# The media campaign against denunciations as a tool of nationalist mobilisation in Finland, 1899–1917

**SAMI SUODENJOKI**

*Tampere University*

This article examines the role of the print media in a campaign against political denunciations in the Grand Duchy of Finland from 1899 to 1917. It explores how the public condemnation of denunciations and denouncers evolved into a means for Finnish nationalist activists to raise national awareness and mobilise citizens against the integration policies of the Russian government. The source material includes Finnish newspapers and magazines, analysed through qualitative and computational methods, and a corpus of letters between citizens and the Governor-General. The article shows that the increase in the media coverage of denunciations was linked to the imperial integration policies, and that newspapers across party lines framed the denunciations as a national threat. The anti-denunciation campaign culminated during the revolutions of 1905 and 1917, when the nationalist news media published extensive name lists of denouncers based on findings from the confiscated papers of the imperial authorities. Overall, the article suggests that the media campaign against denunciations effectively suppressed the practice of denunciation in Finland, even if it also fostered an atmosphere of ubiquitous surveillance and may have inspired some individuals to become denouncers.

**Keywords:** Denunciation, Print Media, Finland, Russian Empire, Nationalism, Revolution

One of the heated topics in the Finnish media during the last two decades of Russian rule were political denunciations. The press reported continually about Finnish citizens who, seeking to promote their personal interests, informed the Russian authorities about the anti-government activity of their fellow citizens. This reporting took place against the backdrop of the integration measures that the Russian government implemented, especially in 1899–1905 and 1908–1917. The integration measures aimed at reducing the autonomy of the Grand Duchy of Finland and incorporating it administratively and legislatively more closely with Russia. However, these imperial measures faced strong opposition from Finnish nationalists, who used the press as a powerful tool for mobilising citizens to defend the autonomy and civil liberties of Finland against what they saw as oppression.

In this article, I focus on how the Finnish print media campaigned against denunciations and used this campaign to mobilise the nation against the imperial policies. I explore the dynamics of this campaign from 1899 to 1917 and shed light on the related exposure of denouncers, which peaked during the revolutionary moments of 1905 and 1917. I argue that the public condemnation of political denunciations and denouncers in the press evolved into an important means for nationalist activists to arouse the national awareness of ordinary Finns. This was because the press provided people with a nationalistic frame for how to interpret denunciations and treat citizens who were suspected of aiding the imperial authorities. Moreover, I show how the campaign against denunciations cut across party lines but also became a weapon in the power struggle between the different factions of the nationalist movement.

My main source material consists of Finnish newspapers and magazines, which I analyse by using both qualitative and computational methods. All Finnish newspapers and most periodicals from the period under

examination have been digitised into a searchable online archive by the National Library of Finland, which makes it relatively easy to trace writings on denunciations and denouncers. To shed more light on individual cases, I also use a corpus of correspondence between ordinary citizens and the Governor-General, who was the highest representative of the imperial government in Finland. This corpus comprises several hundred letters, including numerous denunciations from people who were exposed as denouncers by the contemporary press. As I have shown earlier, many of the senders emphasised their loyalty to the Russian regime and accused their fellow citizens of anti-government activity, often explicitly dissociating themselves from the form of Finnish nationalism that was offered to them by the Finnish media.[1] Thus, these letters indicate that not all people responded to the nationalist exhortation in the way the nationalists hoped. This is in line with more recent scholarship of nationalism, which has problematised the view of nation-building as a top-down process and the automatic assumption that the population internalised the nationalist message offered to them through the media.[2]

A considerable amount of research has been devoted to the Finnish media scene of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The history of the Finnish print media was extensively studied in the 1970s and 1980s, and this research outlined the party-political affiliations of newspapers and the mechanisms of censorship during the last decades of Russian rule.[3] There is also research on the media channels of the imperial government in Finland.[4] Recent scholarship has supplemented this earlier research, above all by using new digital tools to shed light on, for example, the political language of newspapers.[5] However, the role of the print media in Finnish nationalist mobilisation still remains under-researched, even if the political currents of the late imperial era have long been a core topic of Finnish historiography.

Since the 1990s, the practice of denunciation has been of continuous interest to historians. An important strand of this research has focused on the social dynamics of denunciation in twentieth-century authoritarian regimes, but many studies have also examined denunciations submitted to power holders in earlier periods.[6] In his recent comparative study, Patrick Bergemann has suggested that two prerequisites are crucial for denunciations to become widespread in a society. First, the authorities need to build institutions of social control for solicitating and processing denunciations. Second, people need to be willing to denounce other people to the authorities. These two prerequisites can be met by the authorities in two ways, which Bergemann calls the coercion model and the voluntary model. In the coercion model, the authorities encourage people to inform by using various positive or negative incentives, whereas in the voluntary model, the authorities do not offer incentives but are highly responsive to denunciations and try to make denouncing as easy and safe as possible for citizens.[7]

Bergemann's theory lends itself to explaining denunciations in Finland in the late imperial era, but it is appropriate to supplement it by explicitly considering the role of the mass media in nourishing or curbing the practice of denunciation. The Grand Duchy of Finland during the late imperial era provides a distinctive case in that the imperial authorities lacked a firm grip on the Finnish mass media, which was closely tied to nationalist networks. This had crucial consequences for the safety of denouncing and thereby the spreading of the practice of denunciation. By showing how the Finnish nationalist media fought denunciations, I enter into a dialogue with previous scholarship that has addressed how the media affected the practice of denunciation. Studies on different historical contexts have indicated how the press in itself has practised the denunciation of enemies or called upon citizens to expose enemies of the state, thus contributing to the spreading of the culture of

denunciation.[8] A case in point is Tamara Scheer's study, which shows how the Habsburg War Surveillance Office used the German-language media to encourage denunciations and to frame informing as a patriotic duty in Austria during the First World War.[9]

The present article is divided to four sections. In the first section, I outline the evolution of the Finnish national movement and its connections with the print media during the late imperial era. The second section explores the scope and character of the press coverage of denunciations in Finland, while the third section delves into the role of the media in exposing and targeting individual informers. Finally, before concluding, I shed light on how the campaigns against denunciations culminated during the revolutionary periods of 1905 and 1917.

## Finnish nationalism and the media in the late imperial era

Finland was a part of the Russian Empire as a Grand Duchy from 1809 to 1917. The Grand Duchy had more autonomy than any other part of the empire, and its considerable freedom of the press and assembly and strong local self-government contributed to the development of civil society after the mid-nineteenth century. Nonetheless, like other western borderlands of the empire, Finland became a target of the Russian government's integration policies at the end of the nineteenth century. Especially in 1899–1905 and 1908–1917, the imperial government sought to reduce the legislative and administrative autonomy of Finland, restrict civil liberties, and intensify police surveillance.[10] As a result, these years were labelled by contemporaries as periods of oppression and later in national historiography as periods of Russification.

The imperial integration policies caused widescale opposition among Finns.[11] The Finnish press played a crucial role in the opposition, having experienced significant growth since the mid-nineteenth century. Following the Crimean War, the Russian government relaxed censorship and granted more press freedom in Finland, nourishing the development of both Finnish- and Swedish-language newspapers. The combination of the popular press, the formation of new mass organizations, and the convening of the Finnish Diet in 1863 elevated political activity in Finland to a new stage.[12] This development proved vital in fostering determined resistance during the subsequent period of oppression.

