too, experienced these feelings. Enthusiasm and especially disappointment fit into the beginning stages of shock. The missionaries were disappointed when the Bushmen did not behave as expected but acted according to their traditions, learned from their own way of life, in cultural contacts, as if the Bushmen did not understand, according to the missionaries, their own best when defining their own life and the conditions of cultural contacts. Old views may also have formed foundations for the missionaries' reactions. Poor understanding of the foreign culture was in part the basis for the uncertainty. For example, comparing the Bushmen with the forest animals was typical of the early image of Bushmen, not just among the missionary workers, but also more broadly.⁸ This comparison was pushed back (starting in the early 1960s), as the Bushmen mission work progressed because daily encounters reduced uncertainty due to increasing information and security.

Culture shock is seen primarily as a frustration or disappointment, and the reactions typically brought with them the ranking of cultures in which one's own western world of ideals and its way of life were perceived simply as the best model also for the Bushmen. Missionaries typically leaned on ideals of their own world view and to the Finnish missionary community. The world of a missionary was ruled by strong faith, emotions and also the defence of the justification of one's own work, due to which relying on what had been learned before led to direction giving, patronising, and even to a helper syndrome in which change was feared because it could have questioned the foundations of one's own world view. A foreign culture was seen as a bad one and even a threatening one. The Finnish missionaries' own ethnocentrism was, therefore, emphasised in the culture shock.

8. It was typical in the early 20th century to compare the Bushmen with animals or to point out the animal-like characteristics. Robert Gordon (*The Bushman Myth*, 1992) considered that the Bushmen were presented as animal-like and also supernatural creatures, which was a stereotypical picture people wanted to present in the western countries and also in cultural contacts. The view of the colonialists and that of the western people in general was such that the life of Bushmen in rough environment was perceived as somehow supernatural and, for this reason, both animal-like and supernatural elements were sought in them. It was typical to classify the Bushmen and their characteristics, for example, into wild and tame ones, human-like and animal-like. Mental images enforced stereotypical views, which have been very strong in case of the image of the Bushmen because, for example, movies and ethno-romantic research sought to present a clean image of the Bushmen where the aboriginality and primitiveness of the Bushmen were emphasised, which, in turn, led to non-historical emphasis in which the cultural evolution in contact situation of different peoples was pushed out. Researchers had previously looked for racial traits typical of Bushmen, but the image of a wild Bushman changed when one went to look at them where they lived. A conscious effort was made to separate the normal life of the Bushmen in cultural contact with the Bantus and the whites, for example, as farmers, from the image of the primitive hunter-gatherer. A romantic image where the Bushmen were presented as messengers of the past world was also used as a political tool to reach one's own political goals. The roots of the goal-oriented Bushmen-image of the mental images have been very deep in the words of science, art and missionary work.

Realistic understanding of a foreign culture requires also such negative reactions. Defences and depression colour the image dark and negative. The difference between euphoria and culture shock is extreme, but they are also related. Infatuation is followed by disappointment and an experience of banality, and a tendency to focus on the negative aspects of the culture. Frustration is also disappointment with oneself, and an individual shapes his/her relationship again both to the foreign culture as well as to one's own inner world, which clearly does not correspond to the realities of the environment. In this stage of the development crisis, an individual in a foreign culture may easily isolate oneself to one's own cultural circle, if possible. This, however, may elongate or even prevent the acculturation that would follow, and the reactions would continue to rule the view in this case. The Finnish Bushmen missionaries also had a possibility for this, in which case the missionary friends and the missionary work's world of values felt safe in the middle of the foreign culture.

There were also missionaries who worked from time to time only with the local people and also with the Bushmen. In this case, a possibility and also a kind of need to adapt helped a missionary to work out his/her culture shock and to move, in this way, from reactions toward acculturation and also toward a more realistic view of the Bushmen culture.

Acculturation is a condition a person can experience after having gone through the developmental crisis successfully, but even in this case complete adaptation is rare as is also the other extreme of the process, complete isolation. Acculturation is commonly somewhere in between, in which case the adaptation is partial but adequate so that a person can control his/her life within the demands of the foreign culture. On the other hand, in crisis situations, an individual may get stuck at some stage of the acculturation process, in which case the reactions typically rule the mind because the continuous survival of the euphoria is not very likely.

Adaptation to a foreign culture can be a lengthy process, in which learning the foreign language helps significantly. Participant observation through knowledge of language transmitted, not only in the case of missionary work but also in the case of scientific work, a believable and realistic image of the Bushmen where the acculturation of the person who is presenting the image to the foreign culture is visible. The knowledge of language enables a form of participation that helps to adapt and tremendously improves possibilities to transmit a new, realistic view of the foreign culture and its phenomena. An individual has advanced from his/her developmental crisis to adaptation or, according to the crisis theory, at least to the healing stage, but more likely towards the possibility of questioning one's earlier view of the foreign culture. An individual is more openly able and also willing to receive new stimulus.

Missionaries' images of the Bushmen are clearly emphasised in more recent times as reflections of the missionary work among the Bushmen. The Bushmen's different life situations were approached through studying, observing and participating in cultural contacts. Gaining more information on the Bushmen's way of life required special initiating and, in addition, close personal relationships to Bushmen. These preconditions couldn't be fulfilled until the *border-zone culture* became established in the 1970s by bringing regular, daily proximity for the cultural contact.⁹

Through participant observation, the teacher-missionaries were able to describe the daily life in the Bushman culture.¹⁰ Their methods were largely based on interviews,

which were either interview situations or discussions that were associated with encounters and participation. This was made possible by the mastery of language, which was an avenue to strong and confidential participation in the border zone of cultures. The image became commonplace and lush, and, through the knowledge of the language, it was possible to get deeper into the life of Bushmen. The knowledge of language improved the possibilities to create close and understanding relationships with Bushmen. This, of course, increased trust and understanding for both participants. The border-zone culture clearly provided good possibilities for transmitting and receiving more information between cultures in the information surface of the border zone. The developmental crisis – the acculturation in relation to the local life – the missionary went through was improved significantly here.

In general, a certain tendency toward greater conformity is noticeable in the research material as the 1970s began. Elements of the border-zone culture had become established to a degree that its information surface started to transmit more uniform information about the life of Bushmen to the Finnish missionaries. The breaking down of the linguistic boundary had a central role here. Furthermore, a clear trusting attitude had emerged between the missionaries and the Bushmen, making the communication easier and making the information more substantial. Experiencing common interests led to mutual transfer between groups and generations. Experiences in encountering Bushmen clearly inspired certain missionaries to learn the life of Bushmen and especially the norm system of the old way of life. Also the most secret things of the life of Bushmen came to surface through this although the missionaries' knowledge of them was superficial, and the understanding of the Bushmen culture in general was limited. The missionaries' knowledge approached the contemporary scientific knowledge already because it was partly used as source material.¹¹ The greater uniformity of the knowledge was, without a doubt, also due to the fact that there was interaction between the missionaries and that a tradition of acquiring and publishing things dealing with the Bushmen was born. Therefore,

9. For cultural contact (the Finnish mission stations, the Bantus and Bushmen) new elements of the Bushmen's way of life were born which were partly based on traditions of contacts (the Bantu-Bushman symbiosis) of cultures of northern Namibia (Ovambo, Kavango) and the demands of the area's environmental conditions. This gave the Bushmen strength to establish conditions for contact and, therefore, means to resist acculturation to the Finnish missionary work. The cultural contact brought regular elements to the surroundings of the mission stations that I have called the border-zone culture. The name derives in different ways from being at the border: the boundary between the wilderness and the permanent settlement, the cultural boundary and the boundary in people's mental images, mentally speaking. The term border-zone culture is also based on the border zone concept where the central significance is in the information zone of the border zone as transmitter of information between groups and between generations. The border-zone culture is contact between cultures where participants perceive common interests, and where a clear information zone exists to transmit information and, therefore, image. The Bushman image of the Finnish missionary work was transmitted into different written sources mainly from these border-zone culture's regular and commonplace meetings with the Bushman culture.
10. Tuulikki Jantunen and Terttu Heikkinen: Jantunen's book (*Pähkinänsydän*, 1967) was clearly a new kind of Bushmen description of the missionary work in Kavango in the 1960s. It greatly resembled the Bushmen description presented later by Terttu Heikkinen in the 1970s in eastern Ovambo. Teachers approached the object empirically by interviewing and daily participating in behaviour. Jantunen's and Heikkinen's Bushmen descriptions exhibit similarities which may be partly due to similar professional background, clear high literate abilities and desire to learn the Bushman language. These for their part influenced and also made strong participation in meeting the Bushmen culture possible with the help of which they managed to get deeper into the Bushmen world. All of this pre-required good relations with the Bushmen of the region. The Bushmen encountered by both teachers were mainly !Kung. The geographic distance between Kavango's Mpungu and Ovambo's Ekoka is not large. The Bushmen of the regions were in cultural contact, and the way of life was in process of acculturating to the mission stations. Similarities of the teacher's descriptions, in spite of the time difference, is partly due to the descriptions mainly presenting issues dealing with norms of the Bushmen's old way of life. The difference was that Jantunen did not live in the 1960s among the Bushmen as did Heikkinen, who, in the 1970s in Ekola, had followed the Bushmen during short hunting trips from the border-zone culture. Although views of the teachers in the missionary work among the Bushmen stand out favourably (especially those of Heikkinen), the world of values of the missionary work and the associated western traditional directing from the above and defence of its justification are also seen in their descriptions.

there were in the border-zone culture both empirical first-hand transmissions of the Bushman image, and a striving for a broader view of the area's Bushman culture.

An image of some foreign culture can change, for example, due to strong emotional events; as a result of cumulative, repetitive events leading in the same direction that accumulate and, therefore, break the earlier image. These elements are noticeable in changes of the image transmitted by the missionary work among the Bushmen. The information surface of the border-zone culture accumulated the missionaries' knowledge and made it more uniform, and the regular life with the Bushmen helped in transmitting appropriate and even confidential information. The transference functioned as a versatile transmitter of information and emotions between groups. All of this accumulated knowledge and was, therefore, transmitted through the missionaries to different sources.

Missionaries' own acculturation to the foreign environment and its culture was the basis for a new, more realistic image of the Bushmen and transmitting it further. There was an enormous change from the stereotypes of the early 20th century, from the professional emphases of the early missionary work among the Bushmen toward the 1980s versatile image of the Bushmen. Regular encounters in an environment considered normal in the border-zone culture was the basis for the accumulation of realistic information and, through it, an increasingly versatile image of the Bushmen, in which the Bushmen come across in realistic, everyday and humanistic light. He was no longer necessarily the strange wanderer of the forest, but a familiar person in the border-zone culture. A Bushman was understood and accepted as a human, that is, as one of us. A missionary's own developmental crisis in which he/she strongly questioned, clarified, and also rejuvenated earlier views of the Bushmen helped to understand this. The acculturation made the views more realistic.

An individual's acculturation and culture shock are part of the frame of reference that can be used as a certain theoretical base of image research to explain phenomena emerging during the research. This is also part of that necessary multidisciplinary approach for image research, which gives explanations more depth by the use of more examination tools. The culture-shock concept is also an excellent tool for this, but since it is too different and separate from its own context, it can lead to biased research if it is dominant. Acculturation to a foreign culture with its phenomena is, if course, part of broader life experience and understanding. The earlier worldview is at the background, and it has emerged through rearing, experiences and education. In this way, it has also created an individual's preconceived views of the foreign culture. Euphoria, culture shock, and adaptation with its stages colour the image of the foreign culture in a new way in which the new frame of reference partly replaces and clarifies the earlier worldview.

11. The recent scientific views of the Bushmen are largely based on publications of Richard Lee's research group that included twenty-some researchers from different fields (Lee, DeVore: *Kalahari Hunter - Gatherers*, 1978) starting from the 1970s. Lee's group started work in Botswana's Dobe in 1963. Researchers' methods are based on thorough fieldwork among the Bushmen, where participant-observation and the knowledge of language had large roles. The goal was, above all, to gain a comprehensive view of the Bushmen. For this reason, it was considered necessary to examine the entire society: lives of men, women and children in relation to their own society and environment. Female anthropologists (e.g., Shostak, Marjorie: *Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman*, 1990) had an important role here. The Bushman image of science changed so that it was shifted from the stereotypical views of the early 20th century in which the Bushmen may have been perceived as possessing animal-like characteristics, or that they were at least presented as a lower race toward greater realism. Lee's group had a central role in breaking the old image of Bushmen. Long and thorough field study and regular encounters were central here. Researchers also gave the Bushmen human status, which had been even doubted before. The Bushmen encountered in their own environment came across as skilled, knowledgeable and strongly feeling people.

Empirical and theoretical learning process of my Africa

In the research process, I also personally encountered the central phenomena of image research, such as the effect of accumulating knowledge and the significance of the empirical cultural contact in the image formation. My Africa is inside myself because our worldview is formed on the basis of our background, education and experiences. The trip was a significant part of my research process, in which I sought to approach Africa from a new viewpoint. My earlier knowledge of Africa was a good starting frame of reference at the background, but my interest in Bushmen and my image research brought new views to my Africa. The Bushmen have been considered the lower class of their region, and differences in the viewpoint were introduced already for this reason because such a typical viewpoint of history of the western conquerors and “victors” remained at the background.

The Bushmen’s way of life still contains elements which were dominant in human evolution. Africa is the home of humanity, and the Bushmen are people who still have humans’ old considerable skill dealing with survival in demanding natural environments. The Bushmen, like our ancestors, are opportunists who have been able to acquire their livelihood wherever it has been easier: from the forest, contacts between cultures; with work, by begging when necessary and, nowadays, also by using the social security.

The Bushmen have divided the food among their close kin. This central practise in human evolution has maintained the social life and privileges, strengthening the society associated with it where needs of oneself and others are understood. An opportunist can both take and give. A Bushman knows the methods used in the past and in the recent world to live in his/her environment, but as a technically skilled and gifted modern human, he/she copes in any culture created by humans as long as he/she acquires, the same way that we do, necessary know-how.

My Africa is also Finnish. Not only because the area I studied has a strong Finnish outlook, but also because I am a Finn with my own background of life. My worldview is from the beginning western and Finnish – I also took these views with me during my trips in Namibia. I approach the world through my own world. On the other hand, it had its own attractions when I, for example, went to sauna with a local Dean *Josia Mufeti* in Okongo in the middle of Africa. The Finnish outlook had left its marks on the local life and was in its part reminding that the history of Finland is also part of Africa’s history. Things that have been considered distant here were not distant after all.

We have had our own colonialism and the distant-feeling apartheid has been for some of us even very concrete daily life. Therefore, my study is not just a chapter of the Finnish history in Africa, but also a small chapter of the history of southern Africa. A topic that is at the same time both distant and close includes such elements of meeting the otherness and the Finnishness, that I do not at all at this end of the process wonder why I got so excited about it. Motivation and the inner rewards of learning were considerable.

The Finnish colonialism has been unofficial because Finland never had an official colony in Amboland (Ovambo). The Finnish missionary work, however, brought with it to Africa western elements with their developmental aid programs, which resembled the colonial structures to a large extent. The Finns’ missionary stations had an important role in the development of the northern parts of Namibia. The stations were socio-economic units around which the local settlements emerged. The missionary work became associated with the local power structure and was also local elite. Developmental aid work has

also been a goal of the well-to-do colonialism to direct from outside the local development in the direction of the western world.

During the time when Finland gained her independence, there were circles in Finland who would have wanted to make the Amboland of the period Finland's official colony, but this became no more than a dream, and colonialism was, therefore, left on the shoulders of the missionary work and circles associated with it. The above strivings to make the colony official indicate how important the issue was at that time, at least to some Finns. On the other hand, the issue has tragi-comical features, when one thinks of the state of our society at that time after the end of the civil war (1918): recession, starvation and confusion. The strivings to acquire a colony represent the boasting found in certain circles of the young independent country. The Finnish colonialism emphasising the missionary work also used local names such as *Ambomaa* (translates directly as Amboland in English) and related to its inhabitants with the term *ambomaalainen*. The Bushmen were similarly called *pensastolainen* (bush-living people). The name system has been an important part of the image of Africa the missionary work has transmitted to Finland until today, and the Finnish first names used by some of the local Namibians illustrate the long tradition and ties associated with the issue. Finnishness became part of the local life of the northern parts of Namibia.

My Africa also includes more broadly typical features of the continent. The Bantu and the Bushmen have lived a very long time in harmony and symbiosis with each other. This is a very typical arrangement in central and southern Africa. Different ethnic groups have become accustomed to getting along with each other. Differences in ways-of-life have, however, caused some friction, of which the most recent examples are events in Rwanda and Zaire. Although ethnic nationalism, for its part, adds fuel to old grudges, the life-preserving coexistence in the local African life had been more typical than destructive chaos. The fact that the Bantu and the Bushmen need each other has been encouraging for peace. Cultural contacts and adaptations for them are unavoidable and, therefore, typical for southern Africa.

Africa is also close to me. When I saw in a village in eastern Ovambo a Bantu master and a Bushman farmhand, I knew that we were distant relatives. We all have inherited modern human DNA, and our visible differences primarily result from adaptation to the local nature. A Bushman was suited most to the environment because the Khoisan had inhabited the region already a long time ago. A Bushman's small and wiry appearance was well adapted to the semi-desert environment, and the Mongoloid folds of the eyes were good to have when the wind moved sand and the hot sun reflected from the sand. A small body requires less energy and water. The ancestors of the Bantu (of the Ovambo tribe) had arrived from the north a few hundreds of years ago and became adapted to the demands of the local natural environment through the means of the farming and pastoral culture. During years of normal rainfall, they do well with their subsistence. The Bantu are tall, slim and their body build indicates that their central staples – grain and milk products – provide a lot of calcium and protein. The Bantu are strongly pigmented which indicates that they have lived a long time near the equator. Of us three, I was the oddest in that environment and at the same time surely the most helpless in comparison to those local survivors, but I was away from my home environment, from the busy city or the wilderness of northern Pudasjärvi from where I originate. My distance from the foraging culture (I have hunted and fished) and farming are short because my father lived, to a great

extent, according to the conditions of the foraging culture when he was young, and I grew up on a small farm. As among the Bushmen, gathering has played a large role in my home region during the late summer – early autumn. I have practical experience in the subsistence practises in question and ways-of-life associated with them. I was well able to understand my partners because we were in so many ways very close to each other. The Bantu and the Bushman knew that I was a Finn and, therefore, from very far away. Human evolution had separated us, and yet we met again in Ovambo in March of 1996.

One joyous observation of my research has been particularly that the local ethnic groups get along well. The Bushmen are considerably stronger in the cultural contact than presented in the western purposeful image. The views have been influenced by the evolution doctrine's social-Darwinistic views, in which the cultures are ranked according to their worth. In this scale, the Bushmen were primitive and going toward extinction. The modern knowledge does not support this old, faulty view although it stubbornly continues its existence. In Oniipa, I heard the missionaries still claiming that there are very few Bushmen and that they would soon become extinct. This is how the local ethnic culture has been traditionally presented, and through it one has received as if an alibi and justification for one's western directive-giving actions. My research and trip strengthened the modern scientific view because the Bushmen, like the Bantu, control their own life in their own environment. However, the Bushman population has not decreased, but in cultural contact, in which acquiring adequate nutrition is safeguarded and the way-of-life is less mobile, the population has grown. The traditional way of life maintained the population relatively unchanging and in relation to nature's carrying capacity. It is typical for the modern Bushmen to have elements of both old and new ways of life. From the point of view of survival and adaptation, the Bushmen are the strongest group of the area, but the issue naturally receives new dimensions when we take a broader sociological examination viewpoint. However, the western purposeful image is wrong and is also associated with the more broadly presented image of Africa.

My research encountered also, of course, problems associated with the mass-image maintained by the media. Africa still comes across through catastrophes presented in the news or, at the other extreme, through beautiful and clinical pictures of nature in which humans do not appear. In agreement with the old way of thinking, Africa is, therefore, the Africa of wars, hunger and diseases, but Africa is not a synonym for an area of starvation, refugee camp or a killing disease resulting from draught. All are exceptions, without in any way downplaying problems of the continent. Pictures of African nature are gorgeous, and I look at them with pleasure, but many westerners would travel to Africa for safari, isolated with a tourist group from that Africa of disasters offered to us. Nonetheless, this is not the best thing to do. Instead, we should look at Africa with open eyes and then notice that local life where people do fairly well.

Why isn't that Africa shown where several crops are produced each year and life goes on normally? Because this image does not serve that old and purposeful view that was used in its time to explain the justification of colonialism, missionary work and also the recent foreign aid work. The media has joined this traditional transference where interests coincide. On the other hand, the satisfied and happy African does not seem to cross the news step because it does not support the old, purposeful worldview.

If you want to see the Africa of the news, then go intentionally to a starvation area, war zone or to a refugee camp! Africa is very large, and a great deal of variety as well as dis-

asters, of course, fit in it. On a global scale, when you compare how small Europe is in comparison to Africa, you understand how much diversity and also happy life can fit in Africa.

The Finnish Namibia myth surfaces

Image research is, in addition to being a good tool to reveal beliefs and myths surrounding the examined phenomenon, also an excellent tool to reveal political actions operating on purposeful partial truths. The problem of this hidden paradigm becomes clearly visible also in the Bushman-image transmitted by the missionary work and, more broadly, in the entire tradition of our Namibia image. My interest toward the Bushmen also led me to see actions of the Finns in Namibia in new light. Using a metaphor, the Bushmen, who have typically been guides to the western people in Kalahari, guided me to the Finnish Namibia-myth.

The discussion I opened about the Finnish image of Namibia brought to light those missionary circles who dealt with this issue and who were bothered by it. An article by Jorma Korhonen (*Ambomaa ei ollutkaan suomalaisille kunnian kenttä*, Helsingin Sanomat 18.5.1997) was intentionally somewhat antagonistic to stimulate a discussion. Writing instigated by this article was good material for a researcher of images and further strengthened my view of the existence of the Finnish Namibia myth.¹²

The strong reactions at the beginning came across as a strong need to defend one's own actions and their frame of reference. The belief-emotion set up combined with the missionary work is the biggest reason why my writing and research had hit such a sore spot. This was visible in the discussion of the early summer of 1997 at first, so that based on my¹³ newspaper article "a stamp of questionable" and "a shade of suspicion" were stamped on my dissertation. There was an intention to label me in a couple of responses that I consider unfounded. It was also claimed that I have negative attitudes toward the missionary work although my starting-point attitude toward the missionary work has been critical (and not at all negative). I have also had as a researcher an outsider's advantage in respect to the missionary work. The issue receives then different viewpoints and frames of reference that do not entirely correspond to those expectations and preconceived views that also exist in the academic, scientific world, which is close to the missionary work.

An invalidation of a work is recognised, for example, from using only negative expressions based on different superficial and/or blocked feelings. In this way, it is sought to rationalise things that bother oneself through "sharp"-appearing analysis, but the actual emotion-based frame of reference is hidden as a rationale-defence. This also leads to the problem of a scientifically intentionally hidden paradigm. I have felt stronger sympathies

-
12. For example, written opinions in Helsingin Sanomat (HS): Arvi Hurskainen, Namibia-kuvaamme syytä pohtia 28.5.1997 (HS); Antti Erkkilä, Suomalaistyöstä hyötyä pohjoiselle Namibialle 28.5.1997 (HS); Päiviö Latvus, Kristittyjen lähetystyötä moitittu aikaisemminkin 8.6.1997 (HS); Mikko Laukkanen, Bushmannit laiminlyöty väestönosa 15.6.1997 (HS); Risto A. Ahonen defended missionary work in the Evangelical Lutheran Church's Kotimaa paper (13.6.1997) and in autumn in his opinion writing 22.9.1997 (HS); Taimi Sitari defended her written opinion the Finnish missionary work in Namibia 30.06.1997 (HS) Suomalaista lähetystyötä Namibiassa; Simo Heininen, who criticised my work in a one-sided fashion on 22.09.1997 (An opinion in HS), repeated his opinions in Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Vuosikirja. – I myself participated with three comments: Teuvo Raiskio, Bushmannilähetystyössä kulttuuriterroirin piirteitä 5.6.1997 (HS); Lähetystyössä usko voi muuttua välineeksi 16.9.1997 (HS); Kriittisyys ei tee ihmisestä lahaloista 1.10.1997 (HS).
13. Korhonen 18.05.1997 (HS); Raiskio 05.06.1997 (HS).

toward those defenders of the missionary work who have brought to light their own subjective background in relation to the discussion taking place and who have also made more visible their faith-emotion frame of reference (which is entirely correct), in which case the comprehensive persona of a human is visible and the paradigm is at least not entirely hidden. This is more honest in matters approaching very closely one's own persona and world. Still one could question such Christianity that stamps, rejects and compartmentalises. Strong faith makes it understandable that one wants to see views supporting one's own worldview, but isn't the faith more genuinely strong in those people who do not become distressed from the critique toward the missionary work and understand how wretched people are also in missionary work?

Missionary work and faith are issues that bring up big emotions. Through being familiar with the social work, I understand well the demands of the human relations work, and this is what the main bulk of the missionaries' work is all about. At worst, the faith may have become transformed into a tool used for direction-giving actions in a foreign country but, alternatively, those ideals of Christianity on which the mission is based may become realised at their best. However, the arrangement formed by the mission, emotions and faith still exists and this has not always produced the desired result. Leaning on the familiar circle of life is perceived as a protection both for the foreign culture as well as to one's own worldview, where the central support post is the Christian faith. Genuine cultural relativism, where ideals of one's own and the foreign culture are understood, is certainly part of the missionary work's current ideals, but the situation where one's own religion is perceived as the only right one takes one in practise easily to the traditional Christian ethnocentrism because it supports the missionary's starting point world of ideals which includes missionary work doctrines, emotions and calling to the mission.

Jesus' command in the Gospel according to Matthew to spread the word has been presented in *Suomen Lähetyssanoma* (1859) to be a duty of all those who are righteous. The command to do missionary work may have acted as a good letter of attorney and even as a "freedom-giving" alibi for direction-giving actions in a foreign culture. Although the recent researcher-theologians question the authenticity of the mission command and the accuracy of what Jesus had said and their godly connections, and although the mission command appears to be a letter of attorney written by an individual to support his/her own action, it is essential, after all, that the part in question of the Gospel of Matthew has been used as the foundation and justification of the missionary work.

The material provided by the missionary work (letters, diaries, reports of work, publications, for example) I used as source material bring to light a wretched human with his/her struggles. Mainly people who have believed sincerely in their mission have performed the missionary work. All of them have had a big need to justify their own work and, therefore, the praising Namibia image of the Finns' action in Namibia has been maintained. The missionary work had previously dominated our image of Namibia, and the lack of a balanced view made the presented image biased. In this image, the defence of the justification of the missionary work had a central role in the ideological communication through which acquiring funding from Finland was safeguarded. Also the Finnish missionary work, which had included different self-interests, has been the typical goal-oriented action of an individual.

Our Namibia image is still dominated by political expediency, which stems from traditions of the missionary work, one-sided support of SWAPO,¹⁴ and the western Finnish-

Namibian sphere of interests that had formed from these set ups. This illusion of truth becomes somewhat shattered when we deal with Namibia's minority questions. The Finnish Namibia circles typically approached also Namibia's minorities through the ruling Bantu, most closely through Ovambo, where also old ties are emphasised and these old relations reduce the desire to examine this frame of reference.

Supporting the guerrilla movement SWAPO in the civil war partly resulted in the movement becoming a strong political movement controlling nearly all power. The unexplained things in the movement's background may, in the worst case, support the goal of centralising the power because in this way one can strive to keep people silent. The symbiosis of the Finnish Namibia circles and SWAPO is, therefore, somewhat problematic when considering our Namibia image. The common interests stemming back for over one hundred years and most closely shared with the Ovambo persuade both to keep silent as well as to move toward purposefulness.

The media has easily become part of this transference of the spheres of interests. There was a television programme that was given impetus from distress awoken by my dissertation.¹⁵ A journalist went, as is typical, to ask the Finnish missionaries and leaders of the local church in Oniipa whether the Finnish missionary work had done a good job. This arrangement is understandably bragging, but the broader Namibian viewpoint is still left out. On the other hand, the Bushmen's status was approached from the point of view of the Bantus and the missionary work. Why were the Bushmen themselves not asked? One was also allowed to understand that the term "tame" would have been used only during the beginning of the one hundred years of missionary work where it stems. The Finnish Bushmen projects actually did not start in eastern Ovambo until the end of the 1950s, and the taming stage with its terminologies still appeared in the non-public material of the missionary work of the 1960s.¹⁶

The missionary work among the Bushmen strove to establish conditions of encounters and defined by giving directions what was the best for the Bushmen. It was claimed that they had both the wrong way of life and religion. The hard line was intentionally chosen and the encountering of the Bushmen occurred mainly through the language of the Bantu culture (that of Ovambos and Kavangos), in which case the direction-giving attitude toward the Bushmen also became emphasised. The Bantus' view of the Bushmen has included an attitude that the Bantu's farming culture is the right way of life and that the Bushmen's foraging culture is the bad one. Many years of missionary work among the Bantu brought as transferences also these elements and attitudes "borrowed" from the Bantu to the work among the Bushmen and the Bushmen-image. It was partly due to the above-mentioned that the encounter between the missionary work and the Bushmen was hard. It was not until the learning of the Bushman languages that there were tools to understand the Bushmen and their ways of life. This strongly influenced both the view of Bushmen and the image of them, both of which began in the 1970s, mostly due to Terttu Heikkinen, to approach the Bushmen image formed through anthropological field studies.¹⁷ The language issue was a central factor in the attitudes of the missionary work

14. Väisälä, Marja: Suomalainen lähetystyö. *Namibia*. Toim. Kimmo Kiljunen ja Marja-Liisa Kiljunen. Helsinki 1980, 230, 242–249; Heikkinen to Hukka 11.10.1971. I 39 ASTO. Bushmannityö Nkongossa. SLA.