The new political space that emerged in the late nineteenth century was characterised by a division into two parties, the Liberals and the Fennomans. Both parties were nationalistic, but their nationalism differed in essence. The Liberals looked to other countries' advanced political systems as models to emulate and expressed support for national unification and liberation. However, they did not see language as the decisive factor in forming a national community. In contrast, the Fennomans questioned the Liberal's dedication to the national cause and successfully portrayed them as proponents of the Swedish language in Finland, partly because the Swedish-language press advocated their views. While the Fennoman movement had initially started among Swedish-language intellectuals, too, it developed into a Finnish party that claimed to represent the Finnish people and sought to enhance the status of the Finnish language vis-á-vis Swedish.[13] The message of the Finnish party was effectively disseminated via the rapidly growing Finnish-language press, whose circulation surpassed that of the Swedish-language press by the 1880s.[14]

The intensification of the imperial integration policies contributed to a split in the Finnish party. One branch of the party, called the Old Finns, responded to the integration measures with compliance, arguing that

open resistance would only provoke the Russian government into adopting harsher measures to suppress the autonomy of Finland. From 1906 onwards, this branch of moderate nationalists was organised into a modern political party, which kept the name of the Finnish party. The other party branch, the Young Finns, advocated nonmilitary opposition against the integration policies but also downplayed the language strife between Finnish and Swedish. To defend the Finnish cause, they allied with the liberal Swedish party to form a constitutionalist party at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[15] This constitutionalist front was joined also by the Agrarian League, which was formed in 1906 to represent farmers' interests. Thus, the constitutionalists were composed of multifarious actors, including radicals who did not stick to non-violent means of fighting the imperial policies but turned to clandestine or even terrorist schemes.[16]

On the left of the political spectrum, the socialist labour movement emerged in Finland around 1900. The socialists presented their own version of nationalism that emphasised the extension of civil rights, and they became a powerful player in Finnish politics after the General Strike of 1905, which forced the tsar to suspend imperial integration measures and introduce democratic reforms in Finland. As the largest party in the unicameral parliament from 1907 onwards, the Social Democratic Party also became a fervent critic of the imperial integration policies, as it held that these policies were directed first and foremost against the labour movement.[17]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, nearly all the newspapers in Finland were affiliated with one of the emerging political parties. The Young Finns had the greatest number of organs, but there were also many newspapers affiliated with the Old Finns and the Swedish party. The first newspapers affiliated with the labour movement were established in the 1890s, and the socialist press grew rapidly and

became a key tool for the Social Democratic Party in election campaigning after 1905. At this point, newspapers affiliated with the Agrarian League also entered the media market. All these organs, regardless of party affiliation, were nationalistic in the sense that they defended the autonomy of Finland against imperial interests, even if the party papers continually accused other parties of toadying up to the Russian regime.[18]

A characteristic feature of the media climate in Finland was the relatively large freedom of the press, at least in comparison with the rest of the Russian Empire. Imperial censorship had been loosened in the mid-nineteenth century, after which the amount of political content had gradually increased in Finnish newspapers. Direct criticism of the tsar and imperial policies certainly remained prohibited, and the government tightened censorship and stiffened penalties for papers that violated censorship orders again in 1899. Further restrictions on press freedom were introduced in 1914 when the World War began. Nevertheless, even during the most intense periods of censorship, newspapers and periodicals were able to find subtle and metaphorical ways to protest against the imperial policies. In addition, the integration measures gave rise to underground magazines, which were circulated through the network of nationalist activists and some of which were imported from Sweden.[19]

The Russian government was frustrated by its inability to control the Finnish media and to voice its aims effectively to the Finnish public.[20] The government had at its disposal two official newspapers, *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* and *Suomalainen Wirallinen Lehti*, but they mostly published announcements and proclamations and were therefore ill-suited for the exercise of political influence. To create a true propaganda channel, the Governor-General established a Russian-language newspaper, *Finlyandskaya Gazeta*, which was in circulation from 1900 to

1917. This Russian-language paper reached administrative circles but was inaccessible to the common people, because few Finns knew the Russian language. Aware of this, the Governor-General's office also started to publish a Finnish-language version of *Finlyandskaya Gazeta*, titled *Suomen Sanomat*.[21] This periodical found some readers among pro-Russian citizens, which is indicated by some letters from Finnish informers to the Governor-General. They presented the periodical as an alternative media to the Finnish commercial press, just as the Governor-General's office had intended.[22] Nevertheless, *Suomen Sanomat* never succeeded in competing for mass readership with the commercial press, and it was dissolved in 1904. Other similar publications were not established thereafter.[23] As a consequence, the Russian government continued to struggle to voice its own standpoints efficiently through the media and to suppress the 'secessionism' of the Finnish media.

A crucial reason for the close connection between nationalism and the media was the background of the editors. Rather than being professional journalists, many of them were politicians and civic activists par excellence, and some were involved in the underground opposition to the imperial integration policies. Among the many politician-journalists who ran into problems with the imperial authorities was Eero Erkko, who edited the Young Finnish *Päivälehti* until the Russian government expelled him on the suspicion of anti-government activity in 1903. However, he was allowed to return to Finland in 1905 and he continued to edit a constitutionalist newspaper.[24] In later years, similar problems with officialdom afflicted several editors of socialist newspapers, some of whom were sentenced to prison terms for 'lèse-majesté' because of their writings on imperial policies.[25] In some cases, the punitive measures against journalists or newspapers may have been in part due to denunciations sent to the Russian authorities. This, in turn, helps to explain why the Finnish nationalist press targeted political denunciations so vigorously.

## The coverage of denunciations in the press

The Finnish press covered political denunciations in thousands of writings during the period under examination. The scale of this coverage is shown by Figure 1, which depicts the relative frequency of the Finnish- and Swedish-language words for denunciation in Finnish newspapers and periodicals from 1890 to 1917. The figure indicates that the Finnish word '*ilmianto*' became increasingly common in the press after the year 1899, which marked a new phase in the imperial integration policies. In 1900, '*ilmianto*' appeared in the Finnish-language corpus five times more frequently per million words than in 1898. In the corpus of Swedish-language newspapers and periodicals, the changes are very similar throughout the period under examination. In both corpora, the temporary decrease in the relative frequency from 1902 to 1904 might be caused by the tightening of press censorship, whereas the peaks in 1905 relate to the loosening of censorship after the general strike. Censorship might also explain why the relative frequencies decreased after the outbreak of the First World War.

The changes in the relative frequencies shown in the figure do not themselves prove that these changes relate to increased coverage of *political* denunciations. The terms for denunciation were used in newspapers and periodicals also in other contexts, most notably in those of police investigations and lawsuits. For this reason, other methods are needed to explain the growing popularity of the terms after 1899. One way is to examine whether certain words related to the political situation occurred in the proximity of 'denunciation' more frequently in the period 1899–1917 than before it.

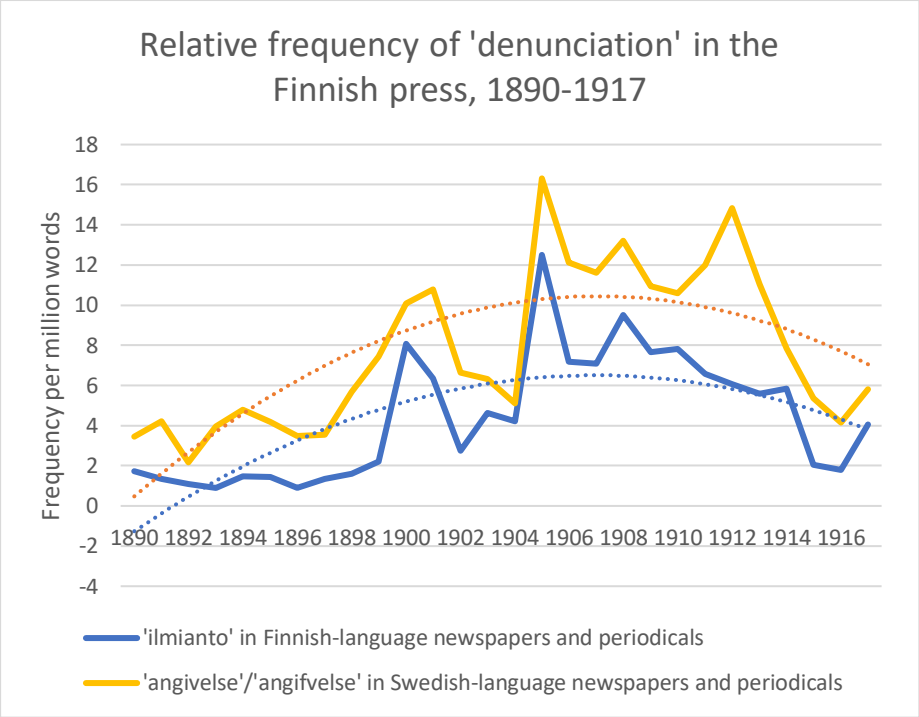


**Figure 1:** Relative frequency of 'denunciation' in the Finnish press, 1890–1917. Source: KORP tool of the Language Bank of Finland <https://korp.csc.fi/korp/> [accessed 27/1/2023].

In the corpus of Finnish-language newspapers, for example, the adjective '*valtiollinen*' (political) and the nouns '*kenraalikuvernööri*' (Governor-General), '*santarmi*' (gendarme), and '*majesteettirikos*' (lèse-majesté) occurred in the proximity of (in collocation with) '*ilmianto*' far more often in 1899–1917 than in the preceding years 1890–1898. In fact, the terms 'political', 'Governor-General', 'gendarme', and 'high treason' occurred extremely seldom or not at all in collocation with 'denunciation' before 1899.[26] This implies that the start of the Finno-

Russian crisis increased the use of denunciation as a concept related to politically motivated accusations sent to the imperial authorities.

When assessing the validity of these observations, it is important to consider the limitations of the data and tools used. Firstly, the quality of optical character recognition (OCR) for the digitized newspapers varies significantly, depending on the print quality of the physical newspapers and the noise level in the digital versions. Additionally, OCR struggles with Fraktur typeface, which was still common especially in Finnish-language newspapers but gradually gave way to Antiqua during the period under examination. Secondly, my findings were obtained using the ready-made interfaces provided by the National Library of Finland and the Language Bank of Finland. It is worth noting that the data available in the Language Bank's KORP tool lacks a significant portion of newspapers published between 1911 and 1917, resulting in incomplete results for those years in Figure 1.[27] However, it is difficult to assess whether these issues noticeably affect the counted relative frequencies. For more detailed information on the collocates of the terms for denunciation, I would need to utilize the raw text data of the digitized newspapers and employ more sophisticated methods of digital text analysis.[28] However, this is beyond the scope of the current article.

To give more insight into how the press actually discussed denunciations, I have collected a sample of newspaper writings for a closer analysis. This sample consists of 88 articles, published between 1899 and 1917, which explicitly covered political denunciations addressed to the imperial authorities in Finland.[29] Although the sample forms only a small part of all similar writings to newspapers, it indicates that the Finnish press across party lines covered political denunciations annually from 1899 onwards. In contrast, during the reference period from 1890 to 1898, there were almost no such writings in the

newspapers. In other words, political denunciations only became a media topic after the imperial integration measures intensified.

In many cases, the titles of the sample articles already reveal that the articles attribute denunciations to the political situation. For example, a socialist newspaper used the title 'The Bobrikovian filth foams again' in a story about the reappearance of political denunciations in 1908. The title described denunciations as 'filth' and associated them with Governor-General Nikolay Ivanovich Bobrikov, who had masterminded the integration policies in 1899–1904.[30] The practice of denunciation was depicted in titles also with adjectives like 'devious' and 'ugly' or with nouns like 'misery' and 'mole's work', which were intended to generate negative feelings towards the practice.[31] Some headlines like 'National shadow figures' explicitly associated denunciations with shady and anti-national behaviour.[32] The titles also included straightforward calls for citizens to oppose denunciations, such as 'The system of denunciation flourishes. One ought to start fighting against it'.[33]

These examples indicate how the Finnish press offered a cultural frame that was meant to guide readers to experience denunciations as a negative phenomenon and to view the struggle against denunciations as a civic duty. As this frame was constructed by hundreds or even thousands of articles which were published in newspapers throughout the Grand Duchy and across party lines, it was likely to catch the attention of most media consumers. Even if this frame did not affect all citizens in the same way, it inevitably shaped popular conceptions of the practice of denunciation. This can be observed even in some denunciations to the Governor-General, which explicitly referred to the negative framing of political denunciations in the Finnish press.[34]

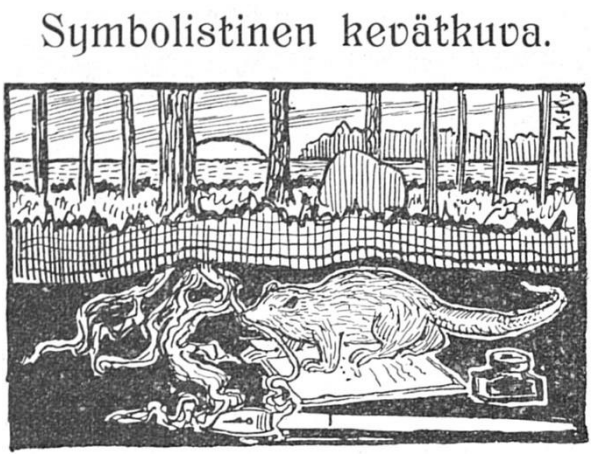


**Figure 2:** 'A symbolic spring image', published in a Finnish satirical magazine, associated denunciations with harmful mole's work. *Matti Meikäläinen*, 12/5/1899. The digital collections of the National Library of Finland.

As part of the debate concerning denunciations, the press paid attention to the social background of denouncers. This background was diverse: The denouncers included rural and urban workers but also tenant farmers, artisans, landowners, as well as middle-class professionals such as traders and journalists. Current or former civil servants, including policemen, postal and customs officers, and railroad employees, were also among those who sent denunciations to the Russian authorities.[35] Nevertheless, especially between 1899 and 1905, the nationalist papers eagerly associated denunciations with the lower social groups, highlighting cases where landless workers and tenant farmers had denounced their employers or landowners. To suppress these denunciations, the nationalist commentators often urged that the people needed enlightenment and moral education. Hence, for the nationalists, the viral spreading of denunciations was a clear sign of the people's lack of national consciousness.[36] However, some commentators also highlighted the involvement of upper-class people in the phenomenon and considered the denunciations made by educated individuals particularly harmful to society.[37]

The continuous press coverage was likely to shape popular conceptions of the prevalence of denunciations in Finland. Even if there were no more than some hundreds of people who submitted denunciations to the Russian authorities during the whole period under examination, the writings to the press created a perception that informers lurked everywhere. For example, nationalist activist Maissi Erkko later recalled that it was commonly claimed in the autumn of 1903 that as many as 18,000 denunciations were lying on the desk of the Governor-General waiting for investigation.[38] Such exaggerated figures served to underline the threat posed by denunciations to the Finnish cause and to mobilise citizens to fight the practice. However, the hyperbole may have also had an unintended impact on some citizens, who viewed the political reality differently from nationalist activists and shunned their struggle against the imperial policies. The press coverage may even have inspired some individuals to become denouncers themselves, as it raised their awareness about the existence of other denouncers and about the receptiveness of the imperial authorities to denunciations. Nonetheless, even these individuals could not fail to notice that public opinion was strongly against denunciations.