15. Kirsi Crowley (TV1: A-Studio): A journalist approached the issue from the inside and used, for example, in the Bushman-issue Dean (Josia Mufeti), who is associated with the Finnish missionary work as an informant. On the other hand, in two other documentaries (TV1), Crowley made the minority status of the Himbo quite visible and bravely asked about occurrences in the SWAPO's prisoner camps.

about the Bushmen especially because the practice deviated during the taming stage of the 1960s clearly from the tradition of the Finnish missionary work to approach foreign cultures by at first learning the languages.

A Namibian minister visiting in Finland boasted that the modern farming and settlement projects of Namibia dealing with the Bushmen lean on the methods of the Finnish missionary work among the Bushmen.¹⁸ This view is a fact that also means that the Bushman culture is still approached through the Bantus' world of values where the appreciation of the farming culture is emphasised. A claim that the civil war destroyed the Bushman culture mainly by breaking up their societies is partly true, but it is also clearly used as an explanation of the recent Bushman policy and an alibi for directing actions which stem from the taming policy of the Finnish missionary work among the Bushmen in the early 1960s. Because a small number of the Bushmen enlisted on behalf of South Africa's government in the civil war, this partial truth can be used in politics to defend the recent Bushman projects. Apartheid functioned as a kind of durable explanation where things are blamed on the late racial discrimination policy of South Africa. Therefore, the old picture of an enemy still serves the recent needs. We are also dealing with the scapegoat-defence, which is a very useful political tool in Namibia, at least for the time being. Its credibility inevitably fades with time.

16. A situation review of Erkki Hynönen, the director of a mission station, in Congo (Okongo) 30.6.1966, Eae Presiding Missionary to others. Lähetit, kirjeenvaihto 1954–1966. Auala Elcin Library & Archives (AEL&A). Oniipa, Namibia; A letter of Arvo Eirola, the superior of the mission field to Matti Koponen from Oniipa 2.9.1965. Other correspondence 1959–1966 (K-N). AEL&A. The "taming stage" appears in the non-public material of the work among the Bushmen in the middle of the 1960s. Also professional terms such as "transition stage" and "solution to the Bushman question" were used when it was attempted to force the Bushmen to become sedentary in the sphere of influence of the mission stations using the western methods. This illustrates that at least the private and non-public image of the missionaries was even harder than the public image, which was embroidered for the missionary work's needs in the home country. The taming stage illustrates well the hardness of methods and the missionaries' Bushman-image in which as if in the mind of the missionaries the wild Bushman should be made a tame Bushman so that he would be easier to direct, patronise and, in general, to manipulate. It was the missionaries' goal to set the conditions of an encounter. The hardness of the Bushman mission's methods does not in general come this clearly across so that one could conclude that the missionaries cherishing the ideology of the missionary work have even harder attitude toward the Bushman culture than that of other missionaries. The faith of the missionaries in leadership positions in their mission's justification was considerable, and they wanted to tame the Bushmen in the mission stations so that it would be easier to direct and convert them. The Bushman-image was controlled by the missionaries in the 1960s. Of them, the director of Mpungu in the early 1960s, Otto Makkonen (Tuulen lapset, 1974) and Okongo's director Erkki Hynönen (Bushmannit viimeisellä hiekkadyynillään, 1981) also saw good sides in the separate development of apartheid to the work among the Bushmen. Especially Hynönen sought to influence the missionary work among the Bushmen although he was already in Finland still in the 1970s. This caused problems within the missionary work because the Finnish missionary work opposed apartheid, and the missionaries' sympathies were in the 1970s already clearly on SWAPO's side. The new generation of the missionary work was more radical and, for example, Mikko Ihämäki, who had been a leader in the missionary work among the Bushmen, strongly criticised actions of the South African government. Different images of deities greatly affected how hard the contact was. For the Bushmen, the highest deity was, in addition to being the creator of the world, also a great hunter and the primeval hero. The Bushmen's image of God supported their mobile hunter-gatherer way of life and the extremely social norms associated with it. The image of God of Christianity is strongly tied to the ideals of agrarian culture. The view derived from Judaism, which in turn originated from the Near Eastern religion in which the monotheistic view was emphasised, brought up a God who blessed the world of ideals belonging to cultivation and agriculture. Therefore, a human, who wrote about his God, wanted to interpret his God's message for support of his own changing way of life. Religion had to be adequately appropriate to culture and natural surrounding to function and support the daily life. Therefore, a man had to work "his forehead sweaty" and he had to multiply and "fill the Earth" because people of a sedentary culture with reliable food supply reproduce quickly and, on the other hand, agricultural labour demands many labourers. A human claimed that his God had ordered this kind of development in which a man is the master of living things and was allowed to rule land and animals. The God of a hunter-gatherer (and the word view) would not have tolerated such an action. Therefore, a man had to re-interpret his God and faith to better correspond to the demands of the new agricultural way of life. An ideological foundation of the new way of life was received by writing a mystical letter of attorney. When the missionary work and the Bushmen encountered, the ancient and mystical world of values encountered the mystical ideology constructed to support the new agricultural culture, and which claimed to possess the only real God.

I met in Oniipa, Ovambo, on March 19, 1996, officials of Namibia's government and church, who had gathered due to different projects. I saw from reports of the Bushman projects that the Bushman work's problems were similar to those already presented by the Finns in the 1960s.¹⁷ There were attitudes dealing with the relative worth also typical for the Finnish missionary work in fresh reports dealing with farming, sedentary settlements and staking for education, food aid in exchange of work.

The Bushmen were described as lazy especially in things dealing with farming. A direction-giving and patronising attitude toward the Bushmen is seen in these reports. What is assumed to be good for the Bushmen is traditionally defined from the outside. The world of values where the Bantu has been a master and the Bushman a farmhand still strains when we think of views of Bushmen – where the Bushman languages which would have been avenues to understanding the minority cultures – of the Bantu leading the projects. The Bantus' farming culture has really not understood the Bushmen's forest life and the diverse and nutritious rich food provided by it because the restricted know-how of the farming maintains that the forest is threatening and that one can die of starvation and thirst in the forest.

However, there is clearly more understanding of the Bushman culture than in the past. The Bushmen are allowed to preserve their traditional subsistence as part of their new farming way of life in regions where there are adequate traditional Bushman territories, mainly in northeastern Namibia, for hunting and gathering. This is sensible because it fits in the tradition of the Bushman culture that has expressly striven toward the part-time subsistence structure in the cultural encounters by leaning on the resources of the region's nature.

The hunting and gathering maintain the Bushmen's social norms. Due to them, the one-sided pressures to change the culture coming from outside cannot change the spiritual cohesiveness of the people too rapidly. A Bushman may appear to be a "lazy" farmer, but this picture is partly due to his way-of-life alternatives, that he has alternatives in his life and he is not tied to the subsistence provided by farming alone. The alternatives, part-time nature and different variations provide strength and additional means of survival in demanding conditions. The Bushmen find food from the forests quite easily during the rainy seasons, and the forest is then also their home. They do not have in their forests the lower class status they have when encountering the Bantu culture. The Bushman societies are, during those seasons, masters of their lives and acquire healthy compensation for their shortage of power over their own affairs in the Bantu villages where they have traditionally been labour force paid by food and drink.

Although there is understanding of the Bushman culture, at least at the ideal level, the traditional and, at worst, abusive views of the Bushmen still strain the view and the tradition of the hard encounter still continue, which is also visible in relation to other minorities of Namibia. For example, it is hoped that the Himbo will give up their traditional pas-

17. Terttu Heikkinen, //Use /-hani yi hwa kx' aeya yi; Bushman language translation and literary work: Terttu Heikkinen, Geb. AEL&A; Heikkinen, Terttu: Metsän kieliä kuuntelemassa. Pieksämäki 1984.

18. Nickey Iyambo (Namibia: Suomi-Namibia seuran jäsentiedote 2/1997). The article is based on an interview with Minister Iyambo in which the Finns' actions in Namibia come across positively and the western directing development is also seen as beneficial for the minorities.

19. Japeni Nujoman haastattelu Oniipassa 19.3.1996; Annual progress report 1995 for the Ex-San Soldiers and their dependents resettlement and rehabilitation programme in West Caprivi and West Bushmanland. Elcin Development Office; The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia. San development project. Annual report 1995. Elcin Development Office; San resettlement project Elcin-Bagani/West Caprivi 1995. Elcin Development Office.

toral life and move away from the dam project area of River Kunene into the urban way of life. The Bantu holding power also clearly belittle the minorities' cultural practices they consider "primitive". The Bantus' 'westernness' – in which the Finns have had a strong influence in respect to the Ovambos and the Kavangos – is perceived as a blessed goal hoped for Namibia's minorities.

The Finnish-Namibian spheres of interests meet because the recent and possibly future benefits are tied to each other, and in this way it is hoped to maintain the traditional view where it has been typical to approach the issues through worlds of values of the missionary work and the Bantus. Those Namibians who have adapted the Lutheran ways and accepted our values fit well in the tradition of the Finnish Namibia myth and the politics associated with it.

Translated by Markku Niskanen and Karen Niskanen

The Images of Neighbours: Estonians and Their Neighbours

Kari Alenius

Traditions of the international image research and common theoretical starting points accepted by researchers from different fields of study have been presented in the introduction of this book. The images of neighbours are used as the more narrowly set viewpoint boundaries for the topic chosen for this article. The purpose is to present a few concrete cases that have already been studied and to examine, in light of them, whether this type of image and its study have special characteristics. The “image of neighbours” refers here to the image members of different ethnic groups, either between or within countries or states, have of members of other ethnic groups. We really cannot oversimplify the interaction between human societies only to the level of nationalism by assuming that people primarily think of themselves as members of a certain ethnic group. There are, of course, plenty of objects of identification. Of these, the primary ones are, for example, belonging to a certain religious or social group. The object of identification and its criteria can, from the point of view of an individual or group, also vary depending on the situation, or there can be several objects of identification if they are not mutually exclusive. An exhaustive discussion of this topic is impossible due to its breadth, and, therefore, this article is mainly limited to the nationalistic aspect. Nationality is, in any event, one of the most central objects of identification in the modern world and, therefore, the study of images based on nationality is well founded.

From a point of view of determining *images of neighbours* – as opposed to other, “distant pictures” – a short geographic distance between participants is central, facilitating more frequent contacts than usual and greater than average amount of information about each other. I have used the Estonians and the Finns as examples of nationalities. The image the Estonians have of their neighbours and the image these neighbours have of the Estonians have not been examined exhaustively from all angles, but the big picture can be determined in light of writings which touch on the topic, and some respects of this image have even been systematically studied. I have examined in a few published and still unpublished works especially the image the Estonians had of Finland (and to a lesser extent the image the Finns had of the Estonians) in the 19th century and the 20th century,

as well as the views the Estonians and ethnic minorities of Estonia have of each other. The discussion presented here is, above all, based on these works.¹ There is some supplementary literature produced by other researchers (e.g., Toomas Karjahärm). However, either the existing literature fails to focus on the image-research, or it has too narrow a focus.²

The special problems associated with the images of the neighbours can perhaps be summarised with the following primary questions: are the images of neighbours similar in their basic nature, for example, by being as durable and slowly changing as are the distant images? Does the neighbourhood affect the images' content and quality, and if so, how? In which ways do the source material of the images of the neighbours and its interpretations possibly differ from the common image? Through objects selected as practical examples, it is also possible to consider what kinds of images the Estonians and their neighbours have had of each other and whether these images share any special features. To be able to answer the above-mentioned broad and principal questions at all, we must first take a look at the factual side of the neighbourhood images of the Estonians and other nationalities used as examples here.

The images the Estonians and their neighbours had of each other at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century

The Estonians have had during their history four nations as their central neighbours: the Finns, the Russians, the Latvians, and the Baltic Germans. Contacts have been close with the Latvians living south of the Estonian territory and with the Russians living east of this territory during this whole period because territories inhabited by these nations have not been separated by any natural boundaries. In other words, where the Latvian (or Russian) settlement area has ended, the Estonian settlement area has immediately continued. Contacts between the Germans and the Estonians have also been especially close because the Germans have been settling since the beginning of the 13th century in different parts of Estonia, where they established themselves as a new upper class in place of the indigenous elite through a war of conquest. Contacts with the Finns have been somewhat less frequent because the territories inhabited by the Finns and the Estonians are separated

-
1. Alenius, Kari: *Ahkertuus, edistys, ylimielisyys. Virolaisten Suomi-kuva kansallisen heräämisen ajasta tsaarinvallan päättymiseen (n. 1850–1917)*. Summary in English. *Studia Historica Septentrionalia* 27. Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys & Pohjoinen, Rovaniemi & Oulu 1996; Alenius, Kari: Veljeskansojen kahdet kasvot: Naapurimaa-kuva. *Virallista politiikkaa – Epävirallista kanssakäymistä. Suomen ja Viron suhteiden käännekohtia 1860–1991*. Edited by Heikki Roiko-Jokela. Atena Kustannus, Jyväskylä 1997; Alenius, Kari: Baltia suomalaisissa koulukirjoissa. *Faravid* 16/1992. Forthcoming (2002) is a broad study of the topic *Etniset suhteet Virossa 1918–1925*. Views of different ethnic groups of Estonians are a central part of the above-mentioned research.
 2. One should mention of the most central works and articles, Karjahärm, Toomas – Sirk, Väino: *Eesti haritlaskonna kujunemine ja ideed 1850–1917*. Eesti entsüklopeediakirjastus, Tallinn 1997; Karjahärm, Toomas: The Image of Russia and Russians in Estonia in the Late Imperial Period. *Images and Mutual Perceptions of the Finns, the Estonians and the Russians in the 20th Century*. Edited by Heikki Roiko-Jokela. Jyväskylän historiallinen yhdistys, Jyväskylä 1998; Roguinsky, Vadim: Russian perceptions on Finland and the Finns and on Estonia and the Estonians During the 20th Century. *Images and Mutual Perceptions of the Finns, the Estonians and the Russians in the 20th Century*. Edited by Heikki Roiko-Jokela. Jyväskylän historiallinen yhdistys, Jyväskylä 1998; *Suomi ja Viro – yhdessä ja erikseen*. Kari Immonen ja Tapio Onnela (eds.). Turun yliopisto, historian laitos, julkaisuja 44, Turun yliopisto 1998; Ruutsoo, Rein: Vene rahvusvähemuse ja tema identiteedi kujunemine Eesti Vabariigis 1920–1940. *Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia toimetised. Humanitaar- ja sotsiaalteadused*, 1996, 45/2. The recent sociological research is represented, in addition, by Paalamo, Heli – Uljas, Jüri – Sagara, Kiti: *Helsingin ja Tallinnan nuoret. Kontaktit ja asenteet kulttuurien kohdatessa*. Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskus. Tutkimuskatsauksia 1998:4. Helsingin kaupunki, tietokeskus, Helsinki 1998.

from each other by the Gulf of Finland. This barrier also has been relatively easy to cross, but still in comparison to the above-mentioned contacts, the interaction between the Finns and the Estonians has been more limited. In the west, the Estonians had one more neighbour, the Swedes, but contacts in this direction have been considerably fewer because the Baltic Sea was more difficult to cross.

Next, I will describe the relationship the Estonians have had with each neighbouring group separately. I will focus on the period between the late 19th century and the beginning of the Second World War because each of these chronological boundaries was a time of marked changes in the images the Estonians had of their neighbours. The beginning of the national awakening combined with other types of social changes – the breakdown of the old class society and the serf system – to create around the middle of the 19th century a new starting point for the shaping of the Estonians' national identity (and to some extent that of other nationalities, too). At the same time, the view of other nations also changed. In an analogous way, World War II changed abruptly Estonia's social circumstances. The Estonians' contacts with some neighbours were greatly reduced, while they became more intensive with others. These changes provided further preconditions for the images of the neighbours to change.

The Estonians and the Finns

It is easiest to start the discussion of the images of neighbours from the Finnish and Estonian perspective due to the greatest amount of research available. It appears that the majority of the Estonians and the Finns still had very little information about each other in the middle of the 19th century, and there were hardly any real contacts at that time. The inhabitants of the northeast coast of Estonia and the southeast coast of Finland were, however, exceptions. For hundreds of years, they had a peasant sailing tradition through which they had become completely familiar with their neighbours living across the Gulf of Finland. However, even this knowledge of their neighbours was limited to a rather small territory, and the area of influence of the peasant trading included only a very small percentage of the Finns and the Estonians. During different periods, immigrants from both countries appear to have been assimilated quickly into the indigenous population, and, therefore, no permanent Finnish or Estonian minority had emerged in either country, at least not until the second half of the 20th century.

Until the mid-19th century, the Finns and the Estonians had probably rather weak but generally correct images of each other. Quite a bit was perhaps known of the neighbouring country and its people. In fact, the geographic and the cultural proximity apparently had such an influence that it was impossible for extremely inaccurate views to develop. Neither side had a specific need to form an image of the neighbour or to use this image for any particular purpose. Therefore, the neighbours across the Gulf of Finland were viewed with some indifference. Individuals participating in the peasant trading appear to have had rather positive as well as realistic images of their neighbours. When the neighbour was known well, both its good and bad sides were known.

As was concluded above, social circumstances began to change especially in Estonia faster and more markedly starting in the 1850s. Quite soon, these changes also affected the Estonians' views of Finland and the Finns. In Estonia, the starting point for shaping

the new national identity was that the Estonians would form a small nation, differing linguistically from nearly all other Europeans, without the traditions of an independent state and other political traditions or traditions of high civilisation based on its own language around which one could start to build the new identity naturally. However, it was noted that there was a nation in the north whose people were larger in numbers, linguistically- and culturally closely related, and more advanced than the Estonians in many areas of life. Due to these conditions, one can consider it very natural that a strong need was born in Estonia to become familiar with Finland and to take it as an example for Estonian's own national, cultural and economic goals. The Finns became, whether they liked it or not, Estonians' "big brothers", whom the Estonians, in addition to considering with admiration, also set their grand hopes upon.

Conscious attempts to become familiar with Finland were started in the nationalistic circles of Estonia at the end of the 1850s. Above all, the Estonian newspapers and other publications were used as channels. There were internal disputes within the Estonian nationalistic movement over how Estonia should develop in the future, but, in any event, this had no influence on the quality of the image of Finland within the educated circles close to the nationalistic movement. It appears that the members of the Estonian educated class started quite broadly to admire Finland and that their image of Finland became stereotyped by the 1880s. The contributing parts in the idealised images of Finland – the view of the Finns as people, Finland as a country, as well as the exemplariness of the Finnish society and way-of-life – were very similar among those participating in the public discussion. How these matters were emphasised only differed according to the Estonian nationalistic movement wing to which each discussant belonged.³

Even during the early 1870s, Finland as an interest was still practised by a relatively small, albeit enthusiastic, number of fans, but during the period from the late 1870s to the turn of the century, a favourable image of Finland must have spread also among the Estonian public. At that time, there was already so much favourable information about Finland available for public discussion and, for example, as educational material that, at the end of the 19th century, knowledge that Finns and Estonians were related and the outline of usually favourable views of conditions in Finland must have been part of the Estonians' correct educational background. At that time, a basically positive, although stereotyped, view of Finland and the Finns became established in Estonia. Therefore, it is logical that it became a common goal in Estonia to strive for broader and deeper interaction with the Finns. The image of Finland, after it was born, started to lead the Finnish-Estonian relations in a certain direction. In Estonia, this pattern included admiration, striving for close relations, as well as a desire for mutual acceptance and respect.

The Finns' views of the Estonians were quite different during the 19th century. Also in Finland, the image of the Estonians became more accurate through the national awakening. The existence of the related nation in the south was acknowledged more clearly also in Finland, albeit at first among the small circle of educated people. In Finland, studies of the Finns' linguistic relatives were, however, focused on Russian Karelia, the inhabitants of which were among the related nations the most closely-related linguistically to the

3. "Soomemaalt" *Perno Postimees* 3.12.1858, 10.12.1858; "Mis 'Postimehe' saadik tagasitulles jutustab" *Eesti Postimees* 15.9.1871; C. R. Jakobson's letter to Jaan Adamson 18.8.1871, *Eesti Kirjandus* 1913, 312. See also Loone, L.: Soome ja eesti ühiskonnategelaste poliitilisest suhtlemisest eesti rahvusliku liikumise päevil (1860–1880-ndate aastateni.) *Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia Toimetised* 3/1959, 252–253.

Finns and whose settlement area directly adjoined the Finnish settlement area.⁴ Estonia, for example, received very little attention in the 19th-century Finnish schools, and public discussions dealing with Estonia were generally rare. For this reason, the knowledge the public in Finland had of their neighbouring nation must have been clearly less than the Estonians' knowledge of Finland.⁵

Finnish researchers of Finno-Ugric/Uralic people naturally had greater knowledge of and interest in Estonia than did the common Finnish people. A few leading Finnish nationalists were proposing from the 1860s to the 1880s politically tinted connections in the direction of Estonia. However, the differences in social views resulted in ineffective cooperation.⁶ In any event, the image of Estonia held by the Finns who were involved in the Finno-Ugric studies was quite different from the image the Estonians had of Finland. The greater progress of Finland in many areas of life eventually meant that the Estonians, as well as other non-Finnish Finno-Ugric people, were not held in great esteem in their own right, nor were they considered equal to the Finns. The pattern of the images of the neighbours and relationships between the neighbours that was being formed included, on the Finnish side, indifference and generally a neutral, sometimes diminutive, but seldom a clearly positive attitude toward their neighbours in the south.

The Estonians' image of the Finns started to become contradictory at the beginning of the 20th century, or perhaps one can also speak of the birth of competing images. This was partly due to the spread of socialist ideals to Estonia, challenging the status of Finland as the model society. As a non-socialistic country, it was natural that Finland could not be an example for groups aiming for the collapse of the entire political organisation. The leftist circles of Estonia, however, followed the established tradition of Finland's admirers by considering actions of their mates of ideals in the north as examples for their own actions.⁷ Therefore, we can consider on one hand the image of Finland of the Estonian leftists to have been conflicting, but we must pay attention on the other hand to the fact that Finland was not a relevant unit for the individuals who had adopted the socialist ideological view of the world. For these individuals, belonging to a certain social group was more important than nationality. In the minds of the Estonian socialists, only those Finns who shared their political views were their brothers, whereas the Finnish bourgeois was considered the enemy, just as were the Estonian bourgeois.

The traditional admiration of Finland in Estonia was most seriously shaken by the Estonians' gradual realisation of the imbalance that had prevailed for a long time in the Finnish-Estonian relations. Many Estonians, regardless of their political opinions, arrived gradually at the common conclusion that the Finns did not appreciate them enough. For decades, Finland had been a paragon for Estonia's nationalistic elite. However, Estonians had received very few concrete demonstrations of the mutual acceptance, interest and cooperation they had hoped to receive. The disappointment about the Finnish indiffer-

4. Nygård, Toivo: *Suur-Suomi vai lähiheimolaisten auttaminen? Aatteellinen heimotyö itsenäisessä Suomessa*. Otava, Helsinki 1978, 21-23; Zetterberg, Seppo: *Suomi ja Viro 1917-1919. Poliittiset suhteet syksystä 1917 reunavaltiot politiikan alkuun*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 102. Suomen historiallinen seura, Helsinki 1977, 20.

5. Alenius 1992, 223-227; Zetterberg 1977, 30.

6. Lehti, Marko: *Suomen sillan synty. Suomen ja Viron kansallisuusliikkeiden suhteet 1866-1880*. Suomen historian sivulaudaturtyö. Turun yliopisto 1993; Loone, L.: *Jooni eesti ja soome rahvusliku liikumise tegelaste poliitilisest suhtlemisest 1870. aastate algul ja 1880. aastate lõpul. Eesti NSV ajaloo küsimusi*. Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli Toimetised 258. Tartu 1970, 242-284.

7. "Soome tööliste ametiühisused algusel ja nüüd" *Meie Elu* 7.7.1907; "Soome proletariaadi majandusline wõitlus" *Tallinna Teataja* 22.2.1911; "Sotsiaaldemokraatia edenemine Soomes" *Narva Kiir* 2.10.1913.

ence has since the early years of the 20th century erupted several times as different small crises. This occurred for the first time visibly in 1909 in the press polemic dealing with the deportation of the Estonian political refugees to Russia, during which the usefulness of Estonian's entire orientation toward Finland was re-evaluated in Estonia. A quick evaluation of the situation, however, demonstrated that the nationalistic goals of Estonia had even less available support from any other direction than from Finland. Finland remained, therefore, the only alternative from where the Estonians were able to learn and seek support because the Estonians did not believe that Estonia could survive if left on its own.⁸

It is natural that the admiration of Finland which was born among the Estonian-minded educated class and over time spread to increasingly broad circles of nationals became commonplace at the turn of the century and especially after 1905. This infatuation was too intense to survive forever. However, the general positive nature of the image did survive, and the changes of its quality were noticeable only in the time perspective of decades. During World War I, the admiration of Finland and the Finnish studies were no longer an entirely inseparable part of the Estonian fatherland activities as they had been 20–30 years earlier although Finland was still very important especially to non-socialistic and nationalistically oriented Estonians. Also, the traditional admiring image of Finland still had its own supporters, but it was no longer the dominant view during World War I. Regardless of the relations becoming more commonplace, the Estonians' image of Finland basically survived, however, with its goal for closer relationships.

A new base for interaction between Finland and Estonia was created when these countries gained their own independence. From the beginning, the relations were heightened in different areas of life. An increase of all kinds of Finnish-Estonian contacts further enhanced already broad knowledge of Finland in Estonia. The increased amount of information, however, did not change the Estonians' views of Finland and the Finns to a notable degree. Actually, the image or images of Finland that had been formed at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century became firmly established between the world wars. It was considered as important as before in Estonia to make relations with Finland broader and deeper. This desire to get closer to the Finns – and the lesser interest of the Finns toward Estonians, on the other hand – was visible in the area of cultural relationships. For example, the co-operation agreements between the Finnish and the Estonian university student associations were born, nearly without exception, from Estonian initiative. Similarly, the importance of Finland was also visible in the Estonian educational system. About one quarter of the time in teaching world literature in Estonia was dedicated to Finnish literature.⁹

Regardless of the rather widespread interest of studying other Finno-Ugrians in Finland, the Finns were not as interested as the Estonians' in becoming familiar with their neighbour. The numbers of volumes of translated literary works are illustrative in this respect: in 1918–1940, a total of 170 works written by the Finnish writers and translated into Estonian were published in Estonia, while the number of translated works from the Estonian into the Finnish was only 14 during the same period. Estonia, however, became

8. "Ülekohtuse pealekäämise vastu" *Päevaleht* 27.1.1909; "Wäärtuste ümberhindamine" *Virulane* 29.1.1909; "Eesti-Soome wahekord" *Postimees* 4.2.1909; "Eesti-Soome..." *Kaja* 13.2.1909.

9. Hovi, Kalervo: Suomalaiset – ainoa virolaista kulttuuria tunteva kansa. *Naapurimme Viro* 1/1995, 33; Sepp, Helena: Helsingin ja Tarton opiskelijasuhteista 1920- ja 1930-luvuilla. *Soome sild – Viron veräjät. Kahdeksan näkökulmaa suomalais-virolaisiin suhteisiin*. Heikki Rausmaa (ed.). Tuglas-seura, Helsinki 1992, 40–47.

as a result of gaining her independence in 1918, much more visible than previously to the Finnish public. Right before World War II, it was already part of the Finnish common educational background to know about Estonia and that the Estonians were related to the Finns, as well as to have some knowledge of the Estonian state, society and culture. For example, starting in the 1920s, Estonia received several times the amount of attention in the schools than before. It was actually possible to gain quite a good knowledge of Estonia through textbooks and non-fiction literature, but naturally we cannot equate the information available for the general public to the amount of information assimilated by it.¹⁰

Due to the imbalance of interest, the basic problem of the Estonians' image of Finland was the sensitivity to detect even the slightest signs of the Finns' assumed and sometime real "big brother" attitude toward the Estonians. Between the world wars, this issue raised its head possibly most clearly in the middle of the 1930s when the Association of the Estonian Freedom Warriors planned to overthrow the authoritarian rule of Konstantin Päts. The Finnish co-ideologists of these Freedom Fighters were included in the coup attempt of December 1935, which resulted in widespread irritation toward the Finns in Estonia. A similar polemic was born in Estonia already a year earlier, when a few representatives of the Finnish university students during their Estonian visit expressed their support for the association of the Estonian freedom fighters, an association of which Päts had disbanded.¹¹ Another issue that brought the same problem to the attention of the public was the debate of the status of the Ingrian Finns of Estonia.¹² Although the Finns were liked and respected and all sorts of interaction in the direction of Finland was hoped for, the Finns' interference in Estonia's business was perceived as controlling, and it was a sensitive issue for the Estonians.