Important for nationalist mobilization was that denunciations to the imperial authorities were condemned by the Finnish press across party lines. Not even the organs of the compliance party deviated from this pattern. A case in point was the leading Old Finnish newspaper *Uusi Suometar*, which stated powerfully in 1903 that 'all kinds of denunciations are equally reprehensible' and called on all citizens to prevent denunciations 'by every possible means and by their own action'.[39] However, statements like this did not prevent other parties from accusing the Old Finnish compliance policy of stirring up denunciations.[40]

On the other hand, even the constitutionalist Young Finns and the Swedes became targeted in the press for nourishing the culture of denunciation after their parties had taken government responsibility in 1905. For example, the newspaper *Sosialisti* wrote in 1906 that although denunciation had been seen as 'the most disgraceful crime of all' in previous years, the constitutionalists now 'proclaimed denunciation as a patriotic virtue' and were 'competing with each other to see who makes the best denunciations'. A reason for this bold statement was that constitutionalist newspapers had revealed information on revolutionary activists and, according to the socialist paper, they had thereby helped the Russian authorities in hunting down the activists.[41] An underlying message of the article was that the press should not use denunciations as a weapon in domestic politics because this would only impede the joint struggle against the imperial policies. Similar worries were expressed in many articles, and the same phenomenon has also been observed in other contexts where political denunciations had become common and aroused public attention. For example, Tamara Scheer has found that when individual citizens increasingly started to report to the authorities about other people's unpatriotic and conspiratorial activity in Austria during the First World War, the organs of political parties followed suit by publicly accusing other parties of inciting the culture of denunciation.[42]

Scheer's observations on the dynamics between denunciations, government policies, and the press in wartime Austria also reveal differences compared to the situation in Finland. In Austria, the War Surveillance Office effectively utilized the press to encourage citizens to report disloyal activities of fellow people, resulting in a significant influx of false denunciations. Consequently, newspapers had to remind citizens to provide only reliable information and direct it to the appropriate authorities. Furthermore, several individuals were later convicted for false denunciation, and the press regularly reported on these cases.[43]

Similar reports occurred also in the Finnish press, but a significant difference compared to Austria-Hungary was that in Finland, the government was unable to control the content of newspaper reports on denunciations, even during wartime. However, it is important to note that Scheer's observations primarily focus on German-language newspapers. If the study had included non-German-language newspapers from the borderlands of the Habsburg Empire, the observations regarding the relationship of the press with the practice of denunciation could have been more in line with my observations regarding Finland.

## Exposure of individual denouncers

A key part of the media campaign against denunciations was the exposure of individual denouncers. To be more precise, newspapers and periodicals unscrupulously named people as denouncers and exposed them to countermeasures. This was enabled by the ability of editors and nationalist activists (who were often the same people) to effectively obtain information about the activity of denouncers from diverse sources. These sources included Finnish post officials and other civil servants who had nationalist sympathies and who could, in their work, make observations of citizens' dealings with Russian officialdom.[44]

In many cases, the identity of a denouncer was revealed to the public simply because the Governor-General's Office launched an investigation based on the denunciation. The investigation was usually carried out by local policemen, who interrogated the parties involved and relevant witnesses to discover whether the denunciation was accurate. However, especially in small localities, it was often difficult to investigate the matter without the targets of denunciation guessing the denouncer's identity. Moreover, Finnish policemen responsible for the investigation

did not even always try to conceal their source of information. For these reasons, many denouncers found their names exposed in the local community and thereafter in the press – or vice versa.[45]

When newspapers named an alleged denouncer, they also made him or her a target of countermeasures for nationally aware citizens. There was often no need to explicitly urge readers to boycott or ostracise the targeted individual, since the exposure of his or her name and place of residence was everything that local nationalists needed to engage in appropriate action. The countermeasures against exposed denouncers could mean insults and mockery, but also stricter forms of social discrimination, economic sanctions, legal acts, or even physical violence.[46] To make it as easy as possible for citizens to join the countermeasures, nationalist activists even published manuals about how to boycott informers and other henchmen of the imperial regime.[47]

The risk of media exposure was recognised by many denouncers, and it pushed them to operate as clandestinely as possible in their communication with the imperial authorities. For example, many individuals who wrote to the Governor-General's office asked the addressee to keep their identity secret.[48] A case in point is the launderer Hilda Karvosenoja, who had become targeted by the nationalist press after her communications with the Governor-General had been exposed in the winter of 1910. When she then wrote to the Governor-General to appeal for help, she asked the addressee to conceal her name, because 'the newspapers were making such a bad noise'.[49] This request did not help her, however, as the press continued to report about her interaction with the Governor-General's Office and to target her for countermeasures in the following months and years.[50] As a consequence of the unwanted public attention, Karvosenoja was left homeless and had to move from Helsinki to the countryside, but she nevertheless continued to send denunciations to the Governor-General.[51] Having

become a national outcast, the imperial authorities may have appeared to her as the only sympathetic audience.

**Figure 3**: Kaarlo Kari's cartoon depicting Juho Koskela, whose correspondence with and visits to the Governor-General's Office were exposed in the spring of 1899. Matti Meikäläinen, 30/3/1899. The digital collections of the National Library of Finland.

Many of the printed stories about denouncers were openly derogatory, but some had comical dimensions as well. Satirical magazines participated in the public shaming of the exposed denouncers by publishing anecdotes, mocking songs, and cartoons about them. For example, dairy owner Juho Koskela ended up as a target of satirical depictions very soon after his correspondence with the Governor-General became public knowledge in the spring of 1899.[52] One of these depictions was a caricature titled 'An extraordinary find' by the well-known cartoonist Kaarlo Kari (Figure 3). It portrays Koskela as 'a rare species, probably a mongrel of reptile, climber, and fox', named scientifically as 'Titulus Koskela-inius'. The term '*titulus*' used in the

caption was derived from Latin, and it was employed in the nationalist press as a derogative title for individuals engaged in dubious collaboration with the imperial authorities. Overall, the image represents Koskela as an arriviste with the negative qualities of deceitfulness and servility.

*Fyren,* a satirical magazine published in the Swedish language, was particularly active in targeting Juho Koskela. In the spring of 1899, the magazine even published a portrait that served to make Koskela's facial features familiar to the public (Figure 4). This portrait was apparently based on a photograph, which had been confiscated some days earlier by nationalist-minded local authorities who had been looking for Koskela at his home in Peräseinäjoki. According to the reminiscence of one local activist, the photograph had been sent to nationalist activists in Helsinki so that it

**Figure 4**: The portrait of Juho Koskela by Alex Federley. The caption reads: 'Koskela socialises with fine people! "Beautiful souls easily find each other!"' Fyren, 8/4/1899. The digital collections of the National Library of Finland.

could be reproduced and used to identify Koskela.[53] As the use of photographs in the press was still rare, the artist Alex Federley turned Koskela's photograph into an engraving, which was then published in *Fyren* and possibly disseminated also through other channels.

For Koskela, this kind of attention proved extremely detrimental. In his letters to the Governor-General's Office, he later complained that because of his exposure and constant monitoring by nationalist activists, he felt too unsafe to travel anywhere.[54] Because of Koskela's stigmatisation as a denouncer, local people also started to boycott his dairy, which led to its bankruptcy.[55] This was exactly what nationalist activists sought when they published the names and sometimes also portraits of denouncers.

Juho Koskela's case is an apt illustration of the vulnerability of informers to nationalist countermeasures. This vulnerability, in turn, connects with Bergemann's theory on the factors that enable denunciations to become widespread in society. In Finland during the late imperial era, the Russian authorities were certainly receptive to denunciations, used positive incentives to solicit them, and opened functioning channels of denunciation. Nevertheless, the authorities utterly failed in protecting their informants, and this mainly resulted from their inability to control the Finnish media. Thus, anyone who collaborated with the imperial regime risked being targeted by the press. Probably more than anything else, this hindered the spread of political denunciations in Finnish society.

The media campaign against denunciations can also be understood as an effort to reinforce social norms. According to Bergemann, many societies have norms against denouncing, particularly when it comes to denouncing fellow community members. Such norms existed in Finland even before the period of the imperial integration measures, and they

guided people to perceive denunciation as a betrayal of the community. Consequently, these norms could significantly influence people's decisions to denounce, since individuals may fear that violating the norms could lead to communal sanctions or they may have internalized the norms as personal core values.[56] Although Bergemann does not discuss the impact of mass media on the adoption of norms against denouncing in society, my research strongly implies that the media could have a significant role in fostering negative perceptions of denunciations among citizens.

## The hunt for denouncers in 1905 and 1907

The campaigning against denunciations culminated in the Finnish public sphere during the revolutionary mobilisations of 1905 and 1917. In the autumn of 1905, the revolution in Russia gave rise to a general strike in Finland, and the mass mobilisation during the strike forced the tsar to concede to democratic reforms and suspend the imperial integration measures in the Grand Duchy. In a similar vein, the Russian February Revolution of 1917 led to a wide-scale popular mobilisation in Finland.[57] During both situations, the faltering of the Russian regime provided an opportune moment for Finnish nationalists (including socialists) to settle scores with those considered the henchmen of tyranny.

For people who had sent denunciations to the imperial authorities, the general strike of 1905 was an unsettling experience. During the days of the strike, the crowds arrested Russian gendarmes, raided their offices, and seized secret files of the gendarme administration. These files included numerous denunciations and other documents that could be used to uncover those who had been in contact with the gendarmes or the Governor-General's office. Many of the documents were passed on to the newspapers, which eagerly reported on their content after the strike

had ended. This led to the exposure and public stigmatisation of numerous informers.[58]

The temporary power vacuum created by the strike facilitated public countermeasures against the exposed denouncers. Some of them were pilloried in a civic meeting or arrested by local activists, and some chose to hide themselves from vindictive fellow citizens.[59] Some were forced to resign from their posts, and some were sued for false denunciations or other wrongdoings that had occurred in previous years.[60] The media took part in this hunt for denouncers by closely following the undertakings of the alleged denouncers and bringing their abuses to public attention. However, what curbed the countermeasures against denouncers was that nationalists and the media still had to watch for the potential intervention of the imperial authorities. The general strike of 1905 temporarily weakened the operational capability of the Governor-General's office and the gendarme administration, but these institutions soon recovered and continued to monitor anti-government activity. In this respect, the situation changed only after the February Revolution of 1917.

The spring of 1917 witnessed the climax of the campaign against denouncers. The revolutionary mobilisation forced the tsar to abdicate in Russia and also spread to Finland in the form of mass demonstrations and actions against imperial authorities. As in 1905, revolutionary crowds forced entry into the gendarme offices and confiscated secret files in several Finnish cities. Some cities also named investigating committees to systematically examine the papers of the gendarmes. These committees were similar to those appointed at the same time in Petrograd and Moscow, and their key aim was to trace and expose citizens who had assisted the tsarist secret police before the revolution.[61] For the same purpose, the Chancellor of Justice assigned two inspectors to examine documents that had been confiscated from the apartment of

the deposed Governor-General in Helsinki.[62] This assignment was undoubtedly personally important to the new Chancellor of Justice, Pehr Evind Svinhufvud, who was a prominent Young Finnish politician and who had only just returned from exile in Siberia.

**Figure 5**: A cartoon and a poem, published by the radical Young Finnish newspaper *Karjala*, 17/5/1917, depicting the inspection of denunciations that were confiscated from the apartment of Governor-General Franz Albert Seyn. The poem reads: 'Seyn left his papers as he left, piled up all kinds of denunciations, now the Senate's underlings are inspecting them, perhaps there is enough work for these men.'

The investigation of the papers of the gendarmes and the former Governor-General led to the disclosure of over 300 individuals as denouncers, informers, and spies during 1917.[63] The investigators worked in close collaboration with the press and delivered information about the denouncers for publication as their work proceeded. The primary channels of disclosure were the socialist newspaper *Työmies* and the newly founded *Uusi Päivä*, which was an organ of secessionist nationalists. Both these newspapers had privileged

# Santarmiapulaisten luettelo N:o I

Laadittu Helsingin santarmihallituksen papereiden perusteella.

Heti vallankumouspäivinä heränneen ajatuksen toteuttamisen — täkäläisen santarmihallituksen arkiston tutkiminen santarmiston kanssa tekemisissä olleiden henkilöiden selville saamiseksi — lykkäytyi asianhaarain pakosta useita viikkoja, ja kun viihdoin Järjestystoimikunnan ja Osakuntien valtuuskunnan valitsema tutkijalautakunta pääsi työhön käsiksi, erotettiin tutkittavan aineiston ulkopuolelle kaikki se, joka koski n. s. »vastavakoilua». Lautakunnan työn tulokset eivät jo tästäkään syystä voi olla tyhjentävät. Lisäksi on huomattava, että osaa asiakirjoista ei vielä ole ehditty tarkastaa, ja että melkoinen määrä salanimillä toimineista urkkijoista on vielä paljastamatta. Tätä luettelua tulee siis seuraamaan lisäluettelo n:o 2. — Käytännöllisistä syistä alkuoleva luettelo — se vielä huomautettakoon — on laadittu mahdollisimman suppeaksi, joten suurin osa etenkin innokkaimmin toimineiden henkilöiden ansioluettelosta on täytynyt jäädä pois.

**Helsingin Santarmiarkiston Tutkija.**
**lautakunta.**

**Altoff, Lauri,** työmies, os. »Suomalainen Amerikan Työmies», Duluth, U. S. A., tarjoutuu omakätisessä, venäjäksi kirjotetussa kirjeessä 22. 3. 1909 ilmiantamaan Amerikan suomalaisia sosialisteja ja vallankumouksellisia.

**Axelin, Eero,** tarjoo palveluksiaan ja apuaan sen oppositsionin murtamiseksi, joka estää Venäjän ja Suomen välien kehittymistä olkeaan suuntaan. »Olen jo kahdeksan vuotta kuulunut itse oppositsionin johtajien joukkoon ja tunnen jokseenkin perinpohjin heidän asiansa, jotka ehdottomasti antaisivat erinomaisen alkeen muutamien oppositsionin huomattavimpien järjestöjen hajottamiseen ja niiden johtajien pidättämiseen.» Tahtoo pysyä ehdottomasti salassa santarmihallituksen henkilökunnalta. Toivoo pääsevänsä taloudellisesti riippumattomaksi. V. 1915.