The Estonians and the Baltic Germans

If we consider the influence of Estonia's neighbours on the history of Estonia during the last millennium as a criterion, the Germans must be elevated to the most significant position. The German settlement in the Estonian territory originated when the Germans subdued the Estonians under their rule at the beginning of the 13th century. In addition to their political overlordship, the German supremacy became stronger in time also in the economy and civilisation. By simplifying somewhat, we can note that the Germans were the leading ethnic group of Estonia from the 13th century to Estonia's independence. The Germans managed to maintain their supremacy for centuries although they constituted only a small percentage of the total population. The Germans lived mainly in cities, but they were nevertheless distributed quite evenly across Estonia.¹³ Due to the Germans'

10. Alenius 1992, 227_235; Kuldsepp 1977, 81; Silmälä, Petri: Myötäeläjä _ sivustakatsoja. Suomalaiset tietokirjat Viron historian kuvaajina. *Virallista politiikkaa _ Epävirallista kanssakäymistä. Suomen ja Viron suhteiden käännekohtia 1860_1991*. Heikki Roiko-Jokela (ed.). Atena Kustannus, Jyväskylä 1997, 291_298; Soome kirjandus eesti keeles 1979, 89_95.

11. Hovi 1995, 33; Sepp 1992, 46_47.

12. Mägiuste, Julius: Eesti-Ingeri küsimus Eestist vaadatuna. *Eesti Hõim* 3/1933, 41_49; Haavio, Martti: Viron-Inkerin hätähuuto. *Suomalainen Suomi* 1/1937, 3_11; "Eesti ja Eestin Inkeri" *Ajan Suunta* 24.2.1937. See also Raun, Toivo U.: Finland and Estonia: Cultural and Political Relations, 1917_1940. *Journal of Baltic Studies* 1/1987, 11.

13. In 1922, the Germans constituted 1,7 % of Estonia's population. 1922. aasta üldrahvalugemise andmed. *Vihk I ja II. Rahva demograafiline koosseis ja korteriolud Eestis*. Tallinn 1924, 31_33; II rahvaloendus Eestis. *Valdade rahvastik. I. III 1934 rahvaloenduse andmed. Vihk I*. Tallinn 1934, 36_46.

socially significant position and their settlement distribution, all Estonians had contacts with the local Germans and, therefore, had some kind of view of the Germans as an ethnic group.

Overall, the Germans formed in Estonia an ethnic group which differed from the Estonians in many ways and clearly. This difference was based on the different language and the privileged position (which lasted until 1918) the Germans had gained many years previously. The cultural, educational, economic and professional profile of the Baltic Germans differed markedly from that of the ethnic Estonians due to the historical development. To simplify, the Germans were, as an average, clearly wealthier, more educated and more influential than the Estonians. In the case of Estonians and the Germans, the linguistic and national (ethnic) boundary had always been (until the early 20th century) also the class boundary. The Germans also generally sought to maintain distinction and to remain separate from the Estonians, toward whom they almost without exception had a superior attitude. The Germans saw themselves as those who brought culture and its progressive development to Estonia and, therefore, a conscious assimilation to the Estonians was completely out of question for them.¹⁴ Within the scope of the Russian Empire, the Germans had in common with the Estonians, in addition to the shared settlement area, only the Lutheran religion into which the vast majority of both ethnic groups belonged. Belonging to the same church had, however, only a rather weak influence in bringing the groups closer to each other.

The German identity itself had had a significant and multi-faceted influence on the development of the Estonian identity from the Middle Ages to the 1900s. In a certain respect, the Germans had really been for a long time those who brought and maintained civilisation in Estonia, but this situation had been such mainly because their use of political and economic power prevented the Estonian culture from developing freely on its own terms. The German influence was still visible at the beginning of the 20th century, not only in the structure and vocabulary of the Estonian language, but also in the customs.¹⁵ The spread of the cultural influences in the other direction, from the Estonian to the German, has been considerably less significant during all stages of history. Thus, the wall between the Estonians and the Germans reaching nearly all areas of life was maintained from the German perspective because the Germans who lived in Estonia did not even gradually adopt some significant diagnostic traits of Estonia's majority population, such as linguistic elements, way of thinking and way of life.

The relationship of the Germans to the Estonians was quite problematic, which is of course very understandable in light of Estonia's history. Above all, the problems became more intense and more noticeable during the land issue at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. In the minds of Estonians, it was extremely unfair that about one thousand German families who owned large farms had in their possession about one half of the cultivated land of Estonia, while at the same time two-thirds of the rural Estonians – about half a million people – did not own any land. The Estonians' dissatisfaction and bitterness toward the German mansion masters (plantation owners?)

14. Kadaja, R.: *Vähemusrahvused Eestis. Tähiseid II. Eestluse aastaraamat*. Toimetanud Ed. Roos. Eesti rahvuslaste klubi toimetised nr. 5. Tartu 1936, 38–55; Raun, Toivo U.: *Viron historia*. Translated by Heidi Järvenpää. Otava, Helsinki 1989, 86.

15. On language, see for example, Suhonen, Seppo: *Viron kieli. Viro. Historia, kansa, kulttuuri*. Edited by Seppo Zetterberg. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Jyväskylä 1995, 204.

erupted visibly during the Russian revolutionary movement of the year 1905, when mansions were burnt and other violent acts were directed toward the Germans. While extinguishing the revolution, the Germans took revenge on the Estonians for taking justice into their own hands, and the ownership situation was restored to what it had been. In any event, it was clear that the events only increased tension on both sides, and the problems were still unresolved. The land reform was finally brought about after Estonia became independent starting in 1919.¹⁶

The Estonians' image of the Baltic Germans at the end of the 19th century and during the first half of the 20th century was mainly negative. In its most extreme form, the Germans were seen as ethnically alien oppressors.¹⁷ When Estonia became independent, the Germans lost their political power entirely and most of their economic and cultural influence, which reduced the Estonians' ill feelings toward them. Prior to World War II, the Estonians' image of the Germans may have already become to some extent indifferent or generally neutral because for some decades they had not been forced to fight daily against the German supremacy. On the other hand, the Estonians' national battle against the German upper class during different stages of history was emphasised in the schools.¹⁸ Therefore, the "historical wrong-doings" were not so easily forgotten from the Estonians' memories. One may guess that still only a few Estonians were willing to recognize the Germans for their cultural contribution.

The Germans' traditional image of the Estonians as "uncivilised and lower ranking" may have become somewhat more positive between the world wars although losing their supremacy to the Estonians caused bitterness. As time passed, however, the Estonians had to be given recognition for their ability to govern an entire state and create their own civilisation. Still, the large majority of the Germans did not want to be assimilated into the Estonians although a certain adaptation to the changed conditions, such as acquiring useful knowledge of the Estonian language, may have been a typical phenomenon.

The Estonians and the Russians

The Russians were and are neighbouring people to the Estonians in two ways. First, the actual Russian settlement area starts east of the Estonia and, therefore, especially the inhabitants of Estonia's eastern border regions have had daily interactions with the Russians for centuries. Second, there were also Russians living within the Estonian boundaries. The Russians with the strongest roots in Estonian soil were those Russians who had settled on the western shores of the Lake Peipus mainly during the 18th century. They followed the traditional Orthodox religion, had escaped from Russia for religious reasons, and lived mainly in their own fishing village societies. In the 19th century, other Russian "common" rural people had started settling in small numbers in different parts of Estonia, mainly, however, to the country's eastern and southeastern parts.¹⁹

16. Niitemaa, Vilho – Hovi, Kalervo: *Baltian historia*. Tammi, Helsinki 1991, 336, 338; von Rauch, Georg: *Balti riikide ajalugu 1918–1940*. Tõlkinud Ene Rõngelep. "Detlar", Tallinn 1995, 18; Raun 1989, 113.

17. Vrt. Karjahärm 1997, 273–274.

18. Konks, J.: *Eesti ajalugu II. Ajaloo õpperaamat progümnaasiumi II klassile*. Tartu 1939, 125–126.

19. Kübarsepp, Ed.: *Vähemusrahvused Eestis. Eesti. Maa, rahvas, kultuur*. Tartu 1926, 1252–1253; von Rauch, Georg: *Schweden und Russen in Estland. Baltische Monatshefte*. Jahrgang 1936. Riga 1936, 216–218.

The second group of Russians in Estonia had a different origin. These were officials, merchants, teachers and other educated people, who had started to migrate from Russia into Estonia when Estonia became part of the Russian Empire at the beginning of the 18th century. The bulk of these Russians, however, did not arrive in Estonia until the Russification period, starting in the 1880s. Therefore, their roots were not yet quite deep in the Estonian soil. During the Russification period, this group was joined by increasing numbers of common Russian labourers, who arrived as labour force for large industrial facilities established in the Estonian territory at the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th century. Quite a large proportion of the Russians of Tallinn and Narva, as well as the Russians in other Estonian cities, belonged to this group of rather recent arrivals. In total, the Russians who lived among the Estonians constituted four percent of the total population during the period between the world wars.

The size of Estonia's Russian minority was, however, in the 1920s and 1930s a full eight percent of the total population. This is explainable because Estonia received in its peace treaty of 1920 with the Soviet-Russia in addition to the historical territory of Estonia also the Petserimaa District and a narrow strip of land east of the Narva River. The number of Russians living in these eastern lands was approximately equal to the number of Russians living elsewhere in Estonia. In the Petserimaa District and the territory behind the Narva River, the Russians, as a whole, formed a clear majority.²⁰

During the Russification period, the Russians in Estonia were naturally in many ways in a privileged position. Especially the Russian officials and the civilised individuals were able to consider themselves as a similar upper class in respect to the Estonians as the Baltic Germans were in respect to the Estonians. The political and cultural supremacy of the Russian elite collapsed when Estonia became independent. During the period between the world wars, the average social and economic situation of Estonia's Russians was weaker than average, if we consider the Russian ethnic group as a whole. Differences within the group were, however, large. In any event, four-fifth of Estonia's Russians were factory labourers, servants, belonged to other labour category or were small-scale farmers. The Russians' contribution to Estonia's economic life was modest. The low economic and social status also correlated with their, as an average, low educational level. The level of education of especially those Russians who lived in the eastern border regions was low: for example, only half of the adults were able to read and write, whereas this percentage was nearly one hundred elsewhere in Estonia. The Russians were also differentiated by their Orthodox religion from the Lutheran Estonians.²¹

Although there were quite large numbers of Russians living among the Estonians and as their neighbours, the boundary between the Russians and the Estonians appears to have been generally clear. The national identities of the Estonians and the Russians were, therefore, quite distinct from each other, and uncertainty emerged as to the national identities, especially of those individuals born to mixed marriages. There may have been average differences between the Estonians and the Russians in aspects of daily life related to practising different religion, behaviour, clothing, and such. Above all, both nationalities perceived themselves as a distinct group, nor especially tried to remove the observed dif-

20. 1922. aasta üldrahvalugemise andmed. Vihk XI. Võru ja Petseri maakonnad. Tallinn 1924, 18–21.

21. 1922. aasta üldrahvalugemise andmed. Vihk I ja II. Rahva demograafiline koosseis ja korteriolud Eestis. Tallinn 1924, 31–33; II rahvaloendus Eestis. Valdade rahvastik. I. III 1934 rahvaloenduse andmed. Vihk I. Tallinn 1934, 36–46; Rahvastikuprobleeme Eestis 4. Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo. Tallinn 1937, 106–107.

ferences. It is notable that Estonian-Russian marriages were not common in Estonia, which indicates certain unfamiliarity and reservations between the two ethnic groups.²²

Neither was the relationship between the Estonians and the Russians problem-free in light of history. During different periods through time, the Russians had been more often Estonians' enemies than their allies. When Estonia eventually came under the rule of the Russian Empire, it did not help the Estonians' situation, but quite the opposite: the Germans received in the 18th century more freedom than previously to control the Estonians. Also, during the final decades of the Russian rule, the Estonians had been made to suffer due to the Russification, which reached to different areas of life. The Russification was executed, above all, by the Russians who lived in the cities and belonged to upper social classes. This type of contrast appears to have been less pronounced among the common people. Due to the most recent history and partly due to reasons dating to the more distant past, there were some tensions between the Estonians and the Russians at the end of the Czarist rule. The contrast was, however, less than that between the Estonians and the Germans.²³ The attitude of the common Estonians towards the Russians was possibly characterised by a mild feel of contempt, which mainly originated from difference in the level of general education between Estonia and Russia.

The upper-class Russians were, just like the Germans, disappointed by their weakened status following Estonia's independence.²⁴ Their image of the Estonians was also otherwise very similar to that of the Germans. They had been characterised during the period of Czarist rule by a superior attitude toward the Estonians, who were seen with no other future but to become assimilated into the Russian people. Thus, the Russian educated class was hardly likely to hold the Estonian language and culture in high esteem. It could have been that the Russians' attitude toward the Estonians became more positive during the 1920s and 1930s, when the Russians' position in Estonia was quite safe and Estonia rose to the group of developed states. The common Russians' image of the Estonians may have been characterised mainly by feeling of indifference or neutrality. There were some tensions, as have been described above, but the daily interaction with the Estonians may have occurred without large problems. From the point of view of the Russian commoners, their reduced status as citizens, which resulted from the transition of their "own" Russian rule to the rule of the "foreign" Estonian state, was not very noticeable. The changed status was mainly seen in that, when dealing with the officials, the use of the Russian language was no longer between the world wars a self-evident privilege.

The Estonians and the Latvians

There has always been some tension in the relationship between the Estonians and the Latvians. The base for this tension was created by the gradual geographic expansion of the Latvians' settlement area to the north over time at the expense of the Estonians (and the Livs). Although the interaction between the Estonians and the Latvians has been mainly peaceful, especially during the last 800 years, the relations of these two nations

22. Ibidem.

23. For more about details, see Karjahärm, Toomas: *Ida ja lääne vahel. Eesti-Vene suhted 1850–1917*. Eesti entsüklopeediakirjastus, Tallinn 1998.

24. Isakov, S. G.: *Russkie v Estonii. 1918–1940. Istoriko-kul'turnõe otšerki*. Kompu, Tartu 1996, 7–17.

can be basically derived from the fundamental question of their settlement areas' boundary. From the Estonian viewpoint, the Latvians were newcomers, or even intruders, in the southern parts of the Estonians' settlement area although the Latvian immigration and the assimilation process had traditionally been both quite gradual and non-violent. The origins of the Latvians and the Estonians are also entirely different, as are also the origins of the Germans and the Russians in respect to the Estonians. When the Estonians started to shape the image of the past of Estonia and the Estonian people during the period of national awakening, their view of the Latvians was not necessarily improved by their now remembering that the Latvians had fought alongside the Germans when the Estonians had to give up their independence at the beginning of the 13th century.²⁵

Possibly the most important historical factor uniting the Estonians and the Latvians was that both had been for centuries under the rule of foreign powers and had, therefore, shared quite similar fates. The Estonian and the Latvian folk cultures did not differ very much from each other because cultural influences had been received and given reciprocally already for several millennia. The majority of both countries were Lutherans. The Estonians and the Latvians were in any event two ethnic groups clearly differing from each other, and their relations cannot be described as very hearty, but not actually hostile either. Historically the similar cultural, social and economic status probably created on both sides of the ethnic boundary a view of approximate status equality of the Estonians and the Latvians. This view appears, however, to have included on both sides at least some mild contempt and shyness. It is descriptive of this relationship that the Estonian province located closest to Latvia is known as *Mulgimaa* (its inhabitant is similarly known as *mulk*), while the word *mulkis* means "stupid" in Latvian.

Between the world wars, there were a few thousand Latvians living in Estonia, mostly near the Estonian and Latvian boundary as well as in Tallinn. Similarly, there was an Estonian minority composed of a few thousand individuals in northern Latvia. Therefore, there was daily interaction between the Estonians and the Latvians only among the inhabitants in the border region. Therefore, the image the large majority of the Estonians (and also that of the Latvians living in Latvia) had of the neighbour was shaped through indirect contacts. The professional and cultural profiles of the Latvians of the Estonia or that of the Estonians of Latvia did not markedly differ, on an average, from that of the majority and, therefore, these profiles did not provide any fuel to create the feeling of being "different".²⁶ As expected, the image of the neighbour was shaped in both countries according to the way the neighbouring people were viewed as a whole and not how the minority in one's own country was viewed. The decisive factors here were those dealing with ethnic origin and broad historical conflicts of interest.

Special features of images of neighbours and the study of these images

25. Hurt, Jakob: *Pildid isamaa siindinud asjust*. Tartu 1879, 7, 25–26.

26. 1922. aasta üldrahvalugemise andmed. Vihk I ja II. *Rahva demograafiline koosseis ja korteriolud Eestis*. Tallinn 1924, 31–33; II *rahvaloendus Eestis*. Valdade rahvastik. I. III 1934 *rahvaloenduse andmed*. Vihk I. Tallinn 1934, 36–46; Kübarsepp 1926, p. 1253; *Rahvastikuprobleeme Eestis* 4. Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo. Tallinn 1937, 106–107.

Based on the examples presented above, it is possible to outline to some extent the type of special features that are associated with the images of neighbours and studies of these images.

First, we must note that we can study images of neighbours at least during the period from the middle of the 19th century to World War II. In other words, during this period the nationalistic way of thinking had developed to a point that it was possible to form images mainly from the nationalistic base. At first the educated people and toward the end of the 19th century an increasingly large proportion of the common people appear to have considered nationality such an important criteria of identification that it was generally possible to categorize people by their nationality. This had not necessarily been possible earlier. The dual meaning of the Estonian word *saks* is a concrete indicator of this. On one hand, *saks* refers to a “German”; on the other hand, it refers to “master”. The origin of this dual meaning is understandable because the ethnic and the social boundary had been in Estonia for centuries the same: from the point of view of the Estonian-speakers, all Germans belonged to the upper class and all who belonged to the upper class were Germans (or at least non-Estonians). The social meaning of this word may have been its primary meaning during the past centuries, which at the same time tells about the emphasis on social aspects above nationalistic aspects at least before the end of the 19th century.

In some cases, especially in the case of remote locations to which the new ideals spread slowly, the study of the 20th century images of the neighbours may require taking into account the worldview preceding the modern nationalistic thinking. The Setus, who live near the southeastern border of Estonia, are an example. The Setus are an archaic ethnic group who have lived in the realm of Russian influence and, therefore, differ from other Estonians in many ways. Their settlement area was included in Estonia when the country became independent, and between the world wars, the relationship of the Setus to the Estonians was discussed a great deal. They were mainly considered Estonians, but some of the discussants thought that they formed their own ethnic group due to their rather considerable linguistic and cultural difference from other Estonians. The Setus themselves did not have an established opinion of this question either. If the discussion dealt with religion, they may have even said that they were Russians because their religion was the “Russian” Orthodox religion instead of the Lutheran religion, which characterised other Estonians.²⁷ This case indicates that the nationality criterion was fuzzy because the Setus considered from a religious point of view that the Russians belonged to their group and the Estonians were the neighbouring group. If the discussion dealt with language, the Setus considered the Estonians as members of their own group and the Russians as the neighbouring group. Therefore, the images of the neighbours can be quite multifaceted, and one cannot consider a certain group of people belonging to one’s own group or neighbour category based on the point of view of the nationalistic thinking of the late 20th century. An even greater accuracy of observation is required when one studies the images of the neighbours preceding the second half of the 19th century.

Due to these facts, what observations must one make of the effect of the inter-group geographic distance on the images of the neighbours? First of all, one must conclude that one cannot measure the degree of closeness or distance only in kilometres. Although a

27. Hagu, Paul: Setukaisten identiteetin ongelmat. *Koltat, karjalaiset, setukaiset. Pienet kansan maailmojen rajoilla*. Tuija Saarinen ja Seppo Suhonen (ed.) Snellman-instituutti. A-sarja 19/1995, 172; Jääts, Indrek: Setude etnilise identiteedi ajalugu. *Akadeemia* 6/1998, 1140.

short geographic distance facilitates intense contacts and a large amount of information of the other, this is only potentially so. For example, the Finns and the Estonians had still during the 1870s quite a small amount of information about each other. The possibility for frequent interaction and the exchange of large amount of information and influences was a reality only starting during the late 19th century, when other conditions of life (for example, the development of traffic connections, the elevated level of wealth, the birth of the Estonian educated class) became favourable for the broadening of contacts. The relationship between the Latvians and the Estonians resembled the one mentioned above. Also in this case, the image of the neighbours of the majority of the Estonians and the Latvians was formed through indirect and rather few contacts because one did not encounter people from the other group daily. We may be best able to talk about the images of the neighbours in a more restricted sense only when we speak of human groups in constant direct contact with each other. That is, these groups nearly literally live as neighbours.

The indirect source material of the images of the neighbours

There is commonly more source material dealing with the images of the neighbours, and this material is more diverse than that dealing with the distal images. In the case of the distal images, the image of the small number of influential individuals, the image of the elites, is examined most typically. Travel journals or similar material intended for either private or public use are the source material here. In case of the commoners, one can often only evaluate material such as newspaper writings or schoolbooks which were available to them and which one can assume to have influenced their views of certain distant people. The modern days during which lots of different opinion polls are made are exceptions, of course. We must still conclude that there is nearly always the greatest amount of source material giving light to the elite's image from all periods in the case of both close-up and distant images. This material is itself very useful and sheds light on the image the elite has of the neighbours just as in the case of the distal images. The common people are a more problematic object of research because also in the case of images of neighbours, they generally have not left behind material that would directly tell about their views. When evaluating the views of masses of people, one must, therefore, sharpen one's powers of observation in respect to sources other than the literate sources. This material is, for its part, seldom usable for analysing the distal images.

The first source material group discussed is the folk tradition. The poetic or other kind of folk tradition, such as songs, stories, legends, proverbs and jokes reflect common people's views of different issues than do newspaper articles. The folk tradition is, however, commonly created by the most creative individuals and, therefore, by individuals who deviate from the average. Nonetheless, the distribution and survival of a certain creation indicates whether valid generalisations can be based on it. Reasonably large groups of people have in that case accepted the content and shape of this tradition. One must, however, be careful in interpreting the popularity of the image transmitted by tradition unless the part dealing with the image of the neighbour is not the central part of the tradition in question. Sometimes other characteristics of the tradition considered good, for instance

how fitting the rhyme of a poem is, may have maintained such details, which do not inform equally well about the actual popularity of the detail.

The dating of the birth of a folk tradition can also provide a problem for the interpretation of the folk tradition. The folk traditions have been recorded on a large scale only during the 19th and the 20th century, but the tradition that was alive at that time can be much older, of course. The date of recording is, from the point of view of origins, often nothing but *terminus ante quem*, which does not necessarily help very far in analyses reaching further back in the past. The tradition, however, provides quite reliable information about the images of neighbours dating to the time this tradition was recorded. In the folk tradition, certain of the few most important constituents of the image are commonly repeated in different shades. For example, the Estonian sledge runes include dozens of repetitions that Finland is located quite a distance away, but they include very little other kind of information about Finland. If the neighbouring country and people appear only seldom or in an extremely simplified form in the folk tradition, one must also make certain conclusions of the intensity of the interaction and the amount of information of the neighbour among the people.

In addition to the folk tradition, actually everything that is known of the interaction of certain nations may help in interpreting the images of the neighbours. For example, whether or not the nations have fought each other already gives approximate direction for evaluation of the quality of the views of the neighbours. The frequency of the exchange of good and other trading between nations helps in estimating quantitatively the amount of interaction between these people. We receive more accurate quantitative information by analysing items being exchanged and the trade balance. If a certain product has a very visible role in the trade, it will inevitably have some effect on the image of its country of origin. For example, Estonia had in Finland in the 1920s a reputation of being the “country of raw spirit” because alcohol was smuggled to Finland, which had instituted the prohibition law, mostly from Estonia or through Estonia.

The cultural exchange may often be more informative in the case of the images of the neighbours than the exchange of goods. Goods can be procured from the neighbouring country in large quantities for economic reasons without concern for the country of these goods’ origins in other respects, but the cultural exchange always pre-requires to some extent a positive attitude toward the neighbour. It is more difficult to measure exactly the amount of cultural exchange than the amount of goods exchange, especially because this kind of information is not commonly recorded in any central statistics. However, also when thinking of the images of the neighbours, the direction and the content quality of the cultural exchange are more central. For instance, we can include in the cultural exchange concepts and items dealing with the language, customs, beliefs, clothing, construction culture, tools and work methods as well as other issues related to these. These cultural traits are borrowed either as they are or influences from the neighbour are adapted into them. The direction and strength of the cultural exchange are fundamentally influenced by the prestige the people and the culture represented by them are perceived to have. The greater the prestige the other culture is considered to have in comparison to one’s own culture, the more willingly something is borrowed from it. The most extreme case is the voluntary assimilation to the other culture. The opposite extreme case is that nothing is adopted into one’s own culture from a culture considered worthless, regardless of the abundance of contacts.

The relationship of the Estonians to the Finns and to the Baltic Germans offers a clear example. Hundreds of Finnish words were borrowed into the Estonian standard language at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, and the grammar and the spelling were renewed using the Finnish language as an example. It was particularly significant that not only “necessary” material was borrowed, for example, in addition to words missing from the Estonian language, the borrowed items included also “unnecessary” material, which replaced elements already existing in Estonian. This strongly proves that Finland was considered fit as a paragon and that the image of Finland was very positive in this respect. Not any kind of change whatsoever was seen in Finland during the same period to rejuvenate the language after the model provided by the Estonian language. The nearly complete lack of an Estonian influence in the Finnish standard language concords perfectly with the above-presented outline of the indifference of the Finns toward their southern neighbours.

Also the German language spoken by the local Baltic Germans has over time strongly influenced the Estonian language, its vocabulary, spelling, structure, as well as morphology and phonetics. It offers a clear example of the conflicting attitude toward the neighbouring culture. As noted, the Estonians’ relationship to the Baltic Germans has always been quite tense because the Germans arrived in Estonia as conquerors and oppressors. On the other hand, the essence of being German was also admired – maybe partly unconsciously – and the culture represented by the German language held in esteem. In other cases, the linguistic borrowing, for example, would not have been as broad as it has been. Thus, the Germans as neighbours in Estonia have been both hated and admired. The Baltic Germans, for their part, have not perceived the Estonian culture as prestigious and, therefore, they have borrowed hardly anything into their language from the Estonian language, although they have lived among the Estonians (“*undeutsch*”) for centuries. In principle, the Germans had just as much contact facilitating linguistic borrowing as the Estonians had with the Germans, but the Baltic Germans have not wanted to use these contacts to acquire linguistic loans.

There is still one important source group in the image research between the exchange of goods (physical objects) and the cultural exchange (most commonly the spiritual values): the people themselves. In principle, even the biological characteristics of people inform about the relationship between two groups of people. For example, if research methods for comparing populations, such as DNA comparisons, used in biological anthropology indicate that two neighbouring people are genetically very closely related, possible explanations can only be either common origins or significant more recent genetic admixture. The latter explanation also commonly pre-requires that the people in question have rather positive attitudes toward each other. From the most recent periods, there is also other written material that tells more accurately about “the exchange of people” between the neighbours. In this case, we are dealing with the studies of migration movements, such as travel and mixed marriages.

The immigration and travel records provide directions although they are imprecise measures of determining the quality of the image of the neighbour. The frequency of these kinds of movements tells more about how the target country is possibly perceived than about what kind of image the travellers have of the people of this country. In the case of travelling, this means that visiting of the target country is thought, above all, to fill some short-term needs. The goal may be, for instance, to get rid of one’s home routines

and relax in a spa, just as many Finns once did when travelling to Estonia to the seashore town of Pärnu between the world wars. The travellers may not have had much contact with the Estonians, nor was there any need to relate to them either in an evaluative or favourable way. Alternatively, if one has an entirely negative image of the neighbouring people, one hardly goes to travel as a tourist in their country. The motive of travel may, however, be a desire to become familiar with the alien culture and people considered prestigious. However, it is difficult to make these kind of conclusions based solely on the number of travellers. More precise analyses of the travellers' destinations and programs are needed for support.

Immigration is similar to travel in that we cannot make far-reaching conclusions of the image of the neighbours based on the numbers. Immigration demands, however, in principle more deliberation and a more favourable image of the target country and its people than travelling. The Baltic Germans or the members of the Russian upper class who immigrated into Estonia at the end of the 19th century or earlier are an example of how the image of the immigrants of the neighbouring people did not necessarily need to be positive if the target country was alluring for other reasons. We can get better information about the quality of the neighbour's image by determining whether the immigrants sought to become isolated as their own group or become assimilated to the indigenous population, as well as in which way and how quickly the possible assimilation occurred. That the Finnish and the Estonian immigrants in the neighbouring country through time have rather quickly been assimilated into the indigenous population informs not just about the close linguistic and cultural relationship, which makes the assimilation easier, but also about the, after all, relatively problem-free neighbourhood relations and images of neighbours.

The commonness of mixed marriages is a good measure of the image of the neighbours. If there are numerous mixed marriages between the neighbouring nations, the quality of relations and the image of the neighbour must be positive. Similarly, if the mixed marriages are less common than one would expect in light of the frequency of mutual contacts, the image of the neighbour must be characterised by a desire to remain distant and is, therefore, more negative than in the former case. Fitting examples are the minority nationalities that lived in Estonia during the period between the world wars. The Latvians and the Finns married Estonians during the early 1930s relatively most frequently: about half of the new marriages were such mixed marriages. The Germans and the Russians married clearly more strictly among members of their own ethnic groups: one-fourth of the Germans and one-sixth of the Russians married Estonians.²⁸ These differences are explainable partly because the Germans and especially the Russians had more choice within their own ethnic groups because they were numerically large minorities. However, the relative numbers do not contradict what we know about the relations between the Estonians and their neighbours and, therefore, images of the neighbours. We cannot consider the relationship very close in any of these cases, but relations of the Latvians and the Finns with the Estonians were more problem free than those between the Germans and the Russians with Estonia's ethnic majority.