**Bedrich, Filipp,** tshekkiläinen, asuu Västervikissä Ruotsissa, tarjoutuu omakätisessä, tshekinkielisessä kirjeessä 25. 5. 1914 santarmihallituksen palveluksseen. On syntynyt 17. 4. 1874; ollut aikanaan Amerikassa.

**Bertta, Yrjö,** kansakoulunopettaja Saimista, on tarjonnut santarmihallitukselle palveluksiaan, jonka johdosta santarmihallituksesta kysytään Viipurin santarmipäälliköltä, mikä Bertta on miehiään. Santarmihallituksen kirje päivätty 8. 6. 1915.

**Blomberg, Herman Reinhold,** Singerin liikkeen asiamies ja sihtari, syntyjoutuu ruotsinkielisessä kirjeessä, joka santarmihallitukselle saapui 17. 10. 1914, santarmiston asiamieheksi. Kertoo aluksi kaikenlaisia huhuja.

**Bogdanov, Mikko,** rautatielainen Kouvolassa, kotoisin Jaakkiman Kumolan kylästä, 12 km. asemalta, ilmiantaa omakätisessä kirjeessä 4. 5. 1914 toverinsa Virtasen ja Halmeen aseidenostoaikeista Ruotsista.

**Bojtsov, Aleksej Vasiljevitsh,** ammatiltaan maalari, toiminut kauan aikaa santarmiurkkijana sos.-vallankumouksellisten keskuudessa Suomessa. V. 1912 saanut 57 ruplaa kuukaudessa palkkaa santarmilaitokselta. Salanimi »Batumskij». — Ven. sotilasviranomaisten vangitsema toukokuussa 1917.

**Djakonov,** asunut 23 vuotta Kuopiossa, tuntee erinomaisesti paikkakunnan asiat. Tehnyt santarmistolle arvokkaita palveluksia, toimien salanimellä »U», nyt Nauvossa, asuj Yrjönkatu 13, tarm.m. 1914.

**Ellis, Gust. A.,** asiamiehiä Forssassa, ilmiantaa santarmihallitukselle nimismies Sylvinin y.m. pitkässä, omakätisessä kirjeessä 11. 6. 1910.

**Elomaa, M.,** ent. vääpeli, eilloin Viipurin läänivankilan vartija, ilmiantaa kirjeessä tammikuussa 1911 kenraalikuvernöörille, että vankilassa kohdellaan valtiollisia vankeja aivan toisella tavalla kuin muita rikoksellisia. Eritoten venäläisiä vankeja sorretaan. Vartijat eivät osaa venäjänkieltä.

**Evremenko, Semen,** koneenkäyttäjä, tarjoo santarmipäällikkö Ereminille palveluksiaan v. 1913. Työskennellyt jo aikaisemmin santarmipäällikkö Uthoffin aikana, käyttäen salanimiä »Dubovoj», »Dubovojno».

**Eriksson, Evert,** Helsingistä (puhel. 67 47), kirjoittaa 8. 1. 1909 kenraalikuvernööri Frans Seynille kirjeen, jossa valittaen hädänalaista tilaansa tarjoutuu palvelukseen urkkijana. Pyytää saada ehdottomasti pysyä salassa. Osaa suomea, ruotsia ja venäjää.

**Fager, Frans,** sihtari, ollut ennen poliisina Kuopiossa, jättänyt syyskuussa 1910 kenraalikuvernööri Frans Seynille apuanomuksen ja ilmiantaa samalla poliisimestari V. Kihlström siitä, ettei Kihlström ollut pakottanut kansaa paljastamaan päätään keisarihymniä laulettaessa.

**Forström, Oskar Wilhelm,** katso Lähde, V.

**Frosti** l. **Frost, Matti,** tiilimestari Joutsenosta, kirjottanut suomalaisia mustamaan kirjeen »syyskuussa 1913 osoitteella »K. Herra Hallitsijalle, Pietari», joka on toimitettu santarmihallitukselle.

**Freiberg, A. N.,** kirjoittanut 16. 4. 1912 prokuraattori Hosiainoville ilmiantokirjeen, jossa tarjoutuu ilmiantamaan suomalaisen, 15-jäsenisen vallan-

**Figure 6:** An excerpt of a list of political informers and gendarme agents published in *Uusi Päivä*, 16/6/1917. The list includes names or pseudonyms of exposed individuals and information on their background and interaction with the Russian authorities.

access to information as they had representatives on the investigating committee of the gendarme files in Helsinki. However, other newspapers also used their connections to local investigating committees to acquire information on denouncers.[64]

In the revolutionary atmosphere of 1917, those who found themselves listed as 'henchmen of the gendarmes' in newspapers were likely to experience a great deal of emotional suffering and stress. In some cases, a person could be labelled as an informer on

quite loose grounds, as the investigators made revelations based on fragmentary evidence. Consequently, some people claimed to be unjustly stigmatised as informers or spies and sought to exonerate themselves in public. One way to do so was to request a newspaper to publish a rejoinder or a paid announcement, in which the sender denied accusations of collaboration with the Russian authorities. Such announcements were published at least in the socialist newspaper *Kansan Tahto* in the spring.[65]

Another option to attempt to exonerate oneself was to appeal directly to a committee that investigated the gendarme files. For example, the Helsinki committee received numerous letters from citizens who had been labelled 'henchmen' in the press but either denied their collaboration with the Russian authorities or presented mitigating circumstances.[66] However, few of these letters appear to have resulted in public rehabilitation. In at least one case, the appeal only worsened the sender's situation, because the investigation committee immediately forwarded it to a socialist newspaper and apparently revealed additional evidence of the sender's dealings with the Russian authorities.[67]

Some individuals tried to cope with their exposure by publicly begging for forgiveness. For example, farmer Antti Immonen from Kurkijoki appealed to his fellow citizens in an open letter after he had been revealed as an informer in April 1917. Immonen's letter was first read aloud in a municipal meeting and thereafter cited in several newspapers. In his letter, Immonen confessed his 'crimes' and asked local inhabitants to show him the same kind of compassion that people of the past showed to robbers hanging from the gallows. In the end, he wished God's blessing to the motherland, the free people of Finland, and the Parliament. With these words, he fashioned himself as a devoted Christian, a patriot, and a supporter of democracy. However, Immonen's attempt to generate compassion may have only worsened his plight because the newspapers

reported about it with derisive headlines and made his case widely known beyond his home region.[68] In the aftermath of the revolution, it might have been wiser to stay silent and wait for the public rage to subside than to confess one's sins publicly.

The previous examples give some insight into the experiences of suspected denouncers in the revolutionary atmosphere. Besides public shaming, they could encounter various forms of social discrimination, legal acts, or even physical violence in their communities. All these countermeasures had already been in the arsenal of Finnish nationalists before the revolution, but the change of government made the targeted individuals even more vulnerable than before. For some of the exposed informers, the situation appeared so desperate that they committed suicide after facing public scrutiny. One of these ill-fated individuals was stationmaster Albert Ilo, who had long worked as an informer of the gendarmes. After the revolution, a civic meeting ordered him to be detained, but he took his life in pretrial detention in April 1917 before his case was investigated.[69] Ilo's detention and suicide received considerable media exposure, because the nationalist press had long followed his activities and framed him as a prime example of the dark forces that served the repressive regime.[70]

The public interest in punishing the informers of the imperial regime would probably have lasted longer than it did without the rise of more acute political issues. As 1917 proceeded, Finland seceded from Russia whilst the war-related economic problems escalated and the power struggle between socialists and non-socialists intensified. The political conflict eventually culminated in the Finnish Civil War between the Reds and the Whites in January 1918. The war and a consequent prison camp catastrophe caused over 38,000 deaths and left the newly independent country deeply divided.[71] In these circumstances, political activists and journalists had far greater concerns than the former henchmen of the

imperial authorities. Nevertheless, the story of how political denunciations had run wild during the late imperial period emerged as a topos in the Finnish nationalist press and historiography in the interwar period.[72]

## Conclusion

The revolution of 1917 was the culmination of nearly two decades of campaigning against denunciations in the Finnish media. During these years, the Finnish press published thousands of writings on denunciations, associating them with corruption and national betrayal. The press also exposed hundreds of people as informers and made them targets for countermeasures. Hence, the campaign against denunciations served to mobilise Finns in the shared struggle against imperial policies. As censorship prevented the open criticism of imperial rule, targeting denouncers provided the press with a convenient roundabout way to shape popular opinion of imperial policies. However, the relentless exposure of denouncers meant that Finnish newspapers became political denouncers themselves. Their engagement in public denunciation could, in a way, be as frightening a form of political repression as the secret denunciations submitted to the state authorities.[73]

At least hypothetically, the media campaign against the practice of denunciation may have also nourished denunciations. Even though informers who collaborated with the imperial government were relatively few, the constant press coverage tended to magnify the phenomenon. This, in turn, may have encouraged some individuals to become informers, even though the source material used in this article does not offer direct evidence of this. Moreover, the media campaign also served the imperial interests by projecting an atmosphere of ubiquitous surveillance in Finland. In fact, the imperial government had no reason

to prevent the press from writing about denunciations even if it could have done so, because these writings created an impression that denouncers were everywhere and that their existence was a real threat to subversive Finnish nationalists.

These reservations notwithstanding, the results of this study indicate that the free press had a crucial role in curbing denunciation as a tool of political repression in Finland. If the Russian authorities had been able to subjugate the Finnish media, it would have seriously undermined the ability of Finnish political parties to mobilise their supporters to oppose the practice of denunciation. This, in turn, would have created more favourable conditions for denunciations to flourish. The findings of this study are also consistent with Patrick Bergemann's view that the ability of the authorities to secure the safety of denouncers is one important factor in enabling denunciations to become widespread in society. In the Grand Duchy of Finland, the imperial government proved incapable of protecting denouncers from public exposure and the nationalists' countermeasures, which had devastating consequences for many of the alleged denouncers.

An additional finding is that the campaign against denunciation cut across political divides in Finland during the late imperial period. Previous literature has emphasised the sharp divide especially between the socialist and non-socialist press and the fierce antagonism between the constitutionalist and compliance party press concerning the tactic of defending the autonomy of Finland. Nonetheless, these divides did not prevent the organs of different parties from struggling together against denunciations, even though the party-affiliated newspapers occasionally cast the stigma of denouncer also at their domestic political opponents.

## Endnotes

[1] S. Suodenjoki, 'Informing as National Indifference? The Case of Finnish Citizens' Collaboration with the Russian Authorities, 1899–1917', *Journal of Finnish Studies,* 25/2 (2023), 253–279.

[2] E.g. M. Van Ginderachter, *The Everyday Nationalism of Workers: A Social History of Modern Belgium.* (Stanford: 2019), 4–6; J. Breuilly, 'What Does It Mean to Say That Nationalism Is "Popular"?', in *Nationhood from Below: Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Maarten Van Ginderachter and Marnix Beyen (Basingstoke: 2012), 23–24.

[3] E.g. P. Tommila, *Keski-Suomen lehdistö 2. 1886–1917* (Jyväskylä: 1973); P. Leino-Kaukiainen, 'Kasvava sanomalehdistö sensuurin kahleissa 1890–1905', in *Suomen lehdistön historia 1* (Kuopio: 1988), 421–626; T. Nygård, 'Poliittisten vastakohtaisuuksien jyrkentyminen sanomalehdistössä', in *Suomen lehdistön historia 2* (Kuopio: 1987), 9–166.

[4] T. Torvinen, 'Finljandskaja Gazeta, "rauhan ja luottamuksen edistäjä"', in *Turun Historiallinen Arkisto 31* (Turku: 1976), 234–259.

[5] The best example is R. Turunen, *Shades of Red: Evolution of the Political Language of Finnish Socialism from the 19th Century until the Civil War of 1918* (Helsinki: 2021).

[6] See S. Fitzpatrick, and R. Gellately, 'Practices of Denunciation in Modern European History', *The Journal of Modern History,* 68/4 (1996).

[7] P. Bergemann, *Judge Thy Neighbor: Denunciations in the Spanish Inquisition, Romanov Russia, and Nazi Germany* (New York: 2019), 9–10.

[8] E.g. C. Lucas, 'The Theory and Practice of Denunciation in the French Revolution', *The Journal of Modern History,* 68 (1996), 768–785; W. Goldman, *Inventing the Enemy: Denunciation and Terror in Stalin's Russia* (Cambridge: 2011).

[9] T. Scheer, 'Denunciation and the Decline of the Habsburg Home Front During the First World War', *European Review of History,* 24/2 (2017), 214–228.

[10] C.L. Lundin, 'Finland', in *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855–1914*, ed. by E.C. Thaden (Princeton: 1981), 357–457; P. Luntinen, *F.A. Seyn: A Political Biography of a Tsarist Imperialist as Administrator of Finland* (Helsinki: 1985); T. Polvinen, *Imperial Borderland: Bobrikov and the Attempted Russification of Finland, 1898–1904* (Helsinki: 1995).

[11] See R. Hänninen, *Kapinaa ja kiusantekoa. Venäjän sortokoneiston vastustus Suomessa* (Helsinki: 2023).

[12] J. Kurunmäki, and I. Liikanen, 'The Formation of the Finnish Polity within the Russian Empire: Language, Representation, and the Construction of Popular Political Platforms, 1863–1906', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies,* 35/1–4 (2018), 403–405.

[13] Kurunmäki & Liikanen, 'Formation', 403–408.

[14] Landgren, 'Kieli ja aate – politisoituva sanomalehdistö 1860–1889', in *Suomen lehdistön historia 1* (Kuopi: 1988), 285–287.

[15] Kurunmäki & Liikanen, 'Formation', 411.

[16] S.D. Huxley, *Constitutionalist Insurgency in Finland* (Helsinki: 1990), 209–215, 226–231.

[17] J. Heikkilä, *Kansallista luokkapolitiikkaa. Sosiaalidemokraatit ja Suomen autonomian puolustus 1905–1917* (Helsinki: 1993).

[18] Leino-Kaukiainen, 'Kasvava sanomalehdistö', 548–549.

[19] Leino-Kaukiainen, 'Kasvava sanomalehdistö', 550–553; Hänninen, *Kapinaa*, 81–85.

[20] See *Kenraalikuvernööri Bobrikoff'in kertomus Suomen hallinnosta syyskuusta 1898 syyskuuhun 1902* (Stockholm: 1905), 25–29, 49–50.

[21] Torvinen, 'Finljandskaja Gazeta', 234–259; cf. *Kenraalikuvernööri Bobrikoff'in kertomus*, 54–55.

[22] E.g. Helsinki, Kansallisarkisto [KA], Kenraalikuvernöörin kanslia [KKK] 1902, I osasto, akti 56, Nieminen to the Governor-General, 1902.