Depending on the case studied, there must be more different sources telling about the interaction between neighbours, and these can be utilised to clarify the images of neigh-

28. *Rahvastikuprobleeme Eestis 4*. Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo. Tallinn 1937, 106–107.

bours. It is not possible, however, in the scope of this article to start listing all special cases. Neither is it possible to begin to deliberate in detail what different political, economic, cultural or reservations depending on other circumstances must be made when interpreting the above-mentioned source groups. It is presumably clear that such special features are numerous. For example, it is impossible to use the travel and immigration movement between Estonia and Russia in the 1920s and the 1930s to determine the image of neighbours unless we take into consideration also the limitations set by the political life of the period, which prevented people from freely travelling from one country to the next.

Special features of images of neighbours

Are the images of neighbours, then, different from the distal images? It seems that the differences are differences of degree rather than differences of kind. At least in light of the case examples studied, we cannot say that there are significant differences in the longevity or slow changeability of images. Also, the images of neighbours appear to remain stubbornly unchanging over time, unless circumstances and the information on which the image is based change violently. Changes are commonly clearly noticeable only in the perspective of years or even decades. In this case also, it is probable that some foundations of the old image have survived, for example, as “the other side” of the image, which may surface in a certain situation when appropriate. In this way, for example, the Estonians’ image of Finland had still between the world wars admiring features characteristic of the image of the late 19th century although these features were no longer dominant features or not always the uppermost ones.

Also, the study of images of neighbours strengthens the observation that the image of “other” and “outsiders” is most commonly negative. In the case of the Estonians and their neighbours, none of the relations can be considered so warm that the image of the other would always have been clearly positive. The closest to a positive view are the views the Finns and the Estonians had of each other. Of these views, we can say that they are constructed from different types of elements. The Estonians’ image of Finland, in particular, has had and has so many positive elements that the overall image remains positive. In problem situations, however, the negative sides have been brought to light as well. Overall, the Estonians’ image of Finland has been uncommonly positive. The explanation is the exceptionally favourable conditions for the admiration of the neighbour and the image based on this admiration. As was seen, the Estonians had, especially at the end of the 19th century, exceptionally strong motives to form or receive a positive image of Finland and the Finns, and more recently, the conditions had not markedly changed. In the other presented relations the Estonians had with their neighbours, there has not been a similar difference of status originating from the social circumstances, or other factors considered strongly negatively impacting the image (e.g., the Estonians’ image of the Baltic Germans).

A view of the large status gap between cultures may, therefore, also in the case of neighbours create foundations for a very positive image. Very abnormal conditions are, however, required as preconditions for this: in addition to an actual difference in development, a limited amount of information of the neighbour. When the amount of contacts and information increases, the survival of an unrealistically admiring image becomes improb-

able. The Estonians' image of Finland became more realistic at the end of the 19th century when Finland became more familiar. When you learn to know something better, you commonly learn to know both good and bad sides. We may be able to say in light of this that the survival of simplified stereotypes based on a few lines of evidence in the images of neighbours is more uncommon than in case of the distal images. Since the interaction between neighbours is more broad and multifaceted than in the case of the distal images, it is at the same time more difficult to fit together all different information reflecting the multi-dimensionality of life into a non-conflicting and simple image. In the case of distal images, it is, therefore, easier to pick only information supporting the already existing image commonly based on a limited amount of information that is in principle available to the one forming the image. If there is a need to project one's own ideals to some other culture, it is easier in the case of unknown distal cultures than in the case of familiar cultures located nearby.

The complexity of the images of neighbours is explainable, in addition, by the versatility and conflicting nature of the information they are built on, but also because these images are so strongly tied to everyday life. We may assume that there is not commonly a similar constant need for the distal images. The distal images are used less frequently, and they can be put out of mind unless they are particularly needed for a certain purpose. On the other hand, the images of neighbours are constantly present in daily life whether one wants them or not. In other words, they have a considerable and a constant function. Especially in those cases of neighbours where people actually live in constant contact with each other, the images receive constantly through contacts new material that either strengthens the existing image or, if enough material deviating from the previous material has accumulated, directs it to change. One cannot impose upon close images of neighbours only one's own ideals or their opposites because they are too much a part of the multifaceted daily reality. Therefore, the images of neighbours are composed of different mutually conflicting elements, of which one or several raises to surface depending on the situation.

The conflicting nature typical of the images of neighbours becomes visible possibly in the most typical way in the case where neighbours who are both familiar and un-familiar with each other but belong to the same ethnic group are being differentiated from one another. When discussing with Estonian colleagues, I have often encountered, for example, a situation that their image of the Russians depends on whether the Russians as a group are being discussed or certain persons known by names. The "faceless" and "nameless" Russians can be considered, for example, lazy, rude and having hostile attitudes toward the Estonians. On the other hand, the Russians known personally are considered to be different. Therefore, the Estonians in question have conflicting factors in the image of the Russians. When thinking of the Russians in general in light of Estonian history, it is understandable that the attitudes toward them are predominantly negative. When thinking of familiar Russians, the positive factors of the image of the Russians come to one's mind. These factors can deal with different issues. For example, the Russians may be considered to have joyful personalities, or to possess opposite personality traits to those of the nameless Russians. In this way, familiar Russians become industrious people who have positive attitudes toward the Estonians. In this kind of situation, we cannot actually talk about one image of the Russians, but a more important criterion than nationality in evaluation of the neighbours is the degree of familiarity of the persons in question. In case

of the distal images, where one does not commonly know in person individuals belonging to the alien people, there is not commonly a need for this kind of differentiation.

Translated by Markku Niskanen and Karen Niskanen

Image Research and the Enemy Image: The Soviet Union in Finnish Newspapers during the Winter War (November 30, 1939 – March 13, 1940)

Sinikka Wunsch

Both in my master's thesis as well as in my licentiate thesis I have examined the image of the enemy, the Soviet Union, created during the Winter War in Finnish newspapers. In master's thesis, four newspapers published in Oulu city in northern Finland formed my sources. In licentiate thesis, 18 newspapers were included: the Patriotic People's Movement's (IKL's) *Ajan Suunta*, the National Coalition Party's *Uusi Suomi*, *Aamulehti*, *Karjala* and *Vaasa*, politically independent *Helsingin Sanomat*, the Progressive Party's *Turun Sanomat* and *Kaleva*, politically independent *Hufvudstadsbladet*, the Agrarian Union's *Ilkka*, *Kainuun Sanomat*, *Keskisuomalainen*, *Lapin Kansa*, *Maakansa* and *Savon Sanomat*, the Social Democrat Party's *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, *Kansan Lehti* and *Pohjolan Työ*. The four Oulu newspapers were the Coalition Party's *Kaiku*, the Agrarian Union's *Liitto*, the Progressive Party's *Kaiku*, the Agrarian Union's *Kaleva* and the Social Democrat Party's *Pohjolan Työ*.¹

This article is based on the above-mentioned sources, in which the image that emerged was mainly found in editorials and political causeries. To some extent, I also paid attention to news and headlines. Cartoons that created a visually concrete image were also included.

1. Wunsch, Sinikka: *Bolshevikkiryssä – talvisodan vihollinen. Suomalaisten sanomalehtien Neuvostoliitosta luoma viholliskuva talvisodan aikana talvella 1939–1940*. Yleisen historian lisensiaattitutkielma. Oulun yliopisto, historian laitos 1995 (The Enemy of the Winter War. The enemy image created in the Finnish newspapers during the Winter War 1939–1940. Licentiate thesis in General History. University of Oulu, Department of History 1995); Wunsch, Sinikka: *Vihollisen kuva. Neuvostoliiton kuva neljässä oululaisessa lehdessä talvisodan aikana*. Yleisen historian pro gradu – tutkielma. Oulun yliopisto, historian laitos 1993. - In parentheses, an abbreviation used in this article's footnotes and the information of newspapers' circulations are found in *Suomen Lehistön historia*, vol. 5–7. Päiviö Tommila, the head editor, Kustannuskiila Oy. Sanomalehtien Liitto ry. Jyväskylä 1988: *Ajan Suunta* (abbreviation AS, circulation 12,000), *Uusi Suomi* (US, 64,678), *Aamulehti* (32,503), *Kaiku* (5,000), *Karjala* (40,000), *Vaasa* (21,200), *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS, 88,300), *Turun Sanomat* (TS, 30,540), *Kaleva* (13,000), *Hufvudstadsbladet* (HBL, 57,000), *Ilkka* (21,000), *Kainuun Sanomat* (8,000), *Keskisuomalainen* (11,700), *Lapin Kansa* (7,000), *Liitto* (6,800), *Maakansa* (16,000), *Savon Sanomat* (17,964), *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* (SS, 21,900), *Kansan Lehti* (10,850) and *Pohjolan Työ* (5,400).

One problem in studying the enemy image of the Soviet Union created by newspapers in the Winter War is the shortness of this war. When the image is researched over a longer interval, one can include events that reflect in the image and change it in different directions. An image emerging from various material can also be different because it does not include the wartime pressure to form a united front. Therefore, it can depict its creator's intellectual world more clearly.

When studying images of an enemy emerging during a 105-day-long defensive war that has grown to mythical dimensions, we are dealing with an intensive image of a short period and the nation's need of defence which both were, in principle, shared by all groups of citizens.

Questions dealing with the enemy and hostilities were naturally a dominant daily topic in newspaper editorials and causeries.² The subsequent reputation of the Winter War is dominated by an image of Finns' complete unanimity. The first familiarisation with the sources strengthens this view because the strong use of words during war at first appeared similar in all newspapers, and every paper appeared to describe the enemy using the same negative arguments.

When the starting point of image research is the image's creator - who examines the object through his/her own worldview and frame of reference creating an image of himself/herself at the same time - according to image research methods,³ differences start to appear in the wall of apparent unity. These differences can be derived from each paper's ideology and also each writer's view of the object of description.

When we examine from this point of view the image of the problematic relationship between Finland and the neighbouring Russia and the Soviet Union, we can assume that the roles of views and worldviews grew because everyone already had a preconceived mental image of the object. One can assume that different social systems of these countries, which had already managed to raise strong emotions since Finland's becoming independent in 1917, would have also had similar influences. This was further emphasised by the fact that images of enemies are created during different periods, not just during wars, but also for domestic political reasons because a common enemy, in principle, unites one's own people.⁴ This was done also in Finland after the independence in 1917 and the Civil War between the Whites and the Reds⁵ in 1918, when national unity was strengthened by stirring up hatred against Russians and the fear of communism, adopted especially in influential right wing activities, such as Akateeminen Karjala Seura (AKS, 'Aca-

2. In a section dealing with the newspaper writing, I refer to original sources in the references and selectively to my licentiate thesis. Most commonly, I have referred to the main newspapers or those that describe the opinion in question clearly. During the entire war, percentages of editorials of the main newspapers that dealt with the Soviet Union are the following: HS 71.4, US 68.8, *Ilkka* 71.6, HBL 67.0, TS 52.2, SS 67.0 percentages of the total. Wunsch 1995, appendix 4, 3.

3. On the methodology of image research, see: Small, Melvin: *Historians Look at Public Opinion. Public Opinion and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Edited by Melvin Small. Wayne State University Press, Detroit 1970, 23; de Anna, Luigi: Vieraiden kansojen kirjallisesta kuvasta. *Mediaevalia Fennica*. Ed. Cristian Krötzl. Suomen Historiallinen seura. Historiallinen Arkisto 96. Helsinki 1991, 22; Fält, Olavi K.: *Eksotismista realismiin. Perinteinen Japanin kuva Suomessa 1930-luvun murroksessa*. Pohjois-Suomen historiallinen yhdistys, Societas Historica Finlandiae Septentrionalis, Rovaniemi 1982, 18; Buchanan, William and Cantril, Hadley: *How Nations See Each Other. A Study in Public Opinion*. With the assistance of Virginia Van S. Zerega, Henry Durant, James R. White. University of Illinois Press, Urbana 1953, 1.

4. Finlay, David J., Holsti, Ole R., Fagen, Richard R.: *Enemies in Politics*. Rand McNally Series in Comparative Government and International Politics. Chicago 1967, 11–12, 19; Klinge, Matti: Vihan veljistä valtiotalismiin. *Yhteiskunnallisia ja kansallisia näkemyksiä 1910- ja 1920-luvuilla*. Taskutieto 100. WSOY, Porvoo 1972, 62; Luostarinen, Heikki: *Perivihollinen. Suomen oikeistolehdistön Neuvostoliittoa koskeva viholliskuva sodassa 1941–1944. Tausta ja sisältö*. Vastapaino, Tampere 1986, 28–31; Immonen, Kari: *Ryssästä saa puhua ...Neuvostoliitto suomalaisessa julkisuudessa ja kirjat julkisuuden muotona 1918–1939*. Otava, Helsinki 1987, 306–318.

5. The Whites were a coalition of nationalists and agrarians; the Reds, who lost the war, were the left fraction of the socialists.

demic Karelia Society') and the Lapua Movement (*lapuanliike*).⁶ Their ideology had its strongest effect in the right-wing parties and the Agrarian party. In principle, majority of the supporters of the Agrarian Party had at least some interest in nationalistic and/or ultra-Finnish ideas.⁷ The negative image of the Soviet Union was, however, distributed within the entire Finnish middle class and partly among the leftists, excluding the extreme left, especially as a result of events in the Soviet Union in the 1930s.⁸

The image and the concepts of enemy images

Images born in the mind are personal views or those shared by a group. Their emergence is influenced, for example, by fears and wishes caused by the images' object. Their emergence is influenced by geographic distances, as well as by political differences, but also by long-lasting views of the object, for example, the common history of the countries and images created by it. For these reasons, image research is very suitable, for example, in the study of the means through which hostilities between nations are stirred up.⁹ In this respect, the shared history of Finland and the Soviet Union is appropriate material for image research.

It is characteristic of an image that it changes only slowly even as a result of new events or information.¹⁰ Regardless of this, especially an enemy image can in principle jump over periods. Therefore, earlier crises are remembered during periods of crisis. A dramatic event can activate an image of an old crisis, especially if it is actively sought, for example, with newspaper writings. For this reason, it is considered important in image research to know events that have influenced the topic being studied at least from about 10–20 years prior to the period being studied.¹¹ When the enemy image created of Soviet Union is the research object, the Finns' image has centuries-long roots due to common history that has included conflicts.¹²

Because enemy images utilise the hindmost emotions and beliefs of one's own people, they can be emotion evoking and abstract and, therefore, difficult to validate with reason.¹³ It is also relevant that the image changes according to need, and the object's history is selectively utilised by seeking from the past characteristics that are at that moment use-

6. Academic Karelia Society, AKS, was founded by Finnish students who at the beginning of 1920s fought against the Red Army in the East Karelia with the native East Karelians. Later in the 1920s AKS supported the nationalistic ideas of the East Karelians in the Soviet Union. During 1930s the society begun in the first place to work for powerful national defence. Lapuanliike, the Lapua Movement, was an extreme right-wing movement with strong anti-communistic ideas. When the violent supporters of Lapua Movement started the so called Mutiny of Mäntsälä in 1932, the Lapua Movement was outlawed. After that extreme right wing sympathisers founded a party of their own, the Patriotic People's Movement (IKL), which, however, never got significant support in the parliamentary elections.
7. Kallenautio, Jorma: *Suomi katsoi eteensä. Itsenäisen Suomen ulkopoliittikka 1917–1955*. Tammi, Helsinki 1985, 84, 153–155; Paasivirta, Juhani: *Suomi ja Eurooppa 1914–1939*. Kirjayhtymä, Helsinki 1984, 406–407; Immonen 1987, 108–111.
8. Immonen 1987, 423–428; Kallenautio 1985, 84, 153–155; Paasivirta 1984, 406–407.
9. Tarmio, Timo: *Mitä kulttuurihistoria on*. Turun yliopiston täydennyskoulutuskeskuksen julkaisuja AS:2. Turku 1992, 26–27; de Anna 1991, 26–29.
10. De Anna 1991, 22; Fält 1982, 10–18.
11. Small 1970, 28–31.
12. E.g. Luostarinen 1986, 24; Tarkiainen Kari: *Se vanha vainooja. Käsitukset itäisestä naapurista Iivana Julmasta Pietari Suureen*. Suomen historiallinen seura. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 132. Helsinki 1986, 314; Silverstein, Brett: *Enemy Images: The Psychology of U.S. Attitudes and Cognitions Regarding the Soviet Union*. *American Psychologist*. Journal of American Psychological Association. Volume 44, June 1989, Number 6, 906.
13. Jahn, Peter: *Wenn die Kosaken kommen. Tradition und Funktion eines deutschen Feinbildes. Feinbilden oder wie man Kriege vorbereitet*. Seidl Verlag. Göttingen 1985, 31.

ful for one's own people.¹⁴ In a conflict situation, it is explained that something fundamentally essential associated with the enemy and the enemy society belongs even to an aggravated image.¹⁵ The image can also be emphasised with the help of so-called atrocity stories associated with the enemy's previous deeds and to summarise it in an easily remembered slogan or a word the content of which is familiar to one's own people without explanation.¹⁶

The idea of archenemy also belongs to concepts of the enemy image. The birth of this concept may date so far back in history that its origin is even unknown. It is, however, commonly known among the people and can be utilised and strengthened or eliminated as necessary. Therefore, in this also the needs of the image's creator define the enemy image.¹⁷ A newspaper's own world of ideals and values can influence the image, for example, so that the archenemy-ship and historical roots are emphasised differently.

Although the enemy's hated traits had to be emphasised in the enemy image, one has to be careful not to create too monstrous an image because one's own people's belief in victory has to survive. For this reason, the enemy image is typically a dual image where, on one hand, an enemy's offensiveness, cruelty and brutality are being described, but, on the other hand, such weaknesses of the enemy due to which it is beatable are also described.¹⁸ In the most extreme case, hostility, the desire to conquer and cruelty are emphasised as part of a nation's national character. The enemy is a barbarian who belongs to the dregs of humankind, the beating of which is God's will.¹⁹

Enemy images emerge especially easily in situations where nationalism is strong and the threat against one's own people is felt to be real. In Finland, the couple of months preceding the Winter War were on these bases favourable for the emergence of a strong enemy image. It also helps in the enemy image's emergence that it can be proven in the threat situation that the same enemy has repeatedly in history attacked one's nation and, thus, one can present this enemy as the archenemy with inborn desire to cause destruction.²⁰ This condition was also fulfilled in the Winter War.

When we examine an enemy image created during the war, we have to acknowledge the effect of censorship and a conscious direction of opinion. Because detailed censorship and information giving guidelines associated with the Winter War are not strictly within the scope of this article, I only mention that Finland's own propaganda had, however, a relatively easy task during the Winter War, if we consider propaganda as means used to influence the public opinion so that the greater audience is made to adopt and receive views the government wishes it to adopt and receive.²¹ The censorship was not so much a political one as a military one due to the great unanimity among the press and the

14. Luostarinen 1986, 24; Tarkiainen 1986, 314.

15. Jahn 1985, 29–31; de Anna 1991 25–28; Buchanan, Cantril 1953, 1.

16. Immonen, Kari: Viholliskuvien viettelys. Pahuuden perinne. *Puheenvuoroja pahan olemuksesta*. Ed. H. Laaksonen. Turun yliopiston historian laitoksen julkaisuja n:o 20. Turku 1989, 59–60, Harle, Vilho: *Hyvä, paha, ystävä, vihollinen*. Rauhakirjallisuuden edistämisseura ry. Rauhan ja konfliktin tutkimuslaitos. Tutkimuksia, No.44, 1991. Jyväskylä 1991, 43–45.

17. Lerche, Charles O. Jr, Said, Abdul A: *Concepts of International Politics*. School of International Service. 2 nd edition. Prentice Hall, New Jersey 1972, 149; Jahn 1985, 39–40; see also Klinge 1972, 56–60; also Hartmann, Frederick H: *The Conservation of Enemies. A Study in Enmity*. Contributions in Political Science, number 68. Greenwood Press, Westport 1982, 31–32. Finlay, Holsti, Fagen 1967, 19.

18. Harle 1991, 35–36; Lasswell, Harold D: *Propaganda Technique in the World War*. Kegan Paul, London 1927, 102–103.

19. Harle 1991, 18–20; Ofer, Zur: The Love of Hating: the Psychology on Enmity. *History of European ideas*. Vol. 13, no.4. 1991.

20. Luostarinen 1986, 28–31; Finlay, Holsti, Fagen 1967, 10–12.

people.²² In the Winter War, it was not fully implemented until some days after the war started, without declaration of war, on 30 November 1939.

Tailor-made images of the enemy

The Starting point of non-socialist (bourgeois) newspapers

When examined from the starting points of image research, differences emerge in the seemingly unified descriptions of the enemy. Different ideologies and ideals existing in the country are found in the enemy image created by newspapers because papers naturally wanted to appeal to their own particular group of readers.

The emphasis of the battle of national and patriotic defence appealed to readers with right-wing inclinations, which included in this case also many members of the Agrarian party. Right-wing propaganda and enemy image also appeared in Supreme Commander, Marshal of Finland, C. G. E. Mannerheim's first order of the day when the war began. It presented the principle of the battle of national defence in which the Soviet Union threatened home, religion and the fatherland. Also brought up was a historical tradition in which the war was considered the continuation and the final act of the Civil War of 1918, or The War of Liberation, as it was also called. In the bourgeois newspapers, this view and history were clearly utilised since the beginning of the war.²³

These papers described and made use of the historic connection between Russia and Finland. Old conflicts were taken for comparison, mainly the Great Wrath²⁴. With the help of these, it was possible to describe the Soviet Union as Russian's successor and also to demonstrate it to be the archenemy. It was at once "that old tormentor" which throughout history had attacked Finland and forced every generation to defend the country. Peaceful periods were, typically to the nature of enemy images, not discussed in the created image. Instead, the world of ideals that in the 1920s and 1930s were represented by the conservative factions in Finland, most extremely by extreme right movements AKS and the Lapua Movement, was utilised. It is understandable that the image was the strongest in papers of the extreme right, and of the Agrarian Union that described the national point of view. It was readable in these papers already from the first days of the war.²⁵ Because war in principle unifies the mental images, it is not surprising that this enemy image

21. Balfour, Michael: *Propaganda in the War 1939–1945*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London 1979, 421; Finlay, Holsti, Fagen 1967 *Organisations, Politics and Publics in Britain and Germany*, 12; Knightley, Philip: *The First Casualty. From Crime to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker*. Quartet Books. London 1982, 65–69.

22. Perko, Touko: *Viime sotiemme sensuuri. Sensuuri ja sananvapaus Suomessa*. Suomen sanomalehdistön historia -projektin julkaisuja n:o 17. Helsinki 1980, 132; Perko, Touko: *Sanomalehdistö sodan ja säännöstelyn puristuksessa 1939–1949. Suomen lehdistön historia III. Sanomalehdistö sodan murroksesta 1980 luvulle*. The editor, Päiviö Tommila. Kustannuskiila Oy. Sanomalehtien Liitto ry., Jyväskylä 1988, 24; Julkunen, Martti: *Talvisodan kuva. Ulkomaalaisten sotakirjeenvaihtajien kuvaukset Suomesta 1939–40*. Weilin+Göös, Forssa 1975, 41.

23. "Me seisomme oikeuden puolesta", HS 1.12.1939; "Överfallet", HBL 1.12.1939. "Te tunnette minut ja minä tunnen teidät", AS 5.12.1939; "Me emme lannistu", US 1.12.1939; "Raakuus vallitsee", AS 1.12.1939; "Selkenevätkö suunnitelmat", *Ilkka* 2.12.1939; "Häikäilemätön hyökkäys", *Aamulehti* 1.12.1939; "Pahantekijä jää ystävättä", *Aamulehti* 2.12.1939; see also Wunsch 1995, 71–72.

24. The Swedish-Russian war 1700–1721 is called the Great Northern War in Finland. During "The Great Wrath" period (1710–1721) of the war Finland was occupied by Russians. The period of occupation has later become the symbol of the worst atrocities ever to fall over a nation; Jutikkala, Eino: *A History of Finland*. Thames and Hudson, London 1962, 131–137.

based on history was later also presented in papers of the political centre and occasionally in papers of the Labour Party.²⁶

The same ideology also included appealing to the cultural difference of the Finns and the Russians and the Russians' difference from the western people. Uno Kaila's poem was well-known:

"Like a chasm runs the border:

In front, Asia, the East;

In back, Europe, the West:

like a sentry, I stand guard."²⁷

Finland had strong roots of identifying with the west already since the national awakening in the mid 19th century, and it had been strengthening the need to create national unity which included stirring up hatred toward Russians in the early years of the independence period.²⁸ This topic was also dealt with by propaganda directed outside Finland during the war. This propaganda was used to influence the opinion in other countries by emphasising that the Soviet Union's attack against Finland was not only to conquer Finland but the entire world and the worldwide revolution. Therefore, it was in the best interest of those countries to help Finland.²⁹ This propaganda, thus, had a clear practical goal and, because we are expressly dealing with the best interests of Finland fighting a defensive war, it is understandable that the domestic newspapers also wrote about the need of help and its arrival. The ideological differences between the papers did not have influence here either.³⁰ There were, however, differences in the amount of writing, and they may also explain the desire to influence the foreign opinion because liberal *Helsingin Sanomat*, the largest newspaper of the country, included the most articles on this topic. This paper was owned by Elias Erkkö – the former foreign minister – and opinions written in this paper were definitely followed also abroad.³¹

The starting point of images of the labour newspapers

The newspapers of the labour class were at that time expressly newspapers of the Social Democrat Party, which as one of the parties in the government, condemned the Soviet

25. "Me seisomme oikeuden puolesta", HS 1.12.1939; Överfallet", HBL 1.12.1939. "Te tunnette minut ja minä tunnen teidät", AS 5.12.1939; "Me emme lannistu", US 1.12.1939; "Raakuus vallitsee", AS 1.12.1939; "Selkenevätkö suunnitelmat", *Ilkka* 2.12.1939; "Häikäilemätön hyökkäys", *Aamulehti* 1.12.1939; "Pahantekijä jää ystävittä", *Aamulehti* 2.12.1939; see also Wunsch 1995, 71–72.

26. Wunsch 1995, appendix 4, 4–5, 8–9.

27. Translated from Finnish by Paul Sjöblom. Jutikkala 1962, 274.

28. Zetterberg, Seppo, Pulma, Panu: Autonominen suuriruhtinaskunta, *Suomen historian pikkujättiläinen*. WSOY Juva 1987, 397–399; Olkkonen, Tuomo: Modernisoitua suuriruhtinaskunta, *Suomen historian pikkujättiläinen*. WSOY Juva 1987, 454–468, 526–532; Immonen 1987, 108–112; Immonen 1989, 62; Manninen, Turo: *Vapaustaistelu, kansalaissota, kapina. Taistelun luonne valkoisen sotapropagandan valossa 1918*. Jyväskylän yliopisto, Jyväskylä 1982, 257; Kallenautio 1985, 28.

29. Julkunen 1975, 156; see also Knightley 1982, 254.

30. "Pohjolan vapauden puolesta", HS 15.1.1940; "Taistelu 'elintilasta'", HS 16.1.1940; "Riktning Narvik", HBL 15.1.1940; "Ruotsin kanta", US 21.1.1940; "Ristiretki", *Ilkka* 14.2.1940; "Sotilaallisen avun saanti", *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* (SS) 15.2.1940; "Venäläinen imperialismi", *Kansan Lehti* 25.1.1940; Esko Terhi, "Suomalaiset kommunistit maanpettureina ja imperialismiin palvelijoina", art. *Pohjolan Työ* 1.2.1940; see also Wunsch 1995, 219–222.

31. Wunsch 1995, appendix 4, 4–5, 8.

Union's attack with equally clear words than did other newspapers. The Finnish Communist Party was forbidden in Finland in that time.

When we examine the content of the party's newspaper dealing with the enemy, the parties worldview is brought up as well as the practical need of the time to encourage the labour class to defend the country because during the war national unity was essential to the military success of the Finns.³² Due to these motives, the Soviet Union was examined from a somewhat different point of view than that of the bourgeois newspapers.

It was of course impossible to appeal to the working class with the memories of their defeat in the Civil War in 1918. It was central for them to condemn the imperialism of the Soviet Union and Stalin and separate it from the world of ideals of the labour movement, which were assumed to be shared by readers of newspapers. For this reason it was emphasised in the labour newspapers that the Soviet Union had violated the most central principles of the labour movement by attacking its small neighbour. Therefore, the ideals of socialism and working class ideology that emerged during the revolution were no longer honoured in the Soviet Union.³³ This revealed that motives behind writings were clearly different than among the non-socialists. Later the labour newspapers also attempted to affect their readers' opinion by emphasising the social development that had taken place in Finland during independence.³⁴ At the background, a need to emphasise that Finland was worth defending also from the point of view of the labour class apparently had also influence. The bases for the success of this line of propaganda were created by development³⁵ that took place in the Soviet Union in the 1930s and that this development was relatively well known in all groups in Finland.³⁶ Therefore, it was possible to remind of what also the labour class was going to lose if Finland was going to be defeated.

There was no need for the bourgeois newspapers to emphasise the more democratic and humane nature of the Finnish society in comparison to that of the Soviet Union. It was clear without saying to these papers and their readers. Therefore, it was typical only for the labour newspapers to demonstrate the issue by presenting proof and different statistics and numbers.