[23] Leino-Kaukiainen, 'Kasvava sanomalehdistö', 546–549.

[24] Nygård, 'Poliittisten vastakohtaisuuksien', 116–118; P. Munck, 'Valistajista ammattimiehiksi. Toimittajien ammattilaistumisen pitkä tie' (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2016), 114–118.

[25] Heikkilä, *Kansallista luokkapolitiikkaa*, 252–254.

[26] I have analysed this by using a proximity search in the Digital Collections of the National Library of Finland, https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/. The search terms were 'ilmianto kenraalikuvernööri'~5, 'ilmianto santarmi'~5, 'valtiollinen ilmianto'~5, and 'ilmianto majesteettirikos'~5. Window: 5 words to the left and 5 words to the right of the search term.

[27] For the period 1890–1910, the search is based on all the Finnish-language and Swedish-language newspapers and periodicals.

[28] For some of these methods, see Turunen, *Shades of Red*, 51–60.

[29] The writings can be found from the clippings of the digital collections of the National Library of Finland, https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/clippings, with the search term 'KKK1899–1917' [accessed 2/6/2023].

[30] *Kansan Tahto*, 18/12/1908.

[31] *Länsisuomen Työmies,* 31/03/1900; *Kansalainen,* 20/4/1903; *Kajaanin Lehti,* 29/4/1905; *Kaleva*, 15/2/1912.

[32] *Kaleva*, 18/10/1916.

[33] *Työ*, 21/1/1909.

[34] E.g. KA, KKK 1911, III osasto, akti VIII/4, Asikainen to the Governor-General, 14/12/1912.

[35] Suodenjoki, 'Informing', 263–264.

[36] *Vapaita Lehtisiä*, 18/8/1903; J. Ala, *Suomi-neito ja suojelusikä. Sortovuosien psykohistoriaa* (Helsinki: 1999), 57–70.

[37] *Fria Ord*, 8/11/1903.

[38] Helsinki, Päivälehden arkisto, Maissi Erkon arkisto, A:1, PLA-N-454_A1_10: Maissi Erkko's writing, undated 1930–1936.

[39] *Uusi Suometar*, 10/12/1903.

[40] See the Old Finnish newspaper *Kaiku*, 13/9/1905, and a response by the Young Finnish *Kaleva*, 23/9/1905.

[41] *Sosialisti*, 9/8/1906.

[42] Scheer, 'Denunciation', 219.

[43] Scheer, 'Denunciation', 217, 222.

[44] For the nationalist sympathies of Finnish civil servants, see Hänninen, *Kapinaa,* 54–62.

[45] For an example, see *Mikkeli*, 30/4/1900, 6/6/1900.

[46] See S. Suodenjoki, 'Keisarille uskolliset soraäänet. Ilmiantajat kansallisen historiakuvan haastajina', in *Usko, tiede ja historiankirjoitus. Suomalaisia maailmankuvia keskiajalta 1900-luvulle*, ed. by I. Sulkunen, M. Niemi and S. Katajala-Peltomaa (Helsinki: 2016), 440–441, 451–452; S. Suodenjoki, 'Ilmianto valvonnan ilmapiirin lietsojana routavuosien Suomessa', *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja,* 112/2 (2014), 153.

[47] The most famous of these manuals was *Kansalaiskatkismus* (Stockholm: 1902), in English, 'civic catechism'. It was directed as much against the compliant Old Finns as denouncers proper.

[48] E.g. KA, KKK 1911, III osasto, akti XVIII/16, Hänninen to the Governor-General, 1910.

[49] KA, KKK 1910, I osasto, akti LXIV, Karvosenoja to the Governor-General, 8/3/1910.

[50] E.g. *Helsingin Sanomat*, 23/3/1910, 25/3/1914; *Työläinen*, 13/5/1910.

[51] KA, KKK 1910, I osasto, akti LXIV, Karvosenoja to the Governor-General, 3/5/1910 and 9/6/1910.

[52] On Koskela's case, see Suodenjoki, 'Informing', 254–255; Hänninen, *Kapinaa*, 127–128.

[53] K. Kivistö, 'Sortovuosien mustilta päiviltä', in: *Vaasa*, 10/11/1934.

[54] KA, KKK 1901, Erikoisjaosto, akti 16, Koskela to the Governor-General, 19/11/1900, 21/12/1901.

[55] The bankruptcy of Koskela's dairy was covered, for example, in *Matti Meikäläinen*, 12/5/1899, 26/5/1899. For more on the boycott against the dairy, see Kivistö, 'Sortovuosien mustilta päiviltä', 11.

[56] Bergemann, *Judge Thy Neighbor*, 180.

[57] See R. Alapuro, *State and Revolution in Finland* (Berkeley: 1988), 114–116, 150–152.

[58] E.g. *Kansan Lehti*, 14/11/1905; *Aamulehti*, 14/11/1905; *Kaleva* 17/11/1905; Suodenjoki, 'Ilmiantajat', 450–451.

[59] E.g. *Kaiku*, 24/11/1905, 1/12/1905; *Kaleva*, 29/11/1905.

[60] For an example, see *Kansalainen*, 8/11/1905, 28/2/1906; *Satakunta,* 9/11/1905; *Rauman Lehti*, 19/12/1905; KA, KKK 1911, I osasto, akti 33/19, Härkönen to the Governor-General, 15/8/1910.

[61] Sami Suodenjoki, 'Santarmiyhteyksien stigmatisoimat: Ilmiantajat venäläisen virkavallan avustajina Suomen suuriruhtinaskunnassa 1899–1917', *Ennen ja nyt: Historian tietosanomat,* 19/4 (2019). https://journal.fi/ennenjanyt/article/view/108964/63956. For the investigating committees in Russia, see J. Daly, *The Watchful State: Security Police and Opposition in Russia 1906-1917* (DeKalb: 2004), 212.

[62] *Karjala,* 5/4/1917; *Kaleva*, 25/4/1917.

[63] The figure is based on the lists published in *Työmies*, 16/6/1917, 6/11/1917; *Uusi Päivä*, 16/6/1917, and on a register collected by one of the investigators of the gendarme files. KA, Elmo E. Kailan arkisto, 5: Kortisto santarmiapureista.

[64] E.g. *Turun Lehti*, 26/4/1917.

[65] E.g. *Kansan Tahto*, 23/3/1917, 26/3/1917.

[66] Helsinki, Työväen Arkisto [TA], Santarmihallinnon asiakirjoja, 2: Helsingin santarmiarkiston tarkastuslautakunnan asiakirjoja 1915–1917.

[67] TA, Santarmihallinnon asiakirjoja, 2: Urkinta 1913–1917, Tuominen's letter, 8/7/1917; *Työmies*, 11/7/1917.

[68] E.g. *Käkisalmen Sanomat*, 9/5/1917; *Kaleva*, 19/5/1917.

[69] Suodenjoki, 'Santarmiyhteyksien stigmatisoimat'.

[70] E.g. *Uusi Suometar*, 26/03/1917; *Viipurin Sanomat*, 25/4/1917.

[71] For a synthesis on the war, see T. Tepora & A. Roselius (eds.), *The Finnish Civil War 1918: History, Memory, Legacy* (Boston: 2014).

[72] For the coverage of denunciations in Finnish interwar historiography, see Suodenjoki, 'Keisarille uskolliset soraäänet', 433–437.

[73] Cf. P. Rosanvallon, *Counter-democracy: Politics in an Age of Distrust* (Cambridge: 2008), 41.