The words and deeds of the Soviet Union as bases of the image

From the beginning of the war, news and comments became twined together in newspapers, and newspaper reporters expressed their views of the enemy's actions and character

32. "Pahin sittenkin", SS 1.12.1939; "Kimppuumme on hyökätty", *Kansan Lehti* 1.12.1939; "Eletään sotatilassa", *Pohjolan Työ* 3.12.1939.

33. "Demokraattinen perustuksemme", SS 5.12.1939; "Itsenäisyyspäivä tykkien paukkeessa", SS 6.12.1939; "Luja perustamme", SS 9.12.1939; "Murtuneita uskomuksia", SS 10.12.1939; "Voimat pidettävä tiukasti koossa", *Kansan Lehti* 5.12.1939; "Ratkaisun vuosi", *Kansan Lehti* 8.12.1939; "Toivorikkaus täyttäköön mielet", *Kansan Lehti* 9.12.1939; "Tilanne entisellään", *Pohjolan Työ* 8.12.1939; see also Wunsch 1995, 139–141.

34. Antti Vahteri, "Venäjän työläisten asema", SS 1.2.1940; "Venäjän työväen asema", Ulkomaat. *Kansan Lehti*, I 30.1.1940 and II 1.2.1940; *Pohjolan Työ* part I, 3.2.1940, part II, 6.2.1940.; A.V., "Työväen palkkaolot Venäjällä", SS 9.2.1940 and *Pohjolan Työ* 15.2.1940; "Työkurin höltyminen Neuvostoliitossa", SS 14.1.1940; A.V. "Vihollisemme arka kohta", part I. SS 24.2.1940, *Kansan Lehti* 24.2.1940 and PT 27.2.1940; part II, SS 25.2.1940, *Kansan Lehti* 27.2.1940 and PT 29.2.1940; "Orjakomento", *Pohjolan Työ* 14.1.1940; A.V. "Vihollisemme arka kohta", part III. SS 28.2.1940, *Kansan Lehti* 27.2.1940 and PT 2.3.1940; Antti Vahteri, "Venäjän työläisten asema", part II, SS 1.2.1940; "Venäjän työväen asema", Ulkomaat, *Kansan Lehti* 1.2.1940; *Pohjolan Työ* 6.2.1940.

35. In the late 1930s e.g. collectivisation, famines, purges and show trials began to have an effect on the images of the labour class, too.

36. Paasivirta 1984, 406–407; Kallenautio 1985, 84, 153–155.

already in the news pages and headlines. Thus, one may say that the unifying effect of the war was so strong in the Winter War that newspapers spontaneously fired, as Ahto claims, the enemy also with words.³⁷

All newspapers received material for the enemy image also from the Soviet Union's own propaganda and actions. When the war began, Radio Moscow proclaimed on December 1, that the people of Finland had raised a rebellion against the white government. It was said that a new government for Finland had been established at Terijoki³⁸. This government, for its part, proclaimed that it would request help from the Red Army to suppress Finland's white guard government and made a mutual aid-giving agreement with the Soviet Union on December 2.³⁹ With the help of that puppet government every Finn now knew that the whole national independence was at stake, not only some strategic territories in the eastern border.

Some degree of worry about the influence of the Terijoki government on opinions were apparently felt in the Finnish government at the beginning of the war because it was quite ferociously condemned in many editorials and commentaries, primarily by the labour newspapers.⁴⁰ At the background, this may have been influenced by a fear that the Soviet Union's propaganda manoeuvres would appeal at least to a part of the extreme left. The Terijoki government was judged to be a sub-standard propaganda trick also by the non-socialist press, of course, although it did not need to feel similar worry about its readers' views.

Entire press considered the Terijoki government as an example of 'typical' Soviet crookedness. When it promised to the Finns, for example, an eight-hour workday, which Finland had already had for more than two decades, this poor knowledge of conditions in Finland was utilised in the enemy image of the Finnish press.⁴¹ Also smaller goofs of the Soviet Union were exploited in this image. Descriptive examples of these are provided by radio programs directed by the Soviet Union to Finland in which it was reported that Finns ran toward the Red Army soldiers at the borders to even hug and kiss them. When the Soviet Union's Finnish-language programs commonly told soldiers of the Red Army had received a "hot" reception at the borders,⁴² apparently meaning friendly and warm, causeries of especially non-socialist papers took everything possible out of the double meaning of this Finnish word. For once "ryssä"⁴³ speaks true: they had received a hot

37. E.g. HS, US, HBL 4.12.1939; SS 3.12.1939; Ahto 1989, 118–120.

38. The Terijoki Government was a puppet government set up by Stalin. O.W. Kuusinen, a Finnish communist, who had fled to the Soviet Union after the Civil War in 1918, was appointed as prime minister.

39. Jussila, Osmo: *Terijoen hallitus 1939–40*. Juva 1985, 19–23, 36–37; Rentola, Kimmo: *Kenen joukoissa seisot. Suomalainen kommunismi ja sota 1937–1945*. WSOY, Juva 1994, 166–178. See also Baryšnikov, Nikolai, Baryšnikov, Vladimir: *Terijoen hallitus. Uusien asiakirjojen kertomaa*. Translated from Russian by Esa Adrian. Johan Beckman Institute, Helsinki–Pietari 2001, which represents the latest Russian research.

40. "Yhteisvoimin kestättävä", SS 4.12.1939; A.V. "Suomi ja kansainvälinen tilanne", SS 8.12.1939; "Propaganda aseena", *Kansan Lehti* 2.12.1939; "Voimat pidettävä tiukasti koossa", *Kansan Lehti* 5.12.1939; "Ratkaisun vuosi", *Kansan Lehti* 8.12.1939; "Itsenäisyyspäivänä", *Pohjolan Työ* 6.12.1939; see also Wunsch 1995, 82–84.

41. Meidän asiamme", US 4.12.1939: "Loppuun asti ja lopun jälkeenkin", US 10.12.1939; "Rauhanenkelii", *Ilkka* 5.12.1939; "Ei millään väliä", *Ilkka* 10.12.1939; Teuri, "Kirja-Ville karoliiniunivormussa!", Tarkkailijan tähtäimestä. AS 12.12.1939; Tuomas, "Vapaus tai orjuus", Tarkkailijan tähtäimestä. AS 5.12.1939; "Mitä vapautemme tilalle?", *Aamulehti* 6.12.1939; "Itsenäisyyspäivänä", *Karjala* 6.12.1939; "Orjuuteen emme alistu", *Karjala* 11.12.1939.

42. Vihavainen, Timo: *Marssi Helsinkiin. Suomen talvisota neuvostolehdistössä*. Tammi, Jyväskylä 1990, 66–72, 140–141; Ahto, Sampo: *Talvisodan henki. Mielialoja Suomessa talvella 1939–40*. Suomen sotatieteellisen seuran julkaisuja no 17. WSOY, Juva 1989, 127–128.

43. "Ryssä" is the traditional Finnish disparaging word for a Russian and it can be compared to the English "Hun" and the French "boche" for Germans.

reception – that is, they had come under fire – and they would receive “hot reception” in the future also, they wrote amused.⁴⁴

The air bombing done by the Soviet Union had a stronger effect on the enemy image than even the Terijoki government. There had been attacks against civilians, for example, in the Spanish Civil War, but in the Second World War, which started in September 1939, Germany, England and France had not made bombing attacks against each other's civilians. For this reason, it was easy for the Finns with the help of these bombings to wake up the old enemy image in which it was proven that the killing of civilians in war was characteristically Russian.

The foreign minister Molotov said at the beginning of the war and still repeated during January that the Soviet Union did not bomb civilian targets in Finland. The Finnish newspapers reported that with anger and told Molotov also said the Russian planes dropped bread instead of bombs to starving Finnish workers. When the bombers circled in the sky they were, especially in causeries, after that referred to as “Molotov's breadbaskets” and it was told to astonished readers that entire buildings had collapsed due to the weight of bread. Similarly, howling of alarm sirens came to be called “the voice of Molotov”.⁴⁵ It was in this way possible to utilise a person, Molotov, in the image into which it may have been safer to direct people's feelings of hatred than to Stalin, the leader of the Soviet Union.

Whether or not claims presented in the public by the Soviet propaganda were created for their own domestic propaganda was naturally not deliberated during the war. On the other hand, when they were presented in radio broadcasting directed to Finland there might have been desire also to appeal to the Finnish workers in some way. Alternatively, we may be dealing with a Soviet tactic in which a friendly government was utilised as an aid to legalise an offensive war.⁴⁶

An extreme enemy image, in which an enemy's evil deeds are seen as being due to the national character, first appeared in newspapers of the right wing and the agrarian union. In these parties, the negative image of the Soviet Union had strong roots in the independence and Civil War period atmosphere, coloured by the hatred of Russians and the fear of communism.⁴⁷ At Christmas time, when the air bombings recurred, the non-socialistic papers further developed the Great Wrath theme in the emotional atmosphere of the war Christmas. They started to write about “holy wrath,” in which Finland defended all western and Christian values against the Asian communist barbarians for the sake of all Europe. In case of the extreme right, the image received shades in which the enemy of Finland was also perceived as God's enemy that should be destroyed so that the Christian values would survive in the world.⁴⁸ This tendency was to be found in the right wing's

44. “Ei millään mitään väliä!”, *Ilkka* 10.12.1939; “Valhekeisari”, *Kaleva* 9.12.1939; J-o K-nen, “Totuus voittaa aina”, *Kaleva* 12.12.1939; “Tarua ja totta Moskovan radiossa”, *Keskisuomalainen* 13.12.1939; “Suomen hyvinvointi yhtenä aiheena”, *TS* 15.12.1939.

45. Ahto 1989, 127–129, 209–210; Julkunen 1975, 148, 177–178; Pilatus, “Taat te Molotoffi huutaa”, *Päivän peili*. SS 20.12.1939; Vasara, “Moskovan tuliset terveiset”, *Ammatillista*. SS 20.12.1939; Tiima, *Tiimalasi*. SS 23.12.193; Eero, “Kuin sankarirunoelman sivu”. HS 28.12.1939 Eero, “Ahkeroivat edelleen”. HS 16.1.1940; *Vaasan* Jaakkoo, Jaakkoo seliittää. *Vaasa* 2.1.1940; Aate, PT 17.1.1940; Pilatus, “Silminnäkijöitä etsitään”, *Päivän peili*. SS 12.1.1940; Kissalan Aapeli, *Vilkaisuja*. *Kansan Lehti* 14.1.1940, see also Wunsch 1995, 173–174.

46. Jussila 1985, 36–38; Rentola 1994, 166–168.

47. “Raakuus vallitsee”, AS 1.12.1939; “Te tunnette minut ja minä tunnen teidät”, AS 5.12.1939; “Me emme lannistu”, US 1.12.1939; “Voittojen merkeissä”, *Vaasa* 3.12.1939; “Sota”, *Ilkka* 1.12.1939; “Selkenevätkö suuntaviivat”, *Ilkka* 2.12.1939; “Isku iskusta”, *Kainuun Sanomat* 2.12.1939; see also Wunsch 1995, 72–73.

image of Russia and the Soviet Union already before the war, but also commonly in enemy images.

It was especially starting in January when air bombings most often occurred that this characteristic of the enemy image became common and the enemy's inhuman cruelty was constantly emphasised also in the news headlines.⁴⁹ Editorials emphasised an image which drew a parallel between the new attack to similar experiences of previous generations from the same archenemy.⁵⁰

The labour newspapers' condemnation of bombings was also ferocious already during the first days of war. The spiritual and ideological borderline with the conservative factions of Finland was, however, manifested in that the Russian national character, neither the Great Wrath nor the archenemy issue were brought up when deliberating the guilt. The influence of one's own world of ideals, emphasised by the image research, manifested itself in a practice to emphasise the target areas of bombing and Stalinist imperialism. It was reported in labour newspapers that the Soviet Union for some reason bombed especially intensively areas where workers lived. The non-socialistic newspapers wrote about this also, but this view was clearly emphasised in the labour newspapers.⁵¹ From the background, one can look for a desire to influence workers' feelings at the moment of distress with concrete facts. There apparently couldn't be an absolutely definite certainty right at the beginning of the war that also the entire working class would defend the country against the Soviet Union, the labour state.⁵² Based on this, the needs of the period also influenced the image. A comparison with non-socialistic papers, which did not need to have a similar concern, also emphasises the difference. They were able to concentrate, for example, to prove through history the cowardly nature of the enemy, which may not have appealed to the extreme leftist readers of labour newspapers.

When the concern of maintaining national unity turned out to be groundless as the war went on, also the image of the Soviet Union's war against civilians became more uniform. Most closely, this change affected the labour newspapers, which also occasionally wrote about the Russians' being Asians and barbarians as well as Russia being Finland's arch-enemy.⁵³ These characteristics did not, however, rise to an equally dominant position during the war than they did in the non-socialistic newspapers. The condemnation of the system created by Stalin and its differentiation from the real labour ideology survived in the core of the image created by labour newspapers.⁵⁴

As was stated at the beginning, appropriate slogans and terms that summarise an enemy's bad sides to a concept that is easy to adopt are commonly part of the enemy image everywhere. In Finland, the enemy who bombed settlement areas became "ryssä" in the

48. "Pyhä viha", *Ilkka* 19.12.1939; Lauri Haarla, "Pyhän vihan aika", *Maakansa* and *Kaiku* 20.12.1939; "Sota-ajan joulu", *Maakansa* 22.12.1939; "Tue meitä, Herra", *Kainuun Sanomat* 23.12.1939; "Me seuraamme Betlehemin tähteä", *US* 24.12.1939; Tuomas, "Suomen kansa viettää juhlaa, Tarkkailijan tähtäimestä. AS 19.12.1939; Trots allt...", *HBL* 24.12.1939; see also Wunsch 1995, 131–134.

49. Wunsch 1995, 173, 180–181.

50. "Me seisomme oikeuden puolesta", *HS* 1.12.1939; "Suurten arvojen puolesta", *HS* 3.12.1939; "Överfallet", *Hufvudstadsbladet* 1.12.1939; "Maailma havahtuu", *TS* 3.12.1939; "Isonvihan aikaista raakuutta", *Kaleva* 14.12.1939.

51. "Siviiliväestön ahdistaminen", *SS* 2.12.1939; Vasara, "Sanat ovat sanoja. Entä teot?", *Ammatillista*. *SS* 2.12.1939; "Valhe ja raakuus aseina", *SS* 25.1.1940; Jeremias, Päivän asioita. *Pohjolan Työ* 23.1.1940; Rauhallisuutta ja toimeliaisuutta", *HS* 21.12.1939.

52. Salminen, Esko, Suvanne, Kauko: *Kuvien sota 1939–1945. Propagandalehtiset talvi- ja jatkosodassa*. Otava, Helsinki 1989, 27–29; Julkunen 1975, 156.

53. Wunsch 1995, appendix 4, 4–5, 9; "Rauhanjuhla sodan keskellä", *SS* 24.12.1939 and *PT* 23.12.1939.

54. Antti Vahteri, "Venäjän työläisten asema", osa II, *SS* 1.2.1940 and "Venäjän työväen asema", *Ulkomaat*, osa II. *Kansan Lehti* 1.2.1940; *PT*, osa II, 6.2.1940; also Jeremias, Päivän asioita. *Pohjolan Työ* 30.1.1940.

right wing and agrarian union newspapers, even in their editorials right at the beginning of the war. The spirit of defence was intensified by stating that “one Finn equals ten ‘ryssä’”.⁵⁵ The opinion-unifying influence of the war was especially manifested starting in January when there were writings about “ryssä” in all newspapers. At that time, the front lines were quiet and a separate part informing about bombings was attached into the war situation reports of the headquarters. At that time, even *Pohjolan Työ*, a labour newspaper representing the extreme leftist newspapers, headlined its news of bombings emotionally: “Nearly 7000 kg of bread dropped last week by ‘ryssä’s’ flying devils on top of civilians.”⁵⁶ At the same time, descriptions according to which the Soviet Union often bombed hospitals, churches and transportations of wounded became more common. The slogan “A red cross equals a bombing target in the enemy’s mind”⁵⁷ was written in all newspapers. In a parallel way, the enemy was made to appear extremely cruel on both sides of the front even during World War I.⁵⁸

“The Land of kolkhoz slaves and forced labourers”⁵⁹

After December, newspapers often analysed communism, the Russian people, leaders of the Soviet Union and the Soviet society. In non-socialistic newspapers, in which forbidding private property, kolkhozes, forbidding religion and the communistic doctrine had already been represented before the war as the greatest potential evil, it was possible to do this in an I-told-you-so-tone. The Soviet system was exactly as rotten and violent as had always been said, although a lot was told about new specific details of oppression, dictatorship and misery. One may have imagined that a discussion of these things in newspapers intensified the already strong will of defence. In principle, one can summarise the image of the Soviet society in non-socialistic newspapers with a statement that, for these newspapers, the Soviet Union was the land of kolkhoz slaves and forced labourers led by Stalin, a bloody dictator.⁶⁰

There were some differences in the image. For example, newspapers of the Agrarian Union wrote of the needs of their readers about the misery in kolkhozes and shortage of food more than other newspapers. Religious persecution was also naturally part of the Agrarian Union and right-wing newspapers’ enemy image, or that of the entire non-socialistic press.⁶¹ The negative characteristics of the Russian commoners were written mostly in the right wing’s and the Agrarian Union’s newspapers, where the Russians were described to be, for example, “an uneducated horde”, “a horde of slaves without their own

55. “Nyt on aika iskeä”, *Karjala, Vaasa, Keskiuomalainen* 8.12.1939, *Lapin Kansa* 9.12.1939, *Savon Sanomat* 9.12.1939. The fact that the same editorial was also written in *Kaleva* indicates that the opinion was becoming more uniform 8.12.1939; “Kansa aseissa”, *AS* 6.12.1939; “Totuus ei pala tulessakaan”, *Kaleva* 7.12.1939.

56. *PT* 6.2.1940.

57. “Lähes 4.000 pommia”, *HS* 11.1.1940; O.M. “Mitä Moskova luulee voittavansa”, *HS* 13.1.1940; “Luftens vandaler”, *HBL* 17.1.1940; “Ilmapommitukset”, *SS* 11.1.1940; “Julmuuksien järjestelmä”, *Kansan Lehti* 28.1.1940. “Salliiko sivistynyt maailma”, *HS* 25.1.1940; “Kaksi kuukautta”, *TS* 31.1.1940; “Den inre balansen”, *HBL* 25.1.1940; K.A.M. “Konnantyöt”, *SS* 24.1.1940; “Valhe ja raakuus aseina”, *SS* 25.1.1940; “Pahoja henkiä vastaan”, *US* 24.1.1940; “Ei siitä huolimatta – vaan juuri siksi!”, *Ilkka* 26.1.1940; see also Wunsch 1995, 173–178.

58. Knightley 1982, 66–67, 88–91, 102–103, 169–170; Lasswell 1927, 200–204.

59. K.S. Laurila, “Luottamuksemme perusta”, *Aamulehti* and *Kaiku* 20.1.1940.

60. “Suurempi vaara kuin vanha tsarismi”, *HS* 20.1.1940; “Sinivalkoinen kirja”, *US* 23.1.1940; “Den avvisade friaren”, *HBL* 19.1.1940; *Nestors klagan*, *HBL* 9.2.1940; “Sovjetelitens hårda lott”, *HBL* 27.1.1940; K.S. Laurila, “Luottamuksemme perusta”, *Aamulehti* 20.1.1940; see also Wunsch 1995, 206–208.

will”, and “eastern barbarians”.⁶² Differences of emphasis were found mainly when thinking about reasons for the people’s badness. For the extreme right, they were Russian people’s inherent characteristics. When we move toward the centre, they resulted more from the lack of education and due to centuries of oppression.⁶³ At first, the descriptions of liberal newspapers also included pity for the oppressed people of Russia. This pity disappeared as the war continued. For example, newspapers of the Agrarian Union begun to write that the Russian people were themselves responsible for their own misery because they were unable to establish a better system.⁶⁴ In this view, one can also see the effect of the nationalistic Finnish ideology common in the Agrarian Union. On the other hand, it is typical of the enemy images to see the enemy miserable in all possible ways and, thus, easy to hate.

An extravagant and defamatory image was presented also especially in causeries of the leaders of the Soviet Union, so strongly that in February censorship forbid the making of defamatory comments about Stalin as a person. At the background of this prohibition were causeries where it was said that Molotov commonly “molottaa” (says stupid things). Stalin was described, for example, as “a despot and tyrant”, “a bloody dictator”, “Josef the Terrible”, “Russians’ new God” or “old bank robber”, who in his lust for power had his people killed in abundance.⁶⁵

Writing of labour newspapers about the Soviet Union was in principle more analytical than that of the non-socialistic papers. The Russian people were also described clearly less frequently than in the non-socialistic newspapers.⁶⁶ This may have been because of the situation of Finland’s leftists after the Russian Revolution and the Civil War fought in Finland in 1918. Still in the early 1930s, extreme leftist workers had idealised views of the Soviet Union. Although this image started to crumble as a result of events occurring in the Soviet Union, images are generally long lived and one may assume that it had not entirely disappeared in the late 1930s.

As the war went on, it became clear that workers defended their country on the front, and that the Soviet propaganda did not appear to have effect on them. Regardless of this, or partly due to this, there was desire in the labour newspapers to criticise conditions in the Soviet Union. It was easier to influence those who possessed a right-wing way of thinking and shared an enemy image of the Soviet Union even during peacetime by

61. ”Kolhoositalonpoika”, *Maakansa* ja *Keskisuomalainen* 17.1.1940; *Ilkka* and *Lapin Kansa* 18.1.1940; ”Mahdollistako”, *Ilkka* 31.1.1940; ”Jo hävinnyt”, *Ilkka* 16.2.1940. Uskonnosta: ”Bolsjevismen och religionen”, *HBL* 6.1.1940; A.W. Kuusisto, ”Silmät alkavat avautua”, *Savon Sanomat* 2.3.1940; Aleksi Lehtonen, ”Kristikunta ja bolshevismi”, *Vaasa* 28.1.1940, *Keskisuomalainen* 27.1.1940 and *Maakansa* 1.2.1940; K.S. Laurila, ”Luottamuksemme perusta”, *Aamulehti*; ”Tähän asti”, *US* 31.1.1940; ”Meidän aikamme ristiretki”, *Keskisuomalainen* 12.3.1940; ”Jumalattomuuden hyökkäysarmeijaa torjuttaessa”, *Vaasa*; ”Meitä ei masenneta”, *Savon Sanomat* 6.2.1940; see also Wunsch 1995, 214–215.

62. ”Ei siitä huolimatta – vaan juuri siksi”, *Ilkka* 26.1.1940; ”Pitkä askel”, *Ilkka* 3.2.1940; ”Kolhoositalonpoika”, *Maakansa* and *Keskisuomalainen* 17.1.1940, *Ilkka* and *Lapin Kansa* 18.1.1940; ”Jos eletään iltaan”, *Vaasa* 17.2.1940; Paavo Virkkunen, ”Pidä, mitä sinulla on”, *US* 26.2.1940; ”Bolshevikkien sotavangit havaintoesimerkkeinä”, *Karjala* 10.1.1940; for more details, see Wunsch 1995, 184–192.

63. ”Pohjoismaiset vapaaehtoiset saapuvat”. *US* 4.1.1940; Paavo Virkkunen, ”Pidä, mitä sinulla on”, *US* 26.2.1940; ”Venäläistä barbariaa”, *Maakansa* 23.1.1949, *Aamulehti* 21.1.1940 and *Kaiku* 24.1.1940; ”Ei siitä huolimatta – vaan juuri siksi”, *Ilkka* 26.1.1940; ”Pitkä askel”, *Ilkka* 3.2.1940; ”Jaloo inhimillisyyttä”, *TS* 23.1.1940; ”Vapauden arvo kirkastunut”, *HS* 4.2.1940; ”Sovjetflygarnas härjningståg”, 2. *HBL* 5.2.1940.

64. ”Kolhoositalonpoika”, *Maakansa* and *Keskisuomalainen* 17.1.1940; *Ilkka* and *Lapin Kansa* 18.1.1940.

65. Eero, ”Molottavat”. *HS* 25.1.1940; Vasara, ”Pyhä – komissaarien maa”, *Ammatillista*. *SS* 3.1.1940; Vasara, ”Syntymäpäiväkirjoitus”, *Ammatillista*. *SS* 6.1.1940; *TS* 5.2.1940; Vastaus, *TS* 9.1.1940; ”Kansamme sitkistyy ja terästyy”, *TS* 16.1.1940; Annajoeli, ”Bommittatamash nielu!”, *Pakinoita*. *TS* 19.1.1940; Veli Villehartti, ”Runebergin hengessä”, *Pakinoita*; for more details, see Wunsch 1995, 120, 197–205.

66. Wunsch 1995, appendix 4, 6–9.

appealing directly to their emotions as to characteristics of the enemy images. Workers, for their part, were not generally receptive to evidence of archenemy, or to historical viewpoints. Therefore, a latent enemy image was not distributed before the war at least with the same intensity as among the right wing. As a result, facts were emphasised in the created enemy image.

In January, February and March 1940, labour newspapers' often long editorials presented information of the enemy country's condition based on accurate numbers. The labour newspapers told about the Soviet Union's shortage of housing, food and consumer goods, how much a Soviet worker was able to buy with his salary and how much he paid in taxes. And, above all, it was reminded that citizenship rights – such as the right to go on strike – were missing, conditions were generally miserable, and there was a lack of personal freedom in factories and kolkhozes.⁶⁷

These newspapers were also constantly during the war seeking reasons why the revolution had developed in entirely the wrong direction. Stalin was most commonly presented as guilty for this. He was said to have developed the system created by Lenin into a violent dictatorship, which subsequently destroyed among others also Lenin's co-workers.⁶⁸ This viewpoint was understandable because it left in honour the Finnish labour movement's roots dating to the period of the Russian Revolution and, thus, it did not include elements that violated traditions. As the war continued, criticism was also focussed on Lenin, who was now thought of as a founder of an extremist Soviet Union.⁶⁹ Apparently the Workers were no longer offended by this and it was possible for the ideologies between the socialists and non-socialists to get closer.

”David and Goliath: the Image of the Red Army”

The enemy's military skill in the front was commonly described in a similar tone in newspapers except during the war's first days. When thinking of it afterwards, the Finns were guilty of self-deception. The emphasising of one's own victories and through that the underestimation of the enemy's military skill in the front appeared in newspapers of especially the Agrarian Union and the right wing, already after the first week of war, when the Soviet offensive was stopped by the Finnish army.⁷⁰ Already before mid-December after a defensive victory at Tolvajärvi and especially after the battles of Suomussalmi and Raate in early January, the image of the enemy's military skill was commonly considered

67. "Venäjän ulkopoliitiikka", part I, SS 18.1.1940 and part II, SS 19.1.1940; "Mitä Stalin pelkää", *Kansan Lehti* 20.1.1940 and with the name "Mitä Stalin eniten pelkää", *Pohjolan Työ* 21.1.1940; Antti Vahteri, "Venäjän työläisten asema", SS 1.2.1940, with the name; "Venäjän työväen asema", *Ulkomaat. Kansan Lehti*, part I 30.1.1940 and part II 1.2.1940; PT part I, 3.2.1940, part II, 6.2.1940; "Vihollisemme vaateteollisuus", SS 2.2.1940; A.V., "Työväen palkkaolot Venäjällä", SS 9.2.1940 and *Pohjolan Työ* 15.2.1940; "Miksi työläisnuorisomme taistelee", *Pohjolan Työ* 19.1.1940; "Kansainvälinen työväen rintama", SS 14.1.1940; "Työkurin höltyminen Neuvostoliitossa", SS 14.1.1940; A.V. "Vihollisemme arka kohta", part I, SS 24.2.1940, *Kansan Lehti* 24.2.1940 and PT 27.2.1940, part II, SS 25.2.1940, *Kansan Lehti* 27.2.1940 and PT 29.2.1940; "Orjakomento", *Pohjolan Työ* 14.1.1940; A.V. "Vihollisemme arka kohta", part III, SS 28.2.1940, *Kansan Lehti* 27.2.1940 and PT 2.3.1940; Antti Vahteri, "Venäjän työläisten asema", part II, SS 1.2.1940; "Venäjän työväen asema", *Ulkomaat*, part II, *Kansan Lehti* 1.2.1940; PT, part II, 6.2.1940.

68. Ibid.

69. "Venäjän ulkopoliitiikka", SS 18.1.1940; "Lenin ja Suomi", SS 30.1.1940; "Stalin puhdistaa", SS 4.2.1940; see also Wunsch 1995, 211.

70. Wunsch 1995, 93–95.

to be sub-standard. At the same time, the war came to be compared in Finland and abroad to the fight between David and Goliath.⁷¹

Although there were attempts to prevent newspapers from underestimating the enemy and overestimating one's own victories,⁷² at first particularly the right wing and the Agrarian Union's newspapers and somewhat later all non-socialistic newspapers were guilty of both. Many newspapers started to write that as a result of the war, the Soviet Union was more likely to collapse than Finland.⁷³

When the situation of the time is taken into account, the description of the enemy's poor military skill should be discussed to some extent as something other than an attempt to maintain the people's will to fight, which may have been the real reason. After all, Finland could not have been certain in the beginning of the war that she was able to defend herself against a great power. The Soviet Union itself was prepared at most for a two-week war, which was a realistic assumption because nations such as Czechoslovakia, Austria and Poland had either surrendered without a fight to Germany or they had collapsed instantly.

Furthermore, there was no certainty in Finland when the war started whether Finland's own ranks would remain intact. In January, the situation was already different when Finland had not just stopped a great power, but also given it severe casualties the entire world admired and wondered at. Instead of becoming divided, the cohesiveness of the Finns became stronger.

Some kind of overreaction was the result of the above at the same time when defensive war propaganda of early war received more offensive tones.⁷⁴ Newspapers, including major newspapers, finally presented claims of the enemy's military skill according to which the Soviet military leaders left the troops without supplies, did not take care of the wounded, had men killed left and right and, ultimately, sent them to attack at gun point. Therefore, it was possible to present at least covertly that ranks of the Red Army were collapsing instead of those of Finland.⁷⁵

In principle, it was stated particularly in non-socialistic newspapers that the enemy that went to war literally playing music was going to lose the war and face societal collapse. This image was apparently created not only to match one's own wishes, but also from the same common ingredients of the enemy image which were already used in World War I.⁷⁶

Newspapers of the Agrarian Union and the right wing were the guiltiest of underestimating the Soviet Union. Newspapers of the labour class, in which the Red Army's good equipment and training were occasionally described, were the least guilty of this underestimation.⁷⁷

71. Julkunen 1975, 209.

72. VT's guidelines to newspapers 12.12.1939 and through STT to newspapers 20.12.1939, KD2. VN:n Tiedotuselimet 1939–1948. Kansallisarkisto (KA).

73. "Rautaisin tahdoin, luottavin mielin", HS 2.1.1940; "Den personliga insatsen", HBL 2.1.1940; "Epäonnistuva valtausyritys", SS 2.1.1940; "Rohkein mielin eteenpäin", US 5.1.1940; "Vuodenvaihte", Ilkka 2.1.1940; "Moraalinen häviö", TS 12.1.1940; "Salamasodan kaksi kuukautta", Ilkka 25.1.1940; "Kaksi kuukautta sotaa", HS 30.1.1940; "Tähän asti", US 31.1.1940; see also Wunsch 1995, 153–154.

74. Salminen, Suvanne 1989, 33–34.

75. O.M. "Mitä Moskova luulee voittavansa", HS 13.1.1940; "Kaksi kuukautta sotaa", HS 30.1.1940; "Tähän asti", US 31.1.1940; "Luovuttamattomia arvoja", SS 27.1.1940; Wunsch 1995, cartoons 8 and 9, 157.

76. Knightley 1982, 66; Balfour 1979, 421.

77. "Nyt on aika iskeä", Karjala; Vaasa 8.12.1939; *Keskisuomalainen* 8.12.1939; *Savon Sanomat* 9.12.1939; *Lapin Kansa* 9.12.1939; "Luovuttamattomia arvoja", SS 27.1.1940; Tiima, Tiimalasi. SS 10.1.1940; see also Wunsch 1995, 93–96, 158.

There was occasionally worry about underestimation in Social Democratic newspapers, which feared that the underestimation would eventually prove costly by making foreign countries believe that Finland did not need any help. Therefore, it was reminded now and then that it did not matter how wretched a Russian soldier may be and how badly he was led. Finland was dealing with a great power that had at its use, as opposed to Finland, unlimited reserves. The motive of writing was, however, to justify the need of help, not to describe the Soviet Union's military strength.⁷⁸

The creation of the enemy image succeeded even too well

As a whole, influencing the opinion and maintaining the nation's will to fight succeeded well during the war because everybody felt that there was no alternative to fighting. Therefore, the readiness to adopt all claims and lines of thought in all object groups of newspapers already existed.

When we examine the image created of the Soviet Union, the nucleus of both non-socialistic and labour newspapers' image of the Soviet Union was that Finland was dealing with a barbaric enemy. If won, the enemy would not only conquer the country militarily, but would also destroy the entire Finnish society, culture, religion and eventually the nation.

Each group of newspapers emphasised issues central to its own worldview. Therefore, details of the enemy image varied according to which issues were considered the most important in its own ideology. In principle, however, the image became more uniform as a result of the war. Those features that originally belonged to the right wing image were adopted also in other newspapers toward the end of the war.

The image of military skill clearly shows how difficult it was to erase the self-admiration and, in reversal, the underestimation of the enemy that emerged in January 1940. It was perceived, as typical to enemy images, that the nation's will to fight needed an image of an inferior enemy soldier. Therefore, this image was created also in newspapers without caution. When the war ended Finland had kind of succeeded too well in her enemy image. Newspapers, and through them, their readers were themselves prisoners of an image of a weak enemy created for domestic use. Therefore, the terms for peace became upsetting news for the whole nation.

When we return to common content of the enemy image as described at the beginning, in which the enemy is not only dangerous, bad and easy to hate, but also morally so inferior that it must be and can be beaten, we see that the enemy image of the Finnish newspapers followed these common formulae. Because this was done too successfully, in principle, we must assume that the latent enemy image revived at once when the Soviet Union had behaved in a way warned about in conservative Finland during the entire independence period. By attacking Finland in the Winter War, the Soviet Union confirmed this enemy image at least temporarily also among the Finnish labour class.

For three months the Finnish newspapers described the enemy as militaristically extremely incompetent, its leaders as tormentors of their own people, its society to be at

78. Tiima, Tiimalasi. SS 10.1.1940; Pilatus, "Kulnev", Päivän peili. SS 11.1.1940.

the brink of collapse, and its people as a mere mob afraid of the dictator. So the Finns were not psychologically prepared for a defeat and severe peace terms.

Later, during the so called Interim Peace, many newspapers criticised censorship and information given especially at the end of the war. Because the severity of the situation in the Karelian Isthmus was kept secret at the end of the war, the censorship was in these papers' opinion partly to blame for the Moscow peace treaty becoming the shocking surprise that it became.⁷⁹

At first the image of the Soviet Union, as an enemy, seemed uniform. However due to the nature of research methodology, ("image research" emphasises both the importance of ideological thinking and the understanding and explanations of word opinions) it became apparent that there were significant differences in the way in which the news was reported. The differences were specially noticed according to the political allegiances or social ideologies held by a given paper. Although the image became more uniform as the war went on, its roots were visible during the war. The common battle and struggle did not erase ideological differences, it only postponed them to a more peaceful time.

In principle, while describing the enemy, newspapers also created an image of themselves and their own ideology and also an image of their own readers, while selecting material which was believed to affect them. This is the means through which the differences in the enemy image emerged. In my opinion, the manifestation of these differences even in exceptional situations such as the Winter War demonstrates how well image research works in bringing up tensions and differences in opinion within a nation.

Translated by Markku Niskanen and Karen Niskanen

79. "Väljempää", HS 6.6.1940; "Sananvapaus ja naapurin asiat", HS 10.2.1941, "Sotasensuuri", SS 5.6.1940.

On the Applicability of Image Research to the Study of Medieval Hagiographies

Mari Mäki-Petäys

The function of medieval visual depiction and hagiographies

One may say that the language and mind of the medieval man was that of pictorial images. Religion and images became mixed into a cohesive system of symbols, colours and meanings. The different social strata, the rich and poor, were distinguishable from each other outwardly by clear contrast in clothing. Jewellery and bright colours shone in the fashionable clothing of the wealthy citizens; the genteel were differentiated by the clothing they wore, whereas the poor tramped in their greys. Ceremonies and symbols governed the public social life. The Middle Ages was a period of contrasts, darkness and light. Religion, worldview, and philosophy of life were tied to pictorial expression, which was signified, among other things, by known allegories of death. The religious world was symbolised with the help of allegories, which, for their part, were signified by numerous saints with their special characteristics. The entire content of the intellectual life found an outlet in visual, pictorial form.

To clarify briefly the "imageful" world of the medieval person, I will quote J. Huizinga, who has excellently described the mental world of medieval man in his classical study, *Waning of the Middle Ages*: "The naïve religious conscience of the multitude had no need of intellectual proofs in matters of faith. The mere presence of a visible image of things holy sufficed to establish their truth. No doubts intervened between the sight of all those pictures and statues—the persons of the Trinity, the flames of hell, the innumerable saints—and belief in their reality. All these conceptions became matters of faith in the most direct manner; they passed straight from the state of images to that of convictions, taking root in the mind as pictures clearly outlined and vividly coloured, possessing all the reality claimed for them by the Church, and even a little more."¹

1. Huizinga, J.: *The Waning of the Middle Ages. A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIV and XV Centuries*. First published 1924. Edward Arnold Ltd, London 1970, 148.

During the Middle Ages, the boundaries of faith and images became blurred to some extent when the salvation of a human was dependent on the visual system of symbols.² The visualisation of the medieval world of concepts through pictures, miniature paintings, gothic statues, and in the east by icons reflect concrete pictorial representation of image-allegories. In this case, these images of the mind referred to the same system of symbols that can also be communicated through art in concrete form. They functioned as mental aids to help to control the chaotic world. The function of the saints was in a specific way to reassure and organise the mind and worldview of a human being who was struggling in the extremities between the fear of the end of the world on one hand, and the ecstatic worship of Christ on the other hand. The exactness of the saint descriptions facilitated clear perceptions of outlines in the religious and ideological wholeness, which gave the feeling of safety and familiarity.³

What are the medieval hagiographies then telling about? It has been said that these descriptions do not tell only about values of their writers, individual men of the Church, but that they convey the collective knowledge of history, worldview, and values of the entire society. Therefore, the writer of the saint's life can be considered anonymous, with a memory that reaches back over generations. Thus, stories telling about saints do not so much describe independent individuals, but more correctly concepts of higher ideals and holiness, morals and values of pious people. Being so, images of saints can be considered in their way as part of the collective consciousness, the worldview of the period. The view of the collective nature of hagiographic description has been accepted without reservation by several researchers of the medieval period.⁴

Thomas J. Heffernan emphasises in his meritorious analysis of medieval hagiographies, "*Sacred Biography. Saints and their Cults in the Middle Ages*," the significance of the hagiographies for studies of the mentality of the medieval man. According to him, these biographies reflect exactly what Braudel has described by the term "*longue durée*". Although the storyline of the hagiographies is patterned, it, however, expresses the interaction between its writer and the society which is its audience. Because the saints' lives are written for a cultic purpose, they repeat those norms that are recognised as correct in society and that promote social cohesiveness.⁵

Stories of the Church about the saints were above all intended as religious education to give direction as to what is right and what is wrong in life. An image of a saint was meant to offer a concrete model of a religious ideal to common humans troubled by sins.⁶ The hagiographies tell about history so that its subject becomes transformed into a paragon of good behaviour, constructs ideals, and warns about vice.⁷ The purpose of these secret biographies was to provide the correct model of following Christ. In this way, the main characters of the biographies, the saints, brought into light through their actions the para-

2. The world of images in the religious art of the Middle Ages from the 12th century to the end of the 14th century has been brilliantly analysed by Camille, Michael: *The Gothic Idol. Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*. Cambridge university press, Cambridge 1989.

3. Huizinga 1970, 151.

4. Delehay, H.: *Les passios des martyrs et les genres litteraires*. Brüssels 1921, 438; Gurevich, Aron: *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*. First published 1988. Reprinted in Cambridge University Press 1990, 49-50; Ryan, Granger & Ripperger, Helmut: *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*. Ayer Company, New Hampshire 1987, x.

5. Heffernan, Thomas J.: *Sacred Biography. Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages*. Oxford University Press, New York 1988, 17-18.

6. Gurevich 1990, 43, 49, 55.

7. Lehmijoki, Maiju: Hagiografiat keskiajan tutkimuksen lähteinä. *Työkalut riviin. Näkökulmia yleisen historian tutkimusmenetelmiin*. Ed. Eero Kuparinen. Turun yliopiston historian laitoksen julkaisu no 43, Turku 1997, 233.

digm determined by the society. According to Heffernan, a single act of a saint became a religious ritual. Writers of the hagiographies were able to select from a broad selection of ritualised acts the very acts through which it was possible to present the saint who was the object of description. Ritualised acts borrowed mainly from the Bible and other holy scriptures, as well as from other hagiographic materials, were used in attempts to establish the authenticity of sanctity of the person described.⁸

The primary purpose of the saint's life was, thus, to educate and give guidance. Teaching of the truth of faith through individual examples was directed above all to satisfy social needs. For this reason, embellishment of the content of the text was kept to a minimum so that it would not disturb the clarity of teaching. Another educational characteristic of the hagiographies was the importance of the wholeness and, for this reason, the knowledge of details formed the supporting structure of this whole, the salvation drama taking place in the world. For this reason, interpretation of the detail information taken too far can provide misleading results because information of the saint's life was carefully selected or actually presented appropriately and understandably in a way to transmit the message of Christian virtues.⁹

When reading hagiographies, one also has to remember that the 'reality' during the Middle Ages was different from ours because it was harmonic, hierarchical, and predetermined. Because the reality was predetermined, a language of symbolic representation supported with commonly accepted norms was used in describing the reality: to be more precise, what are often called clichés. The saints' lives described with the help of these clichés are stereotypical and impersonal. This is the very reason why they are such appropriate objects for the study of images. One may say that the images offered by hagiographies are exactly those simplified models of reality one aims to study in the realm of image research.

Because the saints' lives in their own way describe the social needs of the society that is their audience, the norms of the hagiographies changed over time, as did those of the society. According to Heffernan, "It is reasonable to assume that our hypothetical biographer has an understanding of the community's expectation concerning the figure whose life he is about to compose."¹⁰ From this point of view, a society is the writer of the hagiography and the voice of the storyteller is collective.

Image research offers a fruitful approach to examine the hagiographic source group due to its nature, which embodies collective and social needs. An image is commonly understood as a concept born in one's mind when all the information he has received about a certain topic becomes part of his general concept of the world. In addition to knowledge, an image also includes opinions, attitudes and beliefs.¹¹ An image differs from an attitude in that an image is usually persistent and simple and changes slowly.¹² These characteristics fit well with the concept many researchers have about the nature of descriptions of the medieval saints. The hagiographic source material offers a possibility

8. Heffernan 1988, 5–6.

9. See Korpela, Jukka: Nestorin kronikka. Kertomus Muinais-Venäjältä. *Kanava* no 4 1995, 218.

10. Heffernan 1988, 19–22.

11. Alenius, Kari: *Ahkeruus, edistys, ylimielisyys. Virolaisten Suomi-kuva kansallisen heräämisen ajasta tsaarinvallan päätymiseen (n. 1850-1917)*. Gummerus, Jyväskylä 1996, 11–12.

12. Fält, Olavi K.: *Eksotismista realismiin. Perinteinen Japanin-kuva Suomessa 1930-luvun murroksessa*. *Studia historica septemtrionalia* 5. Gummerus, Jyväskylä 1982, 10.; Fält, Olavi K.: *Global History, Cultural Encounters and Images. Between National Histories and Global History*. Eds. Stein Tønneson, Juhani Koponen, Niels Steensgaard and Thommy Svensson. *Historiallinen arkisto* 110:4. FHS, Helsingfors 1997, 62–63.

to examine these medieval images because the collective demands of the hagiographies are based on the undercurrents of the slowly changing worldview through which the term “image” of the historical image research is also defined. The image offered by a saint’s life is at the same time a simplified model of reality.¹³

In Finland, the methodology of image research has been applied to the study of medieval history by Luigi G. de Anna, who has studied the image foreign people had of Finns in Antiquity and in Middle Ages source material.¹⁴ De Anna mentions that professional historians often have quite sceptical views about the usefulness of image research for historical studies. This is because the researcher of images emphasises the significance of the relative and non-objective.¹⁵ It is exactly for this reason important to define the methodology of image research as accurately as possible. We are talking about serious study of history, which when correctly applied can increase our knowledge of the past by making possible an in-depth study of information from sources in an area which would otherwise be perhaps left in the dark shadows of studies of an unscientific nature.

The traditional approach of the critical study of history, in the case of the medieval material, has been to determine how much real and reliable factual information is included in the text. Therefore, the critical study of history of the 19th century judged the hagiographic source material useless, due to its manipulative and empirically unreliable nature. Only in the second half of the 20th century did the researchers again become interested in the hagiographic material. These days, one does not look for factual information about the saint’s lives, but strives to study the principles of the medieval literature and the way of thinking of the past people.¹⁶ The view of image research offers a useful approach specifically for this kind of study of the medieval sources.

Alexander Nevskiy – the image of the defender of Russia

Alexander Nevskiy (1220–1263) is one of the most beloved characters in Russian history. His image as the ideal prince and defender of Russia is a cliché, which has already for centuries repeated the ideals connected to the political situation and religious values of each period. Alexander Nevskiy’s heroic status derives from the historical events of the 13th century. Central from the point of view of the warrior image of Alexander Nevskiy is that he managed to stop the expansionistic eastward movement of the Germans and Swedes supported by the pope. For this reason, Alexander Nevskiy is commonly seen as the defender of freedom and of the Orthodox religion of Russia against the Catholic west. The blocking of the western threat is considered to have climaxed at the beginning of the 1240s, when the Battle of Neva was fought. In this battle, Alexander blocked the Swedish expansion in a conflict fought along the Neva River near the present day city of St. Petersburg. In 1242, in the Battle of Lake Peipus fought near the city of Pskov, Alexander with his troops beat the troops of the Teutonic Knights.¹⁷

13. Compare Fält 1997, 63.

14. De Anna, Luigi G.: Kuvatutkimuksen käyttö tekstianalysissä. *Työkalut riviin*, 216–221; De Anna, Vieraiden kansojen kirjallisesta kuvasta, *Mediaevalia fennica*. Ed. Christian Krötzl. Historiallinen arkisto 96, Helsinki 1991, 21–33.

15. De Anna, 1991, 28.

16. Heffernan 1988, 17, 54; Lehmijoki 1997, 226–227.

17. Begunov, Yu. K.: Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo v Russkoy literature XII–XVIII vekov. *Kjaz' Aleksandr Nevskiy i ego epokha*. “Dmitri Bulanin”, Sankt-Petersburg 1995, 163.

Recently, historians have doubted that large-scale western Crusader movement took place in northern Russia. This theory, which was based on the sharp division of the East and the West already during the 13th century, has been seen more recently as based on later additions to sources or twisted and exaggerated information, which during the Cold War met resonance in the interpretations of the period's history both in the Soviet Union and in the West. According to the new views, the battles in question, which were earlier considered to be so fateful and in which the "aggression of the Catholic Church" was quelled, would be more accurately characterised as border skirmishes characteristic of the period, and the significance of these skirmishes did not particularly differ from other battles fought in the border regions of Russia.¹⁸

Views of Alexander as a great warrior and suppresser of western expansion originate above all from his hagiography, which offers one of the most popular medieval prince descriptions of Russia. *Alexander's Life* is assumed to have been written in the 1280s, a couple of decades after his death in Vladimir, in the Monastery of the Nativity of the Mother of God. The original manuscript of *Alexander's Life* has not survived, but due to its great popularity it was copied a lot, and parts of it were also included in *The Chronicles*. With the help of these more recent manuscripts, dated to the 14th and the 16th centuries, it has been possible to reconstruct with at least some accuracy the earliest version of *Alexander's Life*.¹⁹ The very fact that Alexander Nevskiy's hagiography has survived in such different forms, which date to different times and differ from each other, makes it possible to focus on the contradiction presented above through the examination of the birth and development of the image of Alexander Nevskiy as an ideal prince.

When outlining the 13th-century political situation between the East and the West, writers of history have used *The Life of Alexander Nevskiy* as one of the most important sources, due to otherwise poorly-preserved sources. However, like images in general, also the image of Alexander Nevskiy given in his *Life* has been modified over time in order to coincide with the ideals of each period when it was re-written. I will present, in the following, two ways in which the traditional writing of history has interpreted Alexander Nevskiy's hagiography in a misleading way. At the same time, I will bring to light how one can utilise image research in this kind of case.

Formality of writings and the importance of the association – the description of the Battle of Neva as an example

18. Lind, John H.: Early Russian-Swedish Rivalry. The Battle on the Neva in 1240 and Birger Magnusson's Second Crusade to Tavastia. *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol 16, no 4, 1991, 269–295; John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia 1200–1304*. Longman, London 1983, 105–106, 120–121; Korpela, Jukka: *Kiovan Rusj. Keskiajan eurooppalainen suurvaltia*. Karisto Oy, Hämeenlinna 1996, 211–212.

19. This first redaction of Alexander's *Life* is commonly known by the name *Pervonachalnaya*, which means, the first edition. Based on numerous preserved manuscripts, Yu. K. Begunov, a Russian researcher of the medieval literature, has made a restoration of the earliest redaction of Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* of which he uses the name *Pervaya redaktsiya*. Begunov's reconstruction is based on 13 different manuscripts of *Pervonachalnaya*. This reconstruction is presented in Begunov, Yu. K.: *Pamjatnik russkoj literatury XIII veka. "Slovo o pogibeli russkoj zemli"*. "Nauka", Moskva 1965, 158–180. Begunov's restoration has gained acceptance, among others, from John Fennell, a recently passed away respected expert of the medieval history of Russia. See Fennell, John – Stokes, Anthony: *Early Russian Literature*. London 1974, 108.

Alexander's victory over the Swedes at the River Neva in 1240 is one of the most important acts described in his *Life*, and it has in a significant way shaped the image of Alexander Nevskiy as the defender of Russia against the western threat. It is problematic in the study of this topic that there are hardly any sources of the Battle of Neva other than *Alexander's Life*. There are no Swedish sources of this event, and in most cases, neither do the chronicles pay more than a usual amount of attention to the Battle of Neva, unless they have borrowed events from *The Life* in their story.²⁰ There is, therefore, a reason to examine the actual composition of the battle description given in the hagiography and what kinds of rhetoric tools, or as Heffernan expresses the issue, what kinds of ritualised acts, the writer of *The Life* has used. Further questions will be how do these acts effect the image of Alexander Nevskiy and what kind of value does his *Life* have as an historical source?

The plotline part of *Alexander's Life* begins with a description of the Battle of Neva. In *Pervonachalnaya*, the story is told of a Roman Catholic king from the half night country, who after hearing of Alexander's reputation boasted that he would conquer Alexander's country. He sent a messenger to Alexander and said: "If you can, resist me. I am already here conquering your land."²¹ An equivalent bragging act is found in the Old Testament, where the king of Assyria, Sennacherib, sends his messenger to brag about the size of his power and orders the King of Judah, Hezekiah, to submit under his power without objection.²² In *The Life*, Alexander's reaction to this threat was to get angry and to go to church.²³ Hezekiah of the Bible, for his part, "...rent his clothes, and covered himself with sackcloth, and went into the house of the Lord."²⁴ The third similarity in the plotline is a speech for encouragement to the troops. Both chiefs made spurring speeches to their men when the enemy was threatening.²⁵

A bragging scene of an envious king appears to have been a popular theme in the medieval war literature because it is a central theme also in *Aleksandrija*, which tells about the life of Alexander, the Macedonian, as well as in *Devgenievo Deyanie* of the Byzantine extraction, both of which were known in Russia in the 13th century. Both of the above-mentioned works belong among the best-known war stories of the 13th century. Alexander the Great had had the self-deserved first place of the war stories already since Antiquity, and he was also among the best-known main characters of the war stories in medieval Europe.²⁶ Digenes Akrites, whose name translates in Russian as *Devgeni*, in turn was the hero of the Greek-speaking Europe and Anatolia. His epic story was born in Byzantium in the 10th century, largely following the chivalric ideal model also symbolised by Alexander the Great.²⁷

20. Novgorod's chronicles have cut the text part of Alexander's life to follow the normal chronologic style, organised by the year. For this reason, some controversy has emerged over which parts of the text originally belonged to the chronicle's description and which have been added into it later as the Alexander's life became more familiar. See Lind 1991, 274–275.

21. The English translation taken from the *Tale of the Life and Courage of the Pious and great Prince Alexander* (hereafter referred as *The Life*) in Zenkovsky, Serge A.: *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*. Penguin books 1974, 227. "Ashche mozheshi protivitisya mne, to se esm' uzhe zde, plenyaya zemlyu tvoyu." *Povesti o zhiti i o khrabrosti blagovernago i velikago knyazyia Oleksandra* in Begunov 1965, 188 (hereafter referred as *Pervonachalnaya*).

22. IV Rg 18. Versio Vulgata.

23. *The Life*, 227. See *Pervonachalnaya*, 188.

24. 2 Kings 19,1. (IV Rg 19,1. Versio Vulgata.)

25. *Pervonachalnaya*, 188; compare with II Par 32,6–8.

26. Cary, George: *The Medieval Alexander*. Cambridge University Press 1956. Reprinted 1967.

27. Moenning, Ulrich: Digenes = Alexander? The Relationship between Digenes Akrites and the Byzantine Alexander Romance in their Different Versions. *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*. Edited by Roderick Beaton and David Ricks. Variorum, Cambridge 1993.

In *Aleksandriya*, Dareios, the King of Persia, sent his messenger to Alexander, bragged about his own power, and belittled Alexander's status. Showing off led to a war in which Alexander beat Dareios' troops.²⁸ The same theme is repeated in *Devgenievo deyanie*. It includes an episode where Devgeni received a message from a certain Tsar Vasili:

"Famous Devgeni! I would very much like to see you. Come to visit my domain since your bravery and manliness is known everywhere in the world. And I also love you from all my heart and would like to see you in the flowering of your youth."²⁹

Analogies with Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* are clear here, especially because the words of King Vasili were poisoned by envy and deceitful, for his only motive was to allure Devgeni to his country to imprison him.³⁰

Devgeni answered proudly, as did Alexander the Macedonian in *Aleksandriya* to the great king, and accepted the challenge for battle. Now the plotline of *Devgenievo deyanie* enfolds in a nearly identical way to that of Alexander Nevskiy's *Life*. King Vasili arrived with his army to the River Euphrates, where he founded a camp and set up his large tent.³¹ Similarly, Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* relates that the battleground was located along a river; the king arrived "at Neva in his insanity".³² Later, *Pervonachalnaya* places the battleground more specifically along Neva's tributary, Izhora.³³

In this way, the preparation for the battle reflected the typical formula of the medieval war literature, where events following the battle are told in a very formulated fashion so that going to war was a long series of events, and where a great factor of influence is in the intent of an envious king of the more powerful neighbouring country to conquer the land's of the hero. Therefore, the hero is forced to a test of strength, which he turns to his own advantage.

Also, the evolution of battle is very normative, and it was part of the tendencies of the war literature to mention that Alexander Nevskiy started the battle as a defendant, being out-numbered as to the manpower of his troops.

"...he led his small troop against the enemy, even before the many other regiments came, because he relied upon the help of the holy Trinity. It was great sorrow that his honourable father, Yaroslav the Great, did not know that his son, dear Alexander, was attacked; but Alexander didn't have time to send a message to his father because the enemy was nearing. Even many men from Novgorodian lands didn't have time to join him because the prince was in a hurry to start the campaign."³⁴

28. *Aleksandriya*. In "Izbornik". *Sbornik proizvedeniy literatury drevney Rusi*. Moskva 1969, 249–257.

29. "Devgenii salvny, velie zhelanie imam videtisya s tobou. A nyne ne lenis' proiditis' k moemu tsarstvu, zane derzost' i khrabrost' tvoya proslyla po vsei vselenei. I lyubov' vhide v mya veliya: videti khoshchu yunost' tvoyu." *Deyanie prezhykh vremen hrabrykh chelovek* in Kuz'mina, V. D.: *Devgenievo deyanie: Deyanie prezhykh vremen khrabrykh chelovek*. Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva 1962, 154 (Hereafter referred as *Devgenievo deyanie*). See also "Izbornik" 1969, 191.

30. Ibid.

31. *Devgenievo deyanie*, 155. See also "Sbornik" 1969, 193.

32. *Pervonachalnaya*, 188.

33. *Pervonachalnaya*, 190.

34. *The Life*, 227; See *Pervonachalnaya*, 188.

The description of the enemy camp is also interesting. It is told in *Devgenievo deyanie* how King Vasili set up in his camp an enormous tent, the roof of which was coloured red and decorated with gold.³⁵ This luxurious tent symbolised most clearly the wealth and power of King Vasili. In Alexander Nevskiy's *Life*, the tent-theme continues in its way where it was left in *Devgenievo deyanie*. In *Pervonachalnaya*, the tent of the enemy was finally pulled down. This pulling down was accomplished by one of Alexander Nevskiy's brave men, Savva:

“He charged a big, golden-crowned tent and cut its pole. When the tent fell, Alexander's regiments were very much encouraged.”³⁶

It is natural that Alexander's men were encouraged because the falling down of the tent symbolised the collapse of power and defeat of the great king.

In the battle, Alexander experienced a similar miracle occurred to that which in the Bible helped Hezekiah to beat his superior enemy.

“There happened a miracle which reminds us of the one which took place in olden times, during the reign of King Hezekiah, when Jerusalem was attacked by Sennacherib, King of Assyria. Suddenly there appeared the angel of the Lord, who killed one hundred and eighty-five Assyrian warriors, and when the next morning came their bodies were found there. The same occurred after Alexander's victory when he defeated the king: on the other shore of the river Izhora, which Alexander's troops did not reach, there were found numerous enemy who were killed by the angel of the Lord.”³⁷

In the battle, a group of brave men fought alongside Alexander. *The Life* singles six of them out by name. A similar theme of brave men is found in descriptions of the second book of Samuel in connection with King David's war excursions, and even the formula is exactly the same. The name and the tribe of a hero is told in the Bible, and then his heroic deeds are mentioned briefly,³⁸ just as in Alexander Nevskiy's *Life*.

In this way, one can notice how the description of the Battle of Neva is based on ready-made models of sentences. The models of these battle descriptions originated from that period's best-known classics of war literature as well as from the Bible, which is the most commonly used model of the saints' lives associations, since the saint was on the road following Christ (*imitatio Christi*). The leading expert of the medieval Russian literature, academician D. S. Likhachev has demonstrated how models of Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* have been passed from Galicia of southwestern Russia where trends of the war literature were strongly visible also in Galicia's *Princely Chronicle* of the 13th century.³⁹ With the help of the rhetoric borrowed from the war descriptions, Alexander Nevskiy was made parallel to the pan-European knighthood ideal of the medieval period. This functioned through analogies borrowed from literature.⁴⁰

35. *Devgenievo deyanie*, 155; See also “*Izbornik*” 1969, 193.

36. *The Life*, 229; See *Pervonachalnaya*, 190.

37. *Ibid.*; compare with IV Rg 19,35.

38. II Sm 21,15-22; II Sm 23,8-39.

39. Likhachev, D. S.: *Galichkaya literaturnaya traditsiya v zhitiy Aleksandra Nevskogo. Trudy otdely drevnerusskogo literatury* V. Moskva 1947.

40. Mäki-Petäys, Mari: *Nomen est omen. Esimerkkejä Aleksanteri Nevskin pyhimyselämäkerran kielikuvista*. With an English Summary: *Nomen est omen. Examples of metaphor in Alexander Nevskiy's hagiography. Faravid* 22-23. Pohjois-Suomen historiallinen yhdistys, 1999.

Literary examples of Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* have also been sought. Already in 1913 V. Mansikka, a Finn who had academic influence in St. Petersburg, brought out graphically the biblical models of Alexander's *Life*,⁴¹ but it appears that they have not received enough attention among historians. Such strong literary examples should awaken a question of how natural one can consider the battle description. Alexander's role as a holy man and a historical heroic figure is largely based on battle descriptions in his *Life* against the Catholic neighbours in the west.

It is surprising to notice how seriously many historians take the information given in the sainthood biography. One may use as an example A. V. Shishov, who has reconstructed nearly the entire Battle of Neva in light of information from the hagiography. According to him, Alexander wounded the commander of the Swedes in the face, exactly as mentioned in his *Life*. A natural outcome of this was that the commander was no longer able to participate in the battle because his view was fogged by blood. Therefore, being forced to fight without their commander was added to the difficulties the Swedes faced.⁴²

Researchers such as Shishov attempt to reconstruct actual historical occurrences with the help of the saint's life. This may entirely mislead a researcher unfamiliar with the medieval literature because the text is born to describe a certain ideal image, and it has been represented with the help of already familiar sentences, formulae, as well as metaphors. The battle scenes of Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* form a cluster of already existing images in literature. In the medieval way of thinking what had already taken place in history was really a true event.⁴³ Therefore, Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* sets interpretative traps for researchers who are unable to understand the world of medieval description.

Shishov notes with criticism that some Russian researchers have underestimated Alexander's military genius and merit as a national hero.⁴⁴ However, Alexander's acts can be interpreted also in other than true military actions. Kirpichnikov, for example, thinks that a scene described in *Pervonachalnaya* where Alexander wounded the enemy leader in the face with his spear point is a symbol indicating that Alexander's troops had caused damage to the enemy's front unit.⁴⁵

The biography of Daniil of Galicia, which is included in the *Ipat'evskiy Chronicle*, provides the closest literary model for this heroic act. It is told in this chronicle how Daniil in a battle fought against the Hungarians in 1231 wounded his opponent on the face with his spear.⁴⁶ According to Begunov's explanation, which seems logical, wounding someone in the face refers to the old Roman custom of the master putting his mark on the face of his slave. In this way, the function of the text would be to let the reader understand that opponents were humiliated to the status of a slave.⁴⁷ In my opinion, it is clear that we cannot interpret Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* in any other way but through symbols. The critique presented by Shishov is, however, a practical example of some historians

41. Mansikka, V.: *Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo. Razbor redaktsiy i tekst'*. First printed in S-Peterburg 1913. Reprinted in Leipzig 1984, 18–25.

42. Shishov, A. V.: *Polkovodsheskoe iskusstvo knyazya Aleksandra Jaroslavicha v Nevskoy bitve. Knjaz' Aleksandr Nevskiy i ego epokha* 1995, 35.

43. Le Goff, Jacques: *The Medieval Imagination*. The University of Chicago Press 1985, 171; compare Likhachev D. S.: *Pervye sem'sot let russkoy literatury. "Izbornik"*. *Sbornik proizvedeniy literatury drevney Rusi*. Moskva 1969, 15.

44. Shishov 1995, 35.

45. Kirpichnikov 1995, 27–28.

46. *Ipat'yevskaya letopis'*. *Polnoe sobraniye russkikh letopisej* Tom' 2. Sanktpeterburg 1843, 172.

47. Begunov, Ju. K.: *Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo. "Izbornik"* 1969, 741.

being even today reluctant to give up the image of the ideal prince created during the Middle Ages.

As de Anna notes, there exists a certain problem in the medieval source material, for often certain elements which have central influence on the quality of the image are only stylistic forms of rhetoric, expressions of the culture and the style of a particular period.⁴⁸ The mastery of the demands of the right kind of rhetoric had a significant role in the medieval hagiographic literature. The mastery of rhetoric indicated the writer's learning and wisdom. It is, however, ironic that it is exactly the emphasis of the rhetoric part in the hagiographies that has caused the historical value of the genre to be questioned. In order to benefit from using the hagiographies in the study of history, we must ask what their writers have understood to be the truth. In what way can the hagiographies be considered as historical sources?

Let us allow a writer of a medieval saint's life to answer the questions presented above. Daniel Walter, a close friend of Saint Aelred (1110–1167) and a writer of his hagiography, explained that the exaggerated metaphors are used because, as stylistic tools of effect, they helped the reader to understand better the truth of the occurrence. Walter's viewpoint was based on the medieval theological view that the world was created by the word of God and that God left his word (*logos*) to people as a tool of salvation.⁴⁹

Therefore, a medieval writer did not attempt to make his reader believe that the forms used in their texts had their ultimate origin from the writer's own pen. The purpose of this symbolic system was to get the reader to recognise the object of description through the right kind of association. The rhetoric of hagiographies dealt, above all, with recognition and associations. Both the hagiographic and the secular literature continued the tendency of the Antique period biographies to present the pious behaviour of the main character as the paradigm of the behaviour considered proper in the society. This kind of history was formed from models and symbols. The "*Virtus*" of the hagiographies were born from the main character's struggles, which were either psychic struggles in the main character's conscience, *bellum intestinum*, or struggles with some external evil power.⁵⁰

Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* describes its main character in battle with a real, flesh and blood enemy. In this respect, the *Life* follows the tradition of the classic biography where the object of description was an action of an individual for his society. The traditional Christian hagiography replaced the individualism with a sharp "*civitas Dei*" and "*civitas homini*" contrast.⁵¹ Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* is strongly centred on a secular war theme. However, there is still reason to examine whether the spiritual aspect of Alexander's *Life* had to give room to individualism after all.

Alexander's *Life* contains plenty of epic substance that deserves its own attention from the researcher of history. According to the words of Kenneth Burke, literary style is a "way of building the mental equipment by which one handles the significant factors of his time".⁵² In this way, also epic war stories have their purpose. Their function is to emphasise bravery and sacrifice for a group. This focus, in turn, makes it possible for a common audience to identify with the hero and, thus, creates a certain model of identifica-

48. De Anna 1991, 26.

49. See Heffernan 1988, 110–113.

50. Heffernan 1988, 114–152.

51. See Heffernan 1988, 156.

52. Burke, Kenneth: *Attitudes toward history*. 3.ed. University of California press, Berkeley 1984, 34.

tion.⁵³ According to Burke, the identity is not an individualistic issue. The fact that a secular hero is the object of imitation means a process in which a hero possessing individualistic features is replaced by a collective body.⁵⁴

Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* is not an entirely typical guidebook of spiritual life because it is written by widely utilising the genre of the war stories. Here is the reason why a large number of researchers have at first considered Alexander's *Life* as a pure war story into which scenes typical of the hagiographies, such as prayers and references to the Bible, have been added later on.⁵⁵ John Fennell mentions that Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* is a combination of hagiographic and annalistic styles.⁵⁶ Zenkovsky, for his part, believes that it was at first written by one of his close friends soon after Alexander's death and that prayers and biblical symbols were added to this text later. According to Zenkovsky, these "additions" disrupted the original stylistic cohesion.⁵⁷

This combination of different styles itself is not so uncommon in the medieval Russian literature. Quite the opposite, it was practised when necessary through the Middle Ages.⁵⁸ Even John Fenell, a respected expert of medieval Russia and its literature, does not seem to have realised this, although he arrived at a conclusion that the *Life* is from the pen of one and the same individual. According to Fennell, the style changes are odd and he wonders whether this *Life* should be classified as a secular hagiography or a religious biography.⁵⁹

A confusion caused by the stylistic admixture typical of Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* is primarily a problem for western researchers. The Russian researchers have emphasised more how the history of the written language is, above all, the history of norms. According to them, the language and the norms are tied so tightly to each other that when one studies the history of the written language one also studies the cultural history.⁶⁰

The language and the style are always consciously selected means of the presentation that have an essential effect on the image received from the story content. The language used in the Russian medieval literature was different from the spoken one. Ancient Bulgarian, the Church Slavonic, became the common literary language of the Slavic people after their conversion to Christianity. Everything that was part of godly order of the world was written with the sacred language, the Church Slavonic.⁶¹ Characteristic of the medieval theological thought was the understanding of history as a divine drama, which began with the Fall and was to end with the second coming of the Christ. Therefore, the entire earthly wandering of humankind was the battlefield between God and the Evil directed by God's providence. Everything that occurred in the world, including the past, belonged to

53. Burke 1984, 35–36.

54. Burke 1984, 263.

55. Børtnes, Josten: *The Literature of Old Russia, 988–1730. The Cambridge History of Russian Literature*. Edited by Charles A. Moser. First published 1989. Revised edition. Reprinted in Cambridge University Press 1996, 22.

56. Fennell–Stokes 1974, 108.

57. Zenkovsky 1974, 224–225.

58. See Likhachev D. S.: *Poetika drevnerusskoy kul'tury*. "Nauka", Leningrad 1967, 40–86.

59. Fennell–Stokes 1974, 110–111.

60. Uspenskiy, B. A.: *Istoriya russkogo literaturnogo yazyka (XI–XVII vv.)*. Verlag Otto Sagner, München 1987, 1–9; Adrianova-Perets, V. P.: *Otcherki poeticheskogo stilya drevney Rusi*. Izdatel'stvo akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva 1947, 9.

61. After the breakdown of the empire of Kiev, a few individual words of the spoken language started to become included in the written Church Slavonic language. There are only seven isolated words of the spoken language in Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* and, therefore, the influence of the spoken language can be regarded very minimal in the *Life*. See Kozhin, A. N.: *Literaturnyi jazyk Kievskoy Rusi*. "Russkiy yazyk", Moskva 1981, 95–101.

this drama written in sacramental language.⁶² Wars were just one aspect of this large unity.

For the above reason, it would have been quite peculiar, even impossible, for the war narratives to have been written in any other way than the normative way. In an analogous way to the traditional hagiographic genre, also the war stories operated through the ritualistic system of symbols. These rituals were quite different from those in the hagiographic literature dealing with monks, ascetics, as well as other religious strugglers and martyrs. From the theological point of view, the war stories do not only describe private experiences of individuals, but through certain sentence structures they describe the salvation history of the world and the part an individual human being has in it.

What has stimulated speculation among researchers of Alexander's *Life* is how a hagiography and a war story can be combined. Why have the western researchers of history been so bewildered with the seemingly confusing style of Alexander Nevskiy's *Life*? One answer could be that these researchers have automatically interpreted wars to represent part of the secular realm, a misunderstanding which is rooted in ignorance of the medieval spiritual world and the Orthodox religion. What is secular here if everything is created by God and the past occurrences are part of the grand salvation drama?

Mastery of different methods of the literary styles was for its part a demonstration that the writer knew the demands of literature and the language. If Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* had not followed these demands, it would have been in practise the same as if an actor reciting his lines would whisper his threats and roar his confessions of love. The use of the right kind of rhetoric and language helped to transmit an appropriate image to the reader. In this respect, the rhetoric itself served in transmitting the image so that this image was clear, to some extent already familiar and easy to recognise. One must take into an account these demands dealing with associations of the medieval rhetoric while using *The Life* of Alexander Nevskiy as an historical source.

The medieval concept of truth in copying and editing of manuscripts

To emphasise features dealing with copying and editing of the medieval manuscripts, one can compare the medieval writer to the icon painter. There was a custom in Russia that there may have been several masters painting a single icon while it was being made. Even after an icon was ready, it was prepared and painted on with colours and styles considered ideal during each subsequent period. Also, the icons were not provided with signatures because they were not exhibits of their makers' skills, but they symbolised different aspects of divinity on earth. Similar handling was also applied to the medieval writings, which served the same function, the manifestation of divinity on earth, which was preserved by copiers of each period according to the norms and ideals of their period.⁶³

Therefore, a literate medieval Russian did not make a distinction between the creating, copying, editing and translating of the text. For this reason, it was entirely permissible for the copiers to modify their texts by using the norms prevailing in the literature. Thus, the medieval source cannot provide information about concepts and the language of the peri-

62. Uspenskiy 1987, 65.

63. Uspenskiy 1987, 58.

od when it was born, but about norms and language of the period of the person who copied this source.⁶⁴ From the source-critical point of view, this fact has an utmost importance because it is exactly the views of different periods reflected in redactions of Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* which facilitate the examination of the change and the development of the image of the ideal hero.

One can examine with the help of redactions born in different times concepts that are characteristic of different periods and how these concepts have modified the saintly image of Alexander Nevskiy. Interesting questions of the study of the image of Alexander Nevskiy are which kind of acts and which aspects have been emphasised in Alexander's deeds? What kind of image do they transmit of him? Why was this image born? For what purposes was it used? Did the image change? Why did the image change? With the restrictions set by the nature of the medieval source material, the usefulness of image research becomes emphasised. Image research helps to reveal what in the message belongs to the stylistic methods of the period and what belongs to the tendency of political purpose. In this way, the historical truth hiding underneath is uncovered.

The use of Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* as a historical source has not only suffered due to the fact that the language, full of medieval allegories and symbols, has not been accessible to all historians. Another problem has been the use of *The Life* as if it were one static source although there are numerous different medieval versions of *The Life*.⁶⁵ However, historians who refer to Alexander's *Life* have usually not bothered to specify the redaction of *The Life*, but they have commonly referenced *The Life* as to a single source.

The different redactions of Alexander's *Life*, however, represent the views of their writing period. Time also affected the literature style of the hagiography. For instance, through the development of the Euthymian style during the 15th century,⁶⁶ the new editions of Alexander's *Life* broke partially away from the old models at the same time when the narrative became more intriguing. From the initiative of Macarius, the metropolitan of Moscow, the new redactions of *The Life* were written for the canonisation of Alexander Nevskiy in the middle of the 16th century. They represent the emotionally appealing writing style of the Euthymian school most perfectly. The style of Macarius' literary circle has also been described with the words *imperial manner*, which is characterised by lively narration, grandness and imperial use of vocabulary, as well as literary effects such as lines written for a person to recite, which helped to create the feeling of intrigue.⁶⁷

The image of Alexander Nevskiy appears, for this reason, to have become more vivid in the 16th century redactions of his *Life*. A significant feature is that these 16th century

64. Uspenskiy 1987, 56–57.

65. The *Life of Alexander Nevskiy* has been preserved in several copies dating to different periods, and it has also been included in several chronicles starting from the 14th century. Therefore, there are plenty of different versions of the *Life*, and there have also been attempts to divide them to different volumes, or editions. However, there are considerable differences between different scholars in naming and classifying these editions. Begunov for example has counted total of 20 editions of Alexander Nevskiy's *Life* dating from the 13th century to the 18th century, whereas Okhotnikova, for her part, states that the number of editions is only nine. Begunov 1995, 170; Okhotnikova, V. I.: *Povest' o zhitii Aleksandra Nevskogo. Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti drevney Rusi* (hereafter referred to as SKiKDR). Vyp. 1. (XI–Pervaya polovina XIV v.) *Otvetstvennyi redaktor* D. S. Likhachev. "Nauka", Leningrad 1987, 355.

66. In the 15th century, the Hesycastic movement originating from a monastery on Athos Mountain in Greece influenced in the birth of the Euthymian style. This style is also known as the Second Southern Slavic style. Due to the emphasis on mysticism and meditation brought with the Hesycasm, the hagiographies started to describe the inner feelings of their main characters more and the methods of description became more wordy. The new style favoured the use of metaphors and symbols and presented the things with pathos, which left into its shade the description of individual facts. Terras, Victor: *A History of Russian Literature*. Yale University Press, New Haven 1991, 48–49, 51–52.

67. Crummey, Robert O.: *The Formation of Muscovy 1304–1613*. Longman, London 1987, 200.

Lives explain through Alexander Nevskiy's acts the significant occurrences from the point of view of Russian history up to that date. In *Jona Dumin's* redaction written at the end of the 16th century, the political supremacy of Moscow over other principalities of Russia is legitimised by condemning the republican political system as morally questionable, and by demonstrating through Alexander Nevskiy's acts how the centralised political system is the best alternative from the citizen's point of view.⁶⁸ The 16th century editions transmit an image of Alexander Nevskiy as a martyr who sacrifices himself for his country by emphasising the cruelty of the Tatar conquerors.⁶⁹ This image of Alexander Nevskiy as sacrificing himself for his country was transmitted to the greater reading public through Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin, the most significant writer of Russian history in the 19th century, when his highly popular work, *Istoriya gosudarstvo Rossiiskago*, was published between 1829 and 1833.⁷⁰

Karamzin is uniquely known for his literate mastery and aesthetic sensitivity, combined with his history writing. *Istoriya* had a profound influence on, among others, the most famous poet of the golden age of Russian literature, A. S. Pushkin, among whose activities and interests was the study of history, as well as on the production of a novelist, Fedor Dostoevsky.⁷¹

Sentimentality was a common feature in the literature of Karamzin's period, and this sentimentality also reflected very strongly in Karamzin's *Istoriya*, which included a brilliantly presented, cohesive view of Russian history. In addition, it also included a special feature of the early 19th-century literature of presenting a human and his spiritual life against the historical background. Karamzin's *Istoriya* includes a clear tendency to present Alexander Nevskiy as sacrificing himself for his fatherland. Karamzin's knowledge of the period of Alexander and his acts are largely based on the source material written in the 16th century, for Karamzin presents *Stepennaya Kniga* (The Book of Degrees of the Imperial Genealogy) and the chronicles of *Voskresenskaya* and *Nikonovskaya* as his sources.⁷² The chronicles in question are the two most significant collections of chronicles collected in Moscow during the 16th century,⁷³ and, together with *Stepennaya Kniga*, they can be considered as the heralds of the political declaration of the 16th century Moscow.

As a patriotic historian, Karamzin's influence on all forthcoming historical writing was enormous. Karamzin's literary genius, indicated by the stylistic cohesiveness and the intriguing narrative, aimed however toward a certain purpose because he strove to demonstrate with his work that the cohesiveness of Russia depended on its monarchy and the aristocracy uniformly supporting it.⁷⁴ This reflected in the description of Alexander Nevskiy so that the image of him given by Karamzin is idealising. The period when Karamzin's *Istoriya* was published during the reign of Nikolai I, the period of the national

68. *Redaction of Jona Dumin*. In Mansikka 1984, 77–96.

69. The cruelty of the Tatar conquerors and the attitude to sacrificing himself for his people are expressed in a way which is not at all presented in the *Pervonachalnaya* edition. The image that changed in the 16th century is presented particularly clearly in Vasili Varlaam's edition. *Redaction of Vasili Varlaam*. In Mansikka 1984, 42–43.

70. Karamzin, N. M.: *Istoriya gosudarstva rossiiskago*. Reprintnoe vosproizvedenie izdaniya 1842–1844 godov. Moskva 1988.

71. Vernadsky, George: *Russian historiography: A History*. Massachusetts 1978, 45–49; Hellberg-Hirn, Elena: *Soil and Soul: The symbolic World of Russiannes*. Ashgate, Aldershot 1998, 200.

72. Karamzin 1988, 44–45.

73. Kloss, B. M.: *Letopis' Nikonovskaya*. *SKIKDR. Vtoraya polovina XIV–XVI v. Chast' 2*. Otvetsvennyj redaktor D. S. Likhachev. Leningrad 1989, 49; Levina, S. A.: *Letopis' Voskresenskaya*, *SKIKDR. Vtoraya polovina XIV–XVI v. Chast' 2*. Otvetsvennyj redaktor D. S. Likhachev. "Nauka", Leningrad 1989, 39–42.

74. Vernadsky 1978, 52.

awakening and when the Russian idea, *Russkaya ideya*, was born.⁷⁵ The Russian idea includes two fundamental issues that can be easily demonstrated with the help of Alexander Nevskiy. First, it demonstrates high morals, faithfulness to the fatherland. Second, it demonstrates the belief in the survival of the nation.⁷⁶ Therefore, the fate of Alexander Nevskiy has come to be the paradigm of the image of the Russian patriot of which each period has sought to take advantage.

The study of images offers an excellent viewpoint to a static character like Alexander Nevskiy who symbolises the deepest patriotic and religious feelings. It allows the separation of hero's image into its constituent parts and, therefore, the study of what this image is made up of. In this case, the medieval symbolism, the demands of the rhetoric, and the use of allegories are to be understood, above all, as constituent parts of a certain wholeness. On the other hand, the medieval practice of copying manuscripts by adding the views of the copier's own period allows the researcher to examine how the images change over lengthy time intervals. Here, the study of images brings to light the period's values and ideals, symbolised by the person who is the object of description in the hagiography. In this way, the study of the image of Alexander Nevskiy reveals more than just individual occurrences in the life of this Vladimirian prince. It reveals to us the changing messages of values of each medieval circle of writers, the local clergy and the princely family.

Translated by Markku Niskanen and Karen Niskanen

75. Hellberg-Hirn 1998, 5.

76. See Begunov 1995, 169.

Historical Image Research and the Use of Emperorship as the Symbol of the International Relationships in Japan from the Beginning of the 20th Century to the World War II¹

Olavi K. Fält

The emperorship is a central institution in the history of the Japanese culture. Although its political status has greatly fluctuated during different stages of history, its existence has never been questioned during its long history starting from 300 AD. As a result of the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the emperorship was made formally the highest power in Japan until the end of World War II. The emperorship was used during that time to create from a politically fragmented feudal state a modern, centralised, cohesive state. This study examines whether the emperorship was used in the Japanese press and, if so, how it was used as the symbol of Japan's international relations during the period from the Russo-Japanese War to the end of World War II, during which period Japan's international role fluctuated a great deal. In addition, the potential of the image research for this kind of study is considered.

When the use of the emperorship in newspapers is studied, namely as the symbol of the international relationships, unquestionably the best sources are the Japanese-owned English-language newspapers published at that time and intended for the foreign readers, *The Japan Times* (estab. 1897) and *The Osaka Mainichi* (estab. 1922). This study has focused on writings in these papers dating from around the time of Japan's National Foundation Day, *Kigensetsu* (February 11th), and the emperor's birthday, during which the emperor and the emperorship were particularly well represented in these newspapers.

1. See Fält, Olavi K., Keisari kansainvälisten suhteiden symbolina 1900-luvun alkupuoliskon Japanissa (The Emperorship as the symbol of the international relationship in Japan from the beginning of the 20th century to the World War II). "Se rakkain kotipolku". Erkki Kouri ja yleinen historia. Toimittajat Kustaa Multamäki, Markku Peltonen ja Hannes Saarinen. Helsingin yliopiston Historian laitoksen julkaisuja 15. Helsinki 2000, 245–266.

From creator of the great power to builder of international co-operation

At first, the image of the emperor and its interpretations as the symbol of Japan's foreign relationships during the period between the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) and the death of the Emperor Taishō (1926) is examined. Because Japan received as a result of a victorious war recognised status as a great power in East Asia, there are reasons to ask at first whether this new status was visible in the emperor's image. Immediately after the war an epithet, "so majestic and world-wide in renown",² was attached to the emperor's image. Because this epithet had not been used during previous years, it is possible to interpret it as a reflection of Japan's new status as great power. References were made to the contrast between the current emperor's and the previous rulers, such as "like him who reigns over us has never yet ruled the Empire"³, may point to similar reflection; there appeared indicators of growing self confidence, such as "this Empire...shall grow ever greater in the confidence"⁴; in addition, there are references about the potential use of force in the future "who knows how, when and where to use force and restraint to secure justice and humanity"⁵. The image of the emperor reflected in the writings seems to indicate that a new great power was born indeed as a result of war, but can we also interpret the image of the emperor as the symbol of the new great power status?

This interpretation is supported by a reference to how the Islamic states also knew the influence of the emperor's virtues and aspirations⁶. From the Japanese point of view, the choosing of the distant Islamic culture as a boundary marker may seem peculiar in many respects, but it is understandable, particularly if we take into account the emperor's symbolic significance. Japan's interests as a great power reached now considerably further than previously. The founding thought itself was probably borrowed directly from the Japanese nationalistic tradition. For example, Yoshida Shōin (1830–1859), who had influence in the middle of the 19th century, had presented similar thoughts. According to him, the rule of the imperial Japan would expand in all directions; its fate was to be the greatest power in the world.⁷

The image and interests of Japan as a great power reflected in the image of the emperorship also when Korea was incorporated into Japan in 1911. The image of the boundaries of Japan's sphere of interests became further enlarged. The boundaries enclosed now actually the entire world when this event was interpreted as a landmark in the development of all of humankind and as further honour for the emperor himself: "more lustre to the victories of the illustrious virtues of our Emperor".⁸

The new international status of Japan was also reflected in the image transmitted of the Emperor Meiji, who died in 1912. One of the emperor's perceived legacies was among the fact that the sorrow and sympathy caused by his death had brought Japan closer to other people. In particular, there were statements that the world wide sympathy mourning

2. "Long Live the Emperor", *The Japan Times* 2.11.1906.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Brown, Delmer M.: *Nationalism in Japan. An Introductory Historical Analysis*. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1955, 92–93.

8. "The Imperial Birthday", *The Japan Times* 3.11.1910.

of the emperor's death indicated Japan's great power status. Furthermore, he was thought to have been one of the greatest rulers in world history.⁹

World War I did not bring any particular international emphasis in the emperorship's image. This is apparently because Japan's role in the war was quite local and minor. Thus the image, once again, reflected the existing reality, on one hand, and also national interests according to the definitions of image research, on the other hand.

After the war, Japan's international status was defined by the co-operation politics exercised with the victorious leading western states, which in principle provided a new point of view to examine the emperorship image. It was also realised in practice when the crown prince Hirohito, who later became the Emperor Shōwa, was raised as a symbol of the period's international relationships. In early September of 1921, Hirohito had returned from his European trip that had lasted nearly half a year.¹⁰ This trip was unique in many respects. It was especially unique because it was the first time an imperial person, the emperor to be, had travelled outside his country's borders.

The crown prince, who arrived at home in triumph, was perceived as the source of the nation's life and energy and, above all, as the symbol of international co-operation: "along the royal road to a better understanding with other nations of the world, to peace on earth and to goodwill towards all men".¹¹ His trip was considered an omen for the new organisation of closer international relationship between the West and East based on mutual understanding. *The Japan Times & Mail* (JT & M) went so far in its excitement toward the crown prince that it estimated his trip had, on one hand, wiped away, "The semi-divine attributes associated with Emperors and Kings, not at all peculiar only to Japan..."¹² and, on the other hand, strengthened peoples' devotion and loyalty toward him¹³. His trip was considered a victory to Japan and to himself: "He went; he saw; he conquered".¹⁴

Japan's period of mutual international understanding of the early 1920s culminated in the Washington Conference in 1921-1922, in which, among other acts, the size of the world's great powers' navies was limited, and the Anglo-Japanese alliance was replaced by the Four-Power Pacific Treaty between the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan. The United States sought to safeguard China's sovereignty with the Nine-Power Treaty.¹⁵ In this context, the international co-operation was associated in JT & M with the national tradition in an interesting way. The paper borrowed the statement of the Governor General of Korea, Baron Saito, in which it was noted with nationalistic pride that world peace had always been Japan's goal:

"The doctrine of international goodwill and world peace which is written into the results of the Washington Conference has been the national doctrine of Japan since the

9. "Let His Wishes Be Respected", *The Japan Times* 4.8.1912. See also "Meiji Tenno", *The Japan Times* 28.8.1912; "An Inspiring Anniversary", *The Japan Times* 30.7.1913.

10. "Tokyo Route of Imperial Heir Fixed", JT & M 31.8.1921; "Imperial Fleet Welcomes Prince", JT & M 1.9.1921; "No 'Banzais' No Applause for Prince. New Police Order Places Ban on All Democratic Salutations", JT & M 2.9.1921; "Forbidden 'Banzais' is Reared by Millions as Crown Prince Arrives", JT & M 3.9.1921.

11. "Crown Prince's Odyssey a Series of Welcomes", JT & M 3.9.1921.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. "His Imperial Highness", JT & M 3.9.1921.

15. Iriye, Akira: *Across the Pacific. An Inner History of American - East Asian Relations*. New York 1967, 143-145, 151-153; Kajima, Morinosuke: *A Brief Diplomatic History of Modern Japan*. Tokyo 1965, 71-75.

founding of the Empire, more than twenty-five hundred years ago, six centuries before the birth of Christ."¹⁶

The Emperor Taishō died on 25 December 1926. Once again, this meant the end of one period in the country's history and the beginning of a new one.¹⁷ This event is important from the point of view of studying the image of the emperorship because the examination of the past period of the emperor's reign became associated with it, as had also happened 14 years earlier, following the death of Emperor Meiji. The past period was called in JT & M's first comments "the shiny Taishō period", the achievements of which had been Japan's widely spread power of influence in the Asian continent, a constantly increasing international association, and the parliamentary government that was still at its experimental stage.¹⁸

The paper's editorial estimation considered the development that had taken place in the country during the Taishō Period (1912–1926) – in spite of its brevity – equally important to that of the Meiji Period (1868–1912). References were made to the near doubling of the national wealth, advances made in scientific research, and the country's visible role in the construction of world peace. In the paper's opinion, the official name of the period, "the great justness", had been extremely appropriate because it had been the goal of all administration and politics. The paper wanted, particularly, to emphasise Japan's influence in seeking peace, which in its opinion gave the Taishō period its unique stamp such as the increase in military power had given to the Meiji period preceding it.¹⁹ Also *The Osaka Mainichi* & *The Tokyo Nichi Nichi* (OM & TNN) referred to Japan's significant international role and the advances made in democracy in the country during the period of the reign of Emperor Taishō.²⁰ With these references to the nature of the Taishō period, the past emperor was quite clearly elevated to a symbol of the international co-operation and peace.

Before going on to the next period, it is necessary to try to provide a preliminary answer to one of the fundamental research questions. That is, can we interpret the image of the emperorship also as the symbol of international relationship? Based on the above-mentioned examples, we can deduce quite accurately that epithets attached to the emperor by the press referring to the internationalism and the way the emperorship was used and how he was referred to in association with international issues also indicate how the emperor was used as the symbol of Japan's international relationships. The nature of the symbolism transmitted by the emperorship image really seems to reveal the issues in international relationships that were important to Japan.

The harmonic father of all humanity

The Emperor Shōwa (Hirohito) (1901–1989), although young, was not young as a ruler when he became emperor upon the death of his father, the Emperor Taishō. He had acted as regent due to his father's illness since the autumn of 1921 when he returned from his

16. "World Peace Japan's Desire through the Ages", JT & M 11.2.1922.

17. "Passing of Emperor Marks Close of Era", JT & M 25.12.1926.

18. "Glorious of Taisho is Closed with Death of Late Emperor Yoshihito", JT & M 25.12.1926.

19. "National Lamentation", JT & M 26.12.1926.

20. "The Death of the Emperor", OM & TNN 26.12.1926.

European tour. However, the new emperor started a new period and through it created new frames for examination of the emperorship image. It is first discussed what kind of frames the new emperor brought with him and secondly how, in his case, the external factors started to reflect in his image.

At first, he was associated with expectations of the new era. The starting point for estimating the future was given the new period name, Shōwa (1926–1989), which refers to radiant or enlightening peace. According to JT & M, it was extremely appropriate to refer to the reign of an Emperor deeply interested in world peace as the period of “radiant peace”. Peaceful co-operation in the realms of culture and science was more important than the arms race.

"We realize that the spirit of the times is not represented by the prevailing race in constructing cruisers, but by the peaceful and cultural undertakings of the League of Nations and by numerous international scientific congresses."²¹

The change of period was considered to signify an important change in the life of a nation, even to the extent that it was possible to reinterpret the earlier past from the point of view of the period just beginning. While the Meiji Period was formerly considered the period of material and organisational reforms²², it was now perceived, above all, as the period of military advancements²³, during which the country had fought victorious wars and had reached first class state status in the world. The Taishō Period, for its part, had meant the end of the militaristic Japan and preparation of founding the Kingdom of God in international relationships. The Shōwa Period, as its name also indicates, would be the period of peaceful achievements during which things begun earlier were to be completed.²⁴

Hopes for inner and outer harmony during the Shōwa Period as expressed in OM & TNN were similar to those of JT & M. In the spirit of the period, Japan's task was perceived to be the advancement of mutual understanding between Japan and other nations. According to the papers, the press had an important duty to make Japan known in the world and the rest of the world known in Japan. The editors seemed convinced that the Japanese could direct their statehood in the sea of peace under direction of the new emperor.²⁵

Both papers' first estimations and expectations of the future associated with the emperor followed the same line as that dominant already during the previous period. The reference to peace that was emphasised in the name of the new period naturally strengthened public hopes and views for the nation's direction. All of this probably coincided well with the special role of both papers as the channel of foreign readers to Japanese society and as maintainers of international cooperation. It is probable that OM & TNN referred exactly to that when it emphasised the importance of the press as bridge builders from Japan to the outside world and from the outside world to Japan.

During the earliest years of the Shōwa Period, from the late 1920s until 1931, JT & M did not emphasise national days in any special way. We can consider as an exception and

21. "Era of Radiant Peace", JT & M 27.12.1926.

22. "An Inspiring Anniversary", JT & M 30.7.1913.

23. "National Lamentation", JT & M 26.12.1926.

24. "The Dying Year", JT & M 31.12.1926.

25. "World Sympathizes with Japan", *The Osaka Mainichi & The Tokyo Nichi Nichi* (OM & TNN) 28.12.1926.

an indication of nationalism the paper's editorial story of 13 February 1928, written in honour of *Kigensetsu*, the day of the nation's origin. The story was about the first emperor of Japan, Jimmu, and how he became the ruler of all Japan after a war expedition that lasted eight years²⁶. There were in this writing neither references to modern events nor problems. Therefore, it was in this respect rather out of context.

The impressive introduction of Emperor Jimmu can, however, be interpreted as a reflection of strength derived from the past to raise confidence and through it a desire to offer a special Japanese model for international cooperation. This is exactly what OM & TTN did in its writing on the emperor's birthday in 1927. The paper took as its starting point Japan's uniqueness, derived from a single, unbroken dynasty - or as stated in a more patriotic way, a dynasty begun by the founder of Nippon - and from the relationship between emperor and nation, which was compared in Confucian style to a relationship between a loving father and his children. In a nation established on such foundations, only peace and harmony could dominate; it was the secret of Japan's national greatness. Conflicts did not exist in the Japanese system where, contrary to the western governmental system, people were ruled as one big family. According to the newspaper, Japan's participation in international cooperation had given the world a brand new model of political philosophy. It was Japan's great responsibility to show to others that a governmental system that was proven good in Japan would also be good when applied to cooperation between nations and that democracy and the so-called imperialism were not the only ideologies to guide in international ventures toward common harmony. Humankind had called Japan to demonstrate that there may be one unbeatable principle of mutual devotion and goodwill, or more precisely, a family principle, that was now needed, above all, when striving for constructive international cooperation. The emperor celebrating his birthday was held by the paper as a symbol of this great principle for the entire humanity:

"Let us celebrate, then, with greatest joy the Birthday of our great Sovereign who stands as the personal symbol of this great principle at once the ideal of our nation and of humanity."²⁷ (underlined by the author)

The direct use of the concept of symbol in the above quotation further strengthens the interpretation that the image of the emperorship really shows how the emperor was used as the symbol of international relationships.

The fundamental idea of OM & TNN's estimation was to apply the Confucian model of society to international relations. The editors considered this model superior to other competing models, for example, democracy, which had been praised in connection with the emperorship during the preceding Taishō Period. It is also important to notice how the father role of the Confucian model was offered to the emperor of Japan, which in practice could not have meant anything but Japan's leading status in the world. The idea meant that the traditional Chinese worldview, the central state idea, would have been applied to the Japanese worldview. We may ask whether the paper also borrowed, either consciously or unconsciously, Yoshida Shōin's thoughts. As already stated, according to him, Japan would eventually rule in all directions; its faith was to be the greatest power in

26. "The Story of Jimmu Tenno", JT & M 13.2.1928.

27. "The Imperial Birthday", OM & TNN 29.4.1927.

the world. Its hegemony would be just because Japan represented goodwill and goodness.²⁸

The fundamental starting point of the view of Japan's uniqueness as presented by the papers also derived most probably from the imperial nationalism. It had been defined most clearly by Kitabatake Chikafusa (1294–1354), according to whom the great Japan was a divine country. The heavenly forefather had founded Japan and the Goddess of Sun had left the country for her offspring to rule. This was only true in the case of Japan; similar examples were not to be found elsewhere. For this reason, according to Kitabatake, Japan was called a divine country.²⁹

Why then was OM & TNN, as it would seem in light of the above, shifting so noticeably from Taishō Period's worldview, which had emphasised international cooperation, to traditional values already from the beginning of the Shōwa Period and, for example, not during the crisis of 1931 when the Manchurian Incident started? Maybe the paper's background had some influence. Because it was directed to foreign readers, it may have in principle emphasised the potential of the Japanese culture to the international community. It is not an adequate explanation, however, since the same situation had already existed earlier. We probably need to seek an answer from outer and inner pressures, especially from the former, because a threat coming from outside typically emphasises the country's tendency to turn inside, to seek safety in national heritage.

Since 1926, vital Japanese interests in China, especially in Southern Manchuria, and an equal status with other great powers achieved through these interests became endangered because Tshiāng Kai-shek, who had become Guomindang's leader, had just started reuniting China after the chaotic period following the revolution of 1911.³⁰ Disappointments had also been experienced in cooperation with the western nations. Of these, the first significant one had occurred when the League of Nations was founded. At that time, Japan's demand of equality of races was rejected from the League's charter of foundation out of fear of Japanese immigration. Bitterness caused by this rejection was not eased even by the permanent membership Japan received in the council of the League of Nations.³¹ The second strike was the immigration law passed in the United States in 1924, which was primarily directed against immigration from Japan; in practice, this law almost entirely prevented Japanese immigration to the United States. The passing of this law resulted in a strong anti-American reaction and made the relationship of these countries worse, both in the short term and in the long run.³²

Inside pressure had also started to increase in the early 1920s. A group of influential patriotic organisations had emerged to block the threat of western influence. It was feared that the spread of socialism, especially, would endanger Japan's principal national values. Among circles of some groups, western individualism and parliamentarism were also perceived as threats to traditional values. When the above-mentioned decisions of the League of Nations and the United States had humiliated Japan, followed by the gradually worsened economic situation in Japan, were added to this, the public masses became increas-

28. Brown 1955, 92-93.

29. Kitabatake, Chikafusa: *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns. Jinnō Shōtōki*. Translated by H. Paul Varley. New York 1980, 49.

30. Beasley, W.G.: *The Modern History of Japan*. Third revised edition. Tokyo 1982, 238.

31. Beasley 1982, 208.

32. Neumann, William L.: *America Encounters Japan. From Perry to MacArthur*. Second Printing. Baltimore and London 1969, 176 - 179.

ingly receptive to appeals to the traditional values and emphasis on Japan's uniqueness. When viewed from this point of view, the emphasis of traditional values in OM & TNN during the imperial holidays may have reflected changes taking place in the national identity and new nationalistic goals.

On the emperor's birthday in 1929, OM & TNN referred to Japan as a great nation meant to play an important role in the international stage. The emperor, for his part as a ruler of such a nation, had proven capable of taking advantage of all possibilities to coach himself to be a great emperor. According to the paper, he looked toward the future to perform great deeds to the empire as his magnificent grandfather, the Emperor Meiji, had done in his time.³³

The reference to the nation's magnificent future and mission can probably be considered a continuation of the paper's new policy. It reflected expectations and challenges of international politics facing Japan. The comparison of the emperor with his grandfather rather than his father may also indicate how the international theatre, in particular, was where Japan was expected to act more forcefully than before. During the period of the Emperor Meiji, the country had been systematically built and reformed, but also its status as a great world power was created. Was this the task referred to when drawing a comparison between Emperor Shôwa and Emperor Meiji? During Emperor Taishô's period, Japan had largely followed western models both internally and externally. The foreign policy was characterised by the stage of cooperation during which Japan's role had not stood out so clearly as unique and independent as during the preceding Meiji Period. In any event, signs of a turning point in the country's international relationships were visible in the image of emperor that had functioned as a symbol of international relationships.

From leader of victorious war to the condition of peace

The Manchurian Incident of the autumn of 1931 started Japan's invasion of the continent and created at the same time a brand new international environment in which the image of the emperorship is next examined. An international crisis also meant that the domestic problems became more critical, which added pressure to unite the nation more tightly. For this reason, the emperorship became from this point onward expressly the symbol of national unity and power, a symbol which especially the right wing and the military sought to exploit. At that time, the emperorship was hardly ever referred to from the point of view of international relationships. In those rare cases this was done, the emperorship was used to defend against pressures from the right wing and from the military. JT & M remarked during the spring of 1932 how it had to be remembered that at times of such strongly emphasised nationalism the fundamental institution of the empire was not characterised by xenophobic sentiments. The paper quoted the late Emperor Meiji's order to seek knowledge from all over the world. According to the paper, this order had been followed by his majesty the emperor, many members of the royal family, as well as subjects who had studied and travelled abroad.³⁴

33. "Long Live the Emperor", OM & TNN 30.4.1929.

34. "Tenchosetsu", JT & M 30.4.1932.

Efforts were made to unite the requirements of national unity and international cooperation in this defensive battle, as OM & TNN did in February of 1934. The paper demanded national unity from everyone so that the nation would be ready when faced by a crisis, but also caution so that the relationships of Japan and nations friendly to Japan would not be broken. In other words, the nation was not allowed to listen to those who sought to break its internal unity, but neither to those who sought to break its relationships with other nations.³⁵

Due to the Chinese-Japanese war that started in the summer of 1937, international sentiments had to give way, and the emperor became merely the symbol of Japanese national unity to the world outside:

"But it is not the amount of sufferings that concern us; it is the resolution with which the nation faces and overcomes such sufferings that count most and we may justifiably claim that the world has not seen a nation more determined than ever to carry on as the Japanese on this anniversary of His Majesty's Birthday"³⁶ (underlining by the author)

A threat against the outside world was also sometimes added to this, as OM & TNN did in association with the *Kigensetsu* celebration of 1941. The paper demanded from the people indomitable spirit and strong determination to resolve the China situation and to threaten the United States with the end of Japan's patience if the United States would not give up its impudent attitude, which the paper described as pointing a dagger at the throat.³⁷

After Japan started war against the United States and her allies in December of 1941, the emperorship was a natural symbol for Japan's war in respect to both victories as well as casualties. In February of 1942, JT & M glorified Japan's magnificent victories in connection to the first *Kigensetsu* celebrations since the war started. It was during the *Kigensetsu* day that the Japanese troops had reached Singapore. That day was considered the most significant *Kigensetsu* in Japan's history, and the success of the country's armies was compared to victories of the greatest conquerors of world history: "Our men are now among the world's immortals".³⁸ The empire was, according to the paper, fulfilling the biggest task of its history, freeing millions of fellow Asians from Anglo-American oppression and establishing a new world order in which all nations of the Asian continent could achieve their just nationalistic goals.³⁹

Also according to OM & TNN, the empire had probably never during her history spent *Kigensetsu* with such confidence, hope, bravery and satisfaction than at that time. The paper praised the victories achieved in two months by estimating that such victories would normally demand at least a century. However, the paper was not so certain of victory than was JT & M because, regardless of victories, OM & TNN reminded its readers that the work to chase the United States and Great Britain out of East Asia was still entirely unfinished. Therefore, the paper referred to the Emperor Jimmu's difficulties

35. "Kigensetsu", OM & TNN 11.2.1934.

36. "Imperial Birthday", JT & M 29.4.1939. See also "The Emperor's Birthday", JT & M 30.4.1940.

37. "Kigen-Setsu of 1941", OM & TNN 11.2.1941.

38. "A Unique Kigensetsu", JT & M 13.2.1942.

39. Ibid.

when he was creating a united Japan and demanded that everyone do all they could to achieve the great goal since the issue dealt with the fate of the empire.⁴⁰

A nationalistic view of the emperor's global role was also attached to Japan's conquests because JT & M stated on the emperor's birthday of 1942 how the imperial virtue now reached the earth's eight corners⁴¹ and how the purpose of the imperial rule was to help all nations to find and guarantee their own place in the world. It was considered a good sign that in the Philippines the imperial birthday was "spontaneously" taken as a national holiday. Views of the future were also light, because according to the paper, the empire had never before celebrated the imperial birthday with a more noble heart and with greater optimism than during that spring. The nation was more than happy to be allowed to make sacrifices when knowing that they were a rather reasonable price to pay for East Asia's new happiness. The sword of justice was seldom raised to more noble purpose in history than at that time.⁴²

OM & TNN, for its part, was drawing for its readers a picture of an emperor reaching superhuman scale who personally directed the strategy and operations of the imperial troops as well as took care of the administration of people's best interests in the middle of difficulties toward the new world history:

"We are overwhelmed with gratitude that His Majesty the Emperor thus proceeds towards the consummation of the greatest task since the beginning of the world by leading the subjects from above. Such a great endeavor cannot help but produce results of the greatest brilliance in history".⁴³ (underlining by the author)

The next year, when the United States started to receive the better part of success in the war, national holidays were an excellent means of creating faith and confidence in Japan's goals and also of warning the enemy indirectly of Japan's fighting power. In connection with the Kigensetsu of 1943, JT & M – which had received a new nationalistic name, *The Nippon Times* – compared the current war to the Emperor Jimmu's military campaign fought over 2600 years earlier, through which he had created the Japanese empire. It was hoped that the current war would be followed by a similar success to that of the Emperor Jimmu, especially because the goals were considered equally ideal. Global goals associated with the emperorship were emphasised as before by borrowing the Emperor Jimmu's mythical words about how his goal was to see justice survive and the whole world become as peaceful and harmonic as if it were one family. To raise common expectations, possibly also among the allies who followed Japanese issues through the English-language press of Japan⁴⁴, readers were reminded that the country had never been defeated during her history. Therefore, there was not the slightest doubt whether Japan would win the current gigantic war as completely as the previous ones.⁴⁵

OM & TNN – which had received a new and shorter name, *The Mainichi* – did not appeal to Jimmu's example as strongly as did *The Nippon Times* although it also empha-

40. "Kigen-setsu", OM & TNN 11.2.1942.

41. "One Hundred Million People of Japan Will Celebrate Tencho-setsu Today", JT & M 29.4.1942.

42. "Imperial Birthday", JT & M 29.4.1942.

43. "Long Live H.M. The Emperor", OM & TNN 29.4.1942.

44. Ogata, Tamotsu: Witness of Japan's Most Turbulent, Exciting Era. *The Japan Times* 22.3.1977.

45. "Kigensetsu", *Nippon Times* (NT) 11.2.1943.

sised how specifically that year Kigensetsu and founding of the nation by the Emperor Jimmu were under special attention in comparison to earlier years, which could be interpreted as raising the nation's spirit in a war that was intensifying.⁴⁶

A magnificent emperor represented to *The Nippon Times* a symbol of victorious Japan both to Japanese as well as to other East Asians:

"In Shonan and in Manila, in Djakarta and in Hongkong, and in hundreds of other cities and towns throughout East Asia, men, women and children, their eyes bright with the dignity of a new-found pride, will turn their thoughts today toward the graciousness of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, and their hearts will be filled with the rich joy of gratitude."⁴⁷

Apparently in an effort to remind the enemy and to raise the fighting spirit when the Japanese faced difficulties on the war front, *The Nippon Times* emphasised to readers in connection with the *Kigensetsu* of 1944 that Japan had not lost a single war during her history. The unexpected victories over the Mongols, China and Russia were being remembered. It was emphasised how material inferiority in the past as well as today would be more than adequately compensated for by the Japanese spiritual strength, which was further elevated by the assurance of absolute justice of their own cause. There was no doubt that the same bravery and confidence would lead to victory also in the current war.⁴⁸

The use of increasingly strong language when referring to the enemy in *The Mainichi* – the paper called the United States and Great Britain international pirates and rabble – may have indicated the gravity of the situation. To raise a fighting spirit, the paper referred once again to the Emperor Jimmu's enormous task in founding the Empire. Therefore, bringing the war to a quick and grand finish was the least that could have been done to show him gratitude.⁴⁹

In connection with the imperial birthday of the same year, *The Nippon Times* signalled to the enemies, this time quite directly, about Japan's unity and spiritual power as well as through it apparently also how difficult it would be to beat the Japanese by a statement of how the imperial birthday had significance also to the enemy. The paper reminded them of the unique alliance of spiritual and material power which the Japanese possessed. An indication of this was the Japanese respect toward their emperor, the personification of Japan's honour and power. For him, the Japanese were ready to withstand any kind of difficulties and to perform every sacrifice. Furthermore, the birthday reminded the enemies that Japan, against whom they fought, was the only really unified nation in the world. The Japanese formed a single unified mass that had no equal anywhere. It was natural that such spiritual and material power would only become stronger when the current problems of the world were being solved.⁵⁰

Such emphases and references in the paper clearly indicate that the state of war was becoming increasingly difficult from Japan's point of view. *The Mainichi's* estimation of the war situation signalled the same. According to this paper, Japan had to beat a villainous enemy that threatened the empire's existence. The paper considered the situation the

46. "Kigen-Setsu", *The Mainichi* 12.2.1943.

47. "Tenchosetsu", NT 29.4.1943.

48. "Kigensetsu", NT 11.2.1944.

49. "Strengthen Determination On Each Kigen-setsu", *The Mainichi* 12.2.1944.

50. "Tenchosetsu", NT 29.4.1944.

most critical so far in the war. Therefore, subjects were demanded to do all they could, especially when the emperor showed them an excellent example by working from the early morning until late at night for the nation.⁵¹

During the *Kigensetsu* of 1945, *The Mainichi* confessed that fortunes of war had turned against Japan. The paper considered it, however, just a stage in the global "Greater East Asian War", which would still demand many years of struggle before the deadly enemy would be destroyed. The divine Nippon, the faith of which was to be of the same age as the sky and the earth, would win eventually. When the *Kigensetsu* was being celebrated and the founder of the empire, the Emperor Jimmu, was being thanked, it was basically an acknowledgement that this thanking and praising could not be anything but a commitment to make the well-being of the imperial family and the bloom of the empire eternal. The paper emphasised the necessity of winning the war also by pointing out that the goals of war were already bearing fruit during the time of the Emperor Jimmu when he was founding the empire. His ideal had been to establish eternal peace in the world and a blessing for all of humankind. The war that was currently taking place was only an expansion of this idea.⁵² In other words, according to the paper, the war dealt after all with the most sacred of the Japanese heritage, the founding of a nation, its eternity and divinity. Therefore, the paper put "everything into the game" during a moment of distress from the point of view of the traditional emperor-centred worldview.

During the spring celebration of the emperor's birthday and when the possibility of a defeat seemed increasingly obvious, *The Nippon Times*, probably preparing for this defeat and looking at the same time for a solution acceptable to the Japanese, communicated to the outside world the uniquely close relationship between the emperorship and people due to which it would be extremely difficult to conquer the country. The Japanese were in principle ready to fight "until the last man" for their emperor.⁵³ This message was obviously hiding a fear that after a possible defeat the victors could try to question the emperor's status and the continuation of the institution of emperorship, consequences of which the paper was already warning beforehand.

The *Kigensetsu* in the beginning of the war in 1942 was according to JT & M the most significant holiday of the country up to that date. On the emperor's birthday in 1945, the paper wrote that the country was in one of the most fateful stages during its long history. In this situation, the paper compared the relationship between the emperor and the people to that of between a father and his children, and by clearly borrowing thoughts of Yoshida, who lived in the 19th century,⁵⁴ the paper referred to the mutual dependency of the people and the emperor:

"There can be no Japanese nation without the Emperor any more than there can be no family without a father; thus for the Japanese the Emperor and the State are connate and one."⁵⁵ (underlining by the author)

51. "Long Live His Majesty The Emperor", *The Mainichi* 29.4.1944.

52. "Empire's Ideal Must Be Vindicated", *The Mainichi* 12.2.1945.

53. "Tenchosetsu", NT 29.4.1945.

54. Brown 1955, 92–93.

55. "Tenchosetsu", NT 29.4.1945.

In connection with the above, the paper directly demanded the keeping of the emperorship also in case of a possible defeat by reminding the enemy about the Japanese readiness to sacrifice themselves for the emperor:

"The enemy, recognizing in the position of the Imperial Family the unique source of Japan's strength, would, if he could, forcibly alter the basic polity of the Japanese nation...The relation between the Emperor and the people, not being merely political and temporal but spiritual and religious, cannot be changed by human face or external circumstances. The reign of the Imperial House is thus eternal and immortal so long as a single subject of the Emperor should remain alive."⁵⁶ (underlining by the author)

The paper emphasised that the more intense the enemy attacks, the closer the relationship between the emperor and people became, the greater the emperor's goodwill toward his people and the more loyal the people were to their emperor. The loyalty derived from unshaken faith that the emperor and the Japanese state, due to their inner character, would overcome all passing difficulties to bloom forever, as they had bloomed since time immemorial. According to the paper, the loyalty gave the empire unbeatable strength and made Japan a divinely blessed country that had no beginning or end, but was eternal and immortal as the sky and the earth, as the Emperor Jimmu was said to have stated during his time.⁵⁷

In this fashion, the paper was getting ready for Japan's defeat while at the same time casting faith and confidence in the country's eternal future. It appealed to Japan's uniqueness that set Japan apart from other countries – Japan's divine origin and the eternal existence based on the loyalty felt to the emperor – with exactly the same thoughts than Kitabatake had once written in the 14th century.⁵⁸

The Mainichi, for its part, was already considerably more quiet at this stage. It considered the current crisis the most serious in the nation's history. Thus, the paper's sentiments were at that time, just like those of *The Nippon Times*, entirely opposite from those it had three years previously. It appealed as before with nearly identical words, already in routine fashion, that the entire nation should form a shield for the imperial family and that there had never before been an emperor who would have worked so entirely for his people than the current emperor. Apparently being afraid, as was *The Nippon Times*, for the imperial dynasty after possible defeat, the paper prayed for the continuation of the imperial line.⁵⁹

Writings of both papers during the late stages of war must be interpreted as a clear message to the enemy countries where the continuation of the emperorship was demanded as a precondition of surrender. Therefore, the emperor was made a threshold for Japan's unconditional surrender. The emperorship represented, according to a nationalistic view, cultural continuity; without which there would be no Japan. Everything else could be sacrificed but the emperor. However, while the emperor became the condition and symbol of surrender, he also became the symbol of peace.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Kitabatake 1980, 49.

59. "Long Live His Majesty!", *The Mainichi* 29.4.1945.

Overall, these two Japanese newspapers presented for international readers an image of the emperor indicating him as the Japanese symbol of international relationships. Changes to this image occurring across decades reflected quite faithfully those changes that occurred in Japan's international relationships at that time. The creator of a great world power and the symbol of international cooperation and victorious war became in the end the condition of Japan's surrender and the symbol of new peace. It was an indication of the central significance of the emperorship in the Japanese culture of the time. The emperorship was at the same time a mirror of the society that reflected the worldview of the time, values and goals, as well as a tool to shape and direct the worldview, values and goals. It was a strong weapon in the use of those who gained access to it. Furthermore, it was the symbol of things Japanese, both good and bad, to the outside world.

Translated by Markku Niskanen and Karen Niskanen

Notes on contributors

Kari Alenius is assistant professor of General History at the University of Oulu, Finland. He has published several articles on the ethnic relations in Estonia and he is the author of *Ahkeruus, edistys, ylimielisyys. Virolaisten Suomi-kuva kansallisen heräämisen ajasta tsaarinvallan päättymiseen (n. 1850–1917)* (Hardworking, progressive, arrogant: The image of Finland in the eyes of the Estonians from the period of national awakening to the end of the Tsarist era), which was also his doctoral thesis in 1996.

Olavi K. Fält is professor of General History at the University of Oulu. He is author of several books and articles in Finnish on Japan, and *Fascism, Militarism or Japanism? The interpretation of the crisis years of 1930–1941 in the Japanese English-language press* (1985), and *The Clash of Interests. The transformation of Japan in 1861–1881 in the eyes of the local Anglo-Saxon press* (1990) both published in English by The Historical Association of Northern Finland.

Seija Jalagin is assistant of General History and Japanese Studies at the University of Oulu. In her research and teaching she has focused on cultural interaction between the West and Japan. Seija Jalagin is currently writing her doctoral thesis on Finnish missionary women in early 20th century Japan.

Mari Mäki-Petäys is researcher at the University of Oulu. She has published several articles on the image of Alexander Nevskiy in Russian medieval sources and in later conceptions. She is currently working on her doctoral thesis titled *The warrior and the saint: the image of Alexander Nevskiy in medieval Russia*.

Teuvo Raiskio is a Doctor of Philosophy (General History, University of Oulu 1997). In his doctoral thesis he studied the Finnish missionary work among Bushmen in eastern Ovambo and Kavango in Namibia in 1950–1985, focusing on the image of Bushmen conveyed by it (Teuvo Raiskio, *Oudosta kulkijasta ihmiseksi*, 1997). In the last few years he has worked as a researcher in the social field, participating in the International M.Ed. Programme at the University of Oulu (1998–1999) and more recently as a researcher of the Finnish Federation for Social Welfare and Health studying how people manage to live at borderline of work (The New Work -project: *The Oppressive Evaluation at the Borderline of Work in Post-war Finland*. Towards New Work. Helsinki 2001).

Sinikka Wunsch is an editor who is now working as a researcher at the University of Oulu. In her Master's and Licentiate theses she analysed Finnish newspapers' presenta-

tion of the Soviet Union as an adversary during the Winter War. She is currently working on her doctoral thesis entitled: *The Image of Soviet Union in the Leading Finnish Newspapers from March 1938 to the beginning of the Continuation War in June 1941.